SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

THIS I BELIEVE

by

HAYWOOD N. HILL, M.D.

I AM A SOUTHERNER. I was bred in the South where my forefathers were slave holders and Confederate soldiers. I was born and raised in Southern towns with their rigid racial patterns and their typical Southern prejudice. I was away from the South for a few years, but I returned to live in the South by choice and intend to remain here for the rest of my life. I love the South and its people.

I like to have two black arms in my kitchen and two black legs pushing my lawn mower, to help take the drudgery out of living for myself and my family, and I like having them at a very minimum of cost to me.

I like choosing my own friends and associates, and I like eating in pleasant places with well bred people of my own race, class, and status.

A message given before an adult church school class at Trinity Presbyterian Church, Atlanta, on January 1, 1961. Dr. Hill is teacher of the class and an elder of the church.

I like to worship in a church which is composed of my friends and equals where I will be among my own group, racially, socially, and intellectually.

I like for my children to go to school with their own kind and with other children of their own racial, social, and intellectual level. I like for them to be shielded against poverty, ignorance, dirt, and disease.

I like to practice medicine among intelligent, cooperative people who understand what I am trying to do for them, who are friends as well as patients, and who pay their bills.

I like to live in a neighborhood composed of people of my own group who have pleasant, well kept homes, and where there is no conflict or strife.

I do not want my daughter to marry a Negro.

I like the racial status quo. I am a Southerner.

But, I am also a Christian. As a Christian I must believe that God created all men and that all men are equal in the sight of God. I must believe that all men are my brothers and are children of God, and that I am my brother's keeper. I must believe that Jesus meant what He said when He commanded me to love my neighbor as myself and when He commanded me to do unto others as I would have them do unto me. I must believe that the church is God's house and that it does not belong to me, to the congregation of Trinity Presbyterian Church, or to the Southern Presbyterian Church. I must believe in the fellowship of all believers.

I am also a scientist and have devoted my life to the pursuit of objective truth. Therefore, I must know that while there are individual differences among people that there is no such thing as racial inferiority. I must know that within every group there are individuals with different potentialities, and that I cannot arbitrarily classify anyone on the basis of his race or color. I must know that poverty and ignorance and isolation, call it segregation if you will, breed feelings of inferiority, frustration, resentment, and despair and that these feelings in turn lead to misery, to immorality, and to crime which, in turn, not only depress the people and the communities involved but the community as a whole and the whole country.

Therefore, as a Christian and as a scientist I am obligated to act on the basis of what I know and what I believe and not on the basis of what I like. I must live by conviction and by conscience rather than by preference and by prejudice.

I must, therefore, regard every man, rich or poor, black or white, as a child of God and as a person, not as some kind of subhuman being or animal or even as an inferior. I must try to see to it that every individual gets equal rights under the law and in politics. This applies particularly to the right of equal justice in the courts and to the right of the exercise of political privilege; that is, the right to vote. If I fear the effects of bloc voting and voting from ignorance, then I must try to see to it that every man is educated to the point where he votes intelligently.

I am obligated to pay a living wage to every man who works for me and to do my best to see that others do the same. I must accord to every man the right to rise to the limit of his abilities in any job or profession, and I must make every attempt to see that no man is blocked because of his race or his social status. If any individual of any race rises to a position equal to mine, then I must accord to him the same privileges that I have and welcome him as an equal.

I must see to it that everyone has an opportunity for an education as good as my own children have. If this means, as the social scientists, the courts, and the Negroes themselves believe, that that education must be the same education as my children have, then I must accept it and encourage it.

I must try to see to it that no man be humiliated and rejected because of his color. If this means that the Negro eats where I eat, sits next to me in the theatre, or rides next to me in public transportation, then I am obligated to accept it.

I must see to it that every man has an opportunity for a decent home and decent surroundings, and if this means that he will live in my neighborhood or in the house next to mine, then that is the way it must be.

If a Negro wants to worship in my church or join my church, then I am obligated to see to it that he is not only accepted but welcomed into that church, even if it be Trinity Presbyterian Church. I must not be led by false pride to try to judge his motives for coming into that church, and I must welcome him on the same basis that I would welcome any other individual.

I must try to overlook the selfish politicians who use the Negro for their own ends; the Communist agitators who delight in stirring up racial strife; the noisy, aggressive Negro who abuses his privileges and who makes life unpleasant for me; and even the Negroes who exploit their own race. I must ignore such irrelevant questions as which race settled this country, which

race pays the most taxes, etc., and remember the basic principles on which I am trying to act and in which I believe.

I must not only accept the efforts of the Negro to achieve his legitimate aspirations, but I must try to help him achieve them, and I believe that the church must do the same if it is a truly Christian church. I must do this, even though it goes against my deepest prejudices and even though it threatens my superior and isolated position in the community and even though it entails the risk of intermarriage.

Basically, the problem is not one of what I like but of what I know to be right. I must not let my wishes determine my attitude toward my associates, my school, my church, or even my own family, but if I am true to the principles which I profess, then I must act according to those principles. This, I believe.

This is a

UNION LABEL→

It is a coercive tool used by union leaders to help bring about COMPULSORY UNIONISM.

We believe every man should be free to choose whether or not he wants to be a member of the union.

Therefore we object to your use of this discriminatory label.

Tell your printer to omit the label on future jobs.

Have your printing done anywhere ... but please do not use the label!

We cannot with clear conscience do business with you or support your cause as long as you continue to use the label.

SO

Char. Times

"To Give the News In
Without Fear or F

NO 22 1

VOL. LXXVII. NO. 311.

HOTEL GRANTED CURB ON ACTION OF PICKET LINE

Unions Accused of Threats, Violence—Mass Picketing at Patten Is Forbidden

SUPPLIES TO GO THROUGH

Chancellor Peabody Howard yesterday granted a limited injunction to the management of the strike-bound Hotel Patten, limiting the strikers to two pickets at each entrance of the hotel, enjoining mass picketing and interference with the delivery of supplies to the hotel.

The injunction was granted after a three-hour hearing in chancery court yesterday in which Dan Byrd Jr., attorney for the hotel, charged that numerous acts of violence had been committed on the picket line and that the striking unions had forfeited their rights to peaceful picketing.

Shows Brick in Court

Byrd charged that someone threw a brick through a window of the coffee shop at the hotel and he had the brick in court as an exhibit. He said the brick had been carefully examined by a fingerprint expert in an effort to find out who had thrown the brick, but that no fingerprints were left on it. Byrd also charged that employes who were not on strike had been threatened with physical violence and that a truck driver who was delivering supplies to the hotel had been told that if he attempted to deliver the supplies his head would be "bashed in."

Attorney H. G. B. King, who represented the five unions named as defendants in the bill, replied that there was no proof that these threats and acts of violence had been committed by members of the union or by the union's representatives who were named individually as defendants.

"If these charges are true," commented Chancellor Howard, "it is certainly not conducive to the welfare of the community. The court has very little patience with violence. The Supreme Court has declared how far labor may go in strikes and picketing. Labor unions have been recognized as speaking for the welfare of the laboring men, but if they should go beyond that realm, they are just as much out of line as anyone else."

Howard Cites Letter

King had objected that there was no evidence connecting the five representatives with the strike. Chancellor Howard, however, cited a letter read into the record by Byrd in which these men notified the hotel management that they represented the hotel's employes and wished to negotiate a contract.

"It would be folly to say that these men were not involved in that strike," commented the chancellor.

Concerning the brick-throwing episode, Chancellor Howard asserted, "I don't know who is responsible for throwing that brick, but if labor is not responsible, they are certainly getting a black eye for it."

The five unions named as defendants in the lawsuit were as follows: The Hotel and Restaurant Employes International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, William Earl Immon, representative; Culinary Workers Local 574, Carl J. Monway, representative; the International Brotherhood of Firemen, Oilers, Powerhouse Employes, Operators and Maintenance, J. C. Leffew, representative; International

See Page Two, Column Two

Fight Israel against Morning Mirror

Charles ...

Permanent Headquarters Committee—Austin, Stevenson, Fahy.

PATTEN IS GRANTED CURB ON PICKETS

From Page One

Laundry Workers Union, James T. Odom, representative; International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, J. H. Dunn, representative. In addition 15 individual pickets were named as defendants, but service was not obtained on them.

Granting of the limited injunction was preceded by a series of legal maneuverings in which King introduced pleas in abatement and demurrers in which King contended that labor organizations could not be sued in court under their adopted names unless they were incorporated. He argued that such suits must be filed against several persons as representatives of a class constituting a union.

The chancellor overruled all these legal moves and ordered the case tried on the bill and answer. The attorney for the hotel insisted that the strikers had forfeited their rights to peaceful picketing and that they should be enjoined from any kind of picketing. The chancellor, however, held they had a right to picket the hotel so long as the pickets were not in such numbers as to interfere with ingress and egress to the building.

In addition to allowing the union two pickets at each entrance, the chancellor allowed the union one picket at each entrance to the alley behind the hotel.

The chancellor specifically enjoined the strikers from interfering with the delivery of supplies to the hotel, but when Byrd also asked for an injunction to enjoin the strikers from interfering with the delivery of merchandise to the liquor store in the hotel, the chancellor refused on the ground that the liquor store was not operated by the hotel and was not a party to the suit.

The injunction petition alleged that cab drivers for the Yellow Cab Company were refusing to drive patrons of the hotel from the railroad stations to the hotel and Byrd also asked for an injunction against these cab drivers. Chancellor Howard refused this and declared the court had no authority to grant such an injunction.

AFL Pamphlet Favors Negroes

A new pamphlet entitled "Pie in the Sky," with a large question mark, and termed "a challenge to the Negro worker," has just been issued by the Southern Policy Committee of the American Federation of Labor in an effort to counteract propaganda that the Negro is not wanted in A. F. of L. unions.

The A. F. of L. at the present has over 650,000 dues-paying Negro members, the pamphlet says, "the largest and best paid Negro membership in any labor organization in the world"

These Negro members "know the policy of the A. F. of L. to be of fine purpose and great accomplishments on behalf of Negro wage earners," it states, and adds:

"The cheap peddling of propaganda that the A. F. of L. discriminates against Negro workers is a false and lying campaign to deceive the unorganized Negro workers, and is an injury and set-back to that worker."

Prepared mainly by Negro members of the policy committee, the pamphlet says:

"We invite you to join our ranks of the over 7,000,000 paid-up A. F. of L. members, and offer you—not pie in the sky—but a hard fight shoulder to shoulder with all workers of whatever race or creed to improve the common lot of all."

Textile Union Hints Strikes in South

Leaders Reported Impatient at Slow Progress in Negotiations With Mills

By MARK TEMPLE

Officials of the Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, impatient with the slow progress being made in new wage negotiations with Southern mill operators, have thrown out a hint that things had better speed up "or else."

The Southern mills with very few exceptions have thus far resisted TWUA efforts to duplicate a general 10-cent hourly increase won from Northern firms, and Kenneth Douty, director of the union in Georgia, said Monday that only two cases have been referred for arbitration.

Under some of the existing contracts, Mr. Douty said, arbitration is called for when agreement cannot be reached, but in cases where there is no provision for arbitration other steps may be taken. These steps, he inferred, would include the filing of strike notices under the Smith-Connally Act, although he expressed the personal belief that the situation can be adjusted without resorting to strike.

Mr. Douty has the full backing of his boss, Emil Rieve, who is general president of the TWUA. Mr. Rieve for several days has been warning of possible direct action by the union. Mr. Rieve also says that arbitration will be invoked in all Southern contracts which contain provisions for this step, and other concerns will be asked to enter into arbitration voluntarily.

But if resistance continues and arbitration is refused, the TWUA president warned, strike votes will be taken and notices filed under the Smith-Connally Act in all recalcitrant mills.

"What happens after that is strictly the responsibility of the mill owners," Mr. Rieve was quoted as saying in the current issue of Textile Labor.

"The situation is not of our asking. Our demands are moderate, and we have proved most eloquently that where employers are reasonable, as they were in Northern cotton, woolen and worsted and synthetic yarns, collective bargaining with TWUA can resolve almost any difficulty."

Mr. Rieve charged Southern cotton manufacturers with "stalling" and said they are trying to re-establish the old North-South wage differential, virtually eliminated by TWUA in 1945.

THIRD TRIAL ORDERED

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 28.—(U.P.). Sandy Gagee, a Negro twice convicted of murder and sentenced to die for the September, 1944, slaying of a white man received new hope Tuesday when the Mississippi Supreme court reversed itself and ordered a third trial. Magee was convicted of slaying Ernest Conn, Utica, Miss., restaurant operator.

BOBB

"I think you're okay, miss, but I'm S

Bills Ask Change In Quo Warranto Protection Law

Thompson supporters headed by Representatives Gowen, of Glynn; Sabados, of Dougherty, and Harrison, of Jenkins, introduced a bill in the House Monday designed to remove Governor Talmadge's protection from quo warranto proceedings.

The bill would repeal an act which holds that the governor cannot be ordered by the courts to show cause why he holds office. The measure was referred to the state of the republic committee.

Senator Millican introduced a similar bill to repeal the act that protects the governor from quo warranto proceedings to test his title to office. The original act provided that every state official except the governor should be subject to quo warranto proceedings.

Ark. Democrat
Little Rock
1-29-47

Right to Work Bill Approved By Committee

Senate Group Favors Measure, 6 to 2, After Lengthy Debate.

After a two-hour heated debate before an audience of several hundred persons—predominantly union men—the Senate Labor Committee last night approved 6 to 2 a bill to penalize persons for violating the 1945 "freedom to work" act.

The bill, introduced by Sen. E. J. Butler, Forrest City, drew several hundred persons to the Hotel Marion ballroom for the committee hearing.

It provides fines ranging from $100 to $5,000 for anyone interfering with either union or non-union labor's right to work. The original measure was passed in 1945 and Senator Butler describes the bill as merely putting "teeth" in the law.

John L. Daggett, Marianna, general counsel and executive director of the Arkansas Free Enterprise Association, spoke better than a half hour in favor of the bill, while three representatives of organized labor, dividing up an hour's allotted time, spoke against it. They were: G. L. Grant, Ft. Smith, representative of the United Mine Workers; J. R. Wilson, El Dorado, chairman of a Railway Brotherhoods Joint Legislative Committee, and Tom Gentry, Little Rock city attorney.

Loudspeaker Brings Debate.

At the beginning of the hearing, there was a brief exchange between Committee Chairman John Mosby, Lepanto, and an unidentified union member in the rear of the room, over permitting the speakers to use the microphone for the addresses.

Chairman Mosby explained that the committee had set up its policy and intended to follow it. After Mr. Daggett had been speaking for several minutes, Sen. Jerry Screeton, a member of the committee and one of those voting for adoption of the bill, asked the chairman to change his mind.

Senator Mosby then put the question to a quite vote among the committee and Senator Screeton won. Mr. Daggett was then asked to come to the microphone and the room rang with applause of the union men.

It was the second time in less than a week in which Senators Mosby and Screeton have differed on the committee policies, although seeing eye to eye on legislation before it.

In his address Mr. Daggett described the measure as a mandate of the people and fair to both labor and management since "it would prohibit an employer from denying a job to anyone because of membership in, or resignation from, a labor union—or because of refusal to join one."

He said the question was simply that the "public policy of the state of Arkansas should be that each and every citizen within her boundaries be free to seek employment when, where, if and how they pleased, or whether or not under the basic and constitutional law the public policy of this state should be that as a condition of employment any free, white, black, yellow—any citizen of the state of Arkansas should be required to pay tribute in the form of money for the privilege of employment in a free America and under a free state constitution.

"Opposes Closed Shop".

Mr. Daggett said the issue was one of the most controversial at this time and "I am prepared to argue or debate the closed shop theory with any human being from 30 minutes to 30 days. I can find no defense for it in a free country."

The arguments of the union representatives were similar in the respect that they all charged the bill was an infringement against labor and an effort to prevent a closed shop.

Mr. Grant said the purpose of the "freedom to work" law was to enslave workers and enrich the employers."

"But neither it nor this bill would ever stand up in court. In fact the Arkansas Supreme Court has ruled that labor has a right to bargain collectively and strike collectively."

He charged that this act is a step back toward peonage, and added that the law would be taken to the court within 30 days.

Mr. Wilson said that if the Free Enterprise Inc., got by with this bill it would have four or five more in the next session.

Gentry, identifying himself as a champion of the underdog, described how labor had made its advance in the past half century.

There are towns of Xerxes [illegible] Kentucky, Alexanders [illegible]

SOUTHERN
PRESS [illegible] BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Atlanta Ga. Advertiser
January 31, 1947

in 1946, or will it be a [illegible] one of mankind's most persistent enemies?

I-10

Political Freedom At Stake

[illegible] Congress begins work on labor legislation, it is clear [illegible] primary duty must be the elimination of two of the worst existing abuses—the forcing of a man to pay tribute to a union before he can work, whether he desires the union's services or not; and the power of unions to levy a tax on their members for political and legislative purposes.

The case of C. B. DeMille versus the American Federation of Radio Artists, which is now making its way through the courts, exemplifies both these abuses.

The facts of the case are that Mr. DeMille was engaged in presenting a national radio program. Subsequent to the commencement of this program, AFRA had organized a closed shop in the profession, and Mr. DeMille joined the union because otherwise he would not have been permitted to work on the air. In 1944, the Board of Directors of AFRA assessed each member one dollar to finance a campaign in opposition to an anti-closed-shop proposition on the California ballot. Mr. DeMille favored the proposition and refused to pay the assessment. AFRA then expelled him, thus making it impossible for him to continue his radio work.

Mr. DeMille went to court. The Superior Court of Los Angeles County and, subsequently, the District Court of Appeal of California, held in favor of AFRA.

If higher courts agree with the lower courts in their interpretation of the questions of law involved, Congress must provide redress. What would happen to an industry if its management levied an assessment on the wages of workers to finance a political campaign for or against some measure? That is precisely what AFRA has done. And what would happen to an industry if a worker who refused to pay the assessment was discharged and blacklisted in his trade? Again, that is what AFRA has done. Here is dictatorship destroying political freedom.

Evening Star
Wash. D.C.
2-11-47

Virginia's Anti-Strike Law

Aimed at Public Utility Tieups, It Avoids Forced Arbitration, but Holds Penalties for Each Side

By Raymond P. Brandt

Chief Washington Correspondent, St. Louis Post Dispatch.

As a result of two threatened strikes in essential public utilities within six months, the Commonwealth of Virginia has on its statute books today a law forbidding work stoppages in water, light, gas, electric power, transportation and communication industries within the State.

Under the new law, which became effective January 28, the Governor is empowered to seize and operate any utility in which a labor dispute threatens "substantially to impair the safety or health of the citizens of Virginia."

Before such seizure, the Governor may try to bring about agreement between the utility management and its workers. If either side notifies the Governor that further negotiations would be fruitless, it is the Governor's duty to request both parties to submit their differences to arbitration. If this request is formally rejected, the party deciding to engage in a lockout or strike must fix a date for the work stoppage, which shall be not less than five weeks from the date of the notice. If any agreement is not reached during those five weeks, the State takes over the operation of the utility, while the disputants continue their negotiations. Compulsory arbitration is avoided.

Both sides would be penalized by the governmental operation. Fifteen per cent of the utility's net revenues during seizure would be used by the State to reimburse itself for the operation and the training and hiring of replacements for workers who refuse to work for the State; employes would receive the same pay during State operation as they received prior to the seizure, thus eliminating retroactive increases that might be attained by normal collective bargaining.

"Involuntary Servitude" Charged.

The law was overwhelmingly approved by the General Assembly last month. The House vote was 93 to 6, the Senate, 37 to 1. Organized labor bitterly opposed it, arguing that it was unconstitutional because it interfered with the right of contract and permitted involuntary servitude for at least five

"If the utility says that it is unable to pay a suggested wage, or to put into effect a proposed practice the Commission can determine whether these matters meet the requirement of reasonableness and if so, whether the corporation can adopt them without confiscating its property and prejudicing the investment in its assets. If these latter matters are feared, the tribunal has authority to increase rates to a point which will permit the utility to pay a just remuneration to its employes, render an adequate service to the public and obtain a reasonable return upon its investment. * * *

"A corporation proposing to embark or continue in the utility business will have notice of its obligations; for those now employed or may hereafter work for such a company will do so with the realization that they are in effect working for the public, and as the policeman and the fireman must surrender certain personal prerogatives as a price for public employment, so they too must subordinate some of the personal privileges which they might enjoy in private employment, as the price of entering or continuing in this public employment, being assured at all times that there is open to them an impartial public tribunal to which they can resort for the vindication of any fundamental right or the redress of any grievance of any unfair practice or treatment."

A Belief in Private Enterprise.

The majority report, signed by six councilors, rejected the Corporation Commission argument with these words:

"The setting of wage rates and the determining of working conditions are complicated matters and any body or person charged with setting same would consume a great deal of time. In addition, the pressure on such a body to set higher wages would be tremendous as would the pressure to keep them the same or perhaps to lower them. Also it was thought that since the period of State operation would be brief it would not be possible to hear the parties and decide the matter. Furthermore,

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The history of the law goes back to March when the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (AFL), threatened a strike against the Virginia Electric & Power Co. Gov. William M. Tuck made national news when he invoked an ancient colonial militia law to "draft" the workers. The strike was averted at the last minute, but Tuck started to find more modern authority for future action. In October, VEPCO management refused to abide by a National Labor Relations Board order certifying the IBEW as the bargaining representative for the foremen. The union successfully threatened a strike to force the company to accept the board's certification.

Two threats in one year were enough for Gov. Tuck, who thereupon requested the Virginia Advisory Legislative Council, composed of nine legislators, to report on two bills, one banning closed-shop contracts, the other designed to prevent public utility strikes until the State could seize and operate the utility. Both bills became law.

Of the nine councilors, eight favored public utility antistrike legislation, although they did not agree on details. One thought the Virginia Assembly should wait to see what Congress would do about labor relations.

Protection From a Minority.

The majority report said that the dominant thought of the proposed legislation was that "the public at large has the right to be protected from the acts of the minority insofar as the minority is not enslaved or their rights and liberties otherwise encroached upon. The rights and duties of the minority are coextensive with those of the majority."

The report continued:

"The theory of this bill is that the parties are encouraged to get together on their differences and the State will only step in when they fail to do so. The Council considered compulsory arbitration and enforcement of awards but these run into several difficulties, some Constitutional and others practical. Of course, purely voluntary arbitration is desirable and should be encouraged.

"It is believed that the period of State operation will be relatively short since the utility will have lost control of its property and the employes cannot obtain their demands until the management of the utility is again placed in charge of operation." One councilor agreed with six others on the need for a law, but thought the State Corporation Commission should be empowered to decide "what is a legitimate wage and what are proper methods of work and reasonable work-loads for the individual employe."

This, in a sense, would be compulsory arbitration and its advocate said: Commission argument with these words:

"The setting of wage rates and the determining of working conditions are complicated matters and any body or person charged with setting same would consume a great deal of time. In addition, the pressure on such a body to set higher wages would be tremendous as would the pressure to keep them the same or perhaps to lower them. Also it was thought that since the period of State operation would be brief it would not be possible to hear the parties and decide the matter. Furthermore, if a body such as the State Corporation Commission granted wage increases it would have to allow higher rates to the utility which might induce either the utility or labor to bring on State operation. Finally, the Council believes in private enterprise and has in mind the lessons taught in the recent war by activities of the Federal government in fixing wages."

The law, as enacted, prohibits any person or groups of persons from interfering with the State's operation, or encouraging such interference. This includes establishment of a picket line "near or adjacent" to any work conducted in the governmental operation.

The law also provides that when the representatives of the utility management shall notify the Governor in writing that the utility can and will resume normal operations, the Governor, after an investigation, shall restore the properties and facilities to the utility. Should the Governor refuse to do so within ten days, the utility is authorized to sue in any general chancery court in Richmond for such restoration.

Any person found guilty of violating this law can be fined not less than $10 and not more than $1,000 and may be imprisoned for not more than 12 months. Any utility or any union convicted of violating the law may be penalized up to $10,000 a day for each day of violation.

Tests of Law Under Way.

Three tests of the law are under way, according to Jack Kilpatrick, political writer for the Richmond News Leader, who writes:

"The most important of these lies in the negotiations now in progress between the IBEW and VEPCO on two separate contracts, one for 1850 production and maintenance men, the other for 180 foremen. The union filed with the Governor, February 4, formal notification of its request for contract changes. The other tests in prospect come from the Lynchburg Gas Corp., where the union-company contract has expired, and from Bristol, where a labor dispute has arisen in a motor freight company. While no official ruling has been made by the courts or the Attorney General, it is not generally believed that the law applies to the freight carrier in Bristol. While it is engaged in 'transportation,' as mentioned in the law, it is not regarded as operating in 'a vital public interest,' nor would a strike expose the citizens to 'dangers, peril, calamities or catastrophies' as mentioned in the law."

The IBEW's formal notification of requests for contract changes indicates that despite opposition to the legislation when it was proposed, organized labor will abide by its provisions and not strike—which is the objective of the law—for the desired changes.

Macon, Ga. Telegraph
February 15, 1947

Established 1826

210

Violence in Local Strikes

The serious wounding of a Negro employe of the Southern Crate and Veneer Company serves to emphasize that we have serious labor difficulties in our midst.

Workers at this plant and at a nearby tile factory have been on strike for some time. Not all of the employes struck, and there have been efforts to get both plants back in operation on a full-scale basis.

This has resulted in the usual situation where picketing employes have attempted to persuade others from going to their jobs.

Although there had been other incidents, relatively minor in nature, Wednesday night's assault, if indeed it is proved that the workman was shot by a striker who resented his loyalty to his employer, should have a sobering effect on all participants.

It is our belief that pickets have a perfect right to operate in the vicinity of a plant against which they have a real or imaginary grievance. But we think mass picketing, where force is used to prevent people who wish to do so from going to their work, is undemocratic and un-American.

The Telegraph hopes that the local officers who are assigned to the shooting case will work it out in all details and that every man who had anything to do with the incident will be brought to justice.

We know nothing about the leadership of the local strike, but it is common knowledge (among others who have said so was former Senator Robert M. LaFollette, a great friend of labor, in a recent magazine article) that the union involved is one of the principal nesting places for Communists who have bored into the CIO. This knowledge should serve as a flag of caution.

Meanwhile, we believe that the great majority of Macon people, including most responsible elements in the labor movement, back the action of the local law enforcement officers in doing everything they can to protect a citizen's right to go freely to and from his place of employment.

Sentiment goes even further, in our opinion, and demands that those who resort to violence be prosecuted for violating the law.

BILL T

Closed

BOOS, CHEERS MARK HEARING IN LEGISLATURE

House Chairman Forced to Take Stern Action.

DANIELS SPEAKS AGAINST

Charlotte Observer

Measure Would Outlaw 'Coercion' In Getting Or Retaining Employment.

2-20-47

RALEIGH, Feb. 19.—(AP)—Amid contrasting tempers of boos and cheers, the House committee on manufacturing and labor today heard proponents and opponents of a bill to outlaw the closed shop in North Carolina, in what observers called "one of the rowdiest legislative committee hearings on record."

The "boos" and sneers came after testimony by the Rev. F. T. Rose of Brevard on behalf of the bill, and were stopped only by constant pounding of the gavel by Representative R. L. Harris of Person, chairman of the committee.

Harris said: "If we have any more of that, the meeting will adjourn. Make up your minds; this committee will accord each side the right to speak."

Rose said, "I come to you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to speak for this anticlosed shop bill

THE CHARLO

BOOS, CHEERS MARK HEARING

Rowdiness Develops as Closed Shop Ban Measure Is Debated at Raleigh.

STARTS ON PAGE ONE.

behalf of his bill, said it was "an idea which originated with me in the South Pacific aboard the aircraft carrier Bennington."

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

He said, "There is nothing more fundamental to every citizen than the right to happiness and the right to work when he sees fit," adding that "Our forefathers came to America to start a new life of liberty and freedom and fought to defend those rights."

Scott said he had the highest admiration for labor unions. "I realize that they have advanced, and have been the chief agent in obtaining higher wages and better working conditions for workers—but a closed shop is against all our principles of freedom."

Henry Benoit, a laundry and drycleaning operator from Charlotte, and chairman of the legislative committee for the laundry and drycleaning business in North Carolina, said the bill "would protect every individual's right to work." He added that the closed shop "is a denial of our rights laid out in the Constitution."

Andrew Joyner, Greensboro lawyer, said the closed shop is a threat to freedom of industry, and introduced a string of laborers, who told of their experiences with labor unions, and urged that the committee pass the bill.

These included: Paul Leach, James E. Dunmon, Jessie Bunting, James S. Albert, C. A. Roddy, L. R. Herbin of Greensboro; George W. Carter, E. L. Scott of Kinston; J. B. Brewer of Rocky Mount; H. M. Cranford of Trinity; and V. B. Stanly of High Point.

LEADS OPPOSITION

of Brevard on behalf of the bill, and were stopped only by constant pounding of the gavel by Representative R. L. Harris of Person, chairman of the committee.

Harris said: "If we have any more of that, the meeting will adjourn. Make up your minds; this committee will accord each side the right to speak."

Rose said, "I come to you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to speak for this anticlosed shop bill. I am a conscientious objector to being forced to join something undemocratic and un-Christian."

He shouted that "Never in the 11 years that I have been a child of God nor in the three years I have been a preacher, have I been forcd to sign on a dotted line for labor dictators."

DANIELS APPLAUDED

Loud applause, ringing in the gallaries, came later when Josephus Daniels, editor and publisher of The Raleigh News and Observer, spoke against the bill, saying: "I am an employer who has operated under the closed shop for many years with nothing but good results.

"Any man who thinks he can regulate labor unions, just as soon push back the ocean," Daniels said, adding "it cannot be done."

He said the bill was "conceived in secrecy and came from an association that wants to destroy labor unions—not from dissatisfied unions themselves."

"The proposed bill would throw a firebrand into every industry in this State. North Carolina has been comparatively free from strikes, and nearly always, disagreements have been settled peacefully through collective bargaining.

"If you gentlemen pass this bill, you will have destroyed the right of men to collective bargaining . . . You will have stabbed labor in the back," Daniels concluded.

NO ACTION TAKEN.

Sixteen proponents and 14 opponents spoke at the hearing, which was held in the hall of the House and attended by around 600 people. The hearing lasted over two hours.

The committee took no action today.

The bill, introduced by three young war veterans—Representatives Leroy Scott of Beaufort, Clarence Hathaway of Gates and Charles B. Martin of Martin—would prohibit contracts or combinations which require membership in labor unions, organizations or associations as a condition of employment or continuation of employment.

It also provides that a person would not be required by an employer to refrain from joining or remaining in a union. By appropriate action in courts of the State, a person denied employment or continuation of employment for any such reasons would be entitled to recover from his employer such damages as were sustained by reason of such denial or deprivation.

Representative Scott, speaking on

(See BOOS, Page 2, Col. 2).

BOOS, CHEERS MARK HEARING

Rowdiness Develops as Closed Shop Ban Measure Is Debated at Raleigh.

STARTS ON PAGE ONE.

behalf of his bill, said it was "an idea which originated with me in the South Pacific aboard the aircraft carrier Bennington."

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

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LEADS OPPOSITION

Opposition leader was C. A. Fink of Salisbury, president of the N. C. Federation of Labor.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, president of the Greater University of North Carolina and a former member of the War Labor board, also opposed the bill, saying: "We must not use our powers of government to forbid the freedoms of contract and collective bargaining."

He said "as part of our great tradition of freedom, I would hate to see the people of this State denied the right to bargaining which is the pride of industrial enterprise in America."

Capus Waynick of Raleigh told the committee that "for this general assembly to enact this bill and go on record as unfriendly to unions, which have raised the weekly pay of workers from $13 to several times that amount, would be an attack upon the principle of organization itself."

R. R. Lawrence, a representative of the Textile Workers Union of America, said "passage and application of this bill would create more chaos than we have witnessed in our lifetime. The Communist party thrives on this thing." He added that the bill is more than an anti-closed shop bill. "It is anti-maintenance of membership, anti-checkall, and anti-a lot of other things."

SIMS' REMARK.

After J. H. Jackson of Greensboro, a representative of the Federation of Shopcrafts, spoke, telling of his son's war services; Representative Frank Sims of Mecklenburg rose and said:

"I came to this hearing to hear an intelligent presentation of this bill. I did not come to hear irrevelant remarks about somebody's son."

Again Chairman Harris pounded the gavel, ruled Sims' observation out of order, and the committee proceeded to hear these other opponents of the bill:

J. E. Bumberger, chairman of the legislative committee of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; the Rev. Ben Moore, representing High Point-Thomasville furniture and textile workers; James Tucker, Durham Negro, and representive of a tobacco workers union; Hugh Thompson, Negro lawyer of Durham; and E. B. Jeffress, part-owner of The Greensboro Daily News, who represented the Typographical union of Greensboro.

Journal 2-21-[illegible]

CIO Affected Little By Bill, Leader Says

Has No Closed Shop in State Nor Compulsory Check-Off, Gillman Claims

Charles H. Gillman, state director of the CIO, gave recognition Friday to statements of some legislators that pending antilabor legislation is aimed principally at his organization, but added that "the truth is" that CIO would be affected but little if any.

"We have not one closed shop in this state," Mr. Gillman said, "and we have but one union shop. We have no union contracts which make it compulsory that a person be a member of the CIO in order to obtain or hold a job."

The CIO leader said also that his union has no contracts in Georgia calling for the compulsory check-off of union dues, a feature which one of the pending bills is aiming at, and added that economic progress cannot be prevented by restrictive legislation "and the CIO is concerned primarily with economic progress."

Advancement of the welfare of the laboring people and the small farmer is the chief concern of the CIO, Mr. Gillman said. The corporation farmers and industrialists, he declared, "have shown that they are fully capable of taking care of themselves."

Mr. Gillman referred to the Southern organizing campaign of CIO and said employers and others who are fighting that program are largely responsible for the introduction of the antilabor legislation in this state.

"Their plan was retaliation, but in their eagerness to hurt the CIO they failed to take the trouble to find out if the CIO was going to be affected by their legislation," he said.

Minimum Wages

"Many of the sponsors of this antiunion legislation, it will be noted, are employers, or represent employers, who pay their employes the very minimum wages allowed by law—40 cents per hour. And wages of $16 per week won't bring very much prosperity to any community."

"And it is worth noting here," he said, "that one of the chief sponsors of the antilabor legislation helped block a move to bring to his community an industry that pays high wages.

"Could it be that those who fight labor wish to keep Georgia poor on the theory that it is easy to politically control those who are economically insecure? There is considerable evidence that this may be true."

Closed Shop Ban Carries, 157 to 28, in Georgia House

Atlanta Constitution

2/26/47

By M. L. ST. JOHN

By the overwhelming count of 157 to 28 the House of Representatives Tuesday voted to outlaw closed shops in Georgia. It also passed, 146 to 16, a measure banning mass picketing.

The House measures are identical with bills passed unanimously last week by the Senate. The House bills will be sent to the Senate, where approval is anticipated earlier than House action on the Senate bill, which is now before an unfriendly House Industrial Relations Committee.

The anti-mass picketing bill was approved by the House without debate, after an all-day argument over the closed shop.

Before approving the anti-closed shop bill, the House shouted down a substitute offered by Reps. Stafford Brooke and William Britton, of Whitfield County, which would "give all Georgians the right to work and the right to make contracts to work." It also defeated amendments to exempt from provisions of the bill Whitfield and Spalding Counties.

In the final speech for the bill, Rep. Frank Twitty, of Mitchell County, said Georgia laborers are not fighting this bill. He said the bill is being fought by union officials, who don't want to see their political slush fund ended.

Rep. Cicero Kendrick, of Fulton County, Editor of the Journal of Labor, lashed the bill as "born in Texas and designed to crush the buying power of the masses of poor workers for the benefit of the greedy, wealthy few." He said it was sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers and that it will lead to rags, starvation and hatred.

Rep. Herbert Skinner, of Chatham County, President of the Savannah Federation of Trades, opposed the bills. He declared they would drag down the union members' standard of living, rather than pull up the standard of non-union members.

Skinner praised labor's part in the war, stating American labor's production record helped win the war. Declaring there was no conflict between labor and veterans, Skinner said laborers worked long hours in temporary housing setups to get guns and ammunition and planes to their own relatives on the battlefronts. He said that the Christian American Organization in Texas is misleading the Farm Bureau into fighting labor.

A member of a labor union, Rep. S. N. Cox, Sr., from Decatur County, indorsed the anti-closed shop bill. He cited instances during the war in which labor organizers abused their power.

Cox said a New Jersey contractor came to Bainbridge to build an air base. He couldn't find union labor there, so he hired 350 Georgia farmers as carpenters. Employer and employees were happy, but a union organizer from Dothan, Ala., came in and declared the farmers must pay $50 to join a union or get out, Cox continued. The firm, under contract to use union labor anywhere it went, was subjected to a big fine. It cancelled its Bainbridge project rather than pay it, Cox said.

Cox said he holds a card in the Electricians' Union, and still believes in organization, but he feels the unions are going too far when they tell a man he can't work unless he joins a union.

Rep. Adie Durden, of Dougherty, said he didn't think Georgia labor has done anything to deserve punitive legislation. He supported the anti-closed shop bill, however, because he did not consider it punitive.

Fighting the bill was Rep. M. G. Hicks, of Floyd County, who said the only reason wage standards in Georgia have been raised is because labor has been able to bargain collectively. He observed that the only States passing anti-closed shop laws are Southern States, and asked "When is the South going to quit fighting the Civil War?"

Rep. George Ramsey, of Stephens County, supporting the bill, said servicemen were disgusted to read of strikes at home while they fought in enemy territory. He recalled that his pay as a captain was not as great as the mess boy received on a ship manned by Merchant Seamen.

Rep. Robert Addleton, of Spalding County, said the bill was aimed directly at the textile mill workers in Georgia. He saw chaos for Georgia if labor unions should retaliate for passage of this bill. Rep. Stafford Brooke, of Whitfield, said passage of the bill would take away from the boys and girls of Georgia the benefits of better wages unions have brought to his County.

Shortages of materials today are due to labor strikes, Rep. Henry Ellis, of Coffee County, observed.

Rep. Harris, of Person, Chairman of the Manufacturing and Labor Committee which approved the bill and Rep. Scott of Beaufort, one of the bill's introducers. The measure now goes to the Senate where the State Labor leaders plan to carry on their opposition.

Oppose Soft Drink Tax

Opposition to a proposed soft drink tax was heard by the House

Teachers' Pay Increase In Appropriations Bill

The State Senate Appropriations Committee moved to guarantee Georgia teachers and bus drivers a continuation of their 50 percent salary increase Tuesday when it transferred allotments for this purpose from the contingency section to the regular portion of the General Assembly's pending appropriations bill.

This change, made in executive session, increases the regular appropriations bill to some $94,000,000. It leaves approximately $22,000,000 in the contingency section.

The contingency section provides for expanded State services if revenue is raised.

Action on the teachers' allotment was taken by the Committee as it continued a series of sessions on the appropriations measure. Another meeting will be held this afternoon to continue this work.

Before going into executive session, the Committee heard talks by Roy V. Harris, former House Speaker, of Augusta, and James S. Peters, of Manchester, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. Both are powerful lieutenants of Gov. Herman Talmadge.

Harris explained he spoke for himself and not for Talmadge. However, he repeated a contention of Talmadge the appropriations bill should be passed by the Senate as rapidly as possible.

The former House Speaker admitted the possibility no new revenue measures may be enacted by the General Assembly.

If this possibility occurs, Harris continued, an extra session of the Legislature might be necessary. He urged passage of the appropriations bill in order to clear legislative decks of any routine work so the few remaining weeks may be devoted to consideration of ways and means to finance these new services.

Harris also said it will be impossible to raise funds for every item in the contingency section of the appropriations bill. He urged the consideration of "first things first."

He warned against too hurried consideration of a $2,000,000 fund to increase the pay of school bus drivers, pointing out that heretofore the State has contributed no money toward the payment of these drivers. Harris suggested close study of a formula for paying these drivers.

The $2,000,000 sum was included in the amount transferred by the Committee from the contingent to the regular appropriations proposal.

Peters urged the passage of the appropriations measure, and in contradiction to Harris, said he believed Georgia could raise all funds required in the bill.

Both Harris and Peters, however, took a dim view of the $5,000,000 provided as an annual expenditure for new buildings for the University System. This item is in the contingency section. Both men indicated this should come last.

Merchant Seamen.

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Shortages of materials today are due to labor strikes, Rep. Henry Ellis, of Coffee County, observed.

Oppose Soft Drink Tax

Opposition to a proposed soft drink tax was heard by the House Ways and Means Committee Tuesday, and action was delayed until a further public hearing next Monday.

Bottlers and soda fount operators appeared in opposition of a measure which would impose a $1 per gallon wholesale tax and a retail tax of one cent for each drink selling at 10 cents or less.

The Committee voted to bring out a bill taxing airplane gasoline for a second reading, and then recommit it for a public hearing in committee. The bill would impose a tax of four cents per gallon on all gasoline sold in Georgia for aviation use. This is less than the six cents a gallon tax on gasoline sold to motorists. The difference would be to care for Georgia-purchased gasoline which would be used in inter-state commerce by major airlines.

The Committee favored passage of a measure to give State delinquent tax collectors more power. It also favored a bill that would place a three-year limitation on the time the State Income Tax Division can inspect books to determine whether errors have been made in tax returns.

North Carolina House Votes to Ban Closed Shop

RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 25—(INS)—A bill to ban the closed shop was passed by the North Carolina House Tuesday by an overwhelming voice vote after nearly four hours of debate. An attempt by Rep. Hayes to submit the proposal to a referendum of the people was voted down.

Leading the fight against the bill were Reps. Uzzell of Rowan, Royster, of Vance, and Hayes. Speaking for the measure were Rep. Harris, of Person, Chairman of the Manufacturing and Labor Committee which approved the bill and Rep. Scott of Beaufort, one of the bill's introducers. The measure now goes to the Senate where the State Labor leaders plan to carry on their opposition.

News & Obs.
3-5-47

SERVER, RALEIGH, N. C., WEDNESDAY

No Racketeers Wanted

North Carolina, which was fully enlisted to end Fascism and Nazism in the World War, is equally resolved that those festering creeds shall not be replaced by Communism. The dictation by a greedy proletariat is as objectionable as dictation by the totalitarians. Neither can grow on Tar Heel soil.

There are two dangerous forces seeking domination in this country. One is that class of employers who take their tip from Tom Girdler, the steel magnate, who hates unions and says before he would have any dealings with them he would go to "digging potatoes." The other is incarnated in John L. Lewis, whose rule-or-ruin policy would destroy real democracy and collective bargaining in peace. He desires "collective bludgeoning." Both are alien to North Carolina thought and action.

Discussing the anti-labor bill, miscalled "anti-open shop" bill, that has to run the gauntlet of Senate consideration, Oscar Coffin, professor of journalism at the University of North Carolina and former editor of *The Raleigh Times*, in an article in *The Greensboro News* makes an unanswerable argument against the enactment of the proposed legislation "to put labor in its place." He recalls that he voted to increase the compensation of legislators "with the belief that they should be accepted as laborers worthy of their hire." He regretted defeat of the proposal, but now says: "I am wondering if a Legislature which would pass an anti-closed shop bill rates a raise in increment," and adds:

Indeed, I wish I thought 10 per cent of those members of the House so gal-

unanswerable argument against the enactment of the proposed legislation "to put labor in its place." He recalls that he voted to increase the compensation of legislators "with the belief that they should be accepted as laborers worthy of their hire." He regretted defeat of the proposal, but now says: "I am wondering if a Legislature which would pass an anti-closed shop bill rates a raise in increment," and adds:

Indeed, I wish I thought 10 per cent of those members of the House so gallantly brushing angels aside to pin back the ears of labor had ever read a union contract.

They speak of a desire to make labor responsible. To this I cheerfully, even fervently, assent; and that's why I wish some of the members of the Senate who are so avidly awaiting the opportunity to help rush the House bill through on its readings could be induced to sit down and take a look at what the Greensboro local of the International Typographical Union and the Greensboro News Company signed when they entered into their current working agreement.

Then, if they think such an agreement should be outlawed, we'll shut up for the time being and let them proceed in the ranks of the punitive expedition led by the National Association of Manufacturers.

And speaking of closed shops, if something must be done about them, why not devote a bit of attention to that closed shop operated by the growers of flue-cured tobacco in these parts? Or for that matter to the closed shop of the North Carolina Bar, Inc.? Who can exercise his right to plant an acre of tobacco without the consent of the tobacco closed-shoppers? Who may represent a client in court without having first submitted to the check-off contrived by the legal profession?

I am not more tender of labor racketeers than of any other sort of public enemies, but deliverance therefrom does not lie in denying the right of a labor union to set up on its own premises the same sort of ground rules enforced by scores of other organizations of Americans who are still subject to the law of the land.

Too, some of those so determined to avoid the Charybdis of Communism might do well first to ascertain if they are clear of the Scylla of Fascism.

The bill to which Mr. Coffin refers has already passed the House. It is an alien importation of the National Association of Manufacturers. The effect of its passage by the Senate would be to replace ill will for for the good will which has almost uniformly prevailed in labor-management relations in North Carolina.

SOUTHERN
PRESS BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
ORDER NUMBER
This Clipping from
Charleston, S. C. News-Courier
April 18, 1947

... the Madcap Spring the week before the festival is the place where "every prospect pleases". Completion of the quotation is out of order.

Cannot Win the South

Authorities of the C. I. O. announce that they will organize for political action in wards, precincts, townships, counties. They will organize from the bottom upward.

To do that is their right. No one will hinder them.

If in South Carolina, in Southern states, they shall undertake this, they will oppose what is still called the "Democratic" party. It might lead to conversion of Southern states into two party states.

The Southern Democrats in the congress of the United States are reported every day as working with the Republicans in pressing bills which "labor" leaders denounce as aimed to destroy organized labor.

Separate organization for political action of white and colored laborers in the South manifestly would be hopeless. It would be for the C. I. O. to throw up the sponge at the start.

The white wage earners in the Carolinas and Georgia, of whom the very great maority are textile employes, will not join a party of white and negro composition. The cotton mill people know that to cooperate politically with negroes would soon or late—and that right soon—open the doors of the spinning and weaving rooms to negroes and the cottages in the villages to negro dwellers.

Management of cotton mills does not wish negroes in the mills. That is certain.

Were negroes admitted to them management would have a new and immense supply of labor. In the South are millions of negroes who could spin and weave.

If the white textile workers should combine with the C. I. O. in political action, they would thereby invite competition of negroes and consequent lowering of their wages.

If, as C. I. O. politicians seem to believe and say, management is selfish and avaricious, they would play into the hands of management by leading and assisting negroes to break into the Southern cotton mill industry.

Whether or not there ought to be race division in the South's industry, the division is. It will stay.

A C. I. O. party will not win in the South. The politicians now in office know the side on which their bread is buttered.

POLICY OF THE MACON NEWS

News reporting in this newspaper shall be accurate and fair, editorial expression shall be always independent, outspoken and conscientious.

Entered at Post Office at Macon, Ga., as Second Class Mail Matter.

Wage Differentials

Macon News
Apr. 24, 1947

It is worthy of special note that the new wage contract between the United Steelworkers and the U. S. Steel Corporation provides for a reduction of the Southern pay differential.

This differential ought to be wholly abolished. It is something, however, that a great corporation in a basic industry has consented to reduce it, because reduction is a first step toward doing away with it altogether.

We doubt that there is much difference between the cost of living in the South and other sections of the country. But conceding that there is, we have never been able to understand the assumption that industry, and not the Southern worker, should have the benefit of the difference.

Business does not measure its profits by the cost of living, and attempt to hold down its gains to a bare subsistence level. It tries to make all it can, availing itself of every legitimate advantage—in some cases, not concerning itself too scrupulously over the question of legitimacy.

The same measure should be applied to labor. It should be accorded the benefit of every advantage it possesses to increase its own earnings. If Southern labor can live more cheaply than Northern labor, it is entitled to the benefit of that advantage. We can perceive no reason why that fact should be used to swell the profits of industry and depress the profits of labor.

Strangely enough, the South itself has done a good deal to advance the view that Southern wages should be low. Individuals, trade bodies and civic organizations in the South have held out as an inducement to outside capital to invest in this section the fact that Southern labor is cheap.

These unthinking citizens have been aided and abetted in this endeavor by Southern industrialists who have wanted, for their own selfish purposes, to keep wages on a low level.

Labor in the South is cheap and a good many Southerners have done all they can to keep it so. They boast about it, cite it as a great advantage and oppose the unionization of labor for the reason that the unions want to raise wages.

It is a mistaken notion that cheap labor is an index of prosperity. The reverse is true. The more money the workers have, the more they spend. Keeping them poor retards the general prosperity. Poverty of a part of the population never helps the upper crust; it tends to reduce everybody to its own level.

There is no excuse for a Southern wage differential. And the sooner everybody in this section realizes that fact and begins to holler about it, the better it will be for the entire South. It ought to be a Southern slogan that labor in the South is worth exactly as much as the same labor anywhere else.

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UNION NEWS SERVICE

Congress of Industrial Organizations

President, PHILIP MURRAY; Secretary-Treasurer, JAMES B. CAREY; Vice-Presidents, L. S. BUCKMASTER, JOSEPH CURRAN, ALBERT FITZGERALD, JOHN GREEN, ALLAN S. HAYWOOD, WALTER P. REUTHER, EMIL RIEVE, FRANK ROSENBLUM, R. J. THOMAS; Publicity Director and Editor, LEN DE CAUX

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LOOKING AHEAD

BY LEN DE CAUX

IT CAME as a surprise to most radio listeners to learn how painfully sensitive an NBC vice president can be.

Millions of radios were made to observe a period of silent tribute to the wounded dignity of the radio moguls, when comedians Allen, Hope and Skelton attempted to twit them.

It was a lesson to the common herd to show more respect to corporation executives and the way they make their living. After all, something should be sacred in this frivolous world!

★ ★ ★

WE OF the common herd tend to be rather brazen about our wages. We don't even blush when every detail about them, down to the last half-cent, is spread all over the papers.

So, perhaps we don't appreciate the delicacy of feeling of the captain of industry who tries to keep such vulgar details a secret—even from the income tax people at times.

★ ★ ★

OF COURSE, once a year the government is so lacking in refinement as to expose the salaries of industrial big-shots—and we can think we know how many hundred thousands our bigger bosses make.

But there's where we get fooled. For salaries are only so much cheese to the corporation upper-crust.

Concealed in corporation reports are all sorts of perquisites that go with their jobs (fringe issues, if you please), such as bonuses, options for stock purchase, pensions, profit-sharing, etc.

And what they get from their directorships of other companies, and from their many investments, is none of our business, they think.

As each company reports its earnings for the first quarter, its directors are so embarrassed they almost hate to mention them.

(During the war, total corporate profits after taxes rose to a record annual average of 9½ billions. But in 1946, they jumped to $12 billions, and this year they are coming in at the annual rate of $17 billions.)

★ ★ ★

SO WHAT'S all the embarrassment about, we of the common herd may wonder.

If a corporation is embarrassed because its profits are so high, it can easily reduce them by increasing the wages of its employes and lowering the prices of its products.

But that is just what the corporations don't want to do. In fact, the chief source of their embarrassment is that folks may draw this rather obvious conclusion.

One of the business sheets explains that the present enormous profits are embarrassing because they show up "price profiteering" and give the unions new arguments for wage increases.

★ ★ ★

IT SEEMS big business wants everybody to share its embarrassment—in different ways.

While it's embarrassed with too much money, it wants the workers to be embarrassed with too little, and the general consuming public to be embarrassed by too high prices.

(Retail prices of consumers' goods, rents and services advanced by about 2% between mid-February and mid-March to an all-time high, according to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics).

★ ★ ★

IN FACT, big business seems

CIO OPENS UNITY TALKS ON MAY 1

DISCUSSIONS on unified action and the possibility of eventual merger between CIO and AFL will be undertaken Thursday, May 1, by five-man committees representing each of the two organizations.

In the latest interchange of correspondence between the heads of the two labor groups, Murray explained that a meeting on April 24—as proposed earlier last week by AFL Pres. Green—was impossible because a number of CIO representatives were engaged "in important wage scale negotiations."

Murray suggested the Statler Hotel in Washington or some suitable place as a site for the discussions.

The AFL's invitation was an outgrowth of a letter sent on Dec. 6, 1946 by Murray to Green, Pres. A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Pres. Thomas C. Cashen of the Railway Labor Executives Assn.

In that letter, Murray pointed to the fact that a "deliberate and monstrous movement" is under way to cripple the American labor movement. He called for unified action by the various labor groups as "imperative and of vital importance" to halt the anti-labor drive in Congress.

The AFL replied in the latter part of January with a suggestion that only a discussion of complete merger would be feasible. In a second letter, on Feb. 18, Murray sounded a warning that no "words or cliches" should prevail.

Murray and Presidents Albert J. Fitzgerald, electrical workers; Walter Reuther, auto; Emil Rieve, textile; and Jacob Potofsky, clothing.

The AFL committee consists of Green, Sec.-Treas. George Meany, and Presidents John Lewis of the miners, William Hutcheson of the carpenters, and Dan Tobin of the teamsters.

HOUSING BILL FACES FIGHT

THE Taft-Wagner-Ellender long-range housing bill faces a hard battle in the Senate and even stiffer opposition in the House.

Approved last week by a 7-6 vote of the Senate Banking Committee, the bill (S. 866) has been placed on the Senate calendar to follow the anti-labor legislation and other pending matters.

Sen. Taft (R., O.), a sponsor of the bill, has been attacked by the real estate lobby as a "socialist" for his endorsement of the proposals, which public housing experts call the only possible method of getting construction of homes for low-income families.

The bill squeaked through committee. The deciding vote, from Sen. Maybank (D., S. C.), came in the form of a proxy phoned in from Annapolis, Md. Others supporting the measure were two Republicans—Tobey (R., N. H.) and Flander (R., Vt.); plus five Democrats — Maybank, Taylor (Ida.), Wagner (N. Y.), Sparkman (Ala.) and Fulbright, (Ark).

CRUCIAL WEEK IN SENATE

THIS is the crucial week for organized labor in the U. S. Senate. On top the agenda is the Taft Bill to curb labor's freedom.

The bill (S. 1126) is scheduled for considerable debate, with a vote expected in the first part of May.

From every indication, the bill will pass the Senate. The question will be the size of the liberal opposition to the Taft-Ball proposals to hamstring unions. A maximum of 33 votes will be needed to uphold a veto if Pres. Truman refuses to sign the measure.

The Hartley bill (HR 3020), an even stronger bill than the Senate version, has already passed the House. If and when the Taft bill is approved by the Senate, a joint conference committee of the House and Senate will work out a compromise measure. Once that joint effort is approved in House and Senate, the bill will go to the White House—probably about the middle of May.

PARLIAMENTARY fireworks on the Senate bill, approved 11-2 by the Labor Committee, opened april 23 with an oratorical display by Sen. Robert Taft (R. Ohio).

"It is not an anti-labor bill," Taft declared, with a fine disregard for the facts.

Continuing his fiction - like speech, the Ohio Senator said: "It is not a bill inspired by a desire to wreak vengeance on anyone because of what he may have done. It simply proposes to deal with the causes of labor trouble and the injustices and inequalities of the present law."

BUT a Senate Labor Committee three-man minority flatly contradicted the conservative Ohio would-be Presidential candidate.

In a joint statement Senators Pepper, Murray and Thomas (Utah) attacked the fundamental basis of the Taft anti-union proposals.

"In the name of 'fairness,' many of them would give more to those who have, and less to those who have not," the Senators declared. "In the name of 'equality' they would increase maldistribution of wealth; masquerading as protesters against monopoly, they would weaken the remaining barrier to concentration of industrial power."

While some of the very worst of the provisions were removed from the Taft bill in the Senate, it still is a disastrous measure, far worse for workers than the Case Bill which Pres. Truman vetoed a year ago.

Taft, preparing to write in a group of toughening amendments on the Senate floor, announced he had won the support of two reactionary Southern Democrats —Byrd (Va.) and George (Ga.)— to support amendments giving injunction powers to employers and placing greater restrictions on union welfare funds.

Meanwhile Sen. Joseph Ball (R. Minn.) will probably seek support for an amendment to outlaw industry-wide bargaining —one of the principal sections removed from the bill in committee.

Other reactionaries will also try to make the Taft bill a close facsimile of the House-approved Hartley proposal.

Soap Profits Doubled

Profits of the Colgate-Palmolive-Peet Co. in 1946 have almost doubled those of the previous year.

Pres. E. H. Little, in his annual report to stockholders, said the company's net income in 1946 was $14,443,835 or $7.14 a common share, compared with $7,036,054, or $3.34 a share for 1945. The company made its record profits despite a continuing scarcity of the principal raw materials for soap.

Savings Drop; Truman Warns of Crash

HIGH prices have contributed to a 42 per cent drop in savings from $35 billion in 1945 to $19 billion in 1946, the Dept. of Commerce

may try to have it written into controls were taken off and they have continued to rise."

THE latest government reports show that prices reached a new record as of March 15

man to Sen. R. A. Taft, who was urged to investigate who gains most from inflated prices.

The survey, made by Textile Research Director Solomon Barkin showed that "the total

But there's where we get fooled. For salaries are only so much cheese to the corporation uppercrust.

Concealed in corporation reports are all sorts of perquisites that go with their jobs (fringe issues, if you please), such as bonuses, options for stock purchase, pensions, profit-sharing, etc.

And what they get from their directorships of other companies, and from their many investments, is none of our business, they think.

★ ★ ★

THE ABOVE may help to explain the embarrassment which big businessmen are reported to be suffering at the present time.

Maybe you and I wouldn't be embarrassed if a few cool millions of dollars were suddenly deposited in our savings accounts.

But that's just because we don't have the sensitivity and delicacy of those born and bred to bear the embarrassment of riches with blushing and retiring dignity.

★ ★ ★

THIS YEAR every financial sheet is bewailing the fact that corporation profits are "embarrassingly high."

much money, it wants the workers to be embarrassed with too little, and the general consuming public to be embarrassed by too high prices.

(Retail prices of consumers' goods, rents and services advanced by about 2% between mid-February and mid-March to an all-time high, according to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics).

★ ★ ★

IN FACT, big business seems rather to enjoy the general embarrassment, and the thrill of teetering on the edge of another depression.

It gets annoyed at any proposals for raising wages and lowering prices. It prefers to accumulate more and more unsold goods in its warehouses, rather than to sell them at prices people can pay.

And it's pushing a compliant Congress into destroying the labor movement, the one force capable of relieving all this embarrassment.

Maybe this will explain why radio comedians are cut off the air at the first faint crack about corporation big-shots. There's so much more they might crack wise about!

to the fact that a deliberate and monstrous movement" is under way to cripple the American labor movement. He called for unified action by the various labor groups as "imperative and of vital importance" to halt the anti-labor drive in Congress.

The AFL replied in the latter part of January with a suggestion that only a discussion of complete merger would be feasible. In a second letter, on Feb. 18, Murray sounded a warning that no "words or cliches" should prevent labor from making immediate action against legislative dangers.

SEVERAL weeks later, in early March, Murray said that the CIO united action committee awaits word from the AFL as to the date and place for an early meeting.

"It is inconceivable that once we meet we would not, in the face of the stark, pressing danger confronting American labor, determine upon immediate protective measures in addition to engaging in a discussion for the achievement of organic unity," Murray wrote.

Members of the CIO committee

of getting construction of homes for low-income families.

The bill squeaked through committee. The deciding vote, from Sen. Maybank (D., S. C.), came in the form of a proxy phoned in from Annapolis, Md. Others supporting the measure were two Republicans—Tobey (R., N. H.) and Flander (R., Vt.); plus five Democrats — Maybank, Taylor (Ida.), Wagner (N. Y.), Sparkman (Ala.) and Fulbright, (Ark).

"It is not an anti-labor bill," Taft declared, with a fine disregard for the facts.

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$3.34 a share for 1945. The company made its record profits despite a continuing scarcity of the principal raw materials for soap.

N. C. VICTORY

TWO labor-endorsed alderman candidates, one of them the first Negro to gain such a post since 1900, were nominated this week at Winston-Salem, N. C., in the city Democratic primary.

The election shook this monopoly-ridden city to its political roots and provided a nationally significant triumph for the newly-formed United Labor Committee of Forsyth County.

The ULC, composed of CIO, AFL and independent union representatives, formally endorsed the Rev. Kenneth Williams, progressive Negro minister, and two other aldermanic candidates.

Williams, running in a predominantly working-class ward, defeated five opponents. His vote almost equalled the total combined votes of the other candidates.

Nomination in the Democratic primary here is virtually equivalent to election.

Also nominated with labor support was Alderman Candidate Fred C. Denny.

Savings Drop; Truman Warns of Crash

HIGH prices have contributed to a 42 per cent drop in savings from $35 billion in 1945 to $19 billion in 1946, the Dept. of Commerce announced this week.

The announcement was followed by a statement from Pres. Truman, speaking to business, that prices must be brought down.

Declaring that "profits in the aggregate are breaking all records," Truman said:

"There is one sure formula for bringing on a recession or a depression. That is to maintain excessively high prices. Buying stops; production drops, unemployment sets in; prices collapse; profits vanish; businessmen fail."

Truman criticized by indirection the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, which predicted that when price controls were removed, prices would drop.

"This has not taken place," the President declared. "On the contrary, prices rose sharply after may try to have it written into controls were taken off and they have continued to rise."

THE latest government reports show that prices reached a new record as of March 15, climbing 2 per cent in a month. The Bureau of Labor Statistics said prices then were more than 58 per cent above those of August 1939.

Despite wide publicity given the current "Newburyport plan" for cutting prices, Pres. Earl Bunting of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers openly predicted that prices will rise even higher. He claimed that despite hugh profits, business could not absorb wage increases.

But new facts this week came to light to support CIO's general contention that price increases have far outstripped amounts necessary to offset wage increases.

A detailed analysis of the cost of making a shirt was submitted by CIO Textile Workers Washington representative John Edelman to Sen. R. A. Taft, who was urged to investigate who gains most from inflated prices.

The survey, made by Textile Research Director Solomon Barkin, showed that "the total labor cost of making sufficient unfinished fabric for a man's ordinary white shirt increased 6½c between 1939 and 1947, while the retail selling price of this shirt went up from $1.65 to $3.95."

In urging Taft to extend the study to other fields, Edelman wrote:

"If Congress assists the citizens in really getting at the facts about what makes prices high, it may be possible to finally nail the lie that labor is responsible for increased costs.

"Moreover, it may be possible to develop sufficient popular understanding of what is at stake here to enable Congress to take the needed steps to correct a highly dangerous inflationary situation, which, if not checked, will obviously bring a real depression in its wake."

NO NIGHTMARE BUT REALITY

IF YOU lie awake at night sometimes, worrying about what would happen if you lost your job, if your wages were cut, if you were shifted to a lower-paying job or bumped down the seniority list, if an unfriendly boss were free to vent all his spite on you, if your work were speeded up still more, etc., etc.—then you are liable to have dreams that will give you a rough idea of what can happen to American workers under the Hartley-Taft legislation.

Union organization is our chief protection against such evils. It has raised wages, shortened working hours and checked undue speed-up.

It has established seniority and grievance procedure to protect workers against unfair discriminations. It has won paid vacations and countless other benefits. It has given workers some independence, security and democracy.

All these rights and benefits will be endangered, if the legislation now before Congress is enacted. For its cold-blooded aim is to weaken, if not completely destroy, the unions which have secured them.

THERE IS hardly any form of union activity that is not attacked by the Hartley and Taft bills.

They would make strong national unions impossible, by breaking them up into weak and isolated company units forbidden to cooperate against the under-cutting of wages.

They would restore open-shop conditions by outlawing arrangements to protect the union against the introduction of non-union labor.

They would give employers every possible excuse to refuse to bargain, would interfere with the workers' rights to choose their representatives and run their unions as they wish, and would promote company unionism.

They would effectively destroy the right to strike and picket—the workers' weapon of last resort, without which they have little bargaining power.

And these are but a few of the things this anti-labor legislation would do to destroy practically all union protections and leave workers at the mercy of wage-cutting, open-shop employers.

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

"THIS IS a demonstration of what can be accomplished through free collective bargaining in a democratic society," said CIO Pres. Philip Murray of the agreement just won by the United Steelworkers with the U.S. Steel Corporation.

The agreement, which was won without a strike, raises wage standards substantially and secures many other improved conditions for the steelworkers. It also benefits the whole country by increasing mass purchasing power, preserving the workers' democratic rights and assuring continued industrial peace.

And the same can be said for the similar agreements similarly won in recent weeks by the CIO electrical, auto, rubber, packinghouse, textile, glass, oil and paper workers, and by many other CIO unions.

Yet this type of free and peaceful collective bargaining, with all the benefits that flow from it, is now threatened by the labor-baiters who are trying to enact laws to cripple unions and destroy collective bargaining.

"Under legislation now proposed in Congress," Murray said, "this achievement would have been obstructed, the improvement of the conditions and solution of the problems of the steelworkers would have been prevented, and our organiaztion would have been thwarted and crippled in the exercise of its legitimate functions."

CIO Helps Farmers Win A Strike

Farmers around Ottumwa, Iowa, took some lessons from the CIO Packinghouse Workers and won a strike earlier this month, against four major dairies.

The farmers, members of the Ottumwa Milk Producers Cooperative, rebelled when the dairies tried to force them to take the entire burden of a 1c reduction in the retail price of milk by lowering the amount the farmers received from $4.10 to $3.65 a hundred pounds.

To show their appreciation for the help they received from the union, the farmers ran a quarter-page ad which said in part:

"We're glad we found out that the CIO is interested in the farmers' problems. We're glad the CIO helped us win. We've been told a lot of things about labor unions that we now find aren't true. We're glad we had a chance to meet representatives of the trade unions."

Keep Your Eye On Congress

BILL	WHAT IT DOES	WHERE IT IS	ACTION
Hartley 'Kill Union' Bill HR 3020	Contains almost every anti-union proposal you have ever seen—and a few new ones to boot.	Passed by House.	Write Pres. Truman to veto any anti-union bill. Ask Congressmen to uphold such a veto.
Taft Anti-union Bill S 1126	Taft bill contains wide variety anti-union proposals on striking, injunctions, security, general union activity.	Senate debate started Apr. 23. Vote probable this week.	Wire Senators to vote against Taft bill. Write Pres. Truman to veto any anti-union bill.
Wage-Hour Amendments HR 2157	Offers weakening amendments to Wage-Hour bill; would limit workers' rights to damage claims.	Passed by Senate & House; now being studied by joint conference committee.	Write Pres. Truman to veto this weakening of Wage-Hour Act.
HR 1 Knutson "soak poor" tax bill	Offers 20%-30% tax cut—little savings for low income families, big windfalls for wealthy.	Passed by House. Senate Finance Comm. heard CIO arguments Apr. 25.	Ask Senators and Chmn. Millikin to pass only a tax bill placing heavier burden on big incomes.
Rent control Extension Bills	House Bill (HR 2549) still in Banking Comm. Some members want ceiling rise. Senate bill, with no rise, not yet acted upon.	House Banking Comm. report expected soon.	Ask Senators, Congressmen to support "as is" continuation of rent control.
S 866 Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Bill	Long-range housing program, with govt. aid to spur building of low-rent & slum clearance projects.	Approved by Senate Banking Comm. House Banking Comm. refuses to order hearings.	Ask Senators to force early vote and pass. Ask Congressmen to seek Banking Comm. hearings soon.
Labor & NLRB Appropriation Bill HR 2700	Orders severe cuts in funds for Labor Dept. & NLRB; will cripple many vital services.	Passed by House; referred to Senate Appropriations Comm. Hearings held.	Write, wire your Senators to restore cuts; also write to Sen. Bridges (R.N.H.), committee chairman.
Missouri Valley Authority S 1156	Sets up program for Missouri Valley along lines of TVA program.	Referred to Senate Comm. on Public Works.	Write your Senators to support. Write Comm. Chrmn. Revercomb (R., W. Va.) for action.

Address all Representatives at House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.
Address all Senators at Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Dalton Firemen, Police Give Up Union Cards

DALTON, Ga., May 2.—All members of the Dalton Police and Fire departments surrendered their union cards Thursday in compliance with a Civil Service Commission ruling forbidding membership in a labor organzation.

The 17 polcemen and six firemen were given until midnight last night to sign statements that they were not members of "any organization or union established for the purpose of affecting relationships between employers and employes."

The affidavits were filed with City Clerk Guy Keister, and attested that the officers were no longer affiliated with the Federation of United Public Workers (CIO).

The union organized the Police and Fire departments last June.

Five members of the Police department stand fully cleared of any suspicion of dereliction of duty in connection with an alleged disturbance on the night of April 18 at the offices of the Dalton Telephone Co. here.

The policemen were cleared by the Dalton Civic Service Commission which said no formal charges had been brought against the men at any time, although the Mayor and City Council, on April 21, had recommended their suspension pending investigation.

R. F. Hamilton, chairman of the CSC, said rumors of their misconduct in connection with the strike of union telephone employes now in progress here, upon investigation had "proved wholly without foundation."

The commission, moreover, elevated Acting Chief of Police Jack Hayes, who was among those cleared, to the full position of chief. The others cleared were Lieutenants Bill Britton and George Weaver, Patrolman Homer Williams and Radio Operator Martin Henderson.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ORDER NUMBER

This Clipping from

Charleston, S. C., News-Courier
May 4, 1947

In a Non-lynching Area

On the front pages of newspapers the other day was a picture of a gang of women and men pulling and hauling and battering a commercial employe of the telephone company in a city of civilized Ohio. The man was in danger of maiming if not of worse until the police intervened and rescued him. The attack on him was by a band of persons, or organized mob, and he might have been killed. If he had been killed no one would have said that he was "lynched", as the outrages were perpetrated outside of the regions where lynchings occur.

28 The Atlanta Journal
THURSDAY, MAY 15, 1947

Negro Rights Voted by Union

Special to the New York Times and The Atlanta Journal

CINCINNATI, May 15.—The Brotherhood of Railroad and Steamship Clerks of the American Federation of Labor have broken with a constitutional provision since the founding of the union in 1899 by granting to Negroes the full rights of membership.

It was not, however, a clear-cut or voluntary departure from practice. International officers made it clear that the move was being taken under duress, notably in the case of New York State, where the union faced abolition unless full rights without regard to race were extended to all qualified members. Actually the delegates were assured, segregation would continue in the South and in every case the established local would have the right to decide whether to admit Negroes or to set up Negro locals for members of the colored race.

"We are not trying to set up social equality; we are trying to establish economic equality," George M. Harrison, grand president told the delegates.

A number of delegates from Southern states bitterly opposed the move. In the end, however, the opposition wilted and the vote appeared to be about 1,000 to 50 in favor of the change.

Kill 5½-Day Order, AFL Asks Thompson

Federation Meet Also Approves Move Toward Merit System for State Patrol

By MARK TEMPLE, Journal Staff Writer

SAVANNAH, Ga., May 23.—Having adopted a resolution barring members from any subversive organization from holding office in its organization, the Georgia Federation of Labor, in annual convention here Thursday went on record as asking Gov. M. E. Thompson to rescind his order instituting a five-and-a-half-day work week at the State Capitol.

The convention also approved a resolution asking that the State Highway Patrol be placed on "a strictly merit basis" which, its sponsors said, should free the patrol from "political manipulations."

Another approved resolution calls for continuation of civilian operating control at the Conley ordnance depot near Atlanta.

Friday the federation was to hear an address by State Rep. Meyer Goldberg, of Newnan, listen to annual reports and elect a slate of officers. As there was no open opposition to the present leadership, it was regarded as a foregone conclusion that Charles B. Gramlin, and Henry W. Chandler, secretary, would be re-elected. Some changes were expected in the vice presidential ranks in the Savannah and Macon districts, but other officers were expected to be retained in the elections, set for Friday afternoon. If re-elected, Mr. Gramlin will enter his twelfth term as president, while Mr. Chandler, who is also president of the Atlanta Federation of Trades, will begin his fifth term as state treasurer.

Eight Districts

The state is divided into eight districts, with a vice-president from each. Present holders of those posts are: Atlanta district, J. A. Harper; Macon, E. P. Scott; Columbus, Howard Anthony; Brunswick, L. W. Bennett; Savannah, W. M. Tanner; Augusta, W. W. Holley; Rome, H. A. McDonald; and Waycross, M. H. Reed.

Resolutions Downed

The convention has already approved numerous resolutions and voted one down which would have set up three additional vice-presidents at large.

The latter resolution was introduced by Henry B. Smith, of Atlanta, member of the hod carriers and common laborers' union. Mr. Smith said the federation now represents about 200,000 working men and women in Georgia, "and by this time next year will represent 250,000." He said he felt the new vice-presidents at large were required to insure collection of per capita taxes and to visit the various locals.

Mr. Smith's position was supported by Vice-President Howard Anthony, of Columbus, and opposed by H. E. James, of Atlanta, Secretary Chandler, and W. E. Buckner, also of Atlanta. Mr. Chandler said that with the present limit of per capita tax it was "utterly impractical" to put three new men on the road. "We would be bankrupt in three months if we do business that way," he said.

A report by the finance committee showed the Federation to be in good financial position, however, with a bank balance at the end of the fiscal year of $4,286.23. Total receipts for the year were $26,582.92, of which $13,251.05 came from per capita tax collection. Disbursements were $21,972.19.

Jul. 5-23-47

Cedartown Workers Votes Against Union

The National Labor Relations Board Thursday announced that employes of the Cedartown Yarn Mill voted against the Textile Workers Union of America as bargaining agent. The vote was 107 for TWUA and 164 against. Two ballots were declared void and 16 were challenged but these did not affect the result.

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Atl. Constitution

6-25-47

THE NEW LABOR LAW

Union Security Hit Under Taft-Hartley Act

This is the second of six stories explaining major points in the new labor law.

By MAX HALL

WASHINGTON, June 24—(AP)—The new labor law cuts heavily into five types of union security, including the closed shop.

Union security is the special arrangement, through contract with a boss, which a union uses to protect itself and keep up its membership.

Here are the five types—with the number of workers now covered by each—and what the new law does to them:

1. Closed shop (about 3,357,000). Forbidden.
2. Automatic checkoff of union dues (about 3,000,000). Forbidden.
3. Preferential hiring (about 2,079,000). Most lawyers think this is forbidden, too.
4. Union shop (about 4,094,000). Permitted under certain conditions.
5. Maintenance of membership (about 3,695,000). Permitted under certain conditions.

Government experts say a total of about 11,500,000 workers now are covered by contracts involving one or more of the five types of union security.

All five were permitted under the previous big labor law, the Wagner Act, passed in 1935. The new law makes big changes in that Act.

Here are the five in more detail:

1. Closed shop. (Union and boss agree all employees must be union members. The boss hires only union members. He fires any who quit or are expelled.)

Closed shop contracts which existed June 23, when the Taft-Hartley labor bill became the new labor law, can continue until they expire.

For 60 days after June 23, it is all right to sign or renew a closed shop contract for one year, but no longer.

Once those 60 days after June 23 are up, the law forbids making a new closed shop contract or renewing an old one.

2. Automatic checkoff of union dues. (The boss deducts union dues from members' pay for the union, whether or not the individual member consents.)

The new law now forbids this—under maximum penalty of a $10,000 fine and a year in jail—unless an employee requests in writing this be done.

Starting June 23, when the bill became the new law, no more automatic checkoff contracts can be made.

Contracts in effect June 23 can continue until they expire but in no case beyond July 1, 1948.

3. Preferential hiring. (The boss agrees that when he hires a new worker he'll take a union member, if one is available.)

Many lawyers think the law forbids preferential hiring since it discriminates against non-union workers, just as the closed shop does. Example:

Seamen's hiring halls, through which unions themselves furnish seamen to ships, seem to be forbidden by the new law.

4. Union shop. (The boss hires anyone he wants but fires him if he doesn't join the union within a certain time or quits after joining.)

The new law permits a union shop contract under certain conditions. Example:

A majority of all the workers covered by a contract—not just a majority of those voting—must vote for a union shop, or there can't be one.

(The voting is conducted by the National Labor Relations Board, the government agency which administers the law.)

Once there's a union contract, the boss can't fire a worker for not belonging to the union—if he's been denied membership on equal terms with others or has been denied it for any reason except nonpayment of dues or initiation fees.

This is intended to protect the jobs of people who are discriminated against by unions for racial, political or other reasons.

The new restrictions on the union shop don't apply to existing contracts unless they are renewed.

In the 60 days after June 23 union shop contracts can be signed for one year.

But there's a clause in the law giving union members power to ask the National Labor Relations Board for a vote to knock out the union shop.

5. Maintenance of membership. (No one has to join the union but the boss agrees to fire anyone who loses his membership after joining or after a certain date.)

As in the case of the union shop, under the new law, maintenance of membership contracts are permitted only if a majority of the employes vote for it.

TEXAS
Press Clipping Bureau
DALLAS

From

Houston (Tex.) Chronicle

JUL 5 - 1947
Date.....

FEDERATION VOTES TO ALLOW NEGRO ON LABOR BOARD

34

By Associated Press.

Dallas, July 4.—Negro members of the Texas State Federation of Labor will be represented on the executive board by one of their own race, as a result of a vote at the federation's forty-ninth convention here Thursday.

The resolution, which calls for a twelfth vice-president to be chosen from the negro race, was introduced early in the session and passed by a slight majority.

One delegate recalled that, for all the flood of abuse and ridicule heaped throughout these four days on the Taft-Hartley bill, the convention had in no place gone on record as disapproving it, and a resolution to that effect was hastily offered and unanimously passed.

Resolutions passed urged repeal of the sales and poll taxes, a thorough investigation of the veterans' training program, under the G. I. bill of rights, and the placing of an organized labor representative in all metropolitan state employment offices.

Officers elected Thursday were: Executive secretary, Harry W. Acreman and Vice-President Roy Jones of Abilene, Paul Thomas of Amarillo and O. S. Howe of Galveston.

Wallace C. Reilly, Dallas, A. F. of L. labor leader, said Thursday that the Dallas Central Labor Council probably will institute a political action group similar to the one in Houston.

George A. Wilson, executive secretary of the Houston Central Labor Council, explained the Houston political organization to delegates to the annual convention of the Texas State Federation of Labor.

One of the main objectives of the forum, Wilson said, is to see that A. F. of L. members pay poll taxes.

SOUTHERN
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

ORDER NUMBER

This Clipping from

Nashville, Tenn., Banner
July 12, 1947

T 10

CIO 'Southern Drive' Cited At Race Relations Institute

By VIRGINIA BIVIN

In answer to a question regarding the CIO "Southern drive," a CIO official commented here yesterday that the racial issue is always injected by those opposed to the labor union's organization of a local, whether it be workers, employers or other groups.

The official, Paul R. Christopher, state director, CIO Organizing Committee, Knoxville, declared that, when the CIO goes into areas where unions have not formerly been organized, Ku Klux Klan chapters are established. The discussion was a part of the fourth annual Fisk University Institute of Race Relations, which will continue through next Friday.

It has been particularly pointed out in previous institute discussions that the CIO does not sanction segregation, regardless of local customs to the contrary, and it has been underscored that members must place adherence to the labor union's policy first. CIO officials have described the CIO as a "democratic" organization which guarantees equal benefits to all members.

Moreover, it has been emphasized that the CIO is not merely concerned with matters of wages and working hours but with all areas of living. Labor has moved into "the arena of politics" to put in men whose interests are directed toward "the general welfare of all people," Willard Townsend, member of the executive committee, CIO, and international president, United Transport Service Employes of America, declared in a discussion yesterday. He further said that labor has just become cognizant of the fact that many of its problems resulted from "the so-called two-party system" being what he termed "a one-party system" run by "certain vested interests."

After their talks, Townsend and George L. P. Weaver, director of the national CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, were charged by a New York City Councilman with using the institute "as a platform for the vicious Red baiting campaign which reactionary big business is using against labor."

In a telegram read by Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk and director of the institute, last night, New York City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis accused Weaver and Townsend of "lies and slanders against the Communist Party."

Weaver had previously voiced an objection to Communism on grounds that "its members are first of all Communists and not trade unionists . . . Communists built up their strength on equal rights for Negroes and later attempted to sabotage equality for Negroes in the union." Discussing labor and international affairs, Townsend had spoken of "the plague of intrigue that Communists have injected into democratic and free labor unions of the world."

Dr. Johnson this morning sent the following telegram in reply to Davis:

"No political parties represented in Institute. Weaver and Townsend gone. Planned program discussing education, religion and national security. No place on program for political debate. Your telegram has been read to Institute members."

In an address last night entitled "An Affirmative Radicalism," Kermit Eby, directors, department of education and research, CIO, declaring himself a "primitive Communist," not afraid of the term Communism, said, "I believe literally all men are brothers." Defending Russia and Russian people against being described as hidden by iron curtains, he indicated the press "creates" a curtain.

Other speakers yesterday included Frayser T. Lane, civic director Chicago Urban League; Neill A. McLean, director, Bricks Rural Life School; Ambrose Caliver, specialist in Negro Education, U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Addresses scheduled this morning were "Cooperative Community Life—A Basis for Race Relations in Rural Communities," by McLean and "What Do We Really Believe?" by the Rev. Peyton R. Williams, rector of Christ Church, Episcopal. Group discussions were also to be held.

The Rev. Herbert L. B. Wilkins, minister, First Baptist Church, Eighth Avenue, North, will speak on "The Christian Church and Race Relations" at 5 p. m. Sunday in Fisk chapel. The public is invited.

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

DECEMBER 10, 1955
20c

AMERICAN LABOR TODAY

Prospect and Retrospect

A Special Issue on the Significance of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. Merger and the Political, Social and Economic Problems Now Facing the New Federation

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TO THE *Nation*

CONGRATULATIONS

On the Unrelenting
Vigilance for Civil
Rights and Real Crusade
for Political Freedom

Yours Was the Voice
in the Wilderness
When Timid Souls
Feared to Speak

CARRY ON

Retail Clerks Union
Local 770 A.F.L.
Hollywood
California

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1955
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THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

American Labor Today . . *by the Editors*

THE A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger was scheduled to take place at a moment of unique importance to American labor. The decade drawing to a close—the decade of the cold-war years—witnessed great changes in the relation of the labor movement to the society of which it is a part. This was the decade in which most Americans, including many labor leaders, lived in anxious anticipation of the "bust" which did not come. During the decade, American industry experienced a phenomenal increase both in capacity and actual production. The decade that began with the explosion of a bomb over Hiroshima ends with atomic energy producing electricity. Automation, urgent social reality today, was an unknown term in 1945. Goals which seemed utopian a decade ago have been achieved, and are today accepted as ordinary. Henry Wallace's talk of 60,000,000 jobs can no longer be dismissed as "globaloney."

In this extraordinary decade, the economy of the South has been transformed. When Operation Dixie was projected, few people in or out of the labor movement were talking about integrated schools. The period, too, has witnessed the rise of a strong national civil-rights movement. Since 1945 revolution has swept China. India has achieved its independence. Africa now stirs to new currents of revolt. "A revolution of rising expectations" has engulfed the so-called underdeveloped areas. A U. N. has come into being in which colonial powers are hard-pressed to hold their own against a new anti-colonial bloc. Nearly ten years of cold war finds Europe reconstructed, the Middle East struggling to enter the modern world, Israel in being, and the U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. engaged in a global competition in peaceful coexistence. But as the decade ends, the possibility of a third world war fought with nuclear weapons still casts a long shadow across the world.

How has American labor fared during this decade? Has it kept abreast of the major changes? Numerically it has held its own; but its achievements, to point up the fallacy in Mr. Stevenson's phrase, have been both moderate *and* mediocre. During this decade the role of American labor in relation to government has been reversed. By the time of Roosevelt's death, labor had come to rely heavily on government to safeguard its gains, run interference for its organizational drives, and ward off its enemies. The decade about to tend witnessed the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act which if not the "slave-labor act" labor orators described, has successfully "contained" labor. The National Labor Relations Board, to which labor once turned for help, is now avoided as a dangerous hazard. "Right-to-work" laws, outlawing the closed shop, are to be found in many states. Laws limiting labor's political activities have appeared in such strong labor states as Wisconsin and Michigan. Ugly nativistic anti-labor movements have been spawned in a dozen states. In nearly every state legislature, as in Congress, labor has been on the defensive. At national level, social progress has been nearly at a standstill for ten years. As might be expected, the political influence of labor has declined. The decline began with the death of Roosevelt; it became precipitous with the advent of Eisenhower. The conclusion must be, therefore, that labor has not only failed to lead or even keep abreast of the vanguard; it has, in a relative sense, lost ground in the last ten years organizationally and politically, if not economically.

THE problem posed by labor's relation to the Eisenhower Administration reflects, to a large degree, basic changes which have taken place in the industrial structure. Today the differences between medium-sized and "giant" business are so great that the giant corporations must be regarded as different structures not merely in degree but in kind. As Peter Shore pointed out recently in the *New Statesman and Nation* (October 8, 1955), "these super companies are not simply a kind of magnified projection of smaller capitalist institutions, but a new form of capitalist organization." Their ability to control prices and profits as well as the absence of risk, the separation of ownership from control, and their almost complete independence of the capital market put them in a class apart. Corporations that began by manufacturing rubber today market many consumer items, such as synthetic yarns, textile products, plastics, and chemicals. The giant corporations have plants scattered across the country, often with different skills, occupations, work environments, and problems. "The management fraternity," as Saul Barkin has pointed out ("Labor and Nation," 1953) "has grown large in the last fifteen years." Management is today highly specialized in relation both to program and policy. But the American labor movement itself has not changed commensurably. To a large extent, the initia-

tive in collecting bargaining has passed from labor to management. It is also important to note that, as Mr. Barkin points out, "the full challenge of the new era is being thrown up at a time when other and opposing interests are in the political saddle."

Politically, American labor is backward even by comparison with its nearest neighbors. As labor delegates met in New York to end the nineteen-year-old split in the American labor movement, delegates of the 200,000-member Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor, meeting in Toronto, came within a single vote of endorsing the Canadian Commonwealth Federation. Delegates speaking in behalf of the resolution pointed out that as long as labor is politically inactive it would have "to plead for change. Those in Queen's Park are not our friends. We want to go to the front door and not the back. . . . Year after year we pass resolutions that get nowhere. Meanwhile some say the C. C. F. has become a Fabian party. But why? Because we have allowed it to fall into the hands of lawyers and teachers. . . . Right now the politicians in Queen's Park are laughing at us. We will never get anywhere by begging."

It is not enough to say, in extenuation of American labor, that the general temper of the time has been adverse. Unfortunately labor has contributed to the socially-regressive atmosphere of the cold-war years. The "right to organize" does not stand by itself. Individual citizens, by the same token, have the right to assemble for political action, to petition for a redress of grievances, and to organize political parties. With notable and brilliant exceptions, American labor has not fought, these last ten years, for others' liberties.

All this is not to imply that American labor is impotent or reactionary. Its strength is great but it is only a pittance of what it might be, and will be. We do not agree with those who insist on comparing American labor with, say, labor in Great Britain or France. The American labor movement has special characteristics and problems, as well as a special history and setting. American labor, we are told, is orientated toward middle-class status; it is lacking in class consciousness. True perhaps. But the findings of the Wayne University study, "Labor in Detroit," force one to note some qualifications. Labor, according to this study, is "overwhelmingly orientated toward the Democratic Party." Even those workers who have moved into middle-class neighborhoods still voted Democratic in 1952 and 1954, and in much the same proportions as labor in the working-class districts. Not only do workers trust the voting recommendations of labor organizations much more than those of other groups, but they are correspondingly distrustful of recommendations made by business and the press. Stevenson captured 75 per cent of Detroit's labor vote in 1952. The key labor issues of the recent past—the Square D strike in Detroit, Perfect Circle in Indiana, the strikes in the South—indicate that the militancy of labor is far from dead.

What has happened in the last ten or fifteen years is that management has taken the initiative in collective bargaining by simply recognizing, accepting, and increasingly relying upon unions. When labor is organizing, the initiative belongs to it; when the drives to organize abate, management recaptures the initiative. Today industry is vitally dependent on labor; it simply could not function, at its present efficiency, without unions. Therefore to regain the initiative labor must enlarge its social, economic, and political objectives. The advantage is still with labor. The last session of Congress witnessed the operation, if on a limited scale, of the first farmer-labor coalition in years. Labor can, if it will, spearhead the fight for a civil-rights program. It can, if it will, transform American politics. On the local, state, and federal level, labor needs to win the support of farmers, self-employed business men and professional groups, youth, the minorities, the independents, and the eggheads.

THIS SPECIAL issue was projected in consultation with a representative group of American labor spokesmen. These consultants urged us not to build the issue around such themes as the achievements of labor or the issues confronting labor. On the contrary, without exception, they urged us to take a critical look at American labor at this important moment in its history. Labor is not buttered up in the pages that follow. We have aimed at achieving the maximum candor. To this end, we asked the contributors not to sign their articles. All of them are actively identified with the labor movement as editors, research and educational directors, or business agents, and they come from both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. unions.

We liked the idea of taking a candid look at American labor in part because it stands in need of self-appraisal and self-criticism which such an issue might stimulate. *The Nation* has earned the privilege, we feel, of viewing labor with friendly candor and objectivity. During 1955 *The Nation* has run nineteen articles devoted to strikes, attacks against labor, and similar concerns. The reporting covered every major strike of the year; it dealt with textile workers, longshoremen, teamsters, apple pickers, hotel workers,

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white-collar workers, electrical and auto workers, sugar-refinery workers, and employees in the entertainment industry. We take satisfaction in this record. Sharing as we do the misgivings of some of the contributors in this issue about the immediate future for labor, and recognizing with them the problems implicit in the merger, we are nevertheless confident that the conventions of the last week represent a turning point in American labor, the beginning of the end of the organizational, or New Deal, phase in its history.

How Strong Is American Labor?

TO MEASURE the strength of the American labor movement today, a quick backward glance is necessary. Organized labor has registered significant numerical gains since 1933, the year the New Deal began. Even more important, during this period its membership increased more rapidly than the country's total civilian labor force. Thus organized labor has been growing steadily in proportionate as well as in absolute numbers and potentially, at least, represents an increasingly important political and economic factor on the American scene.

A chart drawn from an article, The Growth of American Unions, written by Irving Bernstein and published in *The American Economic Review* for June, 1954, throws light on the statistical side of labor's growth:

Year	Union Membership	Membership as Percent of Civilian Labor Force
1920	5,047,800	12.0%
1930	3,392,800	6.8
1933	2,973,000	5.4
1937	6,334,300	11.7
1945	12,724,700	23.6
1953	17,010,033	26.8

The principal factors which affected these figures were as follows:

The year 1920 marked the peak of post-World War I prosperity. Unemployment was at a minimum, but living costs were soaring. Together these elements provided a strong stimulant to union growth. In that year industrial unionism made impressive if temporary gains.

Beginning with the 1921 depression, union membership began to decline. While for the most part the decade was a prosperous one, the dominant craft-unionism of the A. F. of L. was impotent before the growing power of mass-production industry and the inroads of "technological unemployment"—the forerunner of today's "automation."

The year 1933 marked the low point of the Great Depression and the low point in union membership since 1920. While the year marked the nominal start of the New Deal, Roosevelt's legislative program did not go into high gear until 1934, when the N. R. A. went into operation. The effect on union membership was immediate; the year showed an increase of 600,000 over 1933.

By 1937 union membership, as a percentage of the total civilian labor force in the country, had almost recovered the position it had held seventeen years earlier—around 12 per cent. It should be recalled that 1937 was the year in which the Supreme Court validated the Wagner Labor Relations Act; it also marked the peak of labor's organizing drive in steel, packing, auto, rubber, radio, and other industries which had theretofore stood as citadels of anti-unionism.

By war's end in 1945, labor had doubled both its membership and its percentage of the civilian labor force as compared to 1937. Almost two-thirds of the gains came *after* the United States entered the war. The war years were characterized by a tight labor market, the virtual elimination of collective bargaining on wages (the War Labor Board having taken over the job of wage setting under the "Little Steel formula"), and the voluntary shelving by most unions of the strike weapon. Many seasoned unionists, baptized in the labor battles of the '30s, felt that the non-striking millions who flocked into unions during this period were "too soft"—more often a liability than an asset to labor.

While 1953 showed membership continuing to grow, it is important to note that, in comparison with the spectacular jump achieved between 1937-1945, the eight-year interval 1946-1953 showed a marked decline in *rate* of increase, especially in terms of percentage of total labor force. Indeed, during the three years of the period—1948-1950—there was a virtual standstill in membership and an actual loss in percentage of the labor force covered. This slowdown can be ascribed in part to the 1949 recession, but perhaps in greater measure to the Taft-Hartley Act which became effective in 1947. Membership picked up again with the advent of the Korean war in 1951, the consequent "boom" partially offsetting the adverse effects of Taft-Hartley.

To project our figures beyond the table, it is probable that 1954, with its slight recession, was a year of no gain for labor. And 1955 can have brought the unions no more than a moderate gain of perhaps a million new members.

A FEW comments are in order regarding column 3 of the table (union membership in terms of percentage of the total civilian labor force). As defined by the Bureau of the Census, the country's labor force includes millions not "organizable" into labor unions, such as the self-employed, at least 5,000,000 farmers, and a huge number of persons in salaried managerial capacities. Therefore the unions have done a somewhat better job in organizing than is reflected in column 3 of the table, which is based on official census figures. Even so, on the assumption that the country's "organizables" number about 37,000,000 (a conservative estimate), present total union membership of about 18,000,000 indicates that labor has not yet reached the half-way mark in organizing. It is this fact, combined with the deceleration in growth which has marked the last two years, which provided the incentive for the current merger of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L.

Since there are many small unions and a few big ones—for instance, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, and the United Electrical Workers—outside the two federations, the merger is likely to start out with about 16,000,000 members. Apparently the A. F. of L. will bring

to it about twice as many members as the C. I. O.

But statistics do not tell the whole story of union strength. Militancy, general morale, and the factor of public support are also important. In the New Deal days, when union membership was much smaller than it is today, organized labor nevertheless managed to win battle after legislative battle with management, both at Congressional and state level. In those days management generally, and Big Business in particular, were unsure of themselves as a result of the 1929 crash. Breadlines and foreclosed farms won public support for collective bargaining; both the urban middle class and the country's agricultural population looked upon unions with sympathy. But in the last decade, despite the numerical growth of the labor movement, the legislative victories have been going to management as attested by the number of federal and state anti-union laws passed.

Partly this turn may be ascribed to the securer position in which management now finds itself, due to its own slick public-relations program and as a byproduct of the cold-war psychology. Many of management's former critics and large sections of the middle class have now turned against organized labor, which has been pictured as a threat to national security and the national welfare. This propaganda has had its effect on union members themselves, many of whom have drifted into middle-class attitudes; their leaders and organizations no longer hold their loyalty as they once did.

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Seems out of place

The Red smear has been an important anti-union weapon.

If management has profited from the cold-war psychology, it has also profited by shrewd tactics of its own designed to divide the worker from his union. Many companies seem to shower their workers with "kindness," offering small wage increases and fringe benefits in such a way as to make it appear that it is management's generosity, not union militancy, which is responsible for this manna from heaven. All this is designed to persuade the worker that he is receiving little or no benefit from his union dues, that his union leaders are just "pork choppers" looking for a fast buck rather than for the welfare of the rank and file. Leaders themselves sometimes succumb; an increasing number of them lately seem to have become company spokesmen, quick to accept management's plea of "low profits" in contract negotiations and joining forces with industry in legislative battles whose only outcome can be to injure other sections of labor. Is it really far-sighted of union leadership, for instance, to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with management in urging prohibitive tariffs against the products of "cheap foreign labor"?

THE tendency of companies to give away a little in order to avoid showdown battles with the unions serves another purpose. All veteran labor leaders know that the only tough, militant local is one which has had to stand up under conflicts. These labor battles are not always won by the union, but when they are, the spirit engendered is likely to last.

Added to management manipulations are certain economic pressures which tend to weaken the fibre of American unionism. The factory worker is often so much in hock for his car, house mortgage, and television set that the break in his income involved in strike action comes to him not as an inconvenience but as a seeming catastrophe. Union treasuries, in turn, are called on more and more frequently, in case of a strike, to furnish not only food and rent but also instalment payments to the strikers. Union leaders are well aware that a striker who has had his car repossessed has suffered a real blow to his morale. But how many union treasuries can afford this kind of strain?

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Union targets, as usual

What can unions do to counteract the varied elements which seem to be draining away the lifeblood from the American labor movement? Primarily the job is an educational one. The mass media of communications, manipulated so astutely by management, are also open to labor—though perhaps in smaller measure. These media should be used to impart the facts of economic life to the individual worker—the nature of this country's basically Big Business economy and his own place in it. Few workers recognize the slicker kinds of management propaganda, nor are they in a position to evaluate the economic motives which underlie many political trends. There are alert unions which go into such matters, but even here the educational campaign fails to reach labor's grass roots—the local, the shop, the departmental meeting. This must be done—through discussions and such visual aids as movies and charts—if the educational job being done by management is to be exposed and effectively countered.

Labor unions have failed woefully to uncover the economic motive behind our heavy military expenditures. Workers in defense and allied industries see only that millions of jobs have been created to turn out atomic weapons, planes, tanks, warships, and guns. Some union leaders see the acute dangers of this cold-war boom, but most of them are apparently resigned to do nothing on the ground that it would be "utopian" to expect the Eisenhower Administration to build schools and housing instead of guns. And the truth is that most labor leaders today accept without question the argument that we need to spend thirty billion dollars annually on armaments in order to prevent war.

Beyond the armament question is the central issue of our time: war or peace. How many union leaders have taken a public stand on the problem? And where they have spoken, what has been their position? Does George Meany's dismissal of "peaceful coexistence" as a Communist trap truly represent labor? And in the imminent C. I. O.-A. F. of L. merger, will it be Mr. Meany's philosophy that prevails, or will the merger safeguard union autonomy sufficiently so as to guarantee that there will be a real examination, by labor's rank and file, of the economics of the cold war?

These questions pose a profound challenge to the current crop of labor leaders. And there are others—the question of discrimination, for instance. Year after year the international unions approve lofty resolutions against discrimination at their annual conventions. Occasionally the resolutions are embodied in union contracts. But until these noble professions of faith are put into execution on a day-in, day-out basis within the unions themselves, the much-publicized program for organizing the South will never make much headway, nor will numerous Northern locals acquire the unity they badly need.

The job of awakening labor to its enormous potential strength is difficult, but by no means unsurmountable. Despite the cold war, the divisive tactics used by management, and the powerful economic pressures which work against militant unionism, there is clear evidence that the worker will fight when the enemy is unmasked. At the Kohler plant in Wisconsin and the Perfect Circle plant in New Castle, Indiana, the U. A. W. has been showing stubborn strength in prolonged strikes. A similar situation exists at the Godchaux Sugar Refining Company near New Orleans and the Colonial Provision Company in Boston, where the United Packinghouse Workers are out. Then there is the bitter conflict for recognition waged by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Miami. Where it becomes clear that management is out to kill the union, the workers respond.

It is permissible to hope that the bulk of the American labor movement, about to find a new home under a single roof, will unite in making a reevaluation of the meaning of recent events on the picket line—and, as at New Castle, on the firing line. In practice, this may mean chiefly some soul-searching on the part of union leadership. For there is evidence that, despite everything, the rank and file of American unions is still "sound"—and in many places is ahead of its leadership.

The Merger: Credits and Debits

WHEN the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. consumated their well-advertised merger last week, it also marked the twentieth month of the C. I. O. strike at Kohler. The pickets in front of the plant are filled with buoyant hopes—and gaping questions. Does "unity" mean that all A. F. of L. teamsters will no longer make deliveries in or out of Kohler? Does it mean that A. F. of L. longshoremen will refuse to unload clay for the struck plant, or that A. F. of L. plumbers will refuse to install the company's products? For the Kohler pickets such unity would spell decisive victory, and if this were the substance of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. wedding it would evoke unlimited enthusiasm down at the grass roots.

At the moment, however, such unity is merely distant vision. What has taken place is simply a "merger"—or, in the picturesque term made famous by John L. Lewis, an "agglomeration." Put in another way, this is the lowest form of unity possible; in fact, only the first small step. For effective labor unity—the kind that the Kohler pickets pray for—there would have to be at least three additional steps:

1. Unification of rival groups, such as the A. F. of L. electrical workers with C. I. O.'s I. U. E.; A. F. of L. retail clerks with C. I. O. retail and wholesale workers, the two A. F. of L. paper unions with the one in the C. I. O., the airplane division of the C. I. O. auto workers with the airplane division of the A. F. of L. machinists, and many others.

2. A no-raiding pact signed by *all* the affiliates, and a clear definition of jurisdiction.

3. An agreement for mutual help between all international unions, particularly as regards respecting each other's picket lines and joint efforts to organize the unorganized.

Take these three steps and you have real labor unity. You also have a veritable revolution that would change the character not only of American labor but of American society as well. It would assure organized labor of twenty to thirty million more employees in the retail, white collar, chemical, and agricultural field, as well as in that citadel of the open shop, the South. It would assure a considerable raising of living standards, and a new political importance for labor.

George Meany

But at the moment these are all consummations devoutly to be wished. Rival international unions, under the merger agreement, are "urged" to unite but not required to do so. Very few show any enthusiasm for the prospect. For many years anyway they will remain warring and divided. It is certain, for instance, that the rival electrical unions will not merge. Neither will the rival retail unions. C. I. O. packinghouse and A. F. of L. butcher workmen continue talks and blow hot and cold alternately, but the chances of fusion are more negative than positive. The rival chemical, seamen, and other international unions are all in the same category—reluctant brides or bridegrooms.

Each union presents unity for-

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

When the shoe is on the other foot

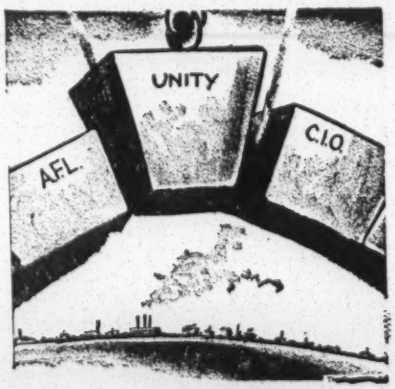
mulas which would clip its rival's wings. The A. F. of L. retail clerks have suggested to the C. I. O. retail and wholesale workers that it would be willing to merge with the *retail* unions in the C. I. O. group. But the latter has bakeries, candy factories, soup factories, warehouses, and what not, along with retail employees. It would not only have to leave behind scores of local unions, but would actually have to divide and atomize many others. C. I. O. packinghouse workers and A. F. of L. butchers are evidently agreed that there will be a separate department for retail butchers and another for packinghouse workers. But how much autonomy shall be given the packinghouse group which will be dominated by C. I. O. forces? The C. I. O. packinghouse union is organizing in a wide variety of fields, including sugar, agriculture, candy factories. What happens to these forces in a possible merger? How do you reconcile the differing attitudes to intraunion democracy or racial discrimination? C. I. O. packinghouse workers have done an excellent job in race relations; they are almost fanatic on the subject. The A. F. of L. group, on the other hand, has some jimcrow locals in it.

Such are the problems of unification. They disturb power structures built up over decades. Leaders of the international unions are what C. Wright Mills has called the "new men of power." Few of them are willing to trade their status of big fish in a little pond for smaller fish in a bigger pond. The merger at federation level is relatively simple because fewer power structures are involved. Perhaps that is what made merger possible. Hitherto the rival groups tried to patch the whole house of labor together before agreeing to unite. Today they have decided on a more modest handiwork; they have dug the ground for the basement—no more—and will wait for the house itself to fall into place over a period of years. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are, after all, essentially lobbying forces, mere servicing bodies, not real seats of power. They coordinate legislative action, do some research and education, handle relations with foreign unions, organize political action of a rudimentary sort. But they have no power over individual union members and play no role in the central activity of labor, collective bargaining. They can only "advise" international unions; they can not instruct. On the other hand, the leaders of internationals by and large have "life and death" say over local unions and the rank and file. They can expel lower officials, veto or call strikes, conduct bargaining sessions, withdraw charters. Each international is autonomous; in today's labor structure it, rather than the A. F. of L. or C. I. O as such, is the power center. So long, therefore, as the rival internationals do not unite, there can be no effective unity.

THAT the rivalry will continue is evident from the fate of the no-raiding pact. Signed last year, the pact provided for arbitration of all jurisdictional disputes between rival unions. But it becomes effective for each international only when it signs the agreement. So far about two out of every three internationals have done so, but the most important union in either federation, the A. F. of L. teamsters, has refused to sign. For all practical purposes this torpedoes the pact. Teamster President Beck and the new power behind the scenes, Jimmy Hoffa, are forging into a dozen fields. They are in fact building a counter-center to the new merged center, making alliances on an *ad hoc* and individual basis. For instance, they have agreements for common organization programs with the A. F. of L. butcher workmen in the food-processing fields, and with the A. F. of L. machinists in the auto-repair and related areas. In these instances the Teamsters scrupulously respect the agreed-upon jurisdictional lines. On the other hand, Teamster unions have on more than one occasion raided the A. F. of L. retail clerks, whom they consider "enemies." What this bodes for the future is hard to say. The new merged federation plans organization efforts in many virgin fields. The Teamsters claim jurisdiction over warehousing and many other activities which are bound to create problems so long as there is no machinery for resolving disputes.

There is, finally, the ideological obstacle to true unity—the lack of *labor solidarity*. For most of the old-line unionists, solidarity is a dead letter. They help or support other unions only when they are allied or friendly with their leaderships. The Teamsters respect picket lines on some occasions, deliberately walk through on others. The same is true of the building-trade unions and many others. Here is perhaps the most serious defect of the whole labor movement. It affects intraunion democracy, idealism, and in fact labor's whole structure and outlook. It is a symptom of the dictatorship and centralization in so many unions which make possible the perversion of the principle of *labor* unity by the opportunism of *leadership* alliance. In political action particularly, the failure to practice the principle of labor solidarity, and the democracy on which it must be based, is fatal. Yet the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger does not even touch on this problem; it obviously could not.

We have here an insight into the mechanics and reasons for merger. If the participants had insisted on true labor unity—on the reshuffling of power structures, on changing ideological outlooks—there would have been no merger. The merger takes place precisely because it is the



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

On the Agenda

most rudimentary form of unity possible, the lowest and least effective form. This is not a criticism; the merger, even in its present form, is a step forward. Perhaps this first step will lead to others until true unity is achieved. On the other hand, the merger can lead to more centralization and a dilution of labor militancy. The Executive Council of the merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O. will have twenty-nine members: President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler, and twenty-seven vice-presidents, seventeen chosen from present A. F. of L. ranks and ten from the C. I. O. In effect this group will dominate the whole federation, because it will represent the largest and most powerful unions. Small unions are afraid that they will be swallowed; that the biennial conventions (they are annual now) will be mere rubber stamps in the hands of the big unions.

In some areas the prospects are for great improvement. There is no doubt that the new federation will fight more vigorously against racial discrimination. Research and education will play a greater role than hitherto. The same is true in the legislative field: the merged bodies will have more "clout" with Congress and state legislatures. This in fact is the greatest virtue of the merger, and fits in with the role of the two federations as primarily lobbying bodies. In the sphere of organization there may also be some progress, but only if the jurisdictional lines and conflicts are ironed out.

But in other areas the prospects are bleak indeed. It looks now as if Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown of the A. F. of L. will dominate the international-relations scene in preference to the more level-headed and liberal Victor Reuther. Politically the trend is undoubtedly to the Right. This was made evident by events long before the merger was to take place. At the C. I. O. convention last year Walter Reuther quietly interred the Labor Party plank which had for years been approved by his own United Auto Workers. A second signpost was the failure of the C. I. O. executive board, led by Reuther, to take a position on the Formosa question at the time when Quemoy and Matsu seemed to be sparks that might lead to war. Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of Reuther's own union and a board member, proposed a militant resolution on this score and pleaded vainly with Reuther to do something. George Meany of the A. F. of L. has a position on this subject close to that of Chiang Kai-shek; Reuther was obviously mindful of this and refused to inject an irritant into the future merger. The chances are that the C. I. O.—and the coterie of ex- and neo-Socialists who are its thinkers and leaders—will continue to defer to the more rabid anti-communism that prevails in the A. F. of L.

This would be an important setback for labor. The C. I. O. often took an independent political line. In Guatemala, for instance, it refused to give Castillo Armas a blank check. No doubt Reuther and his associates hope to influence the merged federation's policy and bring it closer to their own. But as of this moment it seems that the push will be the other way.

THE merger, then, must be looked at from various angles and in different lights. It lays the groundwork for a better day for American labor. But it also presents many pitfalls and dangers which it would be foolish to overlook.

The intriguing question is: why was the merger projected at all? Many writers have indicated that the reason lies in the wave of anti-labor legislation—Taft-Hartley, "right to work" laws, and the like.

Undoubtedly here was justification enough, but for the real motivating factor we must look elsewhere. *The reason for the merger, and at the same time its tragedy, is that the C. I. O. is in the process of disintegration.*

The C. I. O. is uniting at the lowest point of its bargaining power. When the first attempt at unity was made back in 1937, C.I.O. was riding high. From a mere 900,000 members when it left the A. F. of L. in 1937, it had mushroomed to 3,700,000. It was then larger than the parent federation. It had an inside track to Roosevelt's White House; it had captured the imagination of many millions of unorganized; it was staffed with hundreds of idealistic young radicals who were willing to walk picket lines and who knew how to bring out the latent militancy of American labor.

Today the C. I. O., according to its own over-estimated figure, is only five million strong. Its *elan* is gone. Since the first flush of the 1935-1940 period, it has had no sensational organizational successes. It has grown with the economy, but hardly more. The young radicals of yesterday are middle-aged pork choppers today, far removed from the Socialists, Trotskyists, Wobblies, Stalinists, and Lovestoneites with whom they consorted in the thirties. And they no longer work around the clock or dream the dream that inspired them in that long ago when America was digging itself out of the enervating depression. The C. I. O. is not identical with the A. F. of L.: it has no racketeer problem; it has more democratic aspects than the old A. F. of L. international unions such as the Carpenters or Teamsters. But it lacks verve and vigor. Since the big organizing drive in auto, steel, rubber, oil, and packing it has muffed the ball in the South and in a dozen other fields. Politically

and organizationally it has blended closer to the mentality and make-up of the older federation. Even the wages of its organizers and top officials have slowly inched themselves up toward the $30,000, $50,000 and $70,000 standards of the older elite. The eleven Communist-controlled unions were expelled in 1949, and the C. I. O. has been asserting its allegiance to the free-enterprise system with fervor nearly equal to that of the A. F. of L.

Thus the gaps between the two federations, which in 1935 appeared unbridgeable, have now been bridged. Industrial unionism, political action, organization of the unorganized—these pillars of C. I. O. policy no longer make the difference between the groups. The A. F. of L. too has its industrial unions. The A. F. of L. is today in national politics as a prop to the Democratic Party. And neither A. F. of L. nor C. I. O. has scored any real successes for more than a decade in organizing the unorganized. The groundwork for unity has been there for at least ten years. Only the power drives of a few men kept the movements apart; since the war the only real question has been: who will get posts, who will keep the power when and if merger comes about?

Now the C. I. O. is "returning to the house of labor." For the long run Walter Reuther has great hopes and daring plans; but at this historical juncture he is being married at the point of a shotgun in the hand of David McDonald, the conservative president of the C. I. O. Steelworkers. McDonald's enmity for the irrepressible redhead is painful to behold. At a Jewish Labor Committee dinner some time ago McDonald spent the major portion of his speech berating Reuther and his "socialism." Ever since Reuther became C. I. O. president following Phil Murray's death, this schism with McDonald has threatened to blow the organization sky high. Finally, when McDonald threatened to take his union into the A. F. of L., Reuther had no other course but to step up the pace for merger. The C. I. O. is being brought into the A. F. of L. structure as a kind of industrial-union department on terms similar to those discussed in 1937, but with its flag at half-mast.

The C. I. O. weakness was evident throughout the preliminary fencing

for position. The A. F. of L. takes the two top positions with President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler; it dominates the Executive Council, the Executive Committee, and the General Policy Board composed of all international union presidents. The argument over the merger name is indicative of the whole process. The C. I. O. people wanted a blended name which would advertise merger—something like American *Congress* of Labor. But A. F. of L. leaders refused to yield; the best they would agree to was to tack on the words "and Congress of Industrial Organizations" as a rider to "American Federation of Labor." Everywhere the welcome mat for the C. I. O. is more like a funeral shroud. Throughout the country the C. I. O. is being relegated to second-class citizenship. Naturally in cities like Detroit, where C. I. O. strength is overwhelming, this will be impossible; but the trend is there. The schism between Reuther and McDonald, subordinated for the moment, plagues the C. I. O. even in this transition period. Many A. F. of L. officials have cemented alliances with Steelworker leaders in the hopes of freezing out the auto-worker group.

PRESUMABLY Reuther feels that these are inevitable blows in the shakedown period, that he must give considerable ground—and wait. Reuther will have charge of organizing the unorganized. His auto workers have already pledged $1 per member, $1,250,000, to start the job rolling if others will also respond, and with the prestige that comes from bringing in new forces—provided he can do it—Reuther hopes again to make the same kind of spectacular climb that catapulted him first to the head of the Auto Workers and then the C. I. O. itself. Enormously confident, Reuther permits no one to "turn his left end." He knows how to talk radical even when his actions are not so radical; and how to respond to the pressures of the workers. Yielding ground to Meany is for him only an episode in a future regroupment of labor around himself.

During the "waiting period" there will be a realignment. It is already in the making. McDonald's Steelworkers will undoubtedly gravitate toward a more conservative axis, probably with Dave Beck's Teamsters. On the other hand, such unions as David Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers and Al Hayes's Machinists, both now in the A. F. of L., may become part of Reuther's C. I. O. department.

What happens after these realignments? Will Reuther's position become stronger, or will there be a new split? Is it possible that a realignment will extend beyond all the present participants? In the thirties the reshuffling of labor's leadership brought together the Center, Lewis, Hillman *et al*, and the Left, Socialists, Stalinists, etc. The extent of the present realignments will depend in the final analysis on the objective situation. If we are in for an inflationary spiral and prosperity, then organization efforts will be much simpler and wage prospects brighter. If we are in for "leveling" and unemployment, the prospects are reversed. The question of war and peace will also cast its long shadow over the inner workings of the labor movement.

The merger is merely an episode in a bigger saga. Though welcome, it is hardly more than a step; certainly not a goal in itself. The important thing is what happens *after* merger.

Organizing the Unorganized

WHEN John W. Livingston, director of organizing for the merging A. F. of L.-C. I. O., surveys his job he will be looking beyond heavy industry, public utilities, and transportation. These, already fairly well organized, compose the bulk of the 16,000,000 members to whom President George Meany will be pointing with pride. Livingston, the husky auto worker from the Ozarks, will be concerned rather with the 45,000,000 wage-earners outside the union fold. They include most women workers, most white-collar employees, and most of the men and women, white and Negro, employed in the South. If within the next ten years he could double the membership of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O., his name would go down in labor history alongside that of John L. Lewis.

The car you now drive, the house you live in, the meat and bread you eat—these are all pretty likely to be union-made. Likewise the electrical gadgets you live by, your means of getting hither and yon, the structures you work in, the things you read are produced, chances are, by hands that hold a union card. It's not nearly so likely that the clothes you wear (unless you insist on the union label) will be union-made. Most of the food you eat, most of the personal services you receive, the host of small and inexpensive things —these are, by and large, without benefit of union protection to their makers, processors, and handlers.

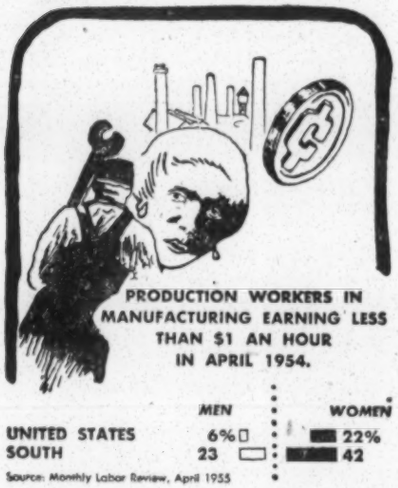
The statistics which face Livingston in his organizing drive do not give the whole picture. For instance, Chicago. This cradle of American labor is less unionized, factory-wise, than Richmond, Virginia, or Birmingham, Alabama. Enormous segments of heavy industry, particularly in oil and chemicals, remain untouched by orthodox unionism. In certain industries where both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have competing unions, as in meat packing, textiles, and chemicals, internecine strife has taken a heavy toll. But the key to Chicago's poor showing is the small factory. In this metropolitan area there are no fewer than 14,000 factories employing one million workers, and most of them have fewer than a thousand employees. Here unionism runs into cost factors and the law of diminishing returns. A union administrator will tell you that it costs only about twice as much to furnish union services in a plant with 1,000 members as in one with a hundred. The temptation here is to organize not the workers but the employers into associations to be more easily policed by association-wide contracts. Small factories are a major union problem almost everywhere; in the aggregate they may well account for 10,000,000 unorganized workers.

Another roadblock to unionism is the white-collar employee. The factory worker tends to be output minded and to tie this in with severely regimented wage scales, seniority and working rules. The office workers in the big industrial plants look with no little envy on the status production workers have attained; whether unions can modify their rigid notions to fit the white collar, while the white collar abandons some of his notions of superiority, will determine union success in this most promising of all the big unconquered sectors.

Women are a problem, too. Or rather, union men are the problem in their attitude toward organizing women. The traditional male idea has been that the husband, as family breadwinner, should earn enough to support his family. Unions helped mightily to get the children out of the factories, and some of them thought woman's place, too, was in the home. However desirable this old American dream may have been, the facts of life negate it. Women constitute one-third of the labor force; one-third of women over fourteen are at work. The new A. F. of L.-C. I. O. director of organization may know better than to try to stretch women on unionism's procrustean bed. Since he'll likely be too male-conscious to see the problem (not a single woman has ever been elected to the executive board of either labor federation), perhaps there should be a woman codirector of organization. That might rectify the present situation where men are averaging $3,469 in yearly earnings against $1,252 for women, who are actually 13 per cent worse off, wagewise, than they were thirteen years ago. The catch phrase, so dear to both Republican and Democratic vote-catchers, that labor never had it so good, certainly doesn't apply to women.

WHATEVER his other problems, Director Livingston is not going to be bothered much by the size of his organizing budget. The new federation starts with a built-in annual deficit of between three and four million dollars. This stems from the facts of merger. Governed by sacrosanct rules of tenure and seniority, the merged federation will enjoy no economies but rather a two-headed bureaucracy in which every officeholder is assured of his job.

The lack of money doesn't mean too much. There were hardly pennies available back in the 1930's when steel, auto, electrical, and machine workers organized themselves. Sending scads of paid organizers into virgin territory usually doesn't pay off. The paid organizers are apt to limit their efforts to getting signatures on application cards; that indeed is the criterion of success in many a union headquarters. It is assumed that there is some magic in the word "union" and that this *deus ex machina* will do the job somehow by remote control. Wherever workers have been genuinely organized into unions, they have accepted the union as a vehicle which they must pull to success by their own efforts. It is true that there are many unions organized by bureaucratic methods, but they can better be described as workingmen's business organizations which come to life once a year when the contract expires. Unionism as a way of life, which is the biggest asset Director Livingston has in doubling the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. membership in the next decade, is a lot bigger than most union officials care to admit; in fact there is a certain tendency to lean over backwards and insist that the immediate pork chop is the sole goal of labor. A certain type of university intellectual who dabbles in labor matters fiercely loves this concept of business unionism, perhaps because it is supposed to be anti-Marxist, but few average citizens love it. It is a



bit too materialistic to enlist widespread admiration among those not directly involved.

Business unionism will offer certain obstacles to Director Livingston's program. As these unions achieve a certain limited success, and their officials acquire financial and social status in rather sumptuous headquarters, bureaucratism becomes a factor. So long as the dues continue to roll in, these cumbersome machines tend to rely on their own momentum to survive. While every union covets more per capita, the imagination and drive needed for organizing become dulled and the machines become involved in contemplating their own internal problems. Unable to cope with the challenge within their own industries, they look only with vague interest toward ambitious programs for organizing women, white collars, or the South. The typical union official today is an administrator, not an organizer. The situation was highlighted when the United Auto Workers offered to toss $1,250,000 into a general organizing kitty if other unions would also chip in. The idea lies vegetating in the files and it will be interesting to see how much luck Director Livingston has in resurrecting it.

An exception must be noted. The Teamsters, an extremely self-centered and businesslike union, has garnered a rich harvest of small factories, warehouses, and processing plants. Almost any unorganized plant that a truck may enter to deliver or take away goods is subject to Teamsters' interest; so widespread has become its jurisdiction that it parallels in structure and scope the great British Transport and General Workers Union. While the Teamsters organize on a strictly self-centered basis which may afford little help to A. F. of L.-C. I. O.'s general campaigns, the success they have attained in aggressive organizing shows the possibilities lying around unrealized.

Another encouraging factor with which Director Livingston is well acquainted is the proletarianizing of the supervisory and technical staffs in heavy industry. In oil refineries, for example, there is now one supervisor for every five or six hourly workers. These, along with the technicians and professionals in the factories, are tending to become "the masses" and inclined to like the kind of protection that unionism affords.

THIS GENERATION has seen two upsurges of organization, the first growing out of the desperation of the Great Depression, the second out of World War II. In the first, workers organized themselves. In the second, the unions did the job through labor-board ballots with a powerful assist from the government which needed to have war workers mobilized for more effective direction.

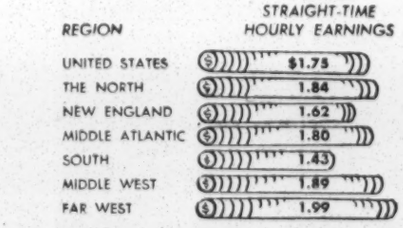
The current era differs from both. It can hardly be said that the unorganized show desperation today, particularly in the North. Many of them bask in the shade of the union umbrella without having to pay dues. Perhaps as many workers enjoy the wage benefits of unionism outside the unions as inside—they are the free riders. Then there are the millions of capitalism's captives, the indentured servants of instalment purchases. They feel they can't afford to risk strikes for the union because the sheriff might haul away the cherished TV, the beloved new car, or the housewife's proud badge of freedom, her machines for washing and cleaning. Not in their ranks of course are the appalling number even in the North who earn less than $1 an hour, but still are an influential minority among the unorganized.

Employers, too, have their umbrella, the Cadillac Cabinet in Washington, basically hostile to unionism. Lothair Teetor, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce whose Perfect Circle firm in Indiana believes in shooting it out with the United Auto Workers, hastily abandoned his Washington post not, perhaps, because his hostility to the union was repudiated but because this display of pre-Rooseveltian anti-unionism was embarrassing. The Secretary of the Interior, whose struck Oregon firm depends more on starvation than bullets to beat down the union, rides more easily in the Cabinet. Under Eisenhower, the National Labor Relations Board has become a coolly hostile force from which unions can expect no favors. Insofar as possible, they bypass the very board which was set up originally to protect their right to organize. If a minor depression should set in, the unions, under the present Administration, might well find themselves entrenched in a war of self-preservation rather than in seeking more millions to organize.

Director Livingston then must face the intrinsic differences of this period, which contrasts with the 1930's and with the war years. There is an undeniable passivity among many unorganized workers and a growing intransigence among hard-boiled employers. These are high hurdles.

Any serious proposal to add millions to the labor movement must take into account the South, where industry is burgeoning, wages are low, and security generally non-existent. The emancipation of Southern labor is the key not only to the creation of a truly national labor movement but to the refreshment of American political life. A South brought up to national wage standards, liberated from industrial-plantation feudalists, and freed from bondage to the race issue would give a new turn to the national life. This long overdue emancipation can be labor's greatest gift both to the South and to the country at large. It will be achieved when Southern workers find the union key. They

AVERAGE HOURLY EARNINGS, APRIL 1954 ALL MANUFACTURING, BY REGIONS



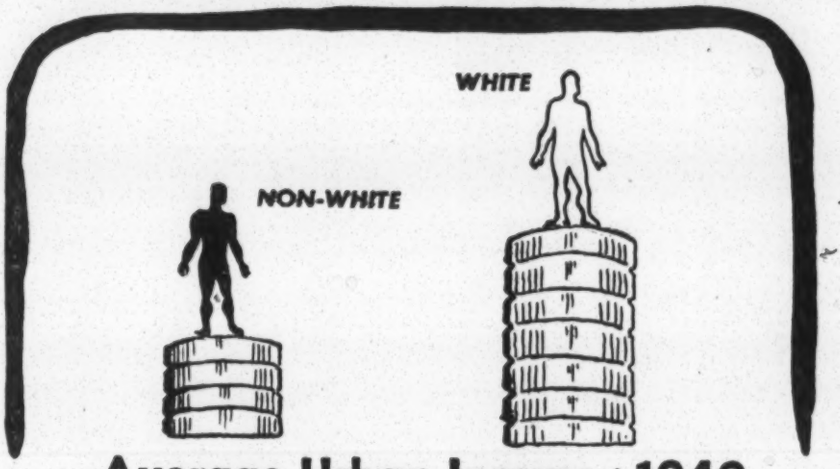
Source: CIO Fair Labor Standards Committee, Fact Sheet 12

are ready, they are good joiners, and when they have pledged their word they are loyal to it (a mighty asset on the picket line). Here especially the spiritual values that labor can express find a ready response. Southern workers are tired of being second-class industrial citizens, of being told that sunshine is a good substitute for adequate pay and the self-respect that unions bring. Nor will the chains of instalment-buying bind them; they have little to lose and much to win in a fight.

The textile baronies along the Atlantic Piedmont differ as sharply from the industrialized Birmingham region as does oil-rich Texas and the Southwest from either. There is no unified "South." Alongside the peonized sugar workers of Louisiana are unionized oil workers on the Gulf Coast who have wiped out the North-South wage differential. The Birmingham steel workers have just erased the wage differential; the meat packers are narrowing the margin. Along the bayous and in the piney woods giant new plants are mushrooming, most of them built by Northern corporations accustomed to dealing with unions up North. Any Southern organizer will tell you that a new plant is twice as easy (or half as difficult) to line up as an older one.

Nevertheless repeated "Southern drives" have petered out. A good bit of the blame must be placed at labor's door because of its hesitant attitude toward Negroes. A firm stand has been diluted out of concern for the prejudices of the white worker; as a result neither white nor Negro is organized.

There is no disguising the stubbornness of racial prejudice; on the other hand it has been magnified out of all perspective by the racist press and agitators. It is becoming increasingly clear to Southern workers that discrimination is holding back both races. All the way from Richmond to Corpus Christi union leaders can give concrete examples of success in fighting discrimination. The Negro, as an ally, can decide the issue of unionism in the South; if he is left uninterested, he can defeat unionism by his mere passivity. When the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. brings its fight for economic and political equality out of the clouds of convention oratory and pious resolutions into a genuine fighting program, the next drive in the South will need neither millions of dollars nor thousands of paid organizers. To paraphrase Marx, the emancipation of the Southern workers will be achieved by the Southern workers themselves, once Negroes are assured a position in the labor movement fully equal to their white brothers.



Average Urban Income · 1949

CITY OR REGION	AVERAGE INCOME White	AVERAGE INCOME Non-White	NON-WHITE INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF WHITE
ATLANTA	$2,238	1,020	45.6%
MEMPHIS	2,201	921	41.8
NEW ORLEANS	2,090	981	46.9
NEW YORK	2,562	1,858	72.5
CHICAGO	2,695	1,919	71.2
ST. LOUIS	2,403	1,402	58.3
LOS ANGELES	2,297	1,627	70.8
SOUTH	1,866	862	46.2
NORTH CENTRAL	2,242	1,681	75.0

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS, 1950

THE MAIN reason organized labor has made little progress in recent years can be found in "public opinion." Director Livingston will find this public opinion the all-important factor in his organizing plans. Not the public opinion so readily manufactured by the mass media controlled by the business elements, but rather that of the grapevine, of word-of-mouth that spreads among unorganized workers as they eye unionism as it is. In this, the spiritual factors far outweigh the material, odd as that may seem. The name of John L. Lewis was magic to millions in the 1930's because at last one of their own stood up, fought back, and won against the titans of his time. That exhilaration of spirit was worth more than millions in the treasury. The image of Organized Labor as the protector of the poor, the apostle of public education, the champion of better health and welfare, the watchdog against private plunder of the national resources, the advocate of world brotherhood, is the most valuable asset the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. director of organization can possibly have. That is why the business press has been so keen to show up sporadic pilfering of

union-welfare funds and to front-page the mansions of a few labor leaders. If the labor movement can be reduced in public estimation to a selfish materialistic concept in which a favored class advances its own pay (and prices to the public, as the press insists) and collaborates with municipal corruptionists for special privilege, the vast majority of men and women still outside the House of Labor will remain there. If labor's political action, in practice, seems aimed at seeking favors, in advancing the interests of political shysters, in urging expanded military expenditures so that unionized war workers in plane factories and other munitions plants may be sheltered, there will be little spark of response from the unorganized. Even if their aspirations are unverbalized, they seek security, dignity, peace.

In truth there have always been the two drives within the labor movement, the one animated by the highest concern for humanity, the other rather desperately seeking to find safety for some behind barriers. Across the country from coast to coast there are thousands dedicated to the proposition that unions are the engines of democracy in an industrial society; their voices are going to be heard increasingly as the bankruptcy in imagination and drive of the business unionists continues to breed sterility. It is to them that Director Livingston will need to be looking for the organizers, largely unpaid, of the millions who should be in the unified House of Labor.

Democracy and the Labor Unions

IN THE last fifteen years, the terms "civil liberties" and "civil rights" have more and more been used to designate different kinds of liberties; "civil liberties," the broad social, political, economic, and religious rights guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution, "civil rights" the right to be free of discriminations based on race, color, creed, or national origin. On the whole, labor's record is much better in the latter field than in the former.

Generally speaking, American labor's position on civil liberties has been ambivalent. Although no group in our society has a higher stake in civil liberties, labor has seldom organized to defend civil liberties in a systematic way. Indeed it is arguable that more efforts to defend labor's civil liberties have been formed without than within the labor movement. On the other hand, labor has had to battle all the way for the right to organize and for recognition of collective-bargaining principles, and its gains in these fields have had important civil-liberties implications. But these battles have generally been waged for specific bread-and-butter objectives, rather than to vindicate the right to organize and bargain collectively as an aspect of basic constitutional freedom. And this is so despite the fact that freedom of speech, assembly, and petition have been key issues in many organizational drives. To this day labor continues to present its case better when the issue directly involves its right to organize, as in its excellently conducted campaign against state right-to-work laws (see The Right-To-Work Laws by Eleanor G. Astor, *The Nation*, April 2, 1955), than when civil liberties issues of less immediate concern are at stake.

IN LARGE part because of the intensity of the initial employer opposition to unions and collective bargaining, the structure of American trade unions gave more attention to safeguarding the union from external attack or internal disruption than to the rights of individual union members. For years the courts made extremely little headway in their repeated efforts to protect local unions, and their treasuries, from the often arbitrary action of executive boards. While there has been marked improvement in this area of recent years, there is still need for a larger measure of internal democracy. Free speech is still an unrecognized principle in too many unions. In how many large American unions is a "loyal opposition" permitted to function? Opposition candidates in elections are all too rare. In many unions, the right of a minority to even limited access to the union's publication for the purpose of airing alternative views and policies is severely restricted or not recognized at all. It is not surprising, therefore, that the leadership of American labor has talked more often about labor's right to organize than about civil liberties in general. Nor is it surprising that the rank and file of many unions has exhibited marked indifference to denials of civil liberties to other groups; they just haven't known too much about civil liberties.

Also surviving in wide sections of the American labor movement is the Gompers conception of a narrow, non-political preoccupation with bread-and-butter issues. This tradition, whatever its merits at particular times, did not encourage a broad outlook on such issues as civil liberties. And, be it noted, the general public's attitude toward labor did not always encourage labor to become concerned about the denial of civil liberties to other groups.

Given these considerations, it is not surprising that wide sections of the labor movement should, like other elements in the society, have been caught up in the hysteria of the cold war. Specific factors in the postwar period encouraged this tendency. In the immediate postwar period, sections of labor had accumulated grievances which had not found open expression because of the wartime proscription of strikes. At the same time, opportunists saw a chance to utilize the traditional anti-radical climate of the labor movement to ride to power. After all, the first Smith Act prosecution had been launched in Minneapolis at the instigation of high officials of the Teamsters' union who were anxious to liquidate a Trotskyite faction that controlled its locals in that city. Opportunistic leadership elements, noting the change in the general climate of opinion, were quick to use the Communists, and radical rank-and-file elements, as scapegoats in a postwar period. Purges were conducted within particular unions and eleven left-wing unions were expelled from the C. I. O. after World War II. In point of fact, however, most unions, A. F.

of L. and C. I. O., had dealt with the Communist issue in the late 1930's and early 1940's; the cold-war atmosphere merely provided a setting within which the issue could be exploited for a variety of reasons and motivations. Nevertheless, the material which formed the basis of the expulsion of the left-wing unions of the C. I. O. was incorporated by Senator Humphrey in hearings held in 1951 which led eventually to the enactment of the Communist Control Act of 1954. This act was backed in the Senate by some of labor's staunchest friends, despite the fact that every labor group—A. F. of L., C. I. O., Railway Brotherhood, and major independent unions—had opposed the anti-labor bills, such as the Butler Bill, incorporated in the 1954 act. True, the bill was labeled a Communist Control Act, but some of its provisions have clear anti-labor implications. Witness the fact that the A. F. of L. did manage to secure the following exception:

> That any labor organization which is an affiliate in good standing of a national federation or other labor organization whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Commnist organizations, and Communist foreign governments, or the world Communist movement, shall be presumed prima facie not to be a "Communist-infiltrated organization."

Because of these internal developments in the postwar period the labor movement was slow to react to the curtailment of civil liberties which began, in a sense, with the promulgation of President Truman's loyalty order in 1947. Implicit in the order was the idea of blacklisting, both of organizations and of individuals. States, counties, and cities began to adopt similar provisions which directly affected many unions and their members. Private organizations and institutions began to adopt the same procedures. At the same time, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, and the Senate Government Operations subcommittee conducted hearings which, related to a series of Smith Act and perjury prosecutions under the Taft-Hartley Act, intensified political fears, bred panic and hysteria, and extended the blacklists. The A. F. of L. had consistently endorsed the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the years when that committee was harassing certain C. I. O. unions. At this earlier period, the C. I. O. took strong positions in defense of civil liberties but these positions were asserted with lessening vigor as the cold war intensified. Many C. I. O. unions were opposed to the first—Minneapolis—Smith Act prosecution, but after 1948, when Communists took the place of Trotskyites as defendants, the attitude changed. The timing of Congressional hearings on "un-American

activities" in connection with pending N. L. R. B. elections between rival union groups, and also in relation to pending collective-bargaining negotiations and internal trade-union elections, clearly indicated that elements in the labor movement were collaborating with the staffs of the committees.

Later, too, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions were slow to react to army discharge cases, to such political prosecutions as the Lattimore case, and the implications of the industrial security personnel set-up, to the spread of test oaths (involving, in some areas, tenants in housing projects, as well as teachers and municipal employees), denials of passports, and to prosecutions under state sedition statutes where the constitutional issues were virtually identical with those involved in state right-to-work laws which labor bitterly opposes. Yet these measures could hardly fail to concern labor; according to Chief Justice Warren the federal government's security program now embraces 8,000,000 Americans—3,000,000 in the armed services, 2,400,000 in government employment, and almost 3,000,000 employees of defense contractors. Senator Hennings puts the total much higher, namely 20,000,000. As was pointed out recently in *The Nation*, provisions of the industrial security program could easily be used to make a shambles of union-security provisions in collective-bargaining agreements as well as to blacklist trade-union members.

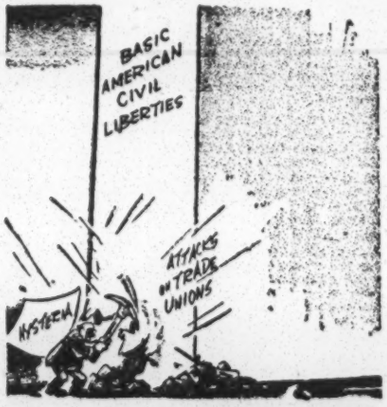
True, some unions have opposed these developments; the U. A. W.'s action in the Radulovich case is apposite. But by and large, labor has been slow to react to these measures, it has let other groups lead, and when it has acted it has not followed up with recommendations which would lead to a growing rank-and-file awareness of the issues. Too often also it has failed to adopt measures designed to bring labor's political power to bear on Senators and Representatives who might have listened to labor, if not to civil-liberties organizations or church groups. This was the pattern of labor's reaction to McCarthy, which developed slowly, uncertainly, with more attention being devoted to resolutions denouncing McCarthy than to means by which these resolutions might be implemented (see: *The Nation*, Labor and McCarthy, by Bernard D. Nossiter, July 24, 1954).

THE TIDE began to turn, so far as labor was concerned, with the adoption of a strong statement on Civil Liberties and Internal Security at the C. I. O. convention on December 9, 1954, in Los Angeles. This was much the strongest and most comprehensive statement that a major labor group had adopted up to that time. Since then, too, the more direct involvement of the labor movement in witch-hunting procedures has brought about a stiffening of labor's opposition. The C. I. O. Steelworkers, for example, came to the defense of its political-action director who had been accused of being a Communist by one of the government's professional informers. Harvey O'Connor's effort to evoke the protection of the First Amendment in a contest with Senator McCarthy won widespread labor support, doubtless because of his background in the labor movement. Similar recent instances might be cited. Throughout the period of the cold war the expelled left-wing unions conducted some effective campaigns on behalf of civil liberties, a case in

point being the impressive victory won by the West Coast I. L. W. U. in having the coast guard screening set-up declared unconstitutional.

Despite improvement, the labor movement continues to exhibit a remarkable sensitivity to official attitudes on certain key civil-liberties issues. The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists-A. F. of L., by a 4 to 1 vote in a national referendum, has approved a rule which provides that any member who invokes the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership in the Communist Party may be subject to charges and, after a hearing, to possible expulsion. In this instance, a faction of the union was clearly collaborating with the Congressional committee that held the hearing and was, in effect, a party to the blacklisting of its own members. (See Unholy Alliance, AFTRA and the Blacklist, by Jay Nelson Tuck, *The Nation,* September 3, 1955). It should be noted, however, that there was, and is, strong opposition within the union to the position taken. On the same issue, the Representative Assembly of the Newspaper Guild in New York will ballot on December 15 and 16 on a measure to determine whether the guild should resist the firing of members who have invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist Party membership.

Until the adoption of the civil-liberties resolution at the 1954 C. I. O. convention, cited above, the best statement on the role of labor in relation to civil liberties was that issued by the Packinghouse Workers-C. I. O. in 1953, under the caption The Road Ahead. The following quotation from this excellent statement is perhaps the best comment that could be made on labor's attitude toward civil liberties during the cold-war period:



Walt Partymiller
in York Gazette and Daily
Chip by Chip

> We are rapidly becoming a nation of cowed and frightened people—frightened and cowed not by any foreign power or enemy but by the McCarthys and Veldes. And we in the labor movement must confess that too often we have been counted not among the few with courage but among the many with fear.
>
> Yes, sometimes we have spoken. But not often enough, not long enough, not loud enough.
>
> And even when we spoke, we rarely acted.
>
> We, A. F. of L. and C. I. O. alike, passed resolutions condemning the activities of the House Un-American Committee and similar legislative investigating bodies. But have we taken a single concrete step in aid of any of the "unpopular" victims of these committees? Have we come to the support of Owen Lattimore in his defense against the outlandish indictment he faces? Have we been able to set aside our fears sufficiently to recognize that in his recent contempt conviction for refusing to turn his union membership lists over to a Congressional investigating committee Abram Flaxer of the United Public Workers was supporting a principle on which any trade-union leader would face jail rather than betray his trust?
>
> We in C. I. O. by official convention resolution viewed with alarm the conviction of certain Communist leaders not for overt acts but for what they taught. But neither our union nor, so far as we are aware, any other national union in either A. F. of L. or C. I. O. took a single concrete step by way of court briefs or otherwise to bring our views to a forum where they might produce results.
>
> We in the labor movement have repeatedly stated our support for the protection of the Bill of Rights. But the campaign to destroy the constitutional privilege of every individual to refuse to give testimony which may later be used against him in criminal proceedings has not vigorously been challenged by labor. This campaign pretends to accept the privilege but seeks to destroy it by promoting the false impression that those who stand on a constitutional right must be viewed as admitting guilt. College professors asserting the privilege have been fired, as if they had committed an offense. The American Association of University Professors condemned the discharge, but none from labor spoke up. Writers, artists, professional people asserting the privilege have been fired or blacklisted, as if they had committed an offense, and none from labor spoke up.
>
> In our own union, we allowed leaders of our own local unions to be placed under attack by the Un-American Committee in 1952 while we offered no support.

The A.F. of L. Machinist

But as labor moves into the post-McCarthy era—if indeed that era is at an end—several major incidents show that its militancy is not by any means dead and that given direct provocation, as by an employer, it is quite able to defend its own liberties. The Square D strike in Detroit, the Perfect Circle strike in Indiana, the Louisiana strike of the Packinghouse Workers, the strike of Miami hotel workers, of railway employees on the L. & N., and the strike against Southern Bell (all reported in *The Nation),* textile strikes in the South (Slump in Textiles, Bernard Nossiter, January 22, 1955), are proof enough that labor's militancy can be easily provoked. What the labor movement does not seem to realize yet, however, is that the institutionalized security systems, as in the industrial-security program, are far more dangerous to unions in the long run than employer union-baiting tactics.

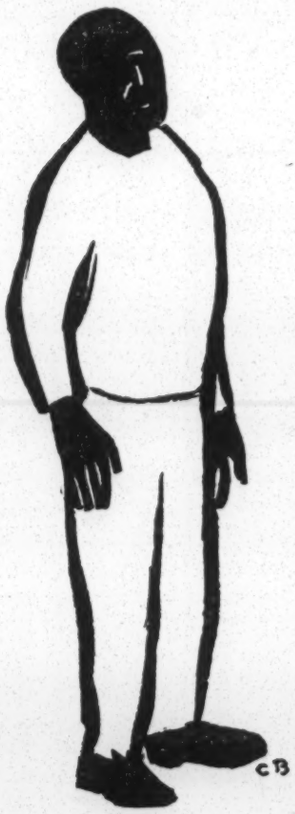
THE AMERICAN labor movement has exhibited remarkable progress, in the last decade, in the elimination of racial discrimination. Despite a strong traditional bias in some unions, the labor movement has advanced so far in this field that, at the present time, only a few unions might be cited in opposition to anti-segregation measures.

The N. A. A. C. P. indicates that only three of the lesser A. F. of L. unions still specifically exclude Negroes by their constitutions or by-laws. Thus the grossest form of racial discrimination in the labor movement has been virtually eliminated. However, some major A. F. of L.

unions continue to exclude Negroes by what is called "tacit consent." The N.A.A.C.P. also recognizes a third and larger category of discriminating unions, namely, those which for the most part confine Negroes to "auxiliary locals." The failure of labor's Operation Dixie in the South in the early 1940's was in part due to the failure of the unions to oppose segregation in a more forthright manner. The success of the Packinghouse Workers-C. I. O. in bucking segregation practices in its Southern locals confirms this judgment. In view of the marked improvement which has taken place in labor's stand on civil rights, its organizational efforts in the South should meet with a larger measure of success.

The Packinghouse Workers racial integration program is a model of its kind. It insists on a clause in its contract which not only forbids discrimination in hiring but establishes non-segregation in all plant facilities such as locker rooms and lunchrooms—even in the South. The union has a Negro international vice-president and three of its ten districts—among them one which includes Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana—are headed by Negroes.

Currently the N. A. A. C. P. is engaged in a campaign which may result in major gains for fair-employment practices. Charges have been brought before the President's Committee on Government Contracts against four major oil and chemical companies and four unions, operating in Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The companies are Esso Standard, Cities Service Refining, Carbide and Chemical, and Lion Oil; the unions are the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Oil Workers International, International Union of Operating Engineers, and Independent Industrial Workers Association. The complaint to the committee cites the action pending in the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals involving Gulf Oil and the Oil Workers International Union. What this action, in turn, involves, is nothing less than employment practices in the entire oil industry. The essence of the N. A. A. C. P.'s complaint is that the oil industry has set, and unions have acquiesced in, discriminatory hiring practices.



Individual unions have taken strong positions in support of civil-rights legislation and against the racial lawlessness that prevails in Mississippi today. The Packinghouse Workers, for example, called on Congress and the President to take these positive measures: (1) a federal investigation of the lynch murder of Emmett Louis Till and of the entire Mississippi judicial system; (2) enforcement of the Bill of Rights equally throughout the South and the North; (3) implementation of the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public school system; (4) passage of civil-rights laws during the next session of Congress to afford all citizens equal protection under the law and to guarantee their rights against segregation and discrimination; (5) passage of federal law outlawing the poll tax and other restrictions so that both white and Negro citizens in the South will be guaranteed the right to vote.

Recently delegates representing 300,000 unionists, meeting in a two-day session convened by the National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice, asked a merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O. to provide in its constitution for complete and unreserved equality of membership. Speaking at this meeting, Senator Herbert Lehman said that labor unions must complete the job of putting their own house in order "and of establishing full equality of membership without discrimination or segregation. Simultaneously, the unified labor movement must throw its full strength behind the cause of justice and equality for all Americans in all of our institutions." The proposed appointment of a Commission on Civil Rights by the merging labor groups, if carried out, should give real impetus to Senator Lehman's suggestion. However, Negro leaders are worried about the effects of the merger, and their concern is clearly manifest by their attempt to get a Negro appointed to the proposed A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Executive Council.

LABOR generally seems to be taking a more progressive stand on matters of immigration policy. Traditionally the A. F. of L. favored exclusionary immigration laws and played a key role in the agitation against Orientals on the West Coast. But at recent hearings on the McCarran-Walter act spokesmen for both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. favored changes in the quota formula and more liberal admission policies. Labor's attitude on the so-called "wetback" problem, while reflecting to some extent the traditional bias in favor of exclusionary policies, has nevertheless been accompanied by statements, such as those issued by the Texas State Federation of Labor-A. F. of L., which are a far cry from those issued by labor when the exclusionary immigration act of 1924 was adopted. Similarly, labor may be expected to take a more favorable position in defense of civil liberties. Like the country as a whole, it is beginning to move clear of the black shadow of fear and hysteria.

Labor and Political Action

ON NOVEMBER 8, 1955, American voters in a scattering of municipal and state elections provided political analysts with enough evidence to suggest two seemingly contradictory trends in so far as organized labor's role in politics was concerned. On the one hand, labor unions helped the Democrats score a series of stunning victories. Of special interest were the astonishing returns in Indiana, where New Castle, the battleground of the United Auto Workers and the Perfect Circle Corporation, threw out the incumbent Republican mayor who had been instrumental in using the National Guard to limit labor's rights in that long and bitter strike. The farm vote unquestionably helped in creating the Indiana revolt, but labor played an important role. On the other hand, in nearby Ohio, organized labor received a severe setback when it presented a strictly labor issue to the voting public, namely, a revision of the Ohio unemployment-compensation law including a clause that would make legal the payment of the modified guaranteed-annual-wage supplements negotiated by the U. A. W. with Ford and General Motors.

Contradictions such as this are typical of labor's political history in the last few decades. Does an A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger promise labor greater consistency and effectiveness in political action? Will the 16,000,000 members of an A. F. of L.-C. I. O. be able to realize their full potential as a political force?

Politically, the trade-union movement developed along unexpected lines. As late as 1914 the A. F. of L. was "anti-political"; as an "aristocracy" of labor it moved on a narrow plane of so-called practical politics involving petty legislation—building-trades problems, the repeal of labor injunction laws, and so on. Its policy was expressed in Samuel Gompers's dictum: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." This nonpartisanship was broken briefly in 1924 when the A. F. of L. endorsed Robert LaFollette for President. But this was a wayward fling at progressivism; even in the depths of the Great Depression the social and political outlook of the A. F. of L. remained so antiquated that it steadfastly refused to endorse a demand for national unemployment insurance.

But the events of the 1930's presented the A. F. of L. with a massive challenge. The depression-born C. I. O. was almost guaranteed to succeed precisely because its social and political outlook was in almost flat contradiction to that of the A. F. of L. With the C. I. O. was born a new and important role for labor in the political field. C. I. O.'s triumphs were in a sense a mass protest against craft unionism and the non-political character and passivity of the A. F. of L. Its freedom from racketeering, its rank-and-file democracy, its professed faith in the equality of races appealed to many workers and to large segments of the general public. It rushed into fields which the A. F. of L. had ignored, becoming immersed in politics from the very outset. The C. I. O. played an important role in the electoral victories of the New Deal.

AT THE C. I. O.'s helm in those early days was a group of radical young idealists who gave the new organization its political line and a crusading flavor. Even a cursory reading of the convention proceedings of the time conveys something of the dynamics of the movement; it appeared that at long last American labor was headed for the formation of a Labor Party. The creation of the American Labor Party of New York was, of course, just a first step.

Basking in the sunlight of the New Deal, the C. I. O. and even a reluctant A. F. of L. were embroiled in a series of legislative and political controversies in which their conscious goal was social reform. Almost lost was the realization that in the meantime organizational success and its attendant administrative problems were leading to dissipation of labor's new-found crusading spirit. Not until Doctor Win-the-War replaced the New Deal, and labor's ranks began to show increasing dissatisfaction with wartime restrictions, the wage freeze, and the evaporation of the idea of equality of sacrifice did the rank and file catch on to what was happening.

In Michigan a militant cadre of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. responded to the situation by forming the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, hoping that it would provide a beacon light for labor's political action throughout the nation. Meanwhile the American Labor Party had already gone through its first split when David Dubinsky refused to work with the Communist Party and helped to set up the Liberal Party in New York. History decreed a short life for the Michigan Commonwealth Federation; its program was vague, it was opposed by top C.I.O. officials who were determined to stick by President Roosevelt, and the country was drifting into the conservatism characteristic of a nation at war. In general, while the strains between the Democratic Party and labor leaders were visible on many issues, the alliance nevertheless managed to survive the war.

Part of this survival rested, of course, on the theory that labor must temporize until after the war. In the thinking of many labor leaders, the prospect of a postwar depression was coupled with the probability that there would be a swing to the Left, and that the time would then be ripe for the formation of some kind of national labor party. This feeling was encouraged by British Labor's success in defeating England's wartime hero, Winston Churchill. In this country speculative articles naming Walter Reuther as a possible Presidential candidate gained wide credence.

In retrospect, things turned out quite differently. Labor's postwar

belligerence was almost entirely confined to economic issues. The most radical thing that the labor movement did in the postwar years was to accept Walter Reuther's "open-the-books" and the General Motors strike program. Labor's compromise victories of the period represented the end rather than the beginning of the expected "swing to the Left." If labor leaders were dissatisfied with, or in some cases had private contempt for Harry S. Truman as President, their feeling turned to unbounded admiration when the little man from Missouri fooled everybody and defeated Dewey in the 1948 election.

Truman's victory stopped the trend toward independent political action by labor dead in its tracks. Thereafter, despite many public speeches and proclamations to the contrary, Walter Reuther and the U. A. W. quietly dropped the idea of building their own political machine and decided to throw their energies into rebuilding the Democratic Party in Michigan. During 1946, 1947, and 1948 U. A. W. leaders could more easily be found at Democratic meetings than in ordinary union gatherings. In Michigan the C. I. O. had repeatedly backed losers in Detroit municipal elections, but in 1948 they found a surprising winner—Governor "Soapy" Williams. Since then Michigan politics, from labor's standpoint, have revolved around the relations of Governor Williams and Walter Reuther.

The Michigan pattern was typical of labor's shifted position throughout the nation in the 1948-1952 period. What had been an alliance of convenience between the Democratic Party and the labor movement, rationalized on the C. I. O. side as a technique for capturing the machinery and converting it to the use of a new labor party, had become a permanent marriage. The labor press ran fewer and fewer articles urging independent political action and settled down to loud praise of the Democratic Party as the party of the people.

Meanwhile the pressure of the C. I. O. had forced the A. F. of L. in 1948 to create Labor's League for Political Education. But this was never intended as a hat in the ring.

The most important test of labor's role within the Democratic Party came in 1950 when the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. went all out to defeat Senator Robert A. Taft in Ohio. The unions were so blinded by their hatred of the author of the Taft-Hartley law that they failed to look at their own candidate. Joe Ferguson was an inconsequential politician who, when asked what his foreign policy was, replied: "Beat Michigan." This witticism, at a time when all America was concerned with the cold war, hardly gave Ohio voters confidence in labor's judgment. Yet it never occurred to the union leaders that they might be licked. Nor did they realize, even after Taft's reelection, that their essentially "status quo" program for a long-dead New Deal had little glamour for vast new segments of American voters. The leaders thought that Taft's victory proved they hadn't worked hard enough, hadn't brought enough voters to the polls. It didn't dawn on them that there might be a youth vote, that 4,000,000 new voters had come on the scene in the last ten years; that there was a woman's vote, even in a union household. In fact, labor was so sure that it could win simply by ringing more doorbells that it saw Adlai Stevenson as a sure victor over Eisenhower in 1952. Even the cautious A. F. of L. abandoned its non-partisan straddle long enough to endorse its first major-party Presidential candidate.

Walter Reuther

The 1952 elections became a turning point for the labor movement on two fronts, organizational and political. After a moment of shocked realization that the New Deal was gone forever, influential labor leaders like George Meany and Walter Reuther saw the necessity of immediate labor unity. The approach to this goal in December of 1955 must be understood as a major defensive move on the part of labor. In its own way, it testifies to labor's failure in the arena of national politics. The unification of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. under the pressure of political ineffectiveness is a marriage of diplomacy, not one of love. There are many grounds for conflict within what may soon become one union movement.

Labor has developed new political acumen. There is reason to believe that not all labor leaders would now agree with James L. McDevitt that "Any fellow who thinks we can better ourselves by staying out of politics is talking the way that the N. A. M. wants him to talk. In 1947 the membership of the A. F. of L. climbed to 7,600,000 workers, the greatest number in our history. Yet despite our strength the infamous Taft-Hartley Act was passed that year. How did this happen? That's easy. We had strength—but we didn't use it. Too many talked and too few acted. As a result we are paying through the nose in 1955 for our disinterest in the elections of 1946 and 1952." This repetition of the Taft alibi makes no sense in view of the size of the 1952 vote. The big turnout elected Eisenhower. Furthermore, various unions have since checked up on the voting attitudes of their own members; the U. A. W., to take one example, found that 25 per cent of the secondary leaders and an even greater number of the rank and file had voted for Eisenhower. Just getting out the vote is obviously not the answer.

BUT IF large parts of labor have learned what won't work, there is no clear evidence that it knows yet what will. The 1955 unification move is, we repeat, essentially a defensive tactic, dictated by the 1952 debacle. Labor still lacks faith in its own ideas, its influences, and its powers. Its spokesmen say, "We can't deliver the labor vote." They are still resigned to their role as second-class citizens in the Democratic Party. The illness of President Eisenhower, it must be admitted, has given a boost to labor's political morale. And now everyone is feeling more cheerful because of trends detected in the November 8 elections. As a result a new unified labor movement will carry on political

activity at a level of intensity seldom seen in this country.

The question remains: Can labor ever reach its political goals by continuing to act as tail for the Democratic Party? Is there any evidence that the dilemmas that have perplexed labor in the last twenty years have decreased? Backed by a growing rebellion in the farm states and by the combined forces of the labor movement, the Democratic Party may very well win in 1956. But labor leaders cannot look forward to that victory with unmixed jubilation. Why should a new Democratic Congress act any better than the present one on key issues affecting the labor movement? Is Adam Clayton Powell likely to get more cooperation on F. E. P. C. than he does now? Does any labor leader seriously expect that victorious Democrats would repeal or basically amend the Taft-Hartley law? And how can the labor movement appeal to the general public when its foreign policy is no different from the Administration's?

To question still more deeply, can labor's economic program, which is essentially "guns and butter"—more defense with more social gains—stand the test of experience? In the 1952 elections labor's leaders gave unqualified support of the Democratic Party record, including Korea. This ran counter to the sentiment of a large segment of the rank and file, which yearned for peace and a new approach to world politics. The dissatisfaction helped Eisenhower and may well help the Republicans in 1956.

Can a unified labor movement be more effective in politics? More to the point, *should* labor be more effective in politics? In theory, a unified labor movement will set up housekeeping in well-cleaned quarters. If, as promised, corruption and racketeering are driven out of some sections of the labor movement, the American people will listen more attentively to labor's denunciation of Republican corruption and favoritism. If the discriminatory A. F. of L. unions let down their barriers, the Negro population will take more stock in the union champions of civil liberties. But not if the leaders continue to swallow the conservative and Dixiecrat tendencies in the Democratic Party. Senator Kefauver's phenomenal rise to national prominence is as much proof as anyone should need that large sectors of the American public, including union's rank and file, are tired of bossism and dictation from above. Will a united labor movement be sufficiently democratic to restore the confidence of its own members in the ideas and policies of the newly combined leadership?

And last, is labor capable of a self-appraisal and analysis candid enough to expose the reasons for its past defeats? Is it willing to educate new leaders and to suggest fresh ideas that can meet the problems confronting everybody in an epoch of world tensions and in a society that is restless, uncertain, and changing almost from day to day?

Labor and the Cold War

THE TWO great American labor federations were scheduled to unite at a time when profound changes in the international scene are everywhere compelling a reevaluation of past policies. To many observers it seems that the cold war—or at least its more freezing aspects—has come to a close. The Western monopoly of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons has been broken; now the threat of atomic annihilation is faced by all nations equally. The Afro-Asian conference at Bandung last spring symbolized the rising tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism which is flooding great areas of the world. The "spirit of Geneva" was in turn a symbol of the vast popular demand for the secure establishment of world peace.

Under these circumstances there is full agreement among A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders that foreign-policy matters must be given major attention by a merged organization. This would be no more than the logical continuation of a trend which has been perceptible in the labor movement for more than a decade. From isolationism in the early 1930's, labor has been swinging steadily toward internationalism and increased involvement in questions of foreign policy.

Organized labor grew immensely during World War II both in status and in numbers. The A. F. of L., recovering from the challenge of the C. I. O., emerged in the postwar period twice the size of its younger competitor and securely established as the dominant labor branch. The war years constituted a period of relative labor-management peace, with the government becoming arbiter of wages and working conditions. The intimacy between organized labor and government thus established carried into the postwar years and paved the way for labor's active support of the government's foreign policies.

General George Marshall

At the war's end the A. F. of L. wasted neither words nor time in stating its opposition to the idea of Big Three unity, a policy which it has maintained without compromise to the present day. During the A. F. of L.'s 1946 convention, the Executive Council stated:

> The U. S. S. R. and its subordinate "friendly" nations are not interested in making peace but in utilization of the peace forum as well as the occupation of conquered territory as opportunities to extend the control of the Communist Party and expand a despotism as cruel and bloody as any recorded in history.

The convention revealed the existence of a "secret" but undeniably major international labor apparatus in support of the cold war. President William Green introduced Irving Brown as the A. F. of L.'s European representative who had spent the previous eleven months making contacts with trade unionists in Western Europe. In his report to the convention, Mr. Brown leaped to the attack: "I say that the irreconcilable conflict in Europe today is the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism and it is our job . . . to lend every possible aid to . . . the free trade-union movement." Mr. Brown called for the speedy rebuilding of Germany with no reference to denazification or the elimination of cartels. In this, the A. F. of L. was ahead of official United States policy, which was then still tied to the Potsdam agreement for denazifying, decartelizing, and demilitarizing Germany.

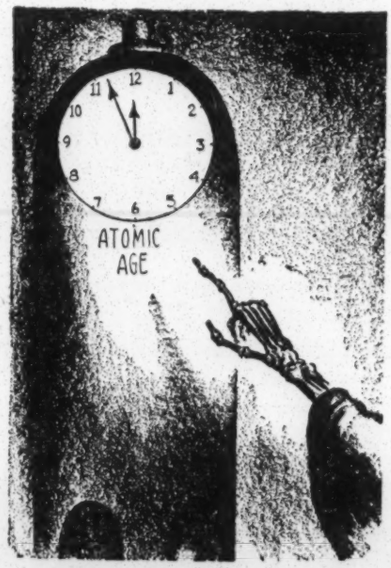
JAY Lovestone, a former founder and head of the American Communist Party, exerted a powerful guiding influence on the postwar operations of the A. F. of L. in the foreign field. Since 1944 he has been the executive secretary of the federation's Free Trade Union Committee; he is also director of international labor relations for David Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Irving Brown and other A. F. of L. agents like him are serving under the guidance of Lovestone. They have spent large amounts of money in an attempt to win over labor unions throughout the world to our side in the cold war.

Veteran labor reporter Edwin A. Lahey recently reported that "Lovestone's office in New York is a 'drop' for the world-wide system of intelligence agents who keep him up to date on affairs behind the iron curtain both in Europe and in Asia. Lovestone insists that there is no formal connection between him and the Department of State. But it can be said without qualification that the C. I. A., headed by Allen Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State, has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international communism from Lovestone." (Washington *Post*, August 21.)

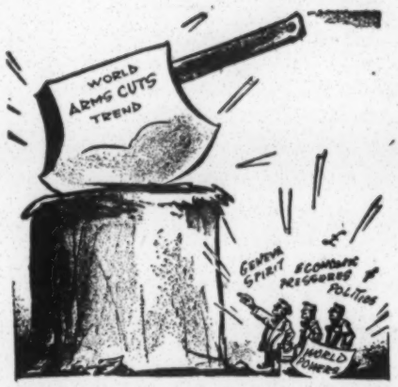
As for the C. I. O., its 1947 convention in Boston was the turning point. Sharp conflict arose on the question of the Marshall Plan. There was general agreement that the United States should assist needy nations; the issue was whether the aid should be given within the framework of Big Three unity via the U. N. and UNNRA, or within the framework of a "free-world" bloc aimed at containment or perhaps even liberating the Soviet bloc. In the end the "free-world" idea won unanimous approval and the C. I. O. moved to partnership with the A. F. of L. in supporting the government's cold-war policy.

Big guns were brought into play to achieve this result. Boston's Archbishop Cushing, delivering the opening address, gave not the usual benediction but a major speech. He warned the convention against "potential traitors to America and to our organizations in the labor movement," and called upon the C. I. O. for support of "such points and plans of American foreign policy as will put our resources—food, money, coal, clothing, friendship, and faith" behind the democratic nations in the "war on hunger, poverty, cold, discouragement, and fear in the war-breeding areas of the world."

Three days later, for the first time in American history, a Secretary of State, General George Marshall, appeared to address an American labor convention. Marshall spoke briefly, with dignity, discretion, and great effect. He called for wholehearted support of his plan, which had not yet been drawn up in detail



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
The hour is late



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily
It matters little what you call it

by the Administration or by Congress. He warned: "We are faced with the danger of the actual disappearance of the characteristics of Western civilization on which our government and our manner of living depend." A few minutes later, the convention debated its foreign-policy plank, a resolution which so adroitly combined old and new positions of the C. I. O. that it eventually won unanimous support.

The entire labor movement was now lined up as an ally of the State Department and in support of a bipartisan policy aimed at mobilizing the "free world," under American leadership, against the Russian "threat."

There remained some highly interesting mopping-up operations, especially by the C. I. O. The controversy over the Marshall Plan became the issue on which both the C. I. O. and the British Trades Union Congress left the World Federation of Trade Unions. It was also a crucial issue, together with the related Wallace campaign of 1948, in the C. I. O.'s expulsion of eleven Left-orientated unions in 1949. In the same year the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. joined with the British T. U. C. to form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in competition with the W. F. T. U. The State Department now moved quickly to appoint labor representatives to the staffs of various American embassies and foreign missions.

Since the end of the Korean war, public pressure for peace has mounted steadily. The implied (and kept) promise of Eisenhower to end the conflict in Korea revealed the political power of the peace issue. The trial balloon sent up to test

the acceptability of American intervention to save French colonial rule in Indo-China was quickly shot down.

It is true that only three Senators finally voted against the Presidential request earlier this year for power to wage war to save the Quemoy and Matsu islands from Chinese Communist invasion. Public opposition to the request, however, was overwhelming. The New York *Times* correspondent James Reston reported:

> The reaction throughout the country against getting involved in a war over Matsu and Quemoy has been so strong that the President has felt he had to take it into account. . . . This anti-war sentiment also has had an influence on Republican political leaders, who are urging that the most effective appeal in the next year's Presidential campaign will be for the Republicans to go to the country as peacemakers. . . .

Last winter a Gallup poll showed that of all Americans who had an opinion on the issue, peaceful coexistence was favored by nearly 3 to 1. Great church organizations—led as usual by the courageous and principled Quakers—such as the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Conference of the Methodist Church, and the World Council of Churches spoke out for their members in behalf of peaceful coexistence through negotiation.

But powerful forces in the country are opposing the trend to peace. The Republican leader in the Senate, Knowland of California, speaks for them when, in direct opposition to President Eisenhower, he charges that the Administration is appeasing world communism by accepting the "Soviet Trojan horse of coexistence."

Where, in this conflict of views, does organized labor stand? The A. F. of L., as represented by its Executive Council and President George Meany, stands with Knowland in aggressive opposition to the concept of coexistence. Speaking this year at the annual convention of the New York State A. F. of L., Mr. Meany expressed the fear that the Eisenhower Administration was substituting "massive appeasement" for its old doctrine of "massive retaliation." He urged that the United States reject "coexistence with gangsters." Again, addressing the American Legion convention last month, he assailed the "Geneva spirit" and brought the Legionnaires to their feet with an attack on the State Department for permitting "cultural exchanges" with Russia. He pledged that no trade-union delegations would visit the Soviet Union.

As early as 1952 the A. F. of L. was moving very close to open advocacy of war in the Far East. It urged official involvement of American military forces in both the Indo-China and Malayan conflicts. Early this year its Executive Council made

a special plea to the West German Trade Union Federation to end its opposition to German rearmament—a plea which, incidentally, was firmly rejected by that strong anti-Communist body despite the best efforts of Messrs. Brown and Lovestone.

Nearly one-fifth of the Executive Council's report to the 1954 A. F. of L. convention directly touched foreign affairs. In it the council opposes colonialism and the United States pact with Spain, but the dominant theme of the report is the all-out crusade against the world "Communist menace" and the concept of coexistence. The report, which was unanimously approved by the convention, states that ". . . Geneva marks the culminating tragedy of all the many political, economic, and military mistakes made by the free world in the last decade." Nehru, Tito, Aneuran Bevan, and Ernest T. Wier are singled out as examples of dupes of the Soviet "peace line." The "new Soviet look," the report concludes, should lead to renewed effort by the United States to gain and hold allies in the cold war for a new offensive against the Soviet Union.

While the C. I. O.'s basic anti-Soviet orientation since 1947-48 is unquestioned, it has taken a back seat to the A. F. of L. in international operations; the crucial European field has been left exclusively to Lovestone and Brown. But there is evidence that the C. I. O. has been troubled by some of the consequences of the cold war. For example, John W. Livingston, vice president of the U. A. W., slated to be director of organizations in the merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O., reported in 1950 after a European visit:

> The Marshall Plan has been a miserable failure insofar as skilled wage-earners in Germany, Italy, and France are concerned. Huge profits of companies whose plants have been rebuilt and rehabilitated by Marshall Plan funds, and extremely low wages, have lowered worker morale to make effective and convincing Communist propaganda.

Similarly the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-C. I. O., Jacob Potofsky, who was scheduled to be co-chairman of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. International Affairs Committee, said of the Marshall Plan in 1951: "Our money has been used primarily to strengthen the governments in power and the industrialists. The rich grow richer and the poor poorer."

The C. I. O. has vacillated on many foreign issues, reflecting its own doubts. When the Arbenz government was overthrown in Guatemala, the organization first expressed its antagonism to the military coup and then lapsed into discreet silence. At its convention last year it adopted a special resolution warning against the war dangers of the Knowland-China Lobby proposals concerning Formosa. A few months later, when Senators Lehman, Morse, and Langer, (all C. I. O.-endorsed) were locked in battle against the China Lobby program for the Quemoy and Matsu islands, the C. I. O. Executive Board, meeting in Washington at the time, uttered not a peep. Statements against colonialism, against deals with Fascist Spain, and Reuther's constructive and enlightened Positive Program for Peace have all lain dormant while the active and real impact of C. I. O. foreign policy has been to give approval to the cold-war policies of the State Department.

Within units of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., however, strong sentiment for peace and coexistence can be found. In November, 1954, the *Butcher Workman*, official magazine for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen- A. F.

of L., edited by Patrick E. Gorman, said editorially:

> There are many, including the most forceful labor leader in the world today, President George Meany of the A. F. of L., who believe that coexistence with Russia is impossible. If this idea becomes the general thinking of the people of the United States then another world war is inevitable. In this era when uranium, hydrogen, and cobalt bombs are being stockpiled by the two great nations who know the secret of these monstrosities, we had better think twice before we definitely conclude that coexistence with Russia is out of the question. . . . This nation, as well as the nations of the world, must realize that the atom bomb is no longer the private property of any nation and if, as indicated herein, these monstrosities could destroy the human race, then we repeat again, it is COEXISTENCE OR NO-EXISTENCE.

The following month the publication of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union-A. F. of L. supported the stand of the *Butcher Workman* and added: "We can think of a lot of things that would be better for mankind than being blown together into a radioactive Outer Darkness, regardless of one's politics. One of them is quiet, unhurried collective bargaining, or diplomacy with everybody checking his shooting irons at the door."

Or consider the warning issued by the A. F. of L. paper, the *Colorado Labor Advocate,* just prior to the October foreign ministers' meeting in Geneva, that the ministers' task

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Slow but Sure

was "not rendered any easier by the undercurrent of distrust and cynicism." The paper expressed the hope that "Secretary of States Dulles and the United States delegation do not hearken to the voices of the all-or-nothing advocates who would just as soon provoke a world war as give in on a single point in the world game of give-and-take." And in October the annual convention of the Illinois A. F. of L., representing 900,000 workers, unanimously voted commendation to President Eisenhower for his efforts for peace at Geneva and urged continuing negotiations "on every possible level . . . in order to resolve the conflicts between East and West." This powerful A. F. of L. state body, underlining the peace issue in coming elections, urged that "labor-backed candidates for office become the best exponents of a genuine policy of peace in order to bring about the political defeat of those now in Congress and the Administration who oppose continuous negotiations to ease world tensions."

The February 1 issue of *Labor's Daily,* published by the International Typographical Union-A. F. of L., praised Senators Lehman, Morse, and Langer for their fight against the "blank check for war" in the Quemoy-Matsu islands and warned against the dangers of "preventive" war. The May issue of *Labor,* the publication of the railway workers' union, also supported the Morse-Lehman-Langer position and declared that "conciliatory moves" by both the Soviet Union and Communist China had sent a "wave of hesitant hope throughout the world."

Many C. I. O. unions, too, have shown an independent attitude toward foreign policy and the cold war. In February, 1952, when the Korean war was still raging, the International Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers of America-C.I.O., after what it termed a "searching discussion," adopted a statement entitled The Road Ahead which set forth the following formula for peace:

> . . . A prompt armistice and an end to the fighting in Korea; a political settlement by good-faith negotiations in the Far East including recognition and admission to the U. N. of the government which now actually represents the Chinese people and with which, realistically, such a settlement must be made; settlement of world issues by international negotiation; and international armament reduction.

When the threat of war grew intense around Formosa early this year Al Hartung, president of the International Woodworkers Union-C. I. O. and a member of the C. I. O. committee working out the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger agreement, told a convention of his union: "I don't want your sons to fight for the rotten, corrupt leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. . . . One of our greatest mistakes was support for the kind of leadership such as Chiang Kai-shek's. We did it in Korea and now we're doing it in Formosa." And in February the *C. I. O. Packinghouse Worker,* in an editorial entitled Formosa Folly, blasted those who, they said, were responsible for the increasing threat of war. They charged that ". . . the Administration's policy is booby-trapped in a dozen different ways. It cannot succeed in the long run and responsible leaders had better come forward promptly with a policy based on world-wide political realities instead of wishful thinking and hysterical anti-communism."

WHEN, in 1953, Adlai Stevenson made an appeal to keep open all channels to a negotiated agreement with the Soviet Union, the *Advance,* organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-C. I. O., editorially praised his stand and said: "No matter how we despise communism, that is no excuse to slam the door to the conference room. That door must be kept open and we must continue entering the room in a dignified pursuit of resolving peacefully the differences that exist between the democratic world and Soviet dictatorship." The Textile Workers Union-C. I. O. echoed the sentiment: "Stevenson stressed what cannot be repeated too often—our country must make it clear to the world that our goal is peace; that if we possibly can, we want to live in harmony with the Russians, not to exterminate them."

The August 1 issue of *Advance* reprinted in full the famous Russell-Einstein statement (signed also by seven other noted scientists) calling for a ban on war. It added a note of its own: "Today, more than ever, the quest for peace and an end to war is the one single goal of man, for today, man finally contains the means of his own complete destruction—the hydrogen bomb." Jacob Potovfsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is slated to be co-chairman (with the A. F. of L.'s Matthew Woll) of the International Affairs Committee of the merged federations.

Thoughtful observers everywhere are suggesting that America's foreign policy is failing in its professed aims. The millions who are in search of peace have the right to look to the ranks of labor for support—and perhaps for leadership. Whether that challenge is met will depend on whether the drive toward peace, undeniably widespread through the rank and file of the labor movement, can break through the crust of a top-level policy which sees "containment" and "liberation" as more desirable goals than peaceful coexistence.

The Challenge of Automation

AUTOMATION, the rapidly expanding technique of replacing both skilled and unskilled workers by even more skilled and infinitely more productive machines, presents labor and the national economy with their major future problem. While automation is essentially only another phase in the advance of technology which has marked the industrial revolution since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the speed of its development and the magnitude of the labor displacement which it threatens creates apprehensions made even more vivid by memory of the technological displacements of the past.

It is not only that the hands of men are being replaced by more accurate machines, but the mind of man, hitherto an essential component of labor's skill, is being replaced by the electronic mind which does not make errors in its mental processes, and in which vacuum tubes replace man's fallible memory. The linking of the electronic mind in the form of the computer and its variations to the high-speed producing and assembling machines poses a threat similar to that of the steam loom of the early 1800's, but of such a difference in magnitude as to invite the comparison between the H-bomb and gunpowder.

The modern union knows that the only possible orderly solution of the problem created by automation lies in continuing full employment, so that men displaced by machines can find other jobs. Since World War II, the prosperous economic environment has permitted individuals, for the most part, to shift to jobs in which they were interested. However, although our labor force is at present at an all-time high, trade unions have grave misgivings about the continuance of full employment. Fundamentally, they see that while our industrial production is 41 per cent above the years 1947-49, employment has risen only 8.3 per cent. October figures showed a rise in the employed, yet unemployment as calculated by the Bureau of the Census was reported at 2,100,000. Despite the high activity, jobs in manufacturing industries in September, 1955, were 600,000 fewer than in September, 1953—80,000 below in mining and 100,000 below in transportation, public utilities, and contract construction. Obviously man-hour productivity has been rising rapidly.

Prior to World War I, man-hour productivity increased at a rate of less than 1.5 per cent per annum. It was 2.5 per cent in the inter-war era. Since 1947 it has attained a level of over 3 per cent. There is every likelihood that it will rise to 4 per cent before the end of the decade and 5 per cent thereafter. To single out one industry: in textiles, where man-hour productivity has been growing at the rate of 5 per cent per annum and total output has been stationary, employment has dropped during the last five years from 1,250,000 to less than 1,000,000—a decrease of 20 per cent.

Superimpose on this somewhat unstable structure the dislocation of modern automation, and we can see the problem in its bare essentials. Take, for example, an instance of "Detroit" automation which has so avidly been taken up by several large automobile manufacturers. In this system, a number of machines are linked together so that the material is automatically carried, positioned, and processed from one station to another in a continuous production flow. The new Milpital, California, Ford assembly plant, which uses this system, requires thirty man-hours per assembled car in contrast to the thirty-five man-hours at the older Richmond plant.

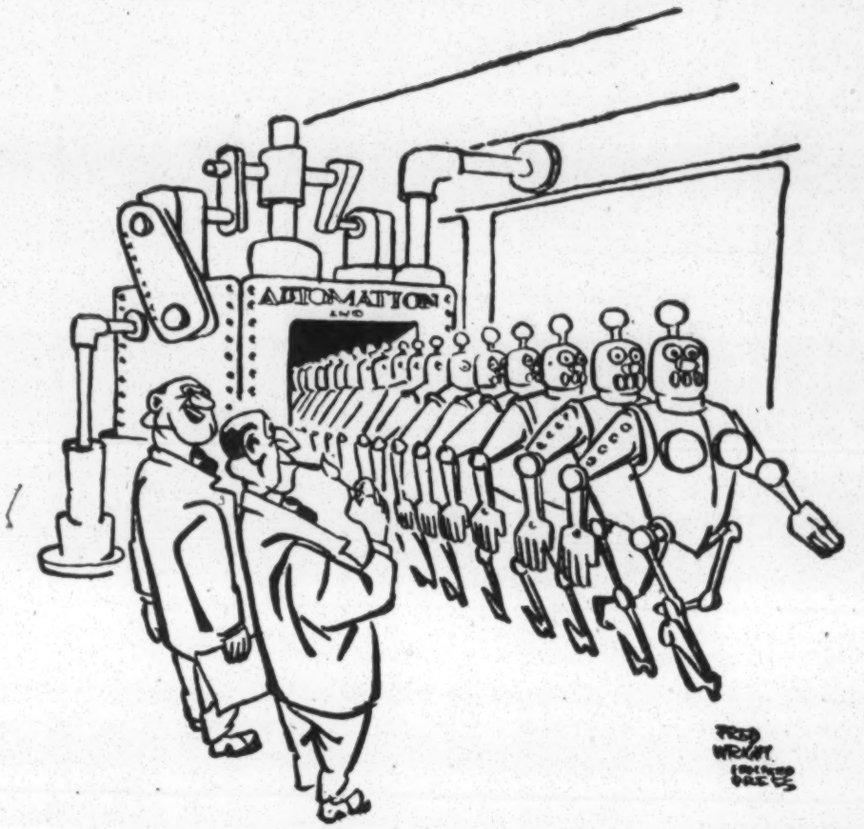
The dislocation process threatens the job security not only of the ordinary worker, but also of the highly skilled technician. For example, some of the major glass companies have developed machinery which detects flaws in the glass passing under

its electronic eyes. In the past, highly skilled workers have marked out with crayon those sections which must be cut from the flowing stream of glass to eliminate flaws. The accuracy of their markings and their experience in detection of flaws earned them high wage rates. Now the machines mark the flaws with even greater accuracy and with a saving of all the labor previously engaged on the job.

NOT ONLY manufacturing companies, but banks, insurance companies, railroads, airlines, and public utilities are moving to automation to increase rapidity of calculation and facilitate business decisions. Centralized warehouses are able to cut labor costs by 50 per cent and space by 25 per cent. New military uses, of course, have utilized these same techniques in guided missiles, radar control, and submarine detection. The newest application of tape controls of machine tools is opening up varied industrial applications.

This enormous increase in productivity which will give us more goods and services at lower costs poses a lesser threat if consumer demand keeps pace, and there is no doubt that consumer habits are changing rapidly. The American consumer has been adding to the dynamics of our economy. He has moved to the suburbs and changed his way of life. As a home-owner, he has turned to a myriad of do-it-yourself activities. The television has tied him to his living room, and vacations have added to his desire for transportation and mobility. He is more than ever susceptible to fads and new crazes. In the postwar years the growth of the Southeast and Southwest has opened up new markets and new industry has settled there. So long as the present level of high profit and full employment is maintained, we can expect the American citizen to consume more and more.

But the lessons of history are against complacent acceptance of the "high plateau" theory, i. e., that increased consumption will keep abreast of high production. The tragedies of the first industrial revolution are being studied in the schoolroom by our children. The depression of 1929-33 was associated with technological displacement. Innovations and technical obsolescence are no guaranties of high employment, and new technology often discourages investment for fear of rapid obsolescence and the necessity for accelerated depreciation. And if lower employment and decreased earnings retard consumer spending, the "plateau" will tilt sharply downward.



Federated Press

"And this will cut down the demand for a Labor Day holiday, too"

Furthermore, the task of maintaining full employment is a staggering one. We must provide employment for many of the 2,100,000 currently employed who want jobs, and in addition we must also annually create enough new jobs to absorb the 800,000 new workers who join the labor force each year. And new jobs must be provided for the more than two million workers who have to change occupations yearly because of the rising productivity which we have been discussing.

That automation and its increased productivity and displaced personnel will raise grave problems needs no further elaboration or proof, but the question of what should be done to solve these problems must be answered.

Firstly, purchasing power must be kept high by a graduated-tax system that eliminates many of the present loopholes which favor property interests and which have reduced effectiveness in assuring an adequate balance in our income distribution. Rising wage levels secured through collective bargaining and national wage patterns can help to keep the balance, but there must be no oversight, as at present, of millions of potential consumers who, because they are not enjoying adequate increases in income, are limiting the ability of the economic system to respond to the challenge.

Secondly, the existing safeguards set up to protect purchasing power must be maintained and expanded. Unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, workmen's compensation, sickness benefits, and minimum wages are examples of balancing elements which have been built into our system through legislation. But in light of the increased need for purchasing power demanded by growing productivity, more liberal coverage and benefits are required. The unions are demanding higher rates for automated jobs, guaranteed

annual wages, and additional unemployment benefits. Earlier retirement benefits have been urged for the displaced who are unable to adjust themselves to the technological revolution. Severance pay and early vested private pension systems can help to cushion bumps of a highly dynamic society.

Thirdly, theories of labor seniority will have to be restudied because individual workers will suddenly find their lifetime investments in their skills are worthless. Seniority systems will have to call for greater degree of transferability from plant to plant; for the highly skilled worker, unlike in the past, stands in as much or more danger of displacement by the vacuum tube and the servo unit as his less skilled co-worker.

Finally, the shorter work week, the classic answer to increased pro-

ductivity, deserves new study and new emphasis. A shorter than forty-hour work week is already prevalent in coal mining, rubber, building, and women's apparel, but leadership in this field must now be exercised by unions in the mass-production industries. The thirty-hour week has already become a popular battlecry among the A. F. of L. craft unions, and the newly unified labor movement will no doubt take up this issue as the most effective method of preventing productivity from completely overbalancing distribution. The shorter work week, with its attendant opportunities for developing additional consumer demands by reason of greater opportunities for leisure, presents the best single answer to automation.

We are not only on the verge of a new phase of the industrial revolution; we are in it. America's strength and future depend upon the solutions which government, the trade unions, and the public at large find for the multiple and complex problems presented by automation.

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Labor-Management Legislation Heads for Climax

'Right to Work,' Anti-Mass Picketing Bills Are Introduced

By ROY GRIMES
Post Austin Correspondent

AUSTIN, Jan. 29.—(Sp)—Fluid was the word Wednesday for the Fiftieth legislature's attitude on new labor-management legislation for Texas, but efforts to crystalize sentiment toward restrictive measures was gathering force.

Representative Marshall O. Bell of San Antonio chose the day after Governor Beauford Jester had delivered his first message to the legislature to come forward with the 1947 version of the "right to work" bill.

The same bill, which in effect would outlaw the closed shop in Texas, was passed by the House in the Forty-ninth legislature but was voted down in the Senate.

In its renewed appearance, the act was a joint presentation by Representatives Bell, Charles A. Murphy Jr., of Houston and Joe M. Kilgore of Edinburg.

Outcry Expected

The measure which may bring even more of an outcry from labor spokesmen was introduced by Representative John J. Bell of Cuero. Ostensibly an anti-mass picketing regulation, it carries sections which could make it considerably wider in scope and application.

One section would prohibit picketing in any labor-management dispute involving an existing lawful contract. Another would make it unlawful for two pickets to be within 300 feet of each other at any time. Still another would classify as slander the utterance or display of any oral or written misrepresentation in connection with picketing.

Pair Talk Up Bills

At the same time, Senator James A. Stanford of Austin and Representative Roger Q. Evans of Denison were talking up the merits of identical bills they have brought before their respective bodies following a conciliatory line of labor legislation.

The Stanford-Evans bills call for setting up a division of industrial and labor relations within the bureau of labor statistics and prescribe state mediation machinery for labor disputes.

Neither the restrictive terms of the two Bell (they are unrelated) bills nor the conciliatory provisions of the Stanford-Evans measures meet the recommendations detailed by Governor Jester on labor-management legislation in his opening message Tuesday.

Jester's Program

The Governor used three pages of his address to lay before the legislators what he thought the state could and ought to do about labor-management relations in Texas.

Much of it was in quotation from a statement by President Woodrow Wilson in 1919, keynoted by the thought that "the right of individuals to strike is inviolate and ought not to be interfered with by any process of government, but there is a predominant right, and that is the right of the government to protect all of its people and to assert its power and majesty against the challenge of any class."

Views Summed Up

Summing up the views of Governor Jester, three main points of action for the legislature were recommended:

1. That the legislature consider the enactment of a labor conciliation act similar in purpose to those of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

2. That the legislature replace the bureau of labor statistics, which renders no service as a conciliation agency, with a department of labor and industry to operate under a commission which would have equal representation from employers and labor and a larger representation from the public.

3. That the legislature outlaw strikes against the state or any of its political subdivisions.

Echo of 1945 Effort

Representative Bell's "right to work" proposal, virtually an exact echoe of his 1945 effort to knock out the closed shop, was co-authored by 22 other representatives including W. A. (Bill) Miller of Houston.

Its caption terms it an act "providing that the inherent right of a person to work and bargain freely with his employer, individually or collectively, for terms and conditions of his employment shall not be denied or infringed by law or by any organization of whatever nature; that no person shall be denied employment because of membership or non-membership in a labor union, providing that certain types of contracts shall be void and that this act shall not apply to existing contracts."

The act's biggest stick against the closed shop is in the section on contracts

"Any contract which requires or prescribes that employes or applicants for employment in order to work for an employer shall or shall not be or remain members of a labor union, shall be null and void and against public policy. The provisions of this section shall not apply to any contract or contracts heretofore executed but shall apply to any renewal or extension of any existing contract and to any new agreement or contract executed after the effective date of this act."

Almost Identical

A bill carrying almost identical provisions was filed for introduction Monday by Representatives Wayne Wagonseller of Fruitland, Joe B. Fleming of Henderson and Paul S. Wilson of Geneva. Representatives Fleming and Wilson also signed the Bell measure.

Senator Stanford and Representative Evans came out Wednesday with a statement pointing up the advantages of their bill on state mediation of labor controversies.

"Both Governor Jester and Lieutenant Governor Allan Shivers warn us against the evils of punitive labor legislation," they observed. "This bill heeds their warnings for it is not such a bill. It is a long needed complement of what we already have. It coordinates and makes more workable the labor laws now on our statute books."

Mediator Envisaged

"Their measure, besides creating the division of industrial and labor relations, would provide for a director to be appointed by the labor commissioner to serve as a state mediator in labor disputes.

The director would assist employer and employes in peaceful and voluntary settlement of controversies, to inqure into causes of differences and of industrial strife and unrest, to assist in promoting mediation, conciliation and voluntary arbitration, to collect statistical data, and to make special investigations.

In case of failure or refusal to gree in a labor dispute, the state irector would be required to call he dispute to the attention of the governor and the members of the state industrial commission within 10 days before expiration of an existing agreement. This provision would call into effect the industrial commission act of 1920, almost unused since it became a law.

Under the Stanford-Evans bill, if no agreement is reached before a contract expires, both parties must wait 10 days before a strike, work stoppage or lockout could be instituted. If either party should refuse mediation, the state director is empowered to investigate and file a public report of his findings.

The bill, its backers claimed Wednesday, would function "to keep in touch with the status of labor-management contracts and when they are about to expire to enter the discussion for mediation . . . We feel that Texas should have such a service to attempt to solve disputes by voluntary means in intra-state commerce.

"In the event the division of industrial and labor relations is unable to prevent a work stoppage by voluntary means, we now have a law to take over at that point to protect the public interest. . . . We refer to the state industrial commission. . . . Appointed by the Governor and made up of one representative of management, one of labor, and three representatives of the public. Its function is to hold public hearings, determine the true facts, and make public recommendations to the Governor in the case. It is based on the fact that an informed public opinion is the most powerful force on earth.

Since the hearing of this fact-finding commission is open to the press and public, it will be easy for the public to determine which side is right. The one which is wrong will have to back down.

"Our bill will establish the public interest before the strike. We already have it established after the strike begins."

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ADDRESS BY

ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY

TO THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

AUGUST 6, 1962

I am delighted to have this chance to speak today before this convention of the American Bar Association. Our system of judicial administration requires the closest possible cooperation between the Department of Justice and the lawyers of the land; and as Attorney General, I appreciate the opportunity to discuss matters of common concern with the distinguished representatives of the bar who I find in this room today.

Every department in the Executive Branch regards its mission as indispensable to the functioning of our democracy. But I cannot help feeling that the Department of Justice has a special and urgent responsibility, for the quest for justice is the very heart of the democratic experiment.

This, in my view, is a central and continuing obligation of the Attorney General's office as it must be for every lawyer. In meeting that responsibility I am heartened by the knowledge that we have the support, not only of our whole ethical and political tradition, but more particularly of the men and women who must see that the system operates and expands in this modern society of immense and unforeseen problems, of men, like yourselves, trained in the ideals and processes of Anglo-Saxon justice.

It has never been more important than it is today that free society display its capacity for justice. For here at home and all around the globe our system stands on trial before the world--our beliefs and our actions are pitted against a determined and resourceful and disciplined adversary--while in our own land urbanization, automation, the demand for equal rights in an age of bigness, all bear down upon us with a host of new and pressing problems.

Today, the advances of technology have become so rapid that frequently they tend to outstrip our capacity to deal with their impact upon our social and industrial system. Land urbanization has intensified a host of old problems, besides introducing new ones.

Automation is causing a situation in many areas of our country similar to 19th century England when the handicraft of a federal age was replaced by the machine-craft of the industrial age. The rise of associational activity has brought its special problems into the field of monoply and restraint of trade, into the organizational activities of labor unions, and into the dark and dirty world of crime.

The very complexity of modern life makes it easy for individual liberities to be disregarded. More and more the American people must rely on the law for the protection of these liberties.

It is here that you and I have such a heavy responsibility. For it rests on us to be certain that the legal protections so necessary for the individual do not become merely fine declarations in the lawbooks but that they actually have some real and genuine meaning for human beings to

whom they have been granted. This task requires the care and attention of the whole legal profession.

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At the Department of Justice, we are just part of this effort and as such have our limitations.

We recognize for instance that the line between what the Federal Government can and should do and what state and local authorities can and should do is often shadowy. Frequently it is the sum total of these efforts that counts. For this reason it is vital that we work closely and continuously with local authorities in achieving our common objectives.

No issues brings the role of the individual into sharper focus than that of civil rights. I am proud of the record of the Departmen of Justice in recents months in striving to assure all citizens the full rights guaranteed them under the constitution of the United States.

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall and his aides are performing a distingushed service in this respect--a service which goes far beyond instituting and prosecuting cases in the Federal courts. We have not filed a single civil rights case without first going to the local authorities. We have informed them of what appears to us to be a violation of the law, for, the Constitution being the law of the land, the local authorities--judges, prosecutors and lawyers--have an equal obligation to protect and defend it.

In the majority of cases, the local officials have taken action and nothing further has been required of the Federal Government. There are no front page news stories, but there are changes; there are results and they are brought about by local officials--not the Government in Washington. In the long run this is what is of real importance in this country

Sometimes the local authorities have disagreed with us about the law, and we have gone to court. On other occasions, local authorities were unwilling to remedy the situation, or could not because of what they believed to be the political facts of life, and so court action was necessary.

In all this effort Burke Marshall has been in the forefront, negotiating, prodding, advising, persuading--working with explosive problems and devising solutions which fulfill the law of our land the ideals of our nation. This is the historic role of the lawyer in the fullest sense.

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I am proud, too, of those Federal judges who have seen and done their duty under difficult circumstances. A judge's popularity or unpopularity is of no proper concern to him in the performance of his judicial duties. Yet to do that duty--to give an honest reading of the constitution and of the law of the land--may and often does require great courage.

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I might add that this is also the sworn obligation of every lawyer. If the bar has done much to assist in the orderly realization of constitutional rights, I would be less than candid if I did not tell you that I believe more can and should be done.

Another area of concern to every private citizen-and every lawyer - is the war against organized crime. Crime is not only a cause of economic waste, but far worse than that, it is a reproach to the moral pretensions of our society- and advertises to the world the gap between our pronouncements and our performance.

The battle against crime must have a top priority in protecting individual rights. We have heard much about the rights of the individual and with this I have no quarrel - but the general public also has some rights that need to be protected. We have made some encouraging gains in the last twenty months.

The criminal division for the first time is spearheading a coordinated drive by all Federal law enforcement agencies to reduce the entrenched power and wealth of organized crime to the point where it can be cotrolled by local authorities. Desperately needed legislation has been enacted in a bipartisan effort. Intensive investigations are being conducted into the corruption of public officials where unfortunately the inroads of organized crime are particularly frightening. We are moving forward in a systematic way but we have far to go.

A third field of prime consequence to individual rights is the protection of the competive forces in our system of private enterprise.

This is, prehaps, the most technical and complicated field with which the Department is concerned.

Obviously, there are certain areas of the Antitrust law where the guidelines have been set so definitively that no excuse for transgressing them properly can be made. This is true, for example, of conspiracies to fix prices or to apportion territories. In such cases there can be no hesitancy on the part of the Government to act.

In many other areas, however, there are complex economic situations which require deep study and understanding when action is contemplated. The Antitrust laws should be vigorously enforced byt they are weapons which should be utilized to help the consumer, the businessman both large and small - and to protect and preserve the free enterprise system. That is our intention. This is our effort.

In all of these matters, as well as the many others that come within our mutal area of responsibility, I cannot help but be concerned as to whether, despite the efforts of dedicated public officials and conscientious lawyers--there is in fact equal justice before the law here in the United States. I am speaking now of a concern for whether there is true equality in the administration of justice.

I ask you --do members of ethnic or political minorities or people who speak our language imperfectly or who have low mentality or disturbed minds; or the largest group, those who are poor really receive the same protection before the courts as the rest of our citizens? I say that all too often they do not.

I need hardly say to this audience that everyone in this land--whether immigrant or pauper, alleged crook or communist--is innocent until proven guilty and is entitled to as fair a trial and as competent representation as say, leading citizens accused of price-fixing in business or of corruption in labor.

It seems to me that our obligation - your obligation as attorneys in private practice and my obligation as Attorney General--is to make the assurance of fair and equal treatment to all before the law one of our first concerns.

Judge Learned Hand, speaking at the 75th Anniversayr of the Legal Aid Society of New York, said if we are to keep our democracy, there must be one commandment:

"Thou shalt not ration justice."

Let me discuss with you just a few of the areas which must cause us all concern. One is the problem of the representation of indigent defendants. This is not a problem of charity, but of Justice.

Mr. Justice Black points out in Griffin v. Illinois, "there can be no equal justice where the kind of trial a man gets depends upon the amount of money he has."

This is true not only at the time of trial, but during the entire range of legal procedure until the last issue is resolved.

Over a year ago, I asked a distinguished committee, headed by Professor Francis Allen of the University of Michigan Law School, to study what could be done to protect the rights of indigents in the Federal courts. The committee has found that much is being done in certain areas of the country. But its study shows that much, much more needs to be done.

Last year, almost thirty percent of the defendants in the 34,008 criminal cases in Federal court could not afford counsel. In the District of Columbia, where the Federal District Court hears all felony cases, over half the defendants had to be assigned attorneys. The situation in the states is comparable.

Federal and most state jurisdictions now hold that the right to counsel at trial is an affirmative right which must be extended by the Government when thedefendant cannot provide his own.

Last June, the Supreme Court called for argument upon the question of right to counsel and whether the decision in Betts v. Brady should be overruled.

The recent decision in Mapp v. Ohio suggests by analogy that a majority may now hold that the Fourteenth Amentment requires states to provide counsel for indigent defendants in all cases involving serious crimes. And a recent decision by the Organ Supreme Court has held that in serious crimes the state must not only provide counsel but experienced, competent counsel.

The provision of counsel is indispensable to a democratic system of justice. But translating this principle into practice is difficult. As with most problems, one of the stumbling blocks is lack of money.

And as Professor Allen's committee discovered the problem does not end by merely providing an attorney. There are the added frequently expensive problems such as bail, pretrial investigations and appeal.

The problem of bail for instance is one that has received too little attention. Professor Allen's committee has established conclusively that the question of whether a man will be kept in jail pending trial or be free is directly influenced by how wealthy he is.

A study of cases in the Southern District of New York indicates that over one-third of those required to post bail of $500 or less could not do so. When the bail was set between $500 and $1500, over half were unable to post it. And there is reason to believe that many of those unable to provide bail presentoed to substantial risk of non-appearance. Their poverty deprived them of their liberty.

Further, the problem of establishin innocence during the crucial pretrial period was made that much more difficult.

Bail protects the interests of sociey in assuring a defentant's appearance at trial and it also protects the interests of the individual in allowing him defense, and cannot take an active part to prove his innocence.

But the indigent defendant who cannot offer security for his appearance is denied this opportunity. He cannot provide for his family and for his defense, and cannot take an active part to prove his innonce.

Preliminary studies in the Southern District of New York also indicate that those who cannot make bail are more often convicted and receive stiffer sentences than those who can.

The rights of the indigent after the trial is over--in the appeal stage--is equally a matter of concern.

A series of court decisions in the last twenty years has greatly expanded the responsibility of society to help the indigent perfect his appeal. He is now pledged virtually the same treatment as one who can pay,and this is as it must be.

But, again the problem of translating this right into reality is difficult. Appellate work is time consuming and requires the highest professional ability.

It usually is an undue burden to call upon counsel, who has contributed his services at trial, to continue on appeal without compensation Competent new counsel is sometimes difficult to obtain. In this connection I wish to congratulate the bar of the city of San Francisco on what effort it has made in providing counsel for indigent persons on appeal.

We have come a long way since 1876 when a group of German immigrants banded together in New York to form the first Legal Aid Society, but we have not come far enough.

Since 1937, the Department of Justice and for many years the American Bar Association have supported legislation which would apporpriate funds to help indigent defendants in Federal courts.

Now 25 years later it is still pending before the judiciary committees of both houses of Congress. The time to translate good intentions into law is long overdue. I ask for your help as a group and as individuals in working for its enactment.

I recognize that much has been done in many local areas to cope with this problem. I congratulate you on what you have done. Yet, the problem is far from solved. Whatever device is used, it is to the bar that society must turn for legal services to be provided for the indigent. It is inescapably a responsibility of the legal profession-a responsibility that none of us can avoid.

Another problem which is closely related and in some ways is even more difficult is thedefense of those who do not fall in the category of indigent but who have limited resources available for their defens. Over forty percent of our families have incomes of less than $5,000 a year. These families cannot bear the cost of a complicated and extended trial and appeal which could easily equal their annual income.

Indeed, it can be the case that an indigent defendant, through the services of a first-rate volunteer attorney, may receive a better defense than one who pays a small fee and gets incompetent or indifferent counsel.

Legal services, particularly defense in criminal cases, are not like houses or automobiles where those with more moeny can buy better products without affecting the basic functioning of society. When one defendant cannot afford a complete defense justice is being rationed.

Today the cost of adequate defense can be high. Psychiatric and highly technical issues require expensive research, investigation and expert witnesses fot the defense as well as for the Government.

In a recent case in which the Government was involved the defendant spent nearly $500,000 in legal and accounting fees in defending himself. He is now in prison. But the point is that we must be certain that the average citizen of a family income of $5700 --the national median--can afford comparable efforts to protect his freedom. There is no question that a man prepared to spend $500,000 is far more likely to retain his freedom than a man who can afford only a few thousand dollars.

The amount of money which can be expended on defense should not affect the outcome of the trial. If justice is priced in the market place, individual liberty will be curtailed and respect for law diminished.

There is no easy answer to this problem; again, it lies with the bar itself. Professor Allen's committee is continuing its study of the problem and will have recommendations to make before the end of the year. I would like to ask for recommendations and ideas from the bar. I think they could be most important, and from all of this I would hope that we would develop methods whereby our finest legal talent would not be reserved solely for those who could pay without difficulty and an occasional indigent defendant.

I would hope from this effort that leading lawyers and legal scholars would be in court on a regular basis pleading for defendants of moderate circumstances. As long as a man is handicapped before the bar of justice because of his proverty, our task as lawyers is not done.

I thank you for this opportunity to speak.

Fortunately, no generation of lawyers as yet has lost that desire for a just society that will preserve the dignity of man and his individual right to search for happiness.

This association and its kindred associations in our fifty states and hundreds of counties and cities will, I feel sure, keep that desire aflame.

Let us as lawyers - as Americans - as Theofore Roosevelt said, "Bold ly face the life of strife, resolute to do our duty well and manfully; resolute to uphold righteosness by deed and by work; resolute to be both honest and brave, to serve high ideals, yet use pratical methods. Above all, let us shrink from no strife moral or physical."

A bar dedicated to the preservation of our basic fredoms, pledged to the search for truth, is a main bulwark of our democtatic society which can aid mightily to achieve that President Kennedy recently described as a "world of law and free choice, banishing the world of war and coercion."

LAWYER'S DUTY IN "CIVIL RIGHTS" —PRO AND CON

Are lawyers who take cases that challenge civil-rights statutes and court decisions "professionally irresponsible"?

That charge has been made by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. In an answering statement, John Creighton Satterfield, president of the American Bar Association, 1961-62, says Mr. Kennedy is conducting a campaign of "government by intimidation."

Here are both sides of a growing dispute.

"THE SANCTITY OF THE LAW IS IN JEOPARDY"

Following is full text of an address by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to the Missouri Bar Association, at Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 27, 1963:

—UPI Photo

Attorney General Kennedy

I am grateful for the opportunity to talk with this distinguished group.

Yours is one of the strongest and most vital bar organizations in the country. That you have won the American Bar Association's top Award of Merit twice within the last four years is an honor that speaks for itself—and I am impressed, too, by several other examples of your leadership in matters of civic concern.

Your scheduling of a discussion on the representation of the indigent accused is only one such example.

Everything I have read and heard about your activities suggests courage, high principle, and true engagement with the social realities of our time. You are to be congratulated.

But it is regrettable that the same spirit is not shared by all lawyers and public officials throughout the country. If it were, our nationwide problems in civil rights would be much less severe than they are.

To a far greater extent than most Americans realize, the crisis in civil rights reflects a crisis in the legal profession—in the whole judicial system on which our concept of justice depends.

I'd like to discuss three legal propositions with you. Each of them is part of a time-honored and noble tradition—and each of them, today, is being used to threaten the very foundations of law and order in this country.

The first is the proposition that it is proper and just to avail oneself of every legal defense to test either the validity or the applicability of a rule of law.

The second is that a court decision binds only those persons who are a party to it.

The third is that a court-made rule of law should always be open to re-examination, and is susceptible to being overruled on a subsequent occasion.

All three ideas are basic to our system of justice; none of them needs any explanation or defense to an audience of skilled advocates such as yourselves.

But today we have only to pick up a newspaper to see how these honorable principles—used in isolation, invoked in improper contexts, espoused as absolutes and carried to extremes—have placed the sanctity of the law in jeopardy.

Separately and in combination, they are being proclaimed by lawyers and public officials as the justification for tactics to obstruct the enforcement of laws and court orders—as the rationale, that is, for withholding justice and equality from the grasp of millions of our fellow Americans.

We are all familiar with the catch phrases of that rationale, and with the air of righteous indignation in their utterance.

The argument goes something like this:

Brown v. the Board of Education is not the law of the land; it governs only one particular set of facts and is binding only upon the litigants of that case.

Only when each separate school district, each State, and each new set of administrative procedures has been tested and judged on its own merits can it be said that a binding decision has been reached.

And furthermore—so the argument goes—a decision like Brown, repugnant to certain segments of the population and clearly difficult to enforce, may conceivably be overruled as bad law.

To resist it, therefore, is merely to exercise one's constitutional right to seek reversal of a judicial ruling.

When stated that way and surrounded by rhetoric, the argument can be made to have a gloss of respectability. It can even take on the disguise of patriotic, high-minded dissent. Indeed, it is a position publicly espoused today by the Governors of two States, by a past president of the American Bar Association, and by a federal district judge who recently overruled the Brown decision on grounds that its findings of fact were erroneous.

We cannot blame a layman—even a reasonably fair-

. . . Legal system must be "responsive to legitimate grievances"

minded layman—for being confused and misled by this kind of reasoning.

But to lawyers, it smacks of duplicity. When it comes from the mouths of other lawyers, we must recognize it as professionally irresponsible. And when it comes from the mouths of public officials, we must recognize it as nothing more or less than demagoguery.

Let's go over those three legal principles one at a time. Let's examine each of them and look for the danger that lies within it.

What do we really mean, as lawyers, when we say that it is proper and constitutional to avail oneself of every legal defense?

Surely the Canons of Ethics make clear the impropriety of using dilatory tactics to frustrate the cause of justice.

We have only to imagine that principle being constantly applied across the board, in day-to-day litigation, to see that, for all its validity, it must be met by a counterprinciple—a concept that might be called the principle of good faith.

Every lawyer knows—though his clients may not—that nothing but national chaos would result if all lawyers were to object to every interrogatory, resist every subpoena *duces tecum* and every disposition, seek every possible continuance and postponement, frame unresponsive pleadings, and resist court orders to a point just short of contempt.

We know that tolerances are built into the system. We know what the margins for evasion and dilatory tactics are—and we also know that the system would be hard put to stand up under a concerted effort to exploit them all.

There must obviously be a strong element of good faith, of reciprocity and co-operation, if our court system is to work at all. Take away that good faith, elevate the right to avail oneself of a technicality into an absolute—and you bring the very machinery of law to a standstill.

"A Principle That Conceals"

What about the second proposition—that a court decision binds only those who are a party to it? Clearly, this too is a principle that conceals as much as it says.

Every lawyer knows—though his clients may not—the distinction between the holding of a case and its rationale. We know that although the holding contains a specific disposition of a particular fact situation between the litigants, its reasoning enunciates a rule of law that applies not merely to one case but to all similar cases.

Often there is room for much discretion and honest disagreement as to when cases are alike or unalike. But clearly, in the matter of desegregation, there can be little or no room for argument in good faith as to when one situation is different—in the legal sense—from another in which the law has been laid down.

The county is different, the names of officials are different, but the situation—in all legally significant respects—is identical.

There is something less than truth in a lawyer who insists, nine years after the Brown decision and a hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, that a law of the land, a guarantee of human dignity and equality, is merely the law of a case.

We come now to the third principle—that a court-made rule of law is always open to re-examination and must be viewed as susceptible to being overruled.

No one can prove in strict logic that any given case will never be overruled. But with regard to the Brown decision, I think we can all agree that the probability of its permanence is so overwhelming as to counsel the abandonment of anyone's hope for the contrary.

The decision was, after all, a unanimous one. Since 1954 there have been six vacancies in the Supreme Court, which means that by now a total of 15 Justices have endorsed it.

True enough, it was in itself an overruling of Plessy v. Ferguson, 56 years before. But that reversal had been widely expected through several generations of legal thought. The whole pattern of American and world history pointed to the abolishment of the "separate but equal" concept; and the reform established by the Brown decision was all but inevitable.

Moreover, and more importantly, it is clearly a decision that the vast majority of the American public holds to be morally correct.

Arguing "to the Point of Absurdity"

To suggest, at this point in history, that there is any real likelihood of the Brown decision's being reversed is irresponsible to the point of absurdity.

No lawyer would advise a private client to contest the validity of a decision as solidly established and as often reiterated as this one; he would not want to victimize his client by raising frivolous questions.

Yet a client is being victimized every time this frivolous question is raised today—and the client is the American public itself.

Right now, all over the nation, the struggle for Negro equality is expressing itself in marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins. It seems very clear to me that these people are protesting against something more than the privations and humiliations they have endured for so long.

They are protesting the failure of our legal system to be responsive to the legitimate grievances of our citizens. They are protesting because the very procedures supposed to make the law work justly have been perverted into obstructions that keep it from working at all.

Something must be done—and it's a job that can only be done by members of the legal profession.

First, we have got to make our legal system work. We have got to make it responsive to legitimate grievances, and to do this we must work to prevent the unscrupulous exploitation of all the obstructive devices available within the system.

Only when our judicial system offers fair and efficient adjudication does it deserve the public confidence, and it seems to me that American lawyers everywhere have a clear obligation to make that confidence justified.

Second, we have a job of education to do. The public must be better informed about the nature of our legal system—and this includes a better understanding of each of the principles and counterprinciples I have discussed with you today.

"Alternative to Demonstrations"

Only if we are able to instill that understanding will people with grievances begin to realize that there is a practical and realistic alternative to street demonstrations and sit-ins. But we have to make sure both that there is an alternative, and that the nature of that alternative is clearly understood.

(continued on next page)

If we can accomplish this, I believe we will begin to see a new phase in the movement for civil rights—an increased awareness that sit-ins and demonstrations do not in themselves cure social evils.

They serve to awaken the public conscience, and they can form a means of protest when no other means are available, but they will not dictate solutions—they can only alert us to the problems.

And in the long quest for solutions, we lawyers have a great deal to offer.

We are part of an intricate system that has developed over the centuries as man's best hope for resolving disputes and appraising policies—for working out solutions to problems.

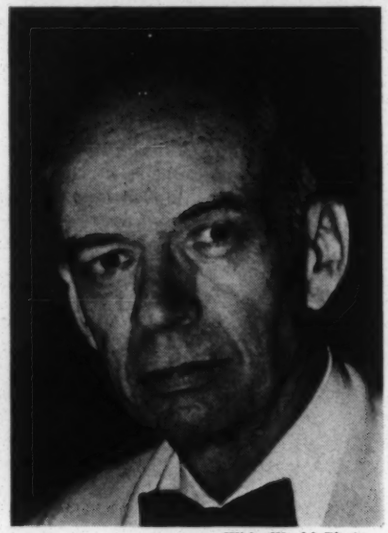
If this system of law—of equal justice for all—can be kept viable, and if people of all backgrounds and of all races and creeds can begin to fully understand and fully take advantage of it, then—and only then—will we stand to realize the promise of democracy, both for ourselves and for the world.

"GOVERNMENT BY INTIMIDATION" IS EMERGING IN U. S.

by John Creighton Satterfield

President of the American Bar Association, 1961-62

Only four persons were mentioned in the attack upon lawyers and judges by Attorney General Kennedy in his speech to the Missouri Bar Association at Kansas City last Friday [Sept. 27, 1963]. These were "the Governors of two States, a former president of the American Bar Association, and a federal district judge," all of whom are lawyers. I am the third person named. This attack, however, directly involves many members of the legal profession and many public officials throughout the United States. Ultimately, every citizen of the United States will be affected by the pattern of which this attack is a part. Its purpose is to intimidate all persons, including public officials, lawyers and judges, who do not bow to the desires of Attorney General Kennedy and of President Kennedy.



—Wide World Photo

On the surface the reason and purpose of these attacks may be obscure. In each incident which gave rise to these attacks, the Attorney General, by the use of overwhelming forces available to him, had already obtained his desires. As a part of the pattern, however, the purpose is clear.

The Attorney General states that the action of each person in each separate situation "smacks of duplicity," is "professionally irresponsible," amounts to "demagoguery," lacks "good faith," that the statements by each are "something less than the truth," and that every time a lawyer represents a client opposing the Attorney General in the field of integration—desegregation—the "client is being victimized," and that such action of an attorney is an "unscrupulous exploitation" of the client.

The slanderous nature of these statements by the Attorney General of the United States is demonstrated by the definition of slander contained in "American Jurisprudence," vol. 33, page 39:

> Slander, as now understood, has been defined as the speaking of base and defamatory words which tend to prejudice another in his reputation, office, trade, business, or means of livelihood.

The Attorney General, in his speech, specifically refers to three basic legal principles the spirit of which he alleges is being ignored by those who defend integration suits. These propositions are that it is proper to avail oneself of every legal defense to test the validity and applicability of a rule of law, that a court decision binds only those who are a party to it, and that a court-made rule of law should always be open to re-examination.

The Attorney General has said:

> Often there is room for much discretion and honest disagreement as to when cases are alike or unalike. But clearly, in the matter of desegregation, there can be little or no room for argument in good faith as to when one situation is different—in the legal sense—from another in which the law has been laid down.

This statement by the Attorney General is completely without basis in fact or in law.

The Brown desegregation decision of 1954 has already been distinguished or held inapplicable in a number of cases involving alleged discrimination. Many other cases now pending in this general area of law involve questions so different from the Brown case as to be completely removed from the basic principles outlined therein. If one case can be as broad in its application as the Attorney General would lead us to believe, the citizens of the United States would not be entitled to due process of law and equal protection of the laws.

Of the four persons specifically attacked in the Attorney General's speech, one is referred to as "a federal district judge who recently overruled the Brown decision on grounds that its findings of fact were erroneous." In the case of Stell v. Board of Education, Judge Frank M. Scarlett found that the effect of segregation upon Negro students in Georgia in 1963, shown by the evidence in that case, differed materially from the facts presented in the Brown case as to the effect of segregation upon Negro students in Kansas in 1954. Substantial differences in facts as between two cases cannot logically be ignored simply for the sake of expediency. The slander of a federal judge is quite different from constructive criticism of the legal principles involved in a judicial decision.

To those who know the facts, the repeated references by Attorney General Kennedy to "dilatory tactics" are unconvincing. Suits involving integration have been handled expeditiously by the courts. In fact, such cases have repeatedly been advanced upon the dockets and writs requiring integration have been issued by courts of appeal even before the record of the appeal from the district courts has reached the appellate courts.

It is a novel position for an experienced lawyer to take—

. . . "The Government would obtain control of education"

that, because a decision has been on the books for nine years, it is bad faith and "unscrupulous exploitation" of a client for a lawyer to urge either that the facts in his case are different or that the earlier case should be differentiated or overruled. Plessy v. Ferguson was repeatedly reaffirmed by the Supreme Court over a period of 56 years. If 15 justices have permitted the Brown case to stand—as is affirmed by the Attorney General—doubtless 50 judges had reaffirmed Plessy v. Ferguson and Gong Lum v. Rice. Yet when the Solicitor General of the United States joined in a brief to have these cases overruled, he was not accused by the Attorney General of the United States—or any other lawyer, so far as I know—of being guilty of bad faith, of being professionally irresponsible and of victimizing or exploiting his client.

Sit-ins vs. the Courts

The Attorney General would further have us believe that the reason for demonstrations and sit-ins by Negroes today is the lack of remedy in the courts. Yet he argues that Negroes will ultimately prevail in the courts because the Brown decision covers all of their grievances.

On the other hand, he does not mention that those who oppose many of the aims of Negro leaders have refrained from marches and demonstrations and have put their faith in the courts, hoping that, in the long run, justice for all will prevail. The Attorney General slanders them for so doing. To use the streets in mass demonstrations which, in the words of President Kennedy, "create tensions and threaten violence—and threaten lives" is laudable. To settle disputes in the courts is to be condemned.

A new type of government is emerging upon the American scene—"government by intimidation" is now about to take the place of "due process of law" and "liberty under the law."

The first step in the pattern is to intimidate all those who oppose the desires of the federal executive branch of our Government. This intimidation is carried out by public castigation, threats of financial reprisals against public bodies and individuals, and the misuse of the power of the federal executive branch to command the attention of the public press.

The second step is to extend federal control over individuals, businesses and state and local governments far beyond that provided in the Constitution of the United States. This was begun by the issuance of executive orders in certain particular fields. A limitless expansion of such executive authority is now being attempted by the new package of legislation introduced in the Congress in June and called, for tactical and public relations purposes, "The Civil Rights Act of 1963."

The third step will be the use of the vast financial power of the United States to strangle every public body, every business and professional establishment, and every individual daring to act contrary to the wishes of Attorney General Kennedy and the threat of the imposition of federal fines and imprisonment without trial by jury.

The initial use of the first step in the pattern was in April, 1962, when a steel-price increase was announced. The citizens who made the price decisions were accused by the President through nationwide media of being guilty of "a wholly unjustified and irresponsible defiance of public interest." He castigated them as "a tiny handful of steel executives whose pursuit of private power and profit exceeds their sense of public responsibility," who "can show such utter contempt for the interest of 185 million Americans." It was publicly announced that defense contracts might be withheld and that the Federal Government might use its investigative powers to bring about prosecutions for "violations" of antitrust laws.

Intimidation as a governmental policy has been repeatedly used since that time. The speech of Attorney General Kennedy at Kansas City is a perfect illustration. I have been actively opposing throughout the United States the grasp for federal power in "The Civil Rights Act of 1963" and am doing so at the present time. The others mentioned have opposed the Attorney General. Hence we must be intimidated or defamed.

Why is this legislation so important to the Attorney General? It would grant unlimited powers to the Attorney General and the President and his appointees to withhold federal funds in every program or activity in which federal financing is involved directly or indirectly "by way of grant, contract, loan, insurance, guaranty or otherwise."

The authority is demanded that all contracts in every program "shall contain such conditions as the President may prescribe"; that there be created a commission—with powers conferred upon it by the President—to take over the supervision of employment, promotion, demotion and handling of employes of more than 90 per cent of the businesses in the United States.

"Purpose of Legislation: Disguised"

The purpose of this legislation has been disguised by repeated references to "public accommodations" and "Government contractors." These constitute less than 1 per cent of the businesses affected. In fact, it would affect every bank which is a member of the Federal Reserve System or insured by the FDIC [Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation], every form of financing affected by federal insurance or guaranty, all depositors in every bank covered by the FDIC, and all borrowers therefrom. It would draw under federal executive control almost every farmer in the United States, as it includes every person who receives any sort of financial benefit from every federal program in the field of agriculture. It would also draw under federal control practically every retail shop, department store, market, drugstore, gasoline station, restaurant, motion-picture house, theater, stadium, hotel, motel and lodging house, and in fact every "establishment" which pays any privilege license or tax to any State or municipality.

It includes uncontrolled authority to call loans, withdraw support of the FDIC and the Federal Reserve Board, and other similar entities, to cancel contracts, to blacklist banks, savings and loan associations, contractors, realtors, farmers, co-operatives, farm organizations, or any other institution or person falling within its classification.

How Elections Could Be Controlled

Under this proposed act, the Federal Government would obtain control of education through the misuse of every existing federal financial program, including grants-in-aid, research grants, lunch programs, scholarships and similar activities. Also, it would constitute the first step toward placing *all* elections—"general, special or primary elections held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting any candidate for public office"—under the absolute control of the Federal Government. [END]

all J-C May 4-28-63 R.C.

Photo by J. C. Lee

Editor's Note: *In setting the minimum limit at which a prisoner may be executed at 17 years, the recent legislative session focused attention on Georgia's dark record for capital punishment. How many men have been hanged in the state? There is no record, but this exhaustive study reveals many interesting facts about the men and women who paid for their crimes with their lives.*

THEY HANGED BY THE NECK

By Jeanette Moore

"TO be hanged by the neck until dead!" The dread sentence was pronounced in early Georgia on conviction of any of a large category of minor crimes. A settler might swing from the gallows for such offenses as stealing a pocket handkerchief, illegal fishing, shooting a rabbit, or cutting down a cherry tree.

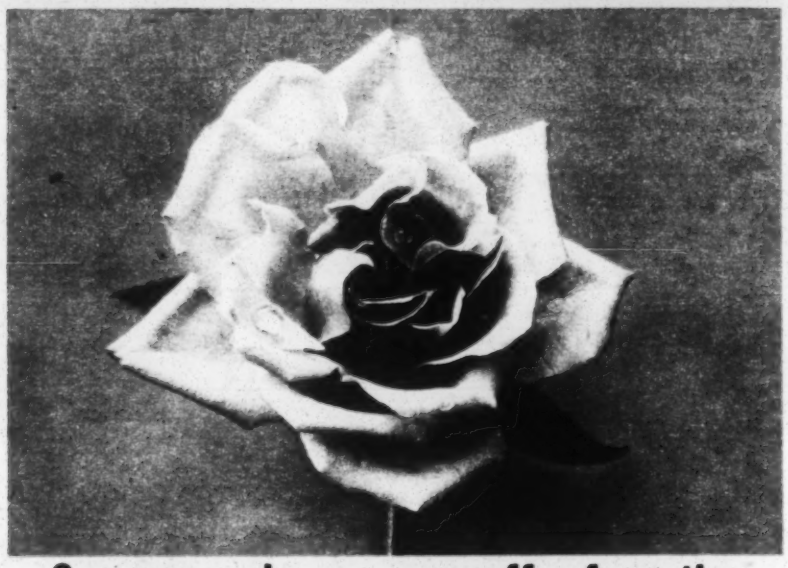
In general, the rules and procedures of English courts were followed in the Georgia colony. The common law of England, which had been evolved by the English people from customs and usages, was brought to Georgia by the colonists. These laws awarded the death penalty to no less than 160 felonies—the figure later increasing to 222 capital crimes.

Murder, of course, was one of the crimes punishable by death, and the penalty in such cases had to be faithfully and completely carried out. Sir William Blackstone, famed English jurist of the 18th century, said in his *Commentaries,* "If the criminal be not thoroughly killed, but revives, the sheriff must hang him again. . . . If a false tenderness were to be indulged in such cases, a multitude of collusions might ensue."

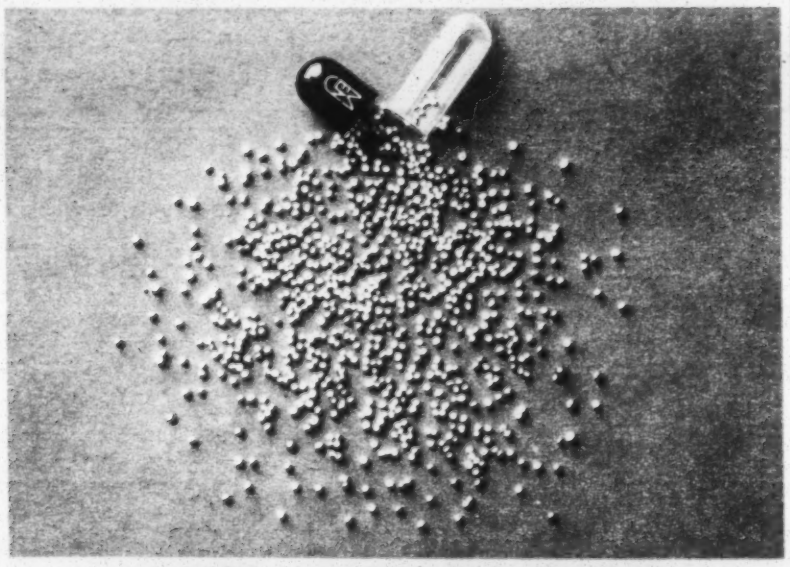
On July 17, 1739, three men were tried for murder in what was probably Georgia's first murder trial before a jury. Brixy, Cozens and Levett, all implicated in the same murder, were tried and found guilty. They were sentenced to be hanged on Aug. 3.

According to the account of the execution in the *Colonial Records of Georgia,* just about everybody thereabouts attended, except those "being not in perfect Health, besides Orphans."

The *Records* state further that it was decided to give Levett a reprieve of two months because of extenuating circumstances in his case. He was not to be informed of his good fortune until the minute of his execution, giving him an opportunity to confess if he were guilty. The account records graphically that "at the Gallows, Bixby went up the *(Continued on Next Page)*



2 reasons why you may suffer from the miseries of spring colds or hay fever



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Georgia's First Hangings

(Continued From Page 21)

ladder more nimbly than the hangman and fastened the rope to the beam himself." After a short prayer, he was hanged. Cozens, saying that God's vengeance had overtaken him, was hanged also. Levett was then conducted to the foot of the ladder. Here he was told of his reprieve, and was so affected that "he was very near losing his life by excessive Return and Flow of Spirits."

Thus justice was meted out in Georgia's first court of record—the Town Court of Savannah, established Nov. 2, 1732. The court had been created by the Trustees of Georgia, who were at the helm of the proprietary government obtaining at that time. Georgia's charter had given them the power to originate such courts as were necessary. The judicial officers of the court, appointed by the trustees, were three bailiffs to act as judges, a recorder, two constables and two tithingmen, or peace officers. An attempt was made to endow the court with dignity by supplying the inexperienced and often ignorant judges with "purple gowns trimmed with furr," and a "copper gilt mace." These impressive accouterments did little to cover the inadequacy of both the law and its officers.

No lawyers were allowed in the colony. It is believed they were excluded by order of the trustees. One of the inducements for settling in Georgia was that it was "free from the pest and scorge of mankind called lawyers." In 1740 a man named Williamson, who claimed to have the permission of the trustees to practice as an attorney, was warned that he must not attempt to do so. At first there were no public prosecutors in criminal cases; later the constables represented the colony or the crown. The defendant had to be his own attorney, and many a bewildered culprit was hanged without the advice of an attorney—or anyone else.

HAVING no law books and no attorneys was a disadvantage to the magistrates, who were often puzzled by difficult points of law. When there was not time to send to England for advice, it was customary to secure counsel from a lawyer in Charleston.

A *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia of 1770* states that "Whereas cruelty is highly unbecoming those who profess themselves as Christians"—the murder of a slave was allowed with comparative impunity one time, the offender simply being deprived thereafter of holding any office within the province. The leniency ran out with the murder of the second slave, the murderer being given the death penalty.

Georgia in 1787 was much concerned with "biting and gouging." For the first offense "to wilfully or maliciously cut out or disable the tongue, put out an eye, slit the nose, bite or cut off the ear, nose or lipp, or cut or disable any member of any person," the perpetrator must "forfeit the sum of 100 pounds and stand in the pillory not exceeding 2 hours." But the second time a person was so reckless with a knife or his teeth, he drew a death penalty.

Likewise, a Georgia citizen in 1809 could steal a horse for the first time and receive only the uncomfortable punishment of "39 lashes on his or her or their bear back, on three several days," plus a short sojourn in the pillory and in jail. But woe be unto that thief guilty for the second time of horse stealing—he "shall suffer death without benefit of clergy."

THE ambiguous phrase "without benefit of clergy" was a holdover from English usage. The powerful Church of England could intervene in behalf of a condemned prisoner and cause him to be released to the custody of the church. To prevent this, it was specifically stated in a death sentence that the clergy could not interfere.

As there were no courthouses in the interior of Georgia until 1785, court was held under the trees in the yard of a private home.

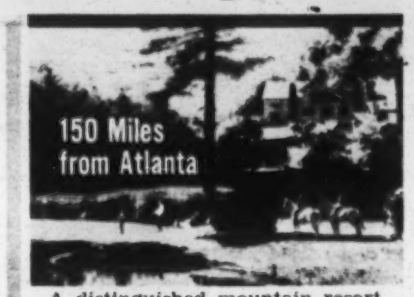
Gov. George Gilmer in his *Sketches (1855)* says, "Prisoners were confined by putting their heads between the rails of a fence." Usually the sheriff sat on the top rail so he could kick the prisoner in the face if he tried to escape.

The minutes of the Greene County Superior Court record that as late as 1800 men were hung for crimes that would today be punishable by a fine, or at most a short term of imprisonment. The minutes of the September Term, 1800, record that Stephen Heard and William Heard, guilty of forgery, were sentenced to be "HUNG by the NECK until you and each of you are DEAD. And the Lord have mercy on your soul."

A tobacco dealer named Tarrell, traveling through Laurens County, camped on Hunger and Hardship Creek. In an argument, Tarrell killed a visitor, but made good his escape. The pursuers finally loosed the hunted man's dog, which had been tied to his wagon, and the animal led the posse through forest and thicket to his master. Thus a faithful dog seeking his master led to the arrest of the first white man to be convicted and hanged for murder in Laurens County.

Georgia has hanged three

(Continued on Page 24)



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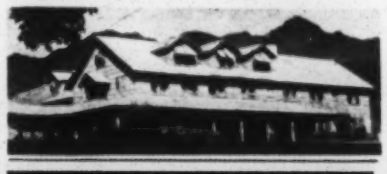

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There's Good Reading in the
ATLANTA JOURNAL and CONSTITUTION MAGAZINE

The Electric Chair (Continued From Page 22)

women, the first in 1735. Alice Ryley, a white woman who had come to America on an Irish transport, was condemned for the murder of her master, Will Wise, and received the extreme penalty.

Polly Barclay was hanged May 30, 1806, in Wilkes County, for plotting the murder of her husband. Mrs. Barclay was strikingly beautiful, and kept the ladies of the county stirred up and worried about the possible unfaithfulness of their husbands around so much pulchritude. She was indicted for murder along with two men, one her paramour, the other her brother. The brother, William Nowland, was acquitted, and the case of the other, Mark Mitchum, was nol prossed. Mrs. Barclay expected to be freed also. Wilkes County tradition has it that she appeared in court smiling and glamorous to hear the sweet words of release. But jealous wives had been working on juror husbands, and Mrs. Barclay heard instead the death sentence. The jury, feebly rebellious against wifely instructions, recommended mercy, but the judge was made of sterner stuff and disregarded the recommendation. Mrs. Barclay, charmer to the last, went to her execution wearing a fine silk dress. She was hanged from a white oak tree, just outside Washington, Ga.

THE hanging of the third woman, in Webster County in 1873, has been fully recorded. Susan Eberhart was a girl living in the home of a middle-aged man, Enoch Spann, and his wife. The eternal triangle ensued, and Susan helped Enoch strangle his wife with a rope as she lay asleep. They both received the death sentence, and were hanged.

According to an eye witness, "Everybody in the countryside went to the hangings. They were hung on different days. Folks went in buggies and wagons and some walked for miles. Enoch Spann was hanged first—all dressed up in a swallow-tailed coat with a flower in his buttonhole. He begged them not to hang the girl, who was a pretty little thing, scared and trembly."

The last hanging in Georgia, strangely enough, took place nine months after hanging was declared illegal in the state. Gervis Bloodworth and Willie Jones were indicted in Taylor County for the murder of Howard Underwood, a patent medicine salesman. They were found guilty and given the death penalty. As the trial has been held before the hanging of criminals was abolished, the two were sentenced to be hung. Appeals and new trials delayed the execution. Finally it seemed that time had run out for the condemned men, and a gallows was accordingly built at the Butler jail. But the end was not in sight. Bloodworth and Jones claimed that the hanging would be public (which was against the law) because spectators could stand on the roof of the drugstore and see the gallows. The execution was enjoined and delayed again. It was then transferred to Columbus, Ga., in Muscogee County, in the same judicial circuit. There, Bloodworth and Jones were duly hanged on May 20, 1925, eight months after the first electrocution. The lengthy maneuverings in the case had carried the execution past the time when hanging was legal, but since the men had been sentenced under the old law, they were executed under the old law. The gallows thus overlapped the electric chair for one last function.

The "common law" prevailing in the colony was sifted through the years and adapted to the state and its people. The death penalty was lifted from a majority of so-called capital crimes. Today the death sentence is imposed for: treason, insurrection, murder, rape, forms of arson that could result in the death or maiming of any person, willful burning of a railroad bridge, wrecking a train, destroying a public building inside a city (this presumably includes a house of worship), robbery by force or by use of an offensive weapon, feticide, one form of involuntary manslaughter, and desecration and robbing of a grave.

On Aug. 16, 1924, an Act of the Legislature abolishing death by hanging and substituting electrocution, was approved. Thereafter, executions were to be held at one place only, instead of in the county or circuit where the crime was committed. The first electric chair was set up in the main barracks for males at the Georgia State Prison Farm, three miles from Milledgeville.

A newspaper article dated Milledgeville, Ga., Sept. 13, 1924, reads, "With the death of Howard Hinton, Negro, in the electric chair here this afternoon, Georgia formally changed from hanging to electrocution as the legal means of executing persons convicted of criminal offenses. . . . The death chair was built by prisoners at the State Farm here. Rep. Perkins, author of the bill passed at the last General Assembly substituting electrocution for hanging, was present at the first such execution today."

The former Rep. R. O. Perkins, now living in Columbus, recalls the circumstances surrounding the passage of his bill.

"There was a great deal of opposition to the bill," he said, "and I was afraid it wouldn't pass. When the vote was counted it was a tie, and Speaker of the House George Carswell broke the tie by voting for the bill, insuring its passage. Gov. Clifford Walker signed it.

"When I attended the first electrocution at Milledgeville, some newspaper photographers tried to get me to have my picture made sitting in the electric chair, but I declined."

In 1937, the place of execution was moved from Milledgeville to the Georgia State Prison at Reidsville, where it has remained.

IN 1948, Georgia's state executioner made $75 an execution, but the job had few takers. That year the executioner moved to South Carolina, and the attorney general was called upon to decide if he could legally keep his job in Georgia. Prison officials pointed out that executioners were hard to get. The attorney general ruled that there is no law against an executioner living in another state.

So that no one would have later thoughts about sending someone to his death, an elaborate system was set up as to pulling the lever transmitting the necessary current to the chair. Three prison guards were paid $10 each to assist in the job. The executioner adjusted the equipment, setting the current at the proper voltage. Then each of the three guards pulled a lever; only one lever controlled the fatal charge so that no one knew which guard had administered the lethal current.

Several other persons had parts in an electrocution. The prison barber received $1 to shave the head of the condemned man. Two doctors got $20 each to examine the prisoner after he was electrocuted. If both pronounced him dead, he was carried from the room by two convicts.

This is much (Continued on Page 26)

Cheating the Chair (Continued From Page 24)

the setup today. A deputy warden is in charge of executions, and the condemned person is allowed the solace of a clergyman and is permitted to invite relatives and friends.

Georgia has electrocuted one woman. She was Lena Baker, Negro, who was convicted in Randolph County in 1945.

Since 1943, three persons receiving the death penalty for murder have escaped execution by being declared insane. The most recent and celebrated of these was Anjette Donovan Lyles. Sentenced to death for the murder of her little daughter, Anjette lived in the shadow of the electric chair for a year. She was then declared "psychotic and insane" by a three-member sanity commission, and committed to the Milledgeville State Hospital, where she is still confined. The death sentence had been upheld by the Georgia Supreme Court, and the case was appealed to the State Board of Pardons and Paroles, which requested a sanity hearing.

If such an insane person is declared sane again at any time, he or she must be resentenced.

Mrs. Cora Lou Vinson was a convicted murderess whose insanity plea resulted in an unusual disposition of the case. Mrs. Vinson was found guilty of the murder of her husband, and sentenced to be hanged July 28, 1922. Her attorneys entered a special plea of insanity, but at the hearing on the plea Mrs. Vinson was declared sane. She then filed a motion for new trial, which was granted. By a consent verdict, the new jury, Oct. 24, 1922, found her guilty but recommended mercy. Her death sentence was thus commuted without a finding of insanity. She was ordered to the Georgia State Prison to serve out a life sentence. It is believed that the uncommon twist in the case came about because public sentiment at the time was strongly against hanging a woman.

THE State Board of Pardons and Paroles alone has the power of clemency in Georgia. This board is composed of three persons: Mrs. Rebecca Garrett, chairman; J. W. Claxton and W. O. Brooks. To grant clemency in a death penalty case, every member must vote, a majority vote deciding. A clemency decision is made by the board in each case where the death penalty has been imposed and where the clemency power exists. (Clemency power is not vested in the board in cases where the death penalty has been given for treason or impeachment.) In addition to considering all the facts of the case, the board conducts an extensive investigation through its chief investigator. The board has decreed 41 commutations of the death sentence from 1943 through 1962. There have been 245 death sentences imposed since 1943.

Before the establishment of the State Board of Pardons and Paroles in 1943, clemency power was vested in the governor. Today the governor has the power to reprieve only. The Board of Pardons and Paroles may request him to reprieve a condemned person if there is not time to study the case for a clemency decision.

Before 1945, the state had no over-all system for keeping records of executions and no central authority for receiving such reports and records. These were kept in the county in which the execution took place, and the people of Georgia were often uninformed of executions occurring outside their own county.

In 1945, the Board of Corrections was established, and became the repository for records of executions throughout the state. Between 1945 and 1961, there were 164 executions in Georgia. Of these, five received the death penalty for armed robbery, 26 for rape, and 133 for murder, including one female murderess.

According to a U.S. Statistical Abstract, in the period 1930-'60, Georgia was first in the nation in the number of executions. The figure has steadily decreased through the years. For instance, in 1930-'39, there were 137 executions; in 1940-'49, 130; 1950-'59, 85. There was only one execution in Georgia in 1962.

The escape of one convicted criminal awaiting execution is on record. Ed Ramsey, Negro, given the death penalty for beating and robbing, escaped November, 1956, from the Elbert County jail, and is still a fugitive. He made his way to Massachusetts, and that state later refused to extradite him. Ramsey has never been returned to Georgia. He was 47 years old at the time of his escape.

Some Georgia citizens remember hearing oldsters tell of the escape of Will Myers, murderer under sentence of death, from the Fulton County jail in 1895. The record of the trial of the case is available, but not of the escape. Myers just disappeared from jail, and was never heard of again.

AN analysis by age groups of records in the files of the Board of Corrections since 1945 shows that Georgia has executed 29 persons under 21 years of age.

Georgia has executed three 16-year-old offenders, in 1943, 1946 and 1954. The three were Negro males, two being convicted of rape and one of murder.

The case of Preston Cobb, Negro, condemned to death for the murder of an elderly white man, has become a cause celebre. Cobb was 15 years old at the time he committed the crime, and his age stirred up much interest in the question of the execution of youth. The Cobb case was carried to the Supreme Court of the U.S., which refused to consider it. An appeal for re-consideration is now pending before that body. Cobb must be re-sentenced and all legal remedies exhausted before the Board of Pardons can consider his case.

Condemned persons have uttered some strange last words.

John Wallace, electrocuted Nov. 3, 1950, for the murder of a sharecropper, said in the moment before execution, "Goodby, men. I love everybody. I know I'm on my way to heaven!"

George and Michael Krull, the first men ever electrocuted by the federal government in Georgia (1957), were convicted of the kidnaping and rape of a 53-year-old spinster. George had an appropriate comment to make prior to his execution. He said simply, "It's a hell of a way to go, isn't it?"

A bill abolishing the death penalty for youthful offenders was introduced in the recent Georgia Legislature.

House Bill No. 40, introduced by Reps. John C. Bell of Richmond County, and James A. Mackay of DeKalb County provides that a person under 21 years of age, found guilty of a capital crime, automatically would receive a life sentence, whether the jury recommended mercy or not. The minimum age was amended to 17 years before the bill was passed by both houses and signed by Gov. Carl Sanders.

July 1, 1963

Signers of the Statement on Law and Race Relations

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Ralph C. Barnhart
John S. Beasley, II
Herbert N. Bernhardt
Henry Brandis, Jr.
Alan R. Bromberg
Charles Bunn
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FOR RELEASE - JULY 7, 1963

Eighteen professors of constitutional law are among the one hundred and four deans and professors of law in Southern university law schools, from Virginia to Texas, who have joined in a statement on law and race relations.

The statement urges adherence by officials and private citizens to the rule of law in race relations under the Constitution of the United States, which in its opening words calls for both justice and order.

The founders of our nation anticipated and dealt with the false idea that state law can prevail over national law. The Constitution makes national law "the supreme Law of the Land," binding on judges in every state "any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of Any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." It requires "all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States," to take an oath to support the Constitution.

The false idea that our national law may be disregarded has been urged under several forms, as, interposition, state rights, and political promises. No form of the idea can justify violations of the supreme law of the land.

Violations of our laws and our principles are deeply harmful to our country. They divide it at home. They discredit it abroad where our enemies use them as their best propoganda. The violators serve the cause of our declared enemies.

The statement ends with emphasis on the necessity for order as well as justice. "Civil duties are as basic as civil rights." Lawlessness on one side breeds lawlessness on both sides. Only through peaceful means may we attain our ideas of Equal Justice Under Law.

Some signers of the statement have criticized it on the ground it does not go far enough and fails to stress the moral issues. Other signers wished to have it made plain that in their view formal or token violation of a declared law may properly be resorted to where this is the only way to challenge in good faith its validity, and that even non-violent assemblages cannot be justified under the guaranty of peaceable assembly when they unreasonably obstruct lawful activities of others. No disagreement on the legal conclusions stated was voiced from any law school.

Law Enforcement

RACISM IN THE U.S.

IS THE LAW ENFORCEABLE IN THE SOUTH?

Dr. Zinn is chairman of the Department of History and Social Science at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. The following is his report on events in Selma, Alabama, on Oct. 7, 1963.

Howard Zinn

"There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama. On the voting rolls, however, there are about 130 Negroes and 7,000 whites. On the first and third Mondays of every month, the Board of Registrars of Dallas County takes additional applications from would-be voters. The form, however, is a long one, and the applicant is also questioned orally. As a result, the Board has never been able to enroll more than thirty new voters in a day.

"At this rate, even making the incredible assumption that the Board accepted every Negro applicant, it would take the Board ten years to enroll as many Negroes as whites. Nevertheless, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) began a voter-registration campaign in Dallas County last summer. It proclaimed October 7 as 'Freedom Day.' At 9:30 a.m. on Freedom Day there were fifty Negroes in line before the county courthouse, in the cotton town of Selma. By 11 a.m. there were 250 Negroes in the line. . . .

"Standing over these men and women were helmeted men with clubs and guns, members of Sheriff Clark's posse. By noon, the line of Negroes reached 300. The sun was hot, and the line did not seem to be moving.

"Directly across the street from the county courthouse in Selma is the federal building. Here are the federal court, the draft board, the social security office—all the visible manifestations that the Civil War was won by the Union and that the national government is supreme all over the United States. In this building, on the first floor, its windows looking directly at the county courthouse, is the office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the police force of the national government, created to enforce the laws of the United States. Four F.B.I. agents and two Justice Department lawyers spent Freedom Day in this building. . . .

"Through all that happened on that Monday, while federal law was broken again and again, these law enforcement officials of the federal government stood by and watched. By the time Freedom Day was over in Selma, the Constitution had been violated in a number of its provisions, several statutes of the U.S. Congress had been ignored, the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 had been turned face down. . . .

"What happened in Selma on Freedom Day?

"A Negro registrant, before he got to the door of the county courthouse, had to run a gauntlet of armed troopers and a local cameraman whose pictures could cost the Negro his or her job.

"The registrants waited from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., standing in the sun without food or water, without being able to go to the toilet. State troopers told them they could not leave the line and return. . . .

"There were two 'incidents.'

POLICE DEPARTMENT

Law Enf-
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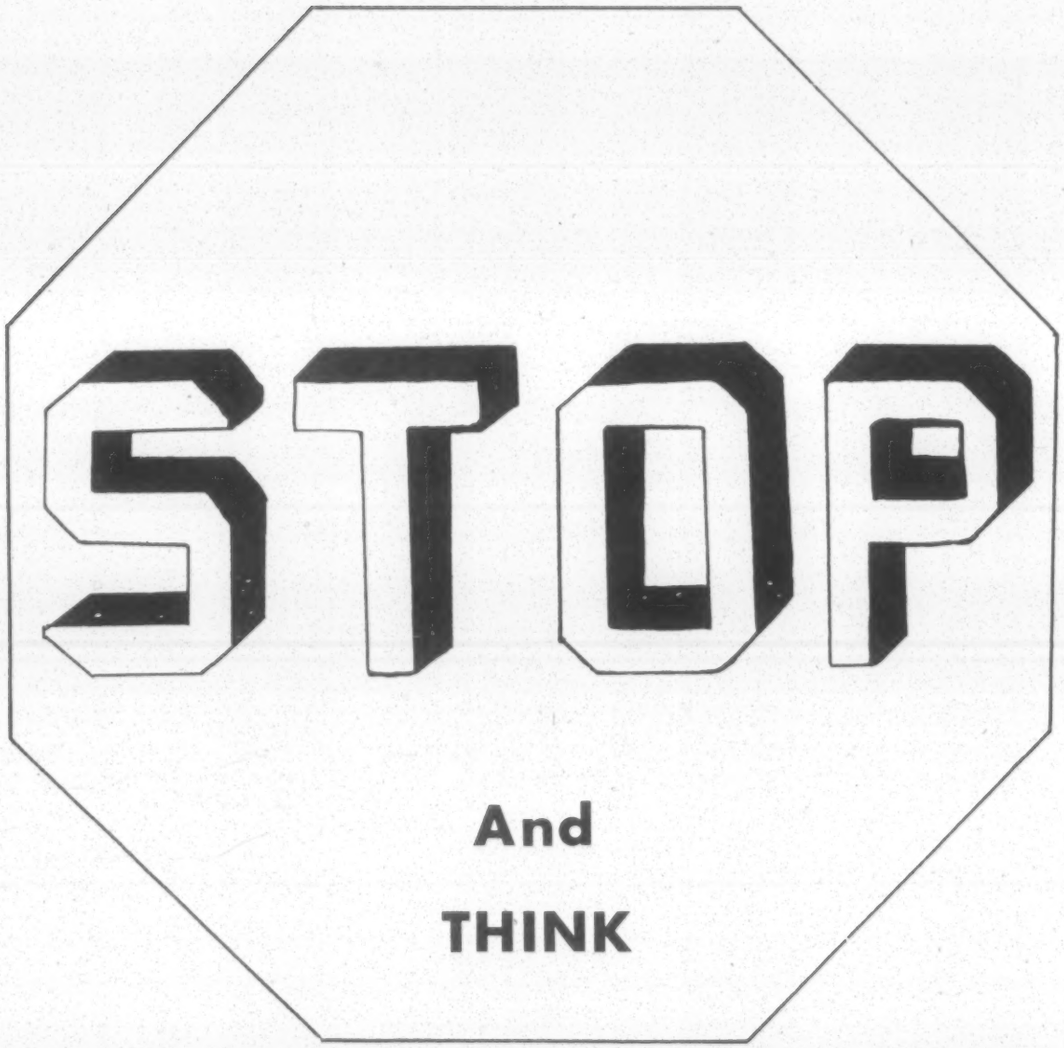

Annual Report 1963

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Labor Today Winter 1962-63
L.E.

George W. Crockett, Jr. and Ernest Goodman

ALBERT BEST, *Attorney, Detroit*
Chairman of Publicity for
National Committee to Assist Southern Lawyers

AID FOR SOUTHERN LAWYERS

BECAUSE most southern lawyers are unwilling to accept civil rights cases, often through fear of losing other clients, the experience of northern and western lawyers in such cases is being fruitfully diverted to the South.

Already operating with gratifying results for a number of months, the plan for a "cultural exchange" of legal knowhow and civic courage was instituted by the 25th anniversary convention of the National Lawyers Guild, held in Detroit last February. It is administered by the Guild's National Committee to Assist Southern Lawyers.

An outstanding example of how northern experience in injunction cases can be applied to southern situations is the "unclean hands" doctrine which was developed to good advantage by attorneys for labor unions in the historic sitdown strikes of 1937 in Michigan and elsewhere in the auto industry. Corporation lawyers normally had little difficulty getting an injunction against the union on the charge that picketing interfered with the company's property rights. But when union lawyers raised the issue in court of unclean hands on the part of the employer with his employment of goons and purchase of machine guns and poison gas, judges felt obliged to consider the evidence supporting the union claims, and it became difficult for the average anti-union boss to show that his hands were clean.

"This doctrine of unclean hands," says Attorney Ernest Goodman, co-chairman of the Guild committee, "may permit the attorney in a typical case in the South, where a company or local authorities with unclean hands seek an injunction to prevent peaceful protest against segregation, to prove the illegal character of segregation in the particular circumstance, and thus allow the basic constitutional and moral issues to be openly raised and decided in the injunction proceedings."

Goodman and George W. Crockett, Jr., Detroit, are co-chairmen of the committee. Attorneys Len Holt of Norfolk, Va., and Ben Smith of New Orleans are co-secretaries. The white and Negro races are equally represented. The committee office address is 3220 Cadillac Tower, Detroit 26, Michigan.

Guild lawyers have been asked to give a minimum of 40 hours of legal services a year to assist southern lawyers in handling the growing calendar of civil rights cases there. Close to a hundred lawyers in more than a dozen states have volunteered to serve without fee in research, trial work, pleadings, and in helping conduct practice and procedure workshops to bring out essential constitutional and procedural points in preparation and trial of cases.

A manual for civil rights lawyers is under preparation by Guild experts, and a handbook for laymen on what their rights are and how to handle themselves if involved in a proceeding, especially helpful where no local lawyers will take their cases, is approaching completion.

"Having in mind the limited resources of the Guild and the enormity of the problem," says Attorney Crockett, "the committee is channeling its efforts in the direction of providing legal assistance to southern lawyers, rather than to provide

(See Page 11)

LAWYERS—

direct legal aid to those in trouble."

The committee, together with the National Bar Association, in cooperation with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is holding a conference for southern lawyers in Atlanta, Georgia on November 30th and December 1st. The emphasis will be on "practice rather than theory; it is a how-do-you-do-it conference," and combines the need for making a living with the importance of handling civil rights cases.

LAW ENFORCEMENT
'63

Social Integration And Police

By DR. MICHAEL BANTON
Department of Social Anthropology
University of Edinburgh
Edinburgh 8, Scotland

I COME from a policeman's paradise. Just before moving into my house in the country, some twelve miles south of Edinburgh, Scotland, I got into conversation with the village bobby. I asked him how much crime there was in the locality, and he said there was very little. But only a month previously, he said, he had got a nice case. He had caught a youth from outside the community catching wild birds with bird lime and confining them in cages below regulation size, so he had charged him with five offenses under the Wild Birds' Protection Act. I reflected that if this was what constituted a "nice case" in those parts, then I had found the right place to live!

Crime is usually lower in country districts, so what of the cities? Edinburgh, where I work, has a population of nearly half a million. Though the incidence of theft is high, even by American standards, there are few crimes of violence. Last year there was not one case of murder; there was one of attempted murder, two of culpable homicide, twenty-nine of assault and none of rape. An average American city of the same size would have about thirty cases of murder and non-negligent manslaughter.

In discussions of law enforcement it would seem to me profitable to start with an analysis of situations such as these in which the incidence of crime, social conflict and maladjustment is low, so that we can better understand what is missing in situations of tension. I shall try to do this, and I shall go on to describe what seems to me, as a sociologist, the principal features of the patrol officer's role. This leads naturally into a review of the determinants of police-public relations. Only then, I think, can we consider how racial and cultural differences affect police work. We need to look at these matters not in all their ramifications as political and social issues, but as circumstances which affect police work, and we cannot do that until we have made clear our view of what the policeman's role in society is or ought to be. Police officers have been too busy getting on with their job to philosophize about it at any length. I am going to try and do it for them and because my experience is so limited I may make many mistakes, but I hope to convince you that to study adequately the subject of our conference we need at some point to analyze the patrolman's role in a homogeneous society and then see what happens when homogeneity gives way to heterogeneity.

CONSENSUS

In the Scottish village I spoke about, the social organization works smoothly. The policeman's job is to oil the machinery, not to provide the motive power of law enforcement. The policeman, like the law itself, is only one of the agents of social control. Village societies are highly integrated because everyone is so dependent upon everyone else. If there is only one

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Dr. Banton, a Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Edinburgh, returned to Scotland in January, 1963 after a year in the United States as Visiting Professor of Political Science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass. Having been engaged in a study of the role and status of police in his native country, he continued this research while in the United States, studying patrol work in two police departments in the South and one in New England. This paper was given by Dr. Banton before a conference on Law Enforcement and Racial and Cultural Contacts sponsored by the University of California at Berkeley, California, and is reprinted here with permission of Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, Dean of the School of Criminology.

Authority

A POLICEMAN . . . is a kind of professional citizen, administering the moral standards defined and accepted by his community. . . . He earns public cooperation and esteem by the manner in which he exercises good judgment in performing his duties, and the foundation of his good judgment is an awareness of the public point of view. . . . He is a Defender of the Peace more than an Enforcer of the Law, possessing authority as well as power. . . . His authority gives him the willing obedience of the public, thus including the moral element, while his power compels obedience that is not necessarily rightful. . . . He will suppress his personal feelings in desegregation troubles to identify with his Department if it is committed to professional policing and has a morality of its own. . . . His role should be based upon the moral authority of his office rather than its legal powers, particularly in districts of racial and cultural differences.

doctor, everyone has to go to him and he has to attend everybody. If there are only two grocers you may feel obliged to patronize the one who attends the same church as yourself. Even if you don't like the nearby farmer you cannot show your dislike because if he catches your son in his orchard he might make things very unpleasant for you. In such circumstances no one can afford to get out of line. People are dependent, morally, socially and economically, on their neighbors' good opinion and the sanction of gossip is a powerful one.

There are two chief comments to make on this sort of society. Firstly, such societies are usually small ones in which nearly everyone knows everyone else. Integration is facilitated by the small scale, homogeneity and stability of the population. Secondly, this kind of social order is not just a matter of economics and social organization; like any other kind of society it has moral qualities. In the village society, more than elsewhere, the rich recognize responsibilities to the poor and people know that if disaster befalls them they can turn to their neighbors for assistance. Thus girls and boys grow up attuned to the social order, accepting their place in it and believing the distribution of rewards to be reasonably just. No man tries to be an island, sufficient unto himself; no one wants to be. People who live together like this are agreed in what they consider right and what wrong, so that we can say the highly integrated village society is characterized by a high level of consensus or agreement on fundamental values. These moral judgments pervade social life and do not stop short when business relations are in question. In these circumstances the policeman obtains public cooperation, and enjoys public esteem because he enforces standards accepted by the community. This gives his role considerable moral authority and sets him apart from the crowd socially, much as does the role of minister of religion. It is partly responsible for the view—shared by police and public alike—that in Britain policemen should not carry guns.

We can agree that life in a small highly integrated society has many attractions, but most of us would also regard economic progress as desirable and the two just do not go together. In the traditional kind of society the various social institutions are so inter-related that an alteration in one affects all the others and it is difficult to introduce changes. In an economically developing society, however, people and resources have to be moved around. Individuals have to pursue their private benefit and to fight the community controls that put a brake on change. Some people receive great rewards, greater than their moral deserts; others, who are scarcely less worthy, are much less fortunate. In these circumstances there is less feeling that the social order is a just one, and less agreement upon moral standards. No social changes are without their costs, and one of the costs of economic development is a decline in social integration. One index of this is the crime rate. Last year the number of indictable offenses known to the police in Britain rose by 8½ per cent over the previous year. In the United States the crime rate for last year was 10 per cent above the average rate for the previous three years.

Do we conclude that the crime figures will go on forever upwards? I have not studied this question properly but I believe they will not. The activities of professional criminals may well extend and the juvenile problem may get worse while other offenses which are linked with poor living conditions, such as drunkenness and wife-assault, will decline. As the community adjusts to new conditions and people come to see the

evil of particular practices a new consensus can arise. The example is perhaps of only marginal relevance but I might cite the instance that in Sweden if Johansson invites Karlsson to a party and gives him liquor, then Karlsson is subsequently arrested for drunken operating and Johansson's part in the matter is discovered, the Registrar of Motor Vehicles may well suspend Johansson's license to drive as well as Karlsson's. Swedes accept this because they are now sufficiently aware of the dangers of drink at the wheel. There may come a time, even in individualistic America, when public consensus on these matters is high enough to allow the authorities to take such drastic steps.

In contrasting village society with the big industrial nation I have inevitably exaggerated. Even in the small scale, stable society consensus is never perfect but it is relatively high. A greater danger, however, would be to underestimate the level of consensus that exists even in the biggest and most rapidly changing society. We notice the areas in which moral controls are absent and where the police have to crack down, but we overlook the range of basic issues, such as ideas of duty to kinsfolk and neighbors, where popular morality remains powerful. I shall maintain that this popular morality is of central importance to our discussions here.

THE POLICEMAN'S ROLE

In both the United States and Great Britain the patrol officer is left very considerable discretion as to the enforcement of the law. It will be agreed that nothing is more important to police-public relations or to police efficiency generally than that the individual police officer should have good judgment in handling people. Where does he get this judgment? Firstly, I think, we must stress the role of the courts which throw out prosecutions they think unnecessary even though there has been a violation, and serve as judges not only of the public but of the arresting officers. A police officer can, in the long run, go only as far as the courts will let him and the courts are a good expression of the consensus of responsible opinion. A police officer who lacks a sense of judgment will probably come to grief in the courts one day. Secondly, and rather more important, is the influence of the police officer's private life. Out of uniform he is subject to exactly the same controls as any other citizen. He mixes with other citizens on an equal footing and soon hears what they think about the police. The resulting awareness of the public's point of view is the foundation of the officer's sense of judgement. Many times I have heard an officer discussing his treatment of an offender say to me, "I know that if I were in his place I should feel so-and-so . . ." In a military-style police where the officers live in barracks and do not mingle with the public this kind of understanding must be greatly reduced. The supervisory officers with whom I have talked confirm this conclusion, for they speak of their difficulties with enthusiastic young officers who have insufficient sense of how the public reacts to police controls. By and large it seems that the older an officer is, the better his sense of judgement. This must be because in his private life he has been more thoroughly absorbed into the community and understands it better. We should remember, too, that even on duty the police officer's powers are often merely those of the private citizen and that he is personally responsible for any wrongful arrest or error. The policeman, as we in the West understand his role, is *a kind of professional citizen.* He cannot be a good policeman if he is not a good citizen with an understanding of his fellows. And if we try to determine the rights and duties of a citizen we find that the law only takes us part of the way, for what constitutes citizenship is defined more by the common understandings of the community than by written regulation.

POLICE-PUBLIC RELATIONS

I turn now to the question of police-public relations, in the first place from the standpoint of the policeman. Many policemen believe that there will always be friction between police and public because members of the public instinctively resent the power which the policeman has over them. I do not deny that in dealing with certain types of criminal or in a tough urban neighborhood there may be justification for the view of policemen and public as adversaries, but I must say that it does not accord with conditions in the forces that I have visited. The point is important, for if you believe that police and public must be antagonists, and other citizens always resent police powers, then, if you are logical, the view you take of police-public relations will be fundamentally different from mine.

My reasons for rejecting the adversary conception can be expressed in three inter-connected arguments. Firstly, if one analyzes the number and character of contacts the policeman has with members of the public during his tour of duty one finds that he spends very little time chasing criminals or locking people up. A great deal of time is spent helping citizens in distress, whether it be escorting a mother who is rushing a badly bleeding child to a hospital, notifying a parent that his or her child has been killed in a motor accident, or just getting a cat out of a tree. When an officer answers a call it is the complainant he meets and not the violator. Usually the complainant emphasizes the moral wrong that he or she has suffered and not the legal wrong, if any. The complainant says that someone else has done wrong and in explaining what it was and why it was wrong, he or she inevitably emphasizes what in the circumstances would be right or moral conduct. Consider a trivial but representative case. I remember going with a car to a woman who complained of a boy's behavior. This boy had a bad home and was emotionally disturbed but he had been friendly with her son and she had allowed him to come to the house and had been very considerate towards him. But the boy had behaved badly and in the end she had to forbid him the house and tell her son to avoid him. The boy had responded by making anonymous threats over the phone, by breaking the garage windows with his BB-gun and by insulting her in public. She could stand it no longer and wanted the boy to be checked. Notice the following features of the case: The woman sought to justify her own actions in the matter; she was complaining that the boy's conduct was morally inexcusable; she did not know whether or not it constituted a legal offense and never spoke about legal remedies; she wanted the police to put pressure on the boy and his parents so that he would behave better, not that they should take him to court. This, I think, is typical. By complaining of the boy's bad behavior the woman is implicitly reaf-

firming the accepted view of how boys ought to behave. When the policeman answers a call as often as not it is this reference to how someone ought to have behaved that he hears first. He is reminded what morality expects at the same time as he is told of an offense.

Secondly, it is inadequate and at times misleading to describe a policeman's job as law enforcement. We know that every policeman ignores some violations but pursues certain others at times more rigorously than a strict interpretation of the law allows. A policeman's activities are governed much more by popular morality than they are by the letter of the law; most often morality and the law coincide, but when they do not, it is usually morality that wins. In Britain we recognize this with an admirable five-word formula for police work. We say that the policeman's job is "to keep the Queen's peace." One can see the interplay of law and morality in many sorts of cases but as good an example as any is that of matrimonial disputes. To enforce the letter of the law of assault is impracticable. Police action on these calls, both in the U. S. and Scotland often ignores the law and exceeds it; what the officer does depends upon his judgments of the moral claims of the parties and the extent to which they acknowledge the moral claims of the officer.

Popular morality, of course, changes. A generation ago a policeman could correct a troublesome juvenile by giving him a good cuff on the head, or he could clear up a case of wife-assault by giving the offender a taste of his own medicine. Public opinion used to support such sanctions because it thought them appropriate. Now it no longer does so. But a policeman's moral authority is still such that he can keep a lot of cases out of court by speaking to offenders and impressing them with the error of their ways. He can do this because *his office possesses authority as well as power.* It is useful to make a distinction between these concepts. Webster defines authority as "legal or rightful power." Power, we see, is not necessarily rightful, but authority includes a moral element. If someone has power over you he can force you to do his will, but if he has authority over you, you accept his right to command you and you obey him voluntarily. Members of the public may resent police power but not police authority because authority is conferred on the policeman by the community. If he has the authority to command obedience it is because people consider it morally right that he should. Policemen do not always act from authority; sometimes they simply exert the power conferred on them; in dealing with some individuals they have no alternative. All I seek to demonstrate is the importance of moral consensus to the everyday activity of the policeman.

Another way of making this point is to instance the patrolman's personal involvement in some of the cases he deals with. Locking up drunks soon becomes a routine but personal distress rarely loses its power to move a man's heart. I have noticed how, in the event of a bad case, say, a father maltreating his daughter, even a hardened patrolman feels moral indignation over the man's conduct. Everyone here will know, too, of occasions on which a policeman has dipped into his own pocket to help the children of someone he has locked up. He is involved in these cases as a man as well as an agent of the law. Sometimes officers allow their personal feelings to lead them astray but this does not mean that their superiors should prescribe exactly what they must do in every circumstance. The answer, I feel, is to develop new techniques of training in how to understand and handle people. If the patrol officers were better selected and better trained their supervisors could depend on them more and public relations would be improved.

My third reason for disagreeing with the adversary view of police-public contacts is that even criminals recognize the moral authority—as opposed to the power—of the police when it does not interfere with their plans. You have probably heard more stories than I of criminals who have borne no grudge against the arresting officer even when this might have been expected; of criminals who are outraged when others infringe standards they think should be enforced, or of cases like the hardened criminal who complained to an officer that his son was getting into bad ways. "I don't want him to grow up like me," he said, "It's too late for me to change now, but he's got a chance to lead a better life." I suspect also that the criminals' partial admission of the moral claims of the policeman underlies the viciousness with which they have treated convicted former policemen in some American penitentiaries.

When we discuss police-public relations we should, above all, beware of taking at face value some of the things members of the public say. Nearly everyone grumbles, but their complaints are often attempts to make their violations seem excusable, to still their own consciences; implicitly, many of these grouses are a recognition of the policeman's authority even if expressed in a backhanded sort of way. When people complain that Patrolman No. 999 was rude, they are saying that he falls short of their notion of how a policeman should behave, and if the public sets a high standard in this respect the police should be the last to complain.

The police officer seeks to control the subject for his own ends; he cuts short the complainant who starts on an irrelevant story and keeps the conversation to official business. It is as well to remember, also, that the subject seeks to control the officer's behavior. In a Scottish rural community a man does not like to inform on his neighbors; he has to live with them. So instead of telling the constable that so-and-so is committing a particular offense, he may suggest that the officer take a walk up a certain lane on Friday evening. In this way he controls the officer's behavior by seeing that action is taken but that no one can blame him for it. Similarly I have heard of people going to much trouble to communicate with a particular officer who is temporarily out of the district, because they know him and trust him. The key element here is that you feel safe with the man whose reactions you can predict. You will say more to the man you know to be discreet and unlikely to cause you embarrassment. The policeman who wields moral authority responds in a predictable fashion, in the manner that is socially approved. The policeman whose reactions are uncertain is the man who relies on his individual powers, unconcerned whether the subject will think he is exercising them rightfully or not. It is impossible for members of the public to have confidence in this kind of officer.

Perhaps I might add that while I have seen a lot of police work in American forces that is as good as anything in Britain, or, I believe, anywhere else in the

world, I have the impression that in the United States it is less easy to be sure how a police officer is going to react in given circumstances. I do not think this is just because I am an outsider, for Americans tell me the same thing. We know from studies of race relations that if members of a minority suffer discrimination only in one instance out of a thousand it has a quite disproportionate effect on their morale. When discrimination is unpredictable it can always occur the next time; what happened to my friend could happen to me tomorrow. It affects people's attitudes and behavior far more seriously than the statistical incidence of cases would suggest. It is the same with policemen. The subject who has once been treated badly by a policeman is on the alert ever after lest his experience be repeated. This can apply with particular relevance to the attitudes towards the police held by racial minorities. But in making comparisons of this kind we must recognize that it is much easier for the British policeman to be predictable because in our highly integrated society there is greater consensus about the right way to respond to given situations. The moral authority of the police officer depends upon the level of social integration and moral unity of the community and one cannot compare the work of British and American policemen without recognizing these differences in the context which they have to operate.

SITUATIONS OF RACIAL CONTACT

This brings me at last to the question of how the patrolman's work is affected by racial differences. Yet let me say at the outset that we cannot fruitfully discuss this topic without making certain assumptions. Policemen cannot deal satisfactorily with minority problems unless they have the support of the courts, unless their force has enough men for the job and is properly led. An officer should always be able to depend to some extent on the authority of his uniform or his badge. He should not have to establish his personal authority by proving that he individually is a good guy before he can get on with his job, though I fear that in some communities the latter is indeed the case. But if these conditions are met, then it would seem to me that the only racial problems a deparment should have to worry about are those within the department itself. In dealing with members of the public they have only to observe high standards of professional police work and they will automatically have dealt with the race issue, for professional policing demands respect for all citizens and due consideration for the circumstances of every individual. I am not saying that we should ignore community differences and treat everyone alike. The Jew will not thank you for saying, "let's forget all the centuries of anti-Semitic persecutions and just treat one another as individuals." People belong to communities whose history is reflected in the outlook of the present generation. One must understand that history if one is to understand the people.

But let me try to outline what seem to be three of the chief problems in this area. The first is that of the police department which has to assist in carrying through a desegregation order that is resisted by powerful groups in the community. Others are qualified to discuss this problem and I am not, but I would like to suggest that the root of the difficulty lies in the conflict between law and popular morality, or, to be more exact, between federal law and a liberal morality on the one hand, with traditional morality on the other, probably supported by state or local laws. When the police officer is no longer enforcing laws that are popularly recognized as just, then his position changes. He can no longer claim moral authority but must rely purely on his powers and be prepared for a burst of unpopularity until the community reconciles itself to the new order and vests it with moral approval. The experience of the Little Rock Police Department suggests that this is not so difficult and that the department which is committed to professional policing has a morality of its own which will carry it through such troubles and outweigh the personal feelings of the men. Speaking of the events there in August 1959, one observer remarked, "Whatever Chief Smith, or anyone else on the force may have thought about the Negroes or school integration didn't matter so much as what was getting to be their pride in the force . . . in fact, the vast majority of them were ardent segregationists." [1]

The second case is the one I want to discuss at greatest length so it may be as well if I summarize my argument. I have maintained that very many of the patrolman's actions derive from his moral involvement in the community rather than his legal powers and obligations. The patrolman shares the moral standards of his community and it endows him with authority because he does so; he is a *defender of the peace rather than an enforcer of the law*. If you accept this argument I would like you to consider what follows logically from it where you have someone policing a community with which he feels no personal identification. What, for example, if you have a white officer on duty in a Negro section of a southern town?

At the time of World War I a Captain of detectives in a southern town told a writer on police matters, "in this town there are three classes of homicide. If a nigger kills a white man, that's murder. If a white man kills a nigger that's justifiable homicide. If a nigger kills a nigger, that's one less nigger." Something of this attitude towards crimes between Negroes remains in many parts of the South. It is not the fault of the police. If what I have been told is true the courts in many towns will give a Negro convicted of assaulting another Negro a sentence only a fraction of that which would have been given had the parties been white. If the courts take this view it is hard for the police officer not to follow suit.

My six weeks acquaintance with police work in the South was all too brief for me to speak with confidence, but at no time did I get the impression that white officers felt the same moral involvement in the colored areas as they did in the white. An officer who came across a Negro woman who had been badly beaten by her lover showed none of the moral indignation he might have felt had they both been ordinary whites. In the eyes of the whites, these beatings and stabbings were just customs of the colored sections, like shooting craps.

Many departments now employ Negro officers to police Negro neighborhoods, especially in the evening. Of the six departments employing Negro police which I have visited, heard about, or read about, in each one the Negro police have the reputation of being stricter

[1] George McMillan, *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement*, published by the Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, 1960, p. 30.

with Negro offenders than white policemen would be. White officers in fact sometimes take pleasure in saying that Negroes wanted their own police but that now that they have them they regret it. Why is this? White officers say that their Negro colleagues can afford to be tougher because there is no threat of a Negro's bringing a civil rights suit against them, but I think you will agree that the matter is more complicated than that.

A Negro officer in one southern city put it to me like this. Before the introduction of Negro police, he said, Negro citizens were not getting proper protection. Negro bullies were allowed, by white officers, to get away with all sorts of offenses against other Negroes in return for the information they supplied. Often, too, he said, Negro violators were able to satisfy white officers by telling them a tale no Negro would have believed. Now, he said, the Negro neighborhoods were better policed. It was not true that Negro officers were too tough; they were no tougher than white officers were with whites who had committed similar crimes. Nor was it true that Negro citizens hated their own police—it was only the criminals and the people who wanted to curry favor with the whites who said this. White officers in the past had arrested drunks but they had never worried about drunken men who were neglecting their wives and children. Negro officers, on the other hand, were concerned with the moral issues and they had many times proceeded against people for this sort of offense and been instrumental in reforming them. He himself had subsequently been thanked by the very people he had proceeded against on such grounds. The white officer would not be so concerned with trying to reform a Negro offender because it was beneath his dignity and he would think the task too difficult anyway. This view of the matter is in line with the argument I advanced earlier. What the Negro officer is maintaining is that the Negro officer belongs in the Negro community and quite apart from the extra understanding he has, he feels a moral involvement with its people. He claims moral authority as a policeman where the white officer relies upon legal power because—rightly or wrongly—he rarely sees Negroes as subscribing to the moral norms acknowledged in his community.

The Negro officer whose views I quote over-simplified some of the issues though I believe him to have been right on the main ones. Traditional Negro attitudes towards the white man have a wider hold in the South than an educated Negro leader may like to admit. Many Negroes do take orders more easily from a white officer. When Negro police were first introduced into the city in question Negro toughs boasted that no Negro police were going to arrest them. As a result the first Negro officers had to win respect in the Negro lower-class neighborhoods by the strength of their arms. They had also to charge many Negroes with idling and loitering to disperse the crowds on the corners where so many of the fights originated. However, fourteen years after Negro police were introduced in this city one Negro patrolman had still made no fewer than 1,125 cases between January 1st and August 5th of this year and some of his colleagues had totals almost as impressive. This supports the contention that some Negro officers are remarkably hard-working but it is far from disproving the statement that Negro officers are particularly severe upon Negro offenders!

While we are on this topic I think I should refer to the fears that have been widely expressed about the trouble that would result if Negro officers were to arrest whites. In northeastern states, so far as I can discover, there is rarely trouble and the Negro officer's authority as a policeman is not questioned. In the South Negro officers are sometimes allowed to arrest white offenders and sometimes required to call a white officer to make the arrest. Dr. Elliott M. Rudwick has collected information on this point.[2] My very limited experience would suggest, however, that there is less restriction on the arresting power of Negro officers than his table indicates. Some forces, I suspect, have thought it judicious to report that Negro policemen do not arrest whites whereas in fact they do so if necessary and receive the support of their departments. This matter has not turned out to be so troublesome as was anticipated. I have myself been with Negro officers to investigate a family dispute in a ramshackle poor white dwelling house inhabited by people who looked to me like real hillbillies, and who had certainly been drinking, but I could detect nothing that suggested they resented having Negro officers attend the call.

I do not wish to imply that the recruitment of police officers from amongst a racial or cultural minority will solve all a police chief's problems in this area, but I do think that if you see the patrolman's job as defined by the authority the community confers upon it, then you cannot expect someone from another group to perform the job so conscientiously or to receive the same degree of cooperation. However, what is important is not the officer's color but his willingness to sympathize with the people he protects. A white officer could police a Negro quarter just as well as even a hard-working Negro officer, but he would have to be an exceptional man.

The third kind of problem which I want to bring up is that of desegregation within police departments. Again, I am hampered by lack of personal acquaintance with the difficulties, but there is some interesting data which I think bears upon this point in a book about the Philadelphia Police Department published in 1957.[3] Most of the white officers who completed the questionnaire said they had no objection to working with Negro officers on many tasks but they were reluctant to partner them in patrol cars. They mostly justified this by saying they could not tolerate a Negro's smell, or by some similar remark which does not sound very convincing to the outsider. I suspect that a truer interpretation would be that white officers were allowed some choice in their companions for this form of duty and that the colleagues of the man who partnered a Negro would wonder why he had chosen to depart from the usual pattern. He would appear a deviant and people would wonder why he rejected his colleagues of a similar race. The officer might have no personal objection to accompanying a Negro but nevertheless fear that doing so would compromise him in the eyes of his colleagues. This interpretation is in line with the remarks of some police officers in the South who had considerable respect for their Negro officers but would

[2] *The Unequal Badge: Negro Policemen in the South*, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia, 1962.

[3] William M. Kephart, *Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement*, Philadelphia, 1957, 48-53, 78-81.

not have liked to ride with them. As one said to me, it would have hurt his pride.

There are other possible angles, for example, the fact that, working side by side a colleague for eight hours a day, an officer in a patrol car sees more of his partner than he does even of his wife, and it is vital that he find a congenial companion. But still I think the example helps us see that resistance to association with members of a minority does not necessarily spring from a man's personal attitudes, or his ignorance about the people in question—as some of the more popular discussions of prejudice imply. The example reminds us that people may be influenced chiefly by what their associates might think. Desegregation could be so successful in the U. S. Army, I believe, because whites and Negroes were contained within the same organization and the whites did not have to look over their shoulders to find out how other whites were interpreting their part in the matter. In a police force the task is more difficult but it does help to ascertain whether one has to deal with a situation in which the resistance stems from individual attitudes or from social conventions which make association with people of another race appear low class or deviant behavior.

On this score, too, it would seem to me that in police forces of the South which have a separate Negro section the Negro officers can be merged into the organization not by focusing on race but by concentrating upon professional standards of police work and upon the common responsibilities of everyone in the department. But on this, I suspect, I am again preaching to the converted. However, I would add that if I were a police administrator looking for weaknesses in my organization the first place I would look would be amongst any officers coming from a minority group. Organizational defects are more likely to show up where you have racial differences as an additional barrier to communication. In one force I visited the Negro officers worked hard, they paraded more smartly at roll call than anyone else, their morale was high and their white colleagues did not try to disparage their capabilities. Why should one city be so successful? There can surely be little doubt that the answers lies in the quality of leadership the department has received. If in another department the white officers say the Negro officers are lazy and only want the job because of the advantage the uniform gives them with the womenfolk, this may be an expression of prejudice. It may be a truthful account of the situation. But, it may also be a sign that the morale of the department is not as high as it might be.

CONCLUSION

Earlier I expressed an opinion that we have a long way to go in developing better techniques for training officers in human relations. The formal writings on this subject often strike me as saying no more than every intelligent nineteen-year-old should have discovered for himself. Everyday situations are so varied, and so much depends upon delicate nuances of vocal tone, gesture, dress, demeanor, etc., that text books can rarely do them justice. Research has shown that to lecture a group of adults about the character of minority groups does not necessarily lead to any improvement in their attitudes towards them. I would suggest that when dealing with recruits (older men are a different problem) it is desirable for the instructor to deal with the effect of minority groups upon police work by a freer method of discussion than he would normally use. What we should try to do first of all is to help people develop a greater insight into their own feelings and an understanding of them. When people have this insight into the pressures upon them they have more control over the situations in which they are caught up. This makes for better judgement and better policing.

Finally I should emphasize that my argument relates to patrol officers and their dealings with the ordinary public; it does not cover the special position of detectives or of dealings with professional criminals. The detective has to be a law officer where the patrolman is still primarily a peace officer serving a popular morality that is recognized by policemen and subject alike. I was interested to hear in one American city which was replacing two-man cars with one-man cars that a major argument for this practice was that the officer who is by himself has to treat a prisoner with more tact and less force; he has to handle him in such a way that the man accepts the policeman's authority. I am sure that you will agree that for a police officer to use force where persuasion would be sufficient is one of the easiest ways to alienate the public, so this development is of general interest. Of course it can operate only if communications are such that additional cars can always be dispatched to a dangerous call, but whether or not the practice spreads, it does indicate an attempt in a city with relatively low social integration and a high crime rate, to base the policeman's role upon the moral authority of his office rather than its legal powers. I would be the first to agree that any such policy must be adapted to local circumstances. But, the move in this direction by police administrators does make me feel that the opinion I have expressed may not be altogether mistaken, and I am sure that if there are good arguments for this policy in ordinary police work it has a special relevance to law enforcement in districts of racial and cultural contact. □

Law Enforcement

A STATEMENT ON LAW AND RACE RELATIONS

As lawyers and law teachers in the South, we wish to call the attention of our fellow citizens to the role of law in dealing with a current and long-lasting problem.

Our country, North and South, now shares in one of the great changes in history. The readjustment of the relations of Negroes and whites here is but a minor phase of a worldwide readjustment of peoples. It is of the utmost importance that we carry forward our part of the change with the ancient virtues of wisdom and justice and moderation. An understanding of the role of law in the change can contribute something to this end.

Law is a means by which a free people advances justice and maintains order. Without it there would be either despotism or anarchy. The first paragraph of the Constitution of the United States states these twin purposes of justice and order, to "establish Justice" and "insure domestic Tranquillity."

The advancement of justice through law comes about at times through public protests against injustices believed to exist, as our history has often illustrated. The privilege of protest is guaranteed by the first Article of the Bill of Rights which protects "the right of the people peaceably to assemble" and "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." The denial of this peaceable right by officers of the law is itself a violation of the law.

The equality of all citizens in the exercise of civil rights is guaranteed by the Constitution and by the principles of a free people on which our government rests. The denial of equal rights to a part of our people is a violation of our law and our principles.

These matters, basic to our government and embodied in our national law, have occasionally been obscured by the false idea that our national law may be disregarded and put aside by State officials or private citizens. The men who founded our government perceived this danger and put into our Constitution a provision to meet it. The words of the Constitution deserve to be repeated now when some would ignore them:

> This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of Any State to the Contrary nothwithstanding.

Observe that the Constitution and federal laws are made "the supreme Law of the Land," and that the Judges in every State are bound by them "any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary nothwithstanding."

The idea that our national law may be disregarded has been put forward in different forms. One form is the so-called doctrine of interposition of

the State between the nation and the individual citizen. This doctrine under its old name of nullification was rejected over a hundred years ago by President Andrew Jackson. Its natural consequence, secession, led to the tragedy of the Civil War. Its use by the fifty States today would pull our country to pieces. It is a backward doctrine that is as out of date as feudalism.

Another form the idea takes is that the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution reserves to the States and denies to the United States all power over local matters. The Fourteenth Amendment, however, requires the States to exercise their powers with full regard to the elements of fairness the later Amendment specifies. These elements of fairness demanded by the Fourteenth Amendment include "due process of law" and "the equal protection of the laws." Whatever may be the broad powers reserved to the States by the Tenth Amendment, these powers must be exercised in a manner consistent with due process and equal protection.

A similar false idea recently asserted is that the invalidation of the separate-but-equal doctrine is not binding, because it is not compelled by the express words of the Constitution but only by what the Supreme Court has said the Constitution means. This argument leads on to anarchy for it implies that every person is entitled to interpret the law for himself and to act accordingly. Here again the founding fathers, knowing that under a system of law there must be a body with the power of final interpretation, answered the argument for anarchy by placing the power in the Supreme Court. The Judicial Article of the Constitution begins:

> "The Judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court" (with such inferior courts as Congress may establish).

It makes plain that the judicial power vested in the courts extends to the interpretation of the Constitution itself:

> "The Judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, (and) the Laws of the United States,"

Nearly a hundred and fifty years ago it was held, through Chief Justice Marshall, that the Supreme Court of the United States, not a State Supreme Court, is the final interpreter of national law.

Yet another form is an appeal to the terms of the statute of a State, or to a promise by a candidate in a political campaign that he would resist the enforcement of national laws he disliked. The reliance on the terms of a State statute is footless in light of the Constitutional provision that the Laws of the United States are the supreme Law of the Land. The appeal to a campaign promise is overridden by a greater oath. For the successful candidate when sworn into office takes an oath with the people as witnesses to uphold the Constitution of the United States. The official who would deny controlling effect to our national law violates his oath of office as well as our fundamental law.

Men who have taken the oath of office are under an even more manifest obligation than the ordinary citizen to observe the law. In violating the law, they inflict a grave injury to our country at home. These men inflict an even graver injury on our country abroad. They discredit it and give aid and comfort to our mortal enemies in these dangerous times. These thoughtless persons, while not in the camp of our enemies, do our enemies' work.

There is the other element of law that must be observed, "to insure domestic tranquillity." Order is no less an essential part of law than justice, and civil duties are as basic as civil rights. Lawlessness breeds lawlessness on both sides. It may quickly get out of the control of those who initiated it in a minor way and turn into uncontrolled mob violence. Those who in their zeal for change would violate the law hamper the means by which their purpose may be achieved. They, too, defeat the ideal inscribed over the building of the Supreme Court of the United States, "Equal Justice Under Law."

LEGISLATION

WASTED EFFORT IS BEST PROSPECT

Congressional Liberals Listless on Rights Bill

By ART PINE
Atlanta Constitution Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28 — The prospect of a new civil rights bill is usually a source of anguish for Southern conservatives in Congress.

But this year it's the would-be sponsors of the bill who'd rather not think about it.

"There's a feeling of listlessness about the whole thing," said a congressional staffer who has been in on initial drafting sessions. "No one seems very eager to get it started."

THE REASON is a simple one: Unless something serves to change the mood of Congress, any hour spent trying to promote a 1967 civil rights bill is likely to be a wasted one.

Sen. Philip A. Hart, D.-Mich., chief sponsor of the ill-fated 1966 bill, has already announced that this year's legislation would follow pretty much the same lines.

Last year, however, the bill emerged battered from the House and died after only 19 hours on the Senate floor. Its sponsors failed twice to muster enough votes to break a Southern filibuster.

This year, the road will be tougher: There are 47 more Republicans in the House, and even among the Democrats there seems a resurgence of conservatism.

And in the Senate, the liberals just last week lost their fight to lower filibuster-cutoff requirements, which many regarded as a test-vote for the civil rights bill.

THE DILEMMA for the already-committed liberals is now whether to offer meaningful legislation and bet against high odds, or to introduce a sure-bet that would amount to little more than tokenism.

The 1966 bill, which probably will serve as a model for this year's legislation, had six major parts:

Two sections dealt with federal court juries, providing for uniform methods of jury selection and prohibiting discrimination in choosing of panelists.

Another would have enabled the U.S. attorney general to seek injunctive relief against public officials—and private citizens — who tried to interfere with a person's civil rights.

A fourth section — this one widely supported by Southerners after the black power demonstrations — would have made it a federal crime to cross state lines to incite a riot.

IN THE ORIGINAL bill, but scratched off by the House, was a provision enabling the U.S. Justice Department to file civil suits to force school desegregation.

The final section — by far the most controversial — would have guaranteed open housing. It was the first civil rights provision ever to have much potential effect in the North.

It was the housing provision which underwent the greatest reduction in the House.

When first presented, it exempted only homeowners selling their own houses and those real estate agents representing homeowners who had stated in writing that they did not want to sell to Negroes.

By the time the bill was passed on to the Senate, it was made inapplicable to general real estate agents, builders or landlords with fewer than four living units, and ethnic groups renting apartments.

IN SHORT, it covered primarily developers of large subdivisions and agents for multifamily apartments — about 30 per cent of the entire housing market.

With the present climate of Congress, and the same stringent filibuster-cutoff rule still before them, sponsors of this year's bill will have two choices:

1. Submit essentially the same bill that finally passed the House last year, and hope it goes through without being gutted, or

2. Try to save what they can in advance, either by separating the housing section into a companion bill or by watering it down until it is acceptable to enough legislators to pass.

Which they do depends on two major factors — how much time and effort the Johnson administration wants to spend pushing the bill and whether there will be any dramatic racial incidents to help them.

MUCH OF THE steam generated behind last year's bill was a result of the efforts of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, who devoted a considerable amount of time to selling the bill to Congress.

But this year, there has been no indication so far as to how hard the President is willing to press. If the outlook doesn't appear to be promising, some think, Johnson may not think it worth the time.

"There's been no sign of a concerted push," said one insider this week. "I don't think the White House has made up its mind."

The "dramatic incident" is a miracle the liberals are hoping for and half believing in.

MOST RECALL vividly the pre-1964 struggle in which Southern policemen were nationally televised clubbing Negroes —a vision that helped push through a major bill that year.

In 1966, the only vision was that of black powermakers like Stokely Carmichael, and even some civil rights leaders now are blaming him for last year's defeat.

Until early April, when the would-be sponsors take their final congressional head-count before introducing the bill, the makeup of this year's legislation will be a long way from certain.

Proponents of the bill are just beginning their "pulse-taking," as they call it, with casual questions to senators and representatives to sound them out.

"We're having to go through the motions all over again," said one northerner last week," and we don't know quite where they're going to lead us."

LEGISLATION

Sweeping Civil Rights Bill Will Go to Congress Today

AC 2/15/67

WASHINGTON (UPI) — President Lyndon B. Johnson will ask Congress Wednesday for a sweeping civil rights program, including a gradual, three-stage end to discrimination in housing.

The President is scheduled to send the special message to Congress, marking the fourth time in four years the administration has asked for civil rights laws.

The new civil rights package, according to informed sources, is very similar to the one passed by the House in modified form and filibustered to death by the Senate last year.

The controversial "open housing" section has been revamped to provide for a gradual end to discrimination in the rental or sale of property rather than the outright ban advocated last year by the administration.

The sources said the new housing proposal will be patterned after the equal employment opportunity section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Under this provision, employers with less than 100 employes were exempt the first year. This was reduced to 75 the second year; to 50 the third year, and to a basic 25 after that.

A similar three-stage operation is planned for the housing proposal. It would be voluntary the first year; apply to large developments and apartments the second year, and to all homes after that.

Opposition to the housing provision killed the 1966 civil rights bill, although it was sharply modified by the House. The House-passed bill would have exempted all but an estimated 23 million apartments in larger buildings and homes in new developments — about 40 per cent of the nation's total housing.

The chief obstacle to Senate approval was Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen, who refused to accept any housing provision. Without his aid, efforts to stifle the Senate filibuster failed.

The new civil rights package also will include several other provisions which died last year.

These would outlaw discrimination in the selection of federal, state, and local juries and strengthen federal laws forbidding violence and terror against Negroes and civil rights workers.

New provisions in this year's program would give added powers to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and grant another extension to the Civil Rights Commission.

The proposed bill would provide "cease and desist" powers to the commission which now has to go to court to move against employers who discriminate.

ATLANTA

Atlantans in Slums Explain Problems

AC 2/17/67

By MARGARET HURST

Atlantans with problems found a receptive ear Thursday night at the first public hearing of the Atlanta Community Relations Commission.

An overflow crowd packed the aldermanic chambers at City Hall as approximately 35 persons representing areas such as Vine City, Lightning, Blue Heaven, Pittsburg and Summerhill told the commission of problems which were sometimes personal and often community-wide.

The commission was created to deal with problems of poverty and race.

Three boys from the Vine City area asked the commission to reopen a community center closed because of a cutback in Economic Opportunity Atlanta funds.

One of the young men, Joe Lewis, said things were so bad in Vine City that "even the rats were complaining about a better place to live."

Another Vine City spokesman, J. Otis Cochran, asked the commission to try to reopen the center.

"A city which can spend millions of dollars on a stadium to entertain thousands of middle class Atlantans can find money to saves hundreds of boys on the brink of delinquency," Cochran said.

Bob Haver, a spokesman for the Southwest Atlanta for Progress group, voiced a problem with a slightly different twist —how to slow down integration.

Haver, a white man, stressed that his group believes "integration is healthy", but added, "we don't want our neighborhood to become all Negro or all-white."

He told the commission, "We need people who understand change to come to our meetings and speak to us." He said the street on which he lives has a population of about 50 per cent Negroes and 50 per cent whites and he is interested in stabilizing the population along those lines.

Mrs. Louise Whatley, a resident of Carver Homes, said Carver parents were charged $5 whenever children were found playing on the grass and that service charges doubled and tripled for each time a repair was needed.

And so it went for nearly three hours. There was talk about zoning, discrimination in city jobs, discrimination in real estate sales and scores of other matters. The commission members promised to do what they could.

LEGISLATION

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

March 1, 1967

ANALYSIS OF CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1967 (Senate No. S.1026)

The Administration's 1967 civil rights bill (S.1026) covers the same general areas of concern as that of 1966 (H.R.14765) with the exception of Title III. In last year's bill that title would have granted to the Attorney General the right to institute suits to desegregate public schools and public facilities. Title III of this year's bill is an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It would give to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission authority to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the federal courts. This year's bill has an additional title - VI - to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission.

There are a few significant changes from the 1966 bill in Title IV, the housing title, and Title V, protection for civil rights. The differences in the jury titles, I and II, appear to be technical and less than major.

Reference in this memorandum to H.R.14765 will be to the bill that passed the House and was filibustered in the Senate in 1966.

TITLE I - FEDERAL JURY REFORM

The first title regulates the selection of federal juries. It prohibits discrimination in selection on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status. It establishes a method of selecting juries on a random, representative basis. The basic source of jury lists will be voting lists, except that where such lists are not representative, the judicial council of the circuit can require the use of additional sources. Parties to a suit may require the production of evidence by the jury commissioner to determine whether the provisions of this title are being complied with. The only disqualifying factors for jury selection would be failure to meet citizenship, age or residence requirements, illiteracy, incapacitating mental or physical infirmity or conviction of a crime punishable by more than one year's imprisonment.

TITLE II - STATE JURY REFORM

Title II prohibits any distinction because of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, or economic status in the selection of state juries. The prohibition could be enforced through civil action brought by the Attorney General, a private person suffering discrimination, or by a litigant in a criminal or civil case. In any such case, the title provides discovery procedures under which it would be determined how juries are selected. If the court finds probable cause to believe that discrimination occurred and that the records are insufficient to permit a determination, the burden is shifted to the state to show non-discrimination. Relevant jury records must be kept for a specified time, and

would be subject to production and inspection. When a court finds discrimination, it is authorized to fashion appropriate relief, including: suspension or prohibition of discriminatory qualifications, or ones that are so subjective as to permit abuse; requiring use of objective criteria; and appointment of a master to perform the duties of the jury commissioner.

TITLE III - EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

Title III would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to strengthen the authority of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Under this title the Commission would have subpoena power to assist in its investigation of charges of discrimination. It could conduct hearings on such charges. Upon a finding of discrimination, it could issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the federal courts. Such orders could include a requirement of affirmative action, including an award of back pay. Before conducting a hearing, the Commission would be required to attempt to affect a settlement by conciliation.

The title would continue in effect the requirement that cases must be referred for a limited time to state and local governments having enforceable FEP laws. The Commission would be authorized, but not required, to surrender complete jurisdiction in employment cases to such governments.

Individuals who do not receive satisfaction from the Commission would be authorized to file civil suits for redress, and the authority of the Attorney General to file suits against patterns or practices of discrimination would not be affected.

Persons aggrieved and "other persons" may intervene in a hearing at the discretion of the Commission, and "any interested person" may intervene in the enforcement proceedings in the discretion of the court. Aggrieved persons may obtain review of any final order of the Commission.

TITLE IV - HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

This title would prohibit discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin in the purchase, rental, financing or occupancy of any housing (with the single exception of housing sponsored by religious organizations for their members).

This total coverage would be reached in stages. Immediately on passage of the bill, all housing now covered by the existing executive order would be affected. In 1968 all housing not owner-occupied and all housing of five or more units would be added; this would add many apartments and all new housing. Beginning with 1969 coverage would include the total housing market.

The chief means of enforcement would be by administrative action conducted by the Department of HUD. The Secretary would be authorized to receive and investigate complaints, to conduct hearings and to issue court-enforceable cease and desist orders, including orders for $50 a day penalties for failure to obey initial orders. He would have subpoena power to support investigations and hearings. Before issuing a complaint, he would be required to try to affect a settlement by conciliation.

Aggrieved persons who do not obtain satisfaction through the administrative procedure may file civil action to enforce rights protected by this title. The Attorney General could file suits against patterns and practices of discrimination.

The Secretary may cooperate with, and delegate duities to, state housing agencies, including the full enforcement of provisions of this title.

The title includes an "anti-block busting" provision, and one that would prevent real estate organizations from discriminating in admission practices.

To assist him in enforcement of the title, the bill provides for an additional assistant secretary for the Department of HUD.

TITLE V - INTERFERENCE WITH CIVIL RIGHTS

Title V would make it a federal criminal offense to interfere with specified civil rights because of the victim's race, color, religion or national origin. The rights so protected are voting, running for public office, serving as a poll watcher, enrolling in or attending a public school or college, participating in or enjoying any federal or state benefit or program, seeking or engaging in employment, engaging in housing activities, serving as a juror, using any common carrier, enjoying any benefit assisted by federal funds and using any place of public accommodation.

Also prohibited is interference with anyone to discourage a person from enjoying such rights or for having assisted another to do so.

Penalties could be up to life imprisonment, where death occurs. Existing civil rights laws are amended to provide similar penalties.

Persons aggrieved would also be given the right to sue for preventive relief or for damages.

The "anti-riot" provision adopted in the House last year is not included.

TITLE VI - CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Under this title the life of the Civil Rights Commission would be extended for five additional years beyond its present termination date--January 31, 1968.

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PREPARED BY J. FRANCIS POHLHAUS, SPECIAL CONSULTANT TO
THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS

LEGISLATION

7/13/67

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

Kennedy Puts In Bill to Produce Jobs in the Slums

Criticizing U.S. Antipoverty Effort, He Seeks to Lure Private Plants to Ghetto

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 12 — Senator Robert F. Kennedy offered in the Senate today a plan to create jobs for the unemployed and unskilled in the slums through the use of private capital.

The plan would represent a sharp break with the nation's 30-year tradition of trying to help the hard-core jobless primarily through government action.

In a 45-minute Senate speech, the New York Democrat, while emphasizing that he had supported Great Society programs and called for their expansion, said that much of the present Federal antipoverty strategy was "ineffective, inefficient and degrading."

His bill for slum jobs—like one for more and better housing for the poor, which he will introduce tomorrow—seeks to lure the capital resources of private industry into the poor ghettos through tax incentives.

Proposed Inducements

It would offer companies willing to build job-producing plants in the ghettos the following inducements:

¶An increase in the percentage of new investment in machinery that businesses may deduct from taxes due the Government. At present, businesses may deduct from taxes owed up to 7 per cent of the cost of new machinery and equipment. Mr. Kennedy would raise this to 10 per cent.

¶A further tax credit of 7 per cent of the cost of building a new plant. Present law allows only for the 7 per cent deduction on equipment and machinery.

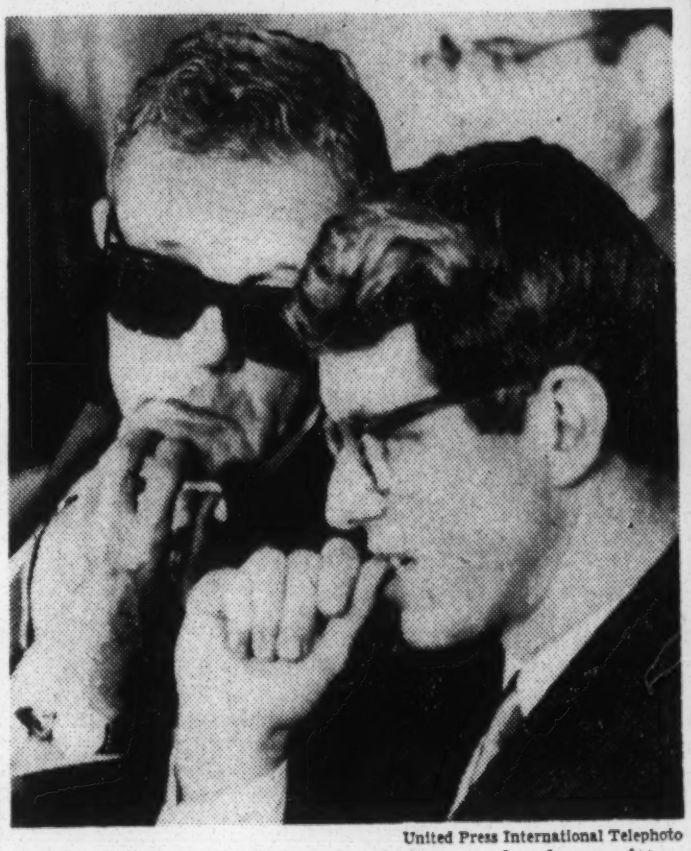
¶A special tax deduction that would amount to one-fourth of the salaries paid to the hard-core poor hired by a company. Business concerns, in computing the cost of doing business for purposes of income tax deduction, now may deduct from gross income the salaries and wages they pay. Under the Kennedy plan a ghetto company would deduct 125 per cent of the wages paid its low-income employes.

Sees a Present Failure

¶An accelerated depreciation schedule that would shorten by as much as one-third the period in which businesses could write off the cost of construction, plant and equipment. Such a fast tax writeoff lets the owner of a property assign a larger share of the property's value to depreciation in one year, as a business expense, thus reducing the owner's taxable income in that year.

Senator James B. Pearson, Arkansas Republican, joined Mr. Kennedy in introducing the bill. There were 18 other sponsors, including five Republicans.

Mr. Kennedy made clear that he sought to remedy what he called "the greatest failure in our existing poverty efforts—the failure to involve and rely on the private enterprise system which is the basic strength of the nation."



United Press International Telephoto

Senator Joseph S. Clark, left, chairman of subcommittee on employment, manpower and poverty, and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, New York Democrat, at hearing yesterday.

This failure, he said, has condemned the poor to "a separate economy, almost a separate nation—a second-rate system of welfare handouts, a screen of government agencies keeping the poor apart from the rest of us."

"To rely exclusively, even primarily, on government efforts is not only to ignore the shaping traditions of American life and policies," he asserted. "To ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise is to fight the war on poverty with a single platoon, while great armies are left aside.

"For private enterprise is not just another part of America. In a significant sense, private enterprise is the very sinew and strength of America."

The incentives offered in the bill would not apply to businesses that moved their plants from one location to another. Only those that constructed new facilities or expanded existing ones would be eligible.

Poverty Areas Designated

Moreover, to be eligible, businesses would have to build or expand in one or more of 193 areas in 37 states designated as "poverty" areas by the Office of Economic Opportunity, or in other areas that might be designated later by the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

In addition, businesses would have to agree to do the following:

¶Create at least 50 full-time jobs, of which two-thirds would have to be filled by residents of the poverty area or by other unemployed persons.

¶Agree to maintain the investment for 10 years. If an employer were forced to reduce his staff for economic reasons, he would have to retain the same percentage of low-income persons.

¶Fulfill other conditions, such as obtaining approval from the city government and paying wages comparable to those paid by competitors in the same locale.

The bill also provides for a manpower training program, which would cost $20-million the first year. Unlike present manpower programs, in which trainees face an uncertain future, trainees would be prepared for specific jobs in ghetto plants.

The over-all cost of the Kennedy plan is difficult to estimate, because it would depend on the size of the investment that business made in the slums.

Mr. Kennedy offered a hypothetical example in which one business, making a $1-million investment split equally between plant and equipment and creating 50 new jobs, would receive benefits under the bill amounting to about $90,000.

Of this, $35,000 would be accounted for by the 7 per cent tax credit for plant, $25,000 by the extra tax credit for machinery and equipment, and $30,000 that the employer would save on his tax bill by deducting 125 per cent of his employes' wages.

Under this calculation, the cost to the Treasury of creating 50,000 jobs—1,000 times as many as in the example—would be $90-million.

Mr. Kennedy said, however, that the Treasury would recoup this and more from new income tax revenues generated by the new jobs, increased profits of construction companies, new tax revenues generated by jobs created "indirectly" by the original investment, and other sources. In addition, he said, the welfare rolls would be reduced.

HOUSE TAKES UP CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

LEGISLATION

Measure With Penalties for Violence May Pass Today

NYT 8/16/67

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 15—The House began debate today on a long pending bill that would extend legal protection from intimidation and violence to persons exercising their civil rights.

The bill, one of the least controversial of President Johnson's civil rights proposals, is expected to pass tomorrow, possibly with weakening amendments.

It would strengthen laws making it a crime to harass or harm Negroes or civil rights workers excercising federally protected rights. It would provide for punishment up to life imprisonment in the event of death, and would specifically apply in the areas of voting, education, public accommodations, employment, jury service, use of common carriers and participation in federally assisted programs.

Republican Emanuel Celler, Democrat of Brooklyn, who is chairman of the Judiciary Committee, pleaded for passage of the bill to help alleviate the "Negro despair" he said was the cause of recent urban rioting. This bill, he said, and the one passed by the House last month making it a crime to cross state lines to incite a riot "are the reverse and obverse of the same coin."

Part of Defunct Bill

The measure is part of the omnibus civil rights bill that passed the House last year but died in the Senate. It was not nearly as controversial as the sections on open housing and jury reform, partly because it would be applicable chiefly in the South. It now has the support of the Republican as well as the Democratic leadership.

Southerners are providing most of the opposition. They slowed action on the bill today by demanding frequent quorum calls. One of the pending amendments, by Basil L. Whitener, Democrat of North Carolina, would specify that nothing in the bill pre-empt state laws, so long as the state laws did not conflict with Federal laws.

The southerners charged that the bill would be used to protect those who incited riots, and even some who spoke in favor of the bill used the occasion to denounce the riots.

Representative John B. Anderson, Republican of Illinois, a supporter of the bill, lashed out at the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, for urging Negroes to take up civil disobedience on a massive scale.

Urges Maturity

"The time has come," Mr. Anderson said, "for this Government to ask those in the civil rights movement to exhibit a little maturity of judgment" and cease using "inflammatory language."

John Conyers Jr., Democrat of Detroit, who is a Negro, responded that Dr. King had condemned the riots and had been "the most consistent opponent of violence that America has had, black or white."

Mr. Celler pointed out that the legislation President Johnson was seeking was not new but a strengthening of laws enacted a few years after the Civil War, but "artificially drawn and full of lopholes."

"We are seeking to put flesh and muscle on the old skeleton," he said.

LEGISLATION

ON LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

Foes of civil rights proposals borrow weapon from LBJ talk

B'ham News 1/24/68

BY PAUL SCOTT

WASHINGTON

President Johnson's decision to leave the problem of race rioters to local law enforcement officials has presented a strong new weapon to Senate opponents of one of his major civil rights proposals.

They are now using the President's anticrime statement in their fight to kill or drastically alter legislation intended to protect individuals in the exercise of a wide variety of civil rights.

Headed by Sen. James Eastland, D-Miss., chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, these opponents are attacking the administration's measure in the Senate, where it is now being debated. The group is circulating a memorandum charging, "The provisions of this (civil rights) bill could be used to harass and deter local law enforcement officers."

THE EASTLAND group memo calls attention to the President's declaration in his State-of-the-Union address, "Those who preach disorder and those who preach violence must know that local authorities are able to resist them swiftly, to resist them sternly, and to resist them decisively." Then it warns:

"It is manifestly unfair to put these local officials in the front line of the struggle to maintain a society of law and order while placing them under the terrible omnipresent threat of being hailed into federal court on a criminal charge because the attorney general determines they had used an unreasonable amount of force in suppressing a riot."

To rule out this "threat," the Eastland group will attempt to add to the administration's civil rights proposal an amendment written into a similar bill on the House floor. It provides:

". . . Nothing within this section shall be construed so as to deter any law enforcement officer from lawfully carrying out the lawful duties of his office and no such officer shall be considered to be in violation of this section for carrying out the lawful duties of his office or enforcing, lawful ordinances and laws of the U. S. or their political subdivisions."

IN ADDITION to this protection for local law enforcement officers, the Eastland group will try to add to the Senate bill another House-passed amendment, designed to make sure the bill isn't used to protect agitators such as H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael, the Black Power militants.

This amendment, which obtained overwhelming Republican support in the House, states:

"As used in this section, the term 'engaged in speech or peaceful assembly' shall not mean the urging, instigating or inciting of other persons to riot or to commit any act of violence in futherance of a riot."

Both of these House-approved amendments were defeated by narrow margins in the Senate Judiciary Committee, which cleared the controversial civil rights measure by a cliff-hanging eight-to-seven vote.

IN MOUNTING their campaign the Eastland group will attempt to label the administration's civil rights proposal publicly as "a protection measure for agitators like Brown and Carmichael."

This attack plan is clearly indicated in the minority report prepared by Senators Eastland and Strom Thurmond, R-S. C., which charges:

"This bill will give added protection to roving fomentors of violence, such as Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.

"Under its terms and provisions, if a person had been present during the inflammatory speech of H. Rap Brown which led to the Cambridge, Md., riots on July 24, 1967, and, becoming enraged at the inflammatory statements made by Brown, had shouted a threat to him from the audience, that person could be tried under this act and fined up to $1,000 and imprisoned for one year.

"If such person had jumped up on the platform and struck Brown, giving him a bloody nose, he could be punished by 10 years in prison and fined up to $10,000. No punishment could be imposed on H. Rap Brown under these circumstances."

THE EASTLAND group is also planning to offer the House-passed antiriot bill as an amendment to the civil rights measure. Senators Edward Kennedy, R-Mass., and Philip Hart, D-Mich., co-authors of the administration's bill, blocked a similar effort in the Senate Judiciary Committee.

SEN. EASTLAND

Since the House by a 347 to 70 vote passed the antiriot bill last July, Senators Kennedy and Hart have also succeeded in keeping the Judiciary Committee from reporting it out as a separate bill.

Unless it is set aside for other legislation, Senate debate on the civil rights proposal could tie up that body until next spring. Since liberal supporters are planning to try to attach an open housing amendment to the bill, both supporters and opponents are threatening to "debate the measure for months."

The first major congressional reform bill since 1946 is due for early approval by Congress.

After delaying action on the Senate-passed measure for more than 10 months, House Democratic leaders have finally decided to bring the legislation to a floor vote early in February.

James Reston

4-16-64
Cometa

A Common Fear Grips Rights Talks

WASHINGTON—An odd mood of foreboding is developing in the civil rights debate in the Senate. The leaders on both sides share a common fear: that they will not be able to control events during the long summer debate and that some ghastly incident will inflame the races and once more command this doom-filled story.

Paradoxically, the principal antagonists in the debate do not fear one another so much as they fear their own most militant supporters. It is not Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia who fears the drift of some Negro leaders from peaceful demonstration into civil disobedience, but Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

Russell is afraid of violence by the white militants and Humphrey is afraid of civil disobedience by his most ardent Negro supporters, and for the same reason. They both fear the reaction of the majority of the people against whoever starts the fighting.

Humphrey needs at least 64 votes to bring the talking to an end probably sometime near the close of June. He now has only 60 votes and isn't very sure of all of them, and he is convinced that, while orderly Negro demonstrations may help him, dramatic civil disobedience creating civic disorder could very well make his task impossible.

This is why the administration has been so concerned about plans by the Brooklyn chapter of CORE to tie up all traffic leading to the World's Fair just as it is concerned about talk of creating a water shortage in New York simply by opening the taps. Nothing is more calculated to lose rights votes than carefully planned traffic jams.

The longer the bill goes on, the greater the danger of violence. Thousands of white students will be going into the South to help with Negro voter registration as soon as classes end in June. And thousands of partisans will be flocking here to petition their senators. This is a short-tempered city anyway in the gin and humidity season, and it will take mature and responsible leadership to keep the militant minorities from dominating the news.

RALPH McGILL

4-17-64

The Lawyers Speak Out—

Mail inspired by the filibuster against the civil rights bill falls roughly into three categories. There is fanatic support of the senators filibustering and of denunciation of the bill. Much of the latter is based on erroneous information. There also is some approval of the bill's objectives. An increasing number of letters seek information about the bill or portions of it.

A number of Southern leaders who oppose the legislation have assured their constituents it is unconstitutional. If it is, then these persons have nothing to worry about and one wonders at their agitation. However, only the U.S. Supreme Court, constitutionally established to determine what legislation is in accord with the Constitution, may say.

Those provisions of the bill that would end bias in job opportunities and in access to places of public accommodation now have vigorous endorsement from a distinguished panel of 22 lawyers. They include four past presidents of the American Bar Association and three former attorneys general of the United States.

The List

Those who sincerely seek information will be interested in the list. The former attorneys general are Francis Biddle, Herbert Brownell and William P. Rogers. The latter two served under President Eisenhower. Mr. Biddle was in Franklin D. Roosevelt's cabinet. The four former presidents of the A.B.A. are:

David F. Maxwell of Philadelphia, John Randall of Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Charles S. Rhyne

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David F. Maxwell of Philadelphia, John Randall of Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Charles S. Rhyne of Washington and Whitney North Seymour of New York.

Others signing included Norris Darrell of New York, president of the American Law Institute, and four law school deans: Erwin N. Griswold of Harvard, Eugene V. Rostow of Yale, John W. Wade of Vanderbilt and William B. Lockhart of Minnesota.

The lawyers included a legal memorandum. In it the signers said Title Two of the bill, outlawing discrimination at hotels and other places of public accommodation had two "sound constitutional bulwarks."

These, the legal memorandum said, are Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce and the 14th Amendment's ban on racial discrimination by the states and their agencies. As to Title Seven, on fair employment, the lawyers said its provisions were well within the findings of many judicial decisions on the power over commerce.

People Deceived

In 1954, and in the years before, there were Southern politicians who chose to deceive the people of their states by declaring that eliminating discrimination in segregated schools was unconstitutional and assuring them that the state laws would be able to maintain discrimination. Had they told the people the truth the South and the nation would have been able to leave the school problem to the professional school administrators rather than making the issue one of politics.

The bill does not interfere with homeowners in selling or renting. The bill does not even mention housing.

Private clubs, organizations and fraternities specifically are exempted. The bill does not say any public accommodation business "must serve" anyone. It simply says all persons must be treated alike. Rules of dress and conduct may be enforced. Small rooming houses are entirely exempted.

The civil rights bill has nothing whatever to do with curriculum or the hiring of teachers. Nor does it do any harm to unions. The bill does not seek to legislate racial equality. Its sole and total purpose is to establish equality of citizenship. It does not touch the private home, club, or social life.

The truth will help us more than fiction.

The Civil Rights Bill—No. 1

TITLE II LISTS 'OPEN' PLACES

4-19-64

By TED LIPPMAN
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—H.R. 7152, "The Civil Rights Act of 1964," is a 55-page, 11-title bill. It passed the House of Representatives Feb. 10 and has been the subject of Senate debate since March 9.

Title II outlaws discrimination on the basis of "race, color, religion or national origin" in any "establishments which serve the public" if (1) "its operations affect commerce" or if (2) discrimination is "supported by state action."

This is the first of five articles giving details of the civil rights legislation now before the U.S. Senate. The articles will continue daily in The Atlanta Constitution.

The bill lists the following "places" specifically: Inn, motel, hotel, restaurant, cafeteria, lunch room, lunch counter, soda fountain, motion picture house, theater, concert hall, sports arena, stadium.

THIS is not a limiting list. Places located in the listed places are also covered. (A bar in a motel, for example.) Also, the bill defines "commerce" as "travel, trade, traffic, commerce, transportation or communication" across state lines.

If a law or "regulation, rule or order" of a political subdivision compels segregation in any place, that place is also covered by Title II. "Custom or usage" enforced by political subdivisions also bring the place involved under Title II.

Private clubs are not covered unless the club's facilities are available to customers of places covered above. (A club's golf course open to a hotel's guests.)

An individual or the U.S. Attorney General may apply for an injunction against the owner or operator of an establishment that discriminates or one "about to" discriminate.

U.S. district courts have jurisdiction over cases involving this title.

The Civil Rights Bill

4-21-64 Const.

U.S. Given the Power to File Suit Against State Facilities

By TED LIPPMAN
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Title III and Title VI of the civil rights bill (H.R. 7152) deal with facilities run or owned by a state or political subdivision (excepting schools) and with programs receiving federal financial aid.

This is the third of five articles giving details of the civil rights legislation now before the U.S. Senate.

The 11-part bill passed the House Feb. 10 and has been before the Senate since March 9.

Title III allows the attorney general of the United States to file suit in a United States district court against any facility owned or run by a state or political subdivision if that facility is said to be discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin.

Before the attorney general may file such a suit, he must receive a signed complaint charging discrimination. He must certify that he believes the signer is unable to file suit on his own, because of fear of reprisal or lack of money.

Title VI says no person may be discriminated against on the grounds of race, color or national origin under programs receiving federal financial aid. Aid is defined in the bill as "grant, loan or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty."

Title VII says each federal department and agency shall make rules "of general applicability" to ensure that federal funds are not used in a discriminatory way.

The rules must be approved by the President.

An agency or department may be cut off the particular federal aid involved if it finds, in a hearing, that the "recipient" is discriminating. "Recipients" of federal funds are states, cities, counties and agencies of states, cities and counties.

Birchers Going All-Out to Kill Rights Bill by Letter Writing

4-21-64 Const.

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
(Copyright 1964 by the New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — The John Birch Society has called on its members to continue a "massive" letter writing and advertising campaign against passage of the civil rights bill that is reported already to have produced "half a million messages to Washington."

In the March issue of the John Birch Society Bulletin, official magazine of the extremist group, Robert Welch, society president, urged members of local chapters to organize "the most massive protest—by mail, telegram, by advertising, by the distribution of literature, by personal conversations and in every other practicable way —that we have ever undertaken with regard to any legislation."

Both the March and April issues of the Bulletin include the layout of a suggested three-column newspaper advertisement. The Bulletin suggests the ads be placed with "scrupulous proofreading."

However, the bulletins also suggest that the ads should not carry a John Birch Society identification.

The suggested headline for the advertisement declares: "Every Vote for the Civil Rights Act of 1963 Is a Nail for the Coffin of the American Republic."

Ed. Ga.

South Setting Racial Pace, Editor Says

4-21-64 Const.

By CLIFF SESSIONS

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Eugene Patterson, a new member of the Civil Rights Commission, predicted Monday that the South will lead the nation in settling racial problems.

Patterson, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, told the Women's National Democratic Club he believed a "final, good faith settlement will come first in the South."

The nation is making progress in race relations, he said, "but we are now finding a national problem and not just a Southern one."

NAMED BY PRESIDENT

Patterson, appointed Saturday to the Civil Rights Commission by President Lyndon B. Johnson, said "vicious racialism" is dying in the South although "pockets remain, perhaps entire states."

He said his home town had desegregated "practically every facet of life" and integration of each additional facility is greeted with "an astonishing sense of relief."

Segregation is no longer a "political necessity" in Georgia, said Patterson, predicting a change in the South's attitude will be reflected in the action of its politicians. He said changes had already been noted in Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., and Herman E. Talmadge, D-Ga.

MYTH IS DYING

The veteran newsman said the South is killing a myth that "the devil shaped the Negro" and he warned other regions against accepting a myth that "Satan shaped the Southerner."

He urged that problems be met with national unity and without "dividing into sections any longer."

Patterson predicted Negroes in the civil rights movement would not permit "divisive zealous leaders to seize and misuse it." He commended Senators. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., and Thomas H. Kuchel, R-Calif., for issuing a warning against unlawful demonstrations.

The Civil Rights Bill

4-22-64 Const

4 Parts of Touchy Measure Stir Up Little Controversy

By TED LIPPMAN
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Four titles of the 11-title Civil Rights Act of 1964 have received little attention, at least relatively, in the Senate debate that began March 9. (The bill passed the House on Feb. 10.)

Title V extends the life of the Civil Rights Commission to 1968.

This is the fourth of five articles giving details of the civil rights legislation now before the U.S. Senate.

It also broadens some of the powers of the commission, a fact - finding, recommending agency set up by the first modern civil rights bill in 1957.

Title IX deals with appeals growing out of civil rights cases. If a case appealed from a state court to a federal district court is remanded back to the state court, that action can then be reviewed by a higher federal court.

Title X establishes a community relations service. This service would operate under the Department of Commerce. Its function would be to "provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices. . . ."

It would provide (or offer) such service whenever it felt "peaceful relations among the citizens of the community involved are threatened. . . ."

Title XI is labeled "miscellaneous." It says that "nothing in this act" shall keep the Justice department from using existing laws on civil rights, that the new law will not preempt similar state laws, that Congress shall appropriate whatever money needed under the new law and that if part of the law is found unconstitutional that won't affect the rest of it.

4-30-64

Eugene Patterson

Republicans On Civil Rights

Republican policy on civil rights shapes up as a tougher one than the Democrats' in some respects, if an influential GOP committee prevails. A new paper issued by the Republican citizens group, called the Critical Issues Council, even proposes to cut back the number of congressmen of any state that persists in denying voting rights to Negroes.

The punitive proposal, made with dead seriousness, can hardly be called the work of liberals. Former President Eisenhower's brother, Dr. Milton Eisenhower, is chairman of the council. Its membership includes Adm. Arleigh Burke, Arthur F. Burns, Raymond Saulnier, Thomas S. Gates, Gen. Lauris Norstad, Lewis L. Strauss and Walter H. Judd.

It is a measure of the country's commitment to civil rights that such a Republican group should be found endorsing most objectives of the Democratic administration's bill and proposing to toughen some of it.

* * *

Preoccupation with the current Senate filibuster can delude persons who lose perspective. It is probably true that the nation is reacting adversely to the wrecking-crew tactics of some heedless Negro demonstrators, and that Alabama's George Wallace is tearing up the patch in Indiana. But the undistracted realist who wants to see where he is going will note that both parties are going forward, not turning back, on civil rights.

The Republican committee endorses FEPC and public accommodations legislation; it suggests a toughening in the education section of the present rights bill to speed up school desegregation; it concludes, "The civil rights bill now in Congress may not be enough to assure the Negro's right to vote."

* * *

If "painfully slow" judicial enforcement "continues to be inadequate," the GOP committee writes, then "under the 14th Amendment state representation in Congress can be reduced in proportion to the numbers of voters systematically denied the franchise."

How can this be justified? "If Negroes are counted when representation (in Congress) is determined," the Republicans state, "then they should be allowed to vote.

"If they cannot vote, they ought not to be counted for purposes of (a state's) representation. Republicans have recognized that it may be necessary to implement this alternative."

Democratic policymakers have not yet gone this far. But they may. To deny the vote to a qualified Negro citizen is not thought to be right by most of the nation (or by most of the South's people, I believe). It is those who do think it is all right who should note the facts most soberly, for their wishes are the ones in conflict.

The Civil Rights Bill

Literacy Tests Are Out --- Unless Written, Certified

By TED LIPPMAN
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The bill is officially H.R. 7152. Its short title is "The Civil Rights Act of 1964."

It is 55 pages long and contains 11 separate titles or sections. It was passed by the House of Representatives on Feb. 10. The Senate has been debating it since March 9.

This is the second of five articles giving details of the civil rights legislation now before the U.S. Senate.

Title I and Title VIII deal with voting.

Title I says that state, county and local officials may not use "different" standards in determining if different people are qualified to vote.

Literacy tests are outlawed, unless they are written (if the prospective voter asks they be oral, they may be, if state law permits), and unless certified copies of the questions and his answers are given to the individual after he has taken the test.

In states in which literacy is a voting requirement, anyone who has completed six grades of school and who has not been ruled an incompetent is presumed to be literate.

All elections in which any federal office is filled is covered by Title I. That includes primaries.

In disputes growing out of the application of this section of the bill, the attorney general of the United States or the defendant may have the case heard by a special three-judge federal panel. An appeal from the panel's decision is to the Supreme Court.

Title VIII requires the U.S. Department of Commerce to compile statistics on voting and registration in "such geographic areas" recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights. If the commission requests it, the statistics must be broken down on the basis of race, color and national origin.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS, 1958

Jan. 24, 1958 - E. Celler introduced civil rights bill embodying Part III, stricken from Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Feb. 10, 1958 - S3257 (to effectuate and enforce constitutional right to equal protection of the laws, and for other purposes, introduced by Douglas with Humphry, Ives, Hennings, Case, Morse, Allott, Newberger, Dirksen, McNamara, Javits, Clark, Pastore, Beall, Carroll, Proxmire) See Congressional Record blip for complete bill and discussion.

March 1, 1958 - Rep. Wm. L. Dawson introduced civil rights bill to protect constitutional rights of people (rest of clip missing)

~~April 13, 1958~~ -
May 6, 1958 - Move to begin hearings on civil rights legislation nipped in bud by Judiciary subcommittee by motion to postpone until majority subcommittee approved. Carried 3-2; similar vote defeated proposed hearing on May 13.

May 24, 1963 - Senator H. H. Humphrey recently introduced proposed Civil Rights Act of 1958, a revised version of old Part III of 1957 bill. Emphasized his introduction of new measure in no way modified his enthusiasm for S3257, introduced Feb. 12 by 16 senators (including Humphrey).

May 22, 1958 - Rept Adam Clayton Powell introduced in House four civil rights bills
1 - Omnibus
   a. Make Civil Rights Commission a permanent agency
   b. require Atty-Gen. to increase personnel of FBI to investigate CR cases and provide for training of agents for effetive CR investigation
   c. create Joint Committee on CR composed of 7 Senators appointed by VP and 7 Reps appointed by Speaker to make a study of CR and advise congressional committees. It would be authorized to hold hearings and would have subpoena powers
   d. amend existing Federal criminal civil rights laws and laws against peonage
   e. Create "Equality of Opportunity in Employmant Commissions" composed of 7 members appointed by President with power to investigate complaints
   f. anti-lynching act
2. Prohibit use of Fed funds for loans, grants or aid to provide housing that is discriminatory
3. Prohibit racial discrimination or seg regation in interstate travel
4. Protect uniformed members of Armed Forces ggainst bodily attack

June 9, 1958 - Javit introduced two bills: 1) to extend CRC thru June 1950
2) to make a Federal crime of conspiricies crossing state lines in cases of violence such as bombings of synagogues, churches, community buildings, schools, and homes. Similar bill offered in House by Rep. Keating.

Aug.9, 1958 - Senate Resolution 17, a resolution establishing majority rule in Senate

8-19-58 - long delayed confirmation of W. Wilson White to head Justice Dept.'s new civil rights division - 56 to 20 after 3 hours of debate when Southerners attacked him for role in Little Rock crisis.

7-10-58 - Atty-Gen. Wm. P. Rogers said Administration would not ask Congress for any civil rights legislation this year (at hearing before House Judiciary panel - " because of a conviction no civil rights bill could get thru Congress before it adjourned.

Hearings were held June 25-27 and July 3-11.
E. Celler, chm. House Judiciary Comm.
Celler bill embodies Title III stricken from 1957 bill before passage

Another measure before committee is bill introduced by K. B. Keating to extend life of Civil Rights Committee until June 1, 1960.
(Commission Congressional March 4; staff director Congressional May 14)

4-13-58 - 1,289 Rights cases probed by JBA; 5 convictions noted

HEARINGS ON CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS - 1959

March 4, 1959 - House Judiciary Subcommittee heard appeal from South for moratorium on new civil rights legislation. Subcommittee had 30 c. r. bills; hearings continue through next week.

Senate Constitutional Rgihts Subcommittee to begin hearings March 18.

First day's witnesses of House committee heard Celler and Lindsay for; Poff against
3-18, Vandiver told committee that possible Communist origins of pending civil rights legislation ought to be investigated.
Apr. 24, Boyd Campbell of Jackson Miss. read to committee and editorial from Jackson Advocate. House.
Apr. 26 - abduction of Negro prisoner from Poplarville, Miss. jail could strengthen demands for tougher civil rights legislation. (Mack Parker)
April 28 - efforts to wind up hearings ran into snag; subcommittee failed to mustor quorum. Senate.
June 18 - House subcommittee approved omnibus civil rights bill: 5-3

Aug. 4, 1959 - Senate Judiciary Committee voted 10-5 to take up subcommittee measurr and open it to amendments.

July 29 - House Judiciary Committee voted 18-13 to eliminate Part 3 proposal

Aug. 15, liberals plan strategy to by-pass Senate committee, where bill is hopelessly stalled

Aug. 18, Hennings filed series of civil rights amendment to pending Senate bill

Aug. 25 - Javits and Case try new amneuver to force civil rights legislation onto Senate floor; they filed a discharge motion to try to pry the bill out of the Judiciary Committee.

This maneuver continued during recess with Celler reportedly having half of 219 signatures needed by Dec. 21, 1959. The House bill now does not contain Part III, registrars and anti-lynching provisions.

Nov. 18 - Atty-Gen Rogers said the administration may ask Congress for federal anti-lynching law.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS - 1959

1-15-59 - Dawson introduced civil rights bill
1. affirming federal court decisions
2. stating resistance or evasion is denial of constitutional rights
3. several states have not made "prompt and reasonable start" in school deseg.
4. denial of rights imposes second class citizenship
5. action by government needed to protect rights, rather than citizens
6. federal government has responsibility to protect rights
7. Secretary of H. E. & W. should provide technical assistance to aid local boards
7. appropriation of $50,000,000 to aid changeover from segregated to unsegregated schools

1-20-59 - Lyndon Johnson introduced civil rights bill
S499
1. extend Civil Rights Commission
2. Atty-Gen subpoena powers in voting rights cases
3. conciliation service to aid in solution of C.R. issues
4. make bombings a federal offense

1-23-59 - Compromise cloture bill: 2/3 of Senators "present and voting" instead of 2/3 of Senators (old rule)

1-29-63 - Douglas-Javits-Celler bill introduced (11 Democrats and 4 Republicans)
S810
would expand federal power to enforce school integration

2-5-63 - Administration bill introduced by Pres. Eisenhower in speech to Congress
S958 7-point civil rights message, followed by 7 bills
1. make it federal crime to use force or threats to obstruct court orders in school desegregation
2. make it a federal offense to bomb schools, churches or similar institutions across state lines
3. provide financial and technical help for states and communities to make changeover from segregated to integrated schools. Est. $4,895,000 to be matched by states for extra professional people.
4. government take over schools built with aid of federal funds (paying rental) for education of children of military personal who had been attending public schools closed in integration disputes
5. require preservation of federal election records and authorize Justice Dept. to inspect them
6. Give a basis of law rather than presidential executive order to gov. comm. which polices non-discrimination clauses in government contracts; also authority to hold hearings
7. continue Civil Rights Commission for two years beyond Sept. expiration date

SEE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD FOR COMPARISON OF THREE BILLS

2-6-59 - H. Talmadge (with Byrd, Robertson, Olin Johnson, Lister Hill, J.J. Sparkman, Eastland, Stennis) offered proposed constitutional amendment which would vest exclusive administration of public schools in the states and their political divisions.

May 20, 1959 - Humphrey introduced omnibus human rights bill in Senate designed to enforce integration in interstate transportation, prohibit discrimination in employment, outlaw poll tax, strengthen criminal provisions of existing civil rights laws, and strengthen laws relating to peonage, slavery, and involuntary servitude.

June 18, 1959 - House Judiciary Committee approved omnibus Civil Rights bill including all of administrations proposals PLUS authority for Atty-Gen. to seek injunctions on behalf of individuals whose civil rights are threatened (broader than Part III).

Members of Senate sub-committee voted 5-3 against injunction proposal

July 3, 1959 - Southern senators won modification of civil rights legislature in House Judiciary Committee when they broadened an anti-bombing provision to include all types of structures. (would include labor disputes)

July 28 - Republicans joined Southern Democrats in rejecting House Committee (vote 18-13) Part III which would empower Atty-Gen. to seek fed court injunctions to enforce civil rights. The Senate Judiciary Committee has already stricken this provision from a civil rights bill in Senate.

Aug. 18, 1959 - Sen. Hennings filed a series of civil rights amendments to a pending Senate bill dealing with the jurisdiction of Federal Courts. The amendments go beyond Pres. Eisenhower's recommendations.

Aug. 14, 1959 - Javits called for prompt action on civil rights legislation lodged in Senate Judiciary Committee.

Aug. 25, 1959 - Javits and Case offered motion to discharge Judiciary Comm. from further consideration of rights bill cleared by subcommittee in order to get it out of committee where it has been stalled for weeks.

Sept. 8, 1959 - Rep. Celler filed a petition to bypass a rules committee roadblock holding up action on civil rights legislation.

Senator Keating introduced bill to establish a commission on equal job opportunity under government contracts

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION - 1960

Jan. 6 - In an almost unprecedented action, Speaker Sam Rayburn invited House members to step up and sign a "discharge" petition as the quickest way to get a civil rights bill before the House. This action would by-pass the House Rules Committee, which has blocked such legislation. A petition to discharge the stalled bill has been on the House desk since last Summer; it hav 106 signatures, 219 are needed.

Jan.11 - Sen. Javits introduced 5 new civil rights bills:

1. recommendation for appointment of federal registrars to insure Negro voting rights.
2. permit Atty-Gen. to represent in lawsuits individuals who charge civil rights violations (Modification of Part III)
3. federal anti-lynching bill
4. require preservation of voting records and availability for federal inspection, require state voter registrars to fulfil their duties

Janl 14
(Eisenhower reaction to federal voting registrars at news conference: I don't even know whether it is constitutional. He prefers the c. r. bill he suggested last year.

Jan. 19 - First day of Senate Rules Committee Hearing: Sen. Ervin and Charles Bloch among those testifying.

Jan. 24 - Senate Rules Committee resumed hearings on voting rights legislation; set Feb. 5 as closing date.

Jan. 25 - N. Y. Times published list of 146 Democrats and 30 Republicans signing discharge petition; total 176.

House Republicans explained they were against discharge petitions "in principle" because they do not believe in circumventing House rules.

Jan. 26 - Atty-Gen Rogers proposed (news conference and draft Bill), for Administration, federal court "referees" instead of "registrars". Two advantages:
1. buttress right to vote in state as well as national elections
2. not only register voters where courts find pattern of discrimination, but also, at request of court, follow up cases to make certain that referee-registered voters are allowed to vote and have votes properly counted.

Jan. 38 - Sen. L. Johnson said toady changing the Constitution was the "proper" way to abolish the poll tax. Urged Senate to approve pending amendment "by overwhelming vote"

Jan. 29. House Rules Committee called to meeting for Monday, Feb. 1, by chairman to discuss civil rights bill lodged there since last August.
Hearings opened Feb. 4.

Jan. 31 - Administrations proposal for court appointed referees endorsed by Javits. discharge petition now has 190 of necessary 219 sigs.

Feb. 2 - Senate approved, 70-18, omnibus amendment that would affect five states, by outlawing poll tax (72-16, Holland of Fla.)

2. grant suffrage to District of Columbia to vote for President, Vice president, and delegates to House, as many as it would have as state, and to have such power as Congress conferred on them. (Keating)

3. permit Governors to appoint members of House of Representatives if majority of House killed in a nuclear attack. (Kefauver)

This poll tax amendment was approved after the Senate rejected Javits proposal to substitute a statute for the Amendment (50-37)

Feb. 11 - CCR staff director Tiffany said today the Commission is not opposing Justice Department's plan for Federal court appointed referees.

Feb. 16 - Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson laid before Senate a minor bill affecting an Army post in Missouri and said it would be the vehicle on which civil rights amendments would be considered.

Sen. Russell moved to postpone consideration and debate until Feb. 23. Defeated 61-28. Senate filibuster begins.

Civil rights Amendment proposed as "riders" to House bill in Senate (Dirksen Amendments).

2/18 Justice Dept. sent to Congress new version of its voting referee bill. House Judiciary Committee member, McCullough of Ohio, said he would offer this draft as the official administration plan.

Signatures now: 209

Feb. 18 - House Rules Committee formally cleared civil rights legislation for floor action by vote of 7-4. Debate expected to begin around March 10.

Feb. 23 - Three major voting rights bills before Senate:

1. Humphrey-- federal voting registrars
2. 7-point administration bill, with federal court-appointed referees
3. compromise bill by Hennings, Senate Rules Comm. cham., with federal enrollment offices.

The Dirkson bill for the Administration omits two proposals of Humphrey"s bill:
1. limited federal funds in technical aid for school districts that end deseg.
2. statutory authority to President's Committee on Government Contracts.

Feb. 25 - Sen. Russell invoked Senate rule to restrict immediate civil rights consideration to an anti-bombing proposal.

Feb. 26 - Senate roll call vote defeated motion to adjourn Feb. 29 session at 5 p.m. and thus backed Senate Leader's plans for round-the-clock sessions in civil rights fight. (67--10) 24 hour sesssions began at noon on Feb. 29.

March 2 - Senate killed vivil rights bill amendment (Long of La.) to uphold right to advocate legal resistance to forcible integration. (64-34).
To table: D - 34, R - 30; Against D - 8, R - 26

Bills before Senate:

1. Dirksen Amendment--7 parts (6 part Eisenhower 1959 bill with new section on voting rights.

2. Celler bill--4 parts (House Judiciary Committee rewrite); biparticon move to add 5th section to it on voting rights

Dirksen	Celler
Sec. 1 - provides for new criminal penalties for interfering with court-ordered or court approved school integration. $10,000 fine and/or maximum prison sentence of two years	same, except limits penalties to fine $1,000 and/or 60 days.
Sec. 2--make it federal crime($5,000 & 5 yrs.) for hate bombers or arsonists to flee from one state to another to avoid prosecution for incendiarism against school or church bldgs.	broadens to include attacks on "any building, structure, facility, vehicle, dwelling house, synagogue, church, religious center or educational institution, public or private.
Sec. 3--provides Federal election recoreds be preserved for three years and Justice Dept. be empowered to inspect them. $5,000 fine and/or 5 yrs.	same, except smaller penalties and records preserved for only two years. $1,000 fine and/or one yr.
Sec. 4--empowers Fed. Gov. to provide assistance to communities undertaking school desegregation endoreses Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation ruling.	omits
Sec. 5--provides for fed. assistance to continue education of servicemen's children in areas where public schools are closed.	about same
Sec. 6--~~authorize~~ gives statutory authority to President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.	omits
Sec. 7--provides for Fed. Dist Court appointment of voting referees, empowered to register qualified Negroes and to see they are permitted to vote and votes are counted. Local obstruction punishible by comtempt of court.	about same, but in more detail

March 3 - Sen. W. Morse placed cloture petition, just before 11 p. m. on clerk's desk for necessary petition; Sen. Thruston M rton stepped up and ripped it to pieces; Morse had another copy typed and put it on clerk's desk.

March 9 -- Senate agreed to vote on March 10 to invoke cloture and thus limit civil rights filibuster (after nearly 4 weeks of talk) this would limit to one hour, or over-all limit of 99 hours. ~~Cloture defeated 53-42~~
~~For--D - 35, R - 12; Against D.- 33, $ R - 20.~~

House opens consideration of civil rights bill by vote of 311-93
For-- D - 175, R - 137; Against D - 84, R - 9

House Judiciary 4-point bill reinforced by Atty-Gen. Rogers fifth point on voting

March 10 - Sen. Humphrey introduced bill to ban job discrimination in nation's capitol. Also bill to create Commission on Equal Job Opportunity under Gov. Contracts.

March 11 - Cloture vote defeated 53-42
Part III proposal tabled by vote of 55-38 (rejected by Senate in 1957 and now opposed by Administration)

March 11 - House considered question of adoption of conditions for debate on voting rights. Vote 312 to 93 for accepting House Rules Committee ground rules. House bill shorn of school and job discrimination clauses.

Lausche amendment to broaden violence bill to include labor unions adopted 65-19.

Senate (Morse motion) voted to table, thus deleting violence and mob action section of Administration's civil rights bill, as organized labor intervened against new provisions. 49-35. D - 48, R.-1; D - 6, R - 29.

March 14 - Atty. Gen Rogers appeals for provision dealing with force or threat to hinder desegregation.

Sen. Goldwater offered amendment boradening anti-bombing section to include schools, churches, buildings, and vehicles. Vote 85-1 (Dirksen against)

House ruled not germane two of Eisenhower's c. r. proposals (gov. contracts employment; grants and technical assistant to deseg. schools) for its more limited five-point bill. Celler appealed ruling on employment measure, defeated 157-67.

March 15 - Kevauver Amendment (in committee) to require Negro applicants for the vote to face state and local registration officials at public voting referee proceedings.

March 16 - Senate approved 14 of Judiciary Committee's 15 amendments to c. r. bill.

House tightened administration voting referee plan to insure legal delaying tactics cannot be used to keep Negroes from voting. 188-120 (compromise)

March 17 - O'Hara in House Amendment to provide Negroes to vote provisionally if voting applications still unsettlee on election day. Votes to be impounded, pending final determination. 188-120 passed.

House voteddown 192-121 Southern amendment that would have wrecked c. r. bill's voting provisions.

March 17 - Edwin R. Willis proposed Amendment re voting discrimination; would require additional proof that Negroes discriminated against because of race. Defeated, standing vote 161 - 113; later teller vote 149 - 121 HOUSE

March 17 - Senate approves civil rights bill first section after 5 weeks of debate. vote 86 - 1. Expeanded by three more provisions (Keating)

1. make fed. crime to transport or help transport explosives for purposes of criminal bombing. Penalty $10,000 fine and/or 10 years.
2. authorize death penalty, on jury recommendation, in bombings where someone killed
3. make it fed crime to make threats or spread false information about bombings. fine $1,000 and/or 1 yr.

March 18 - House rejected a move to make Administration's voting-referee plan applicable only to voting for federal offices. Vote 137 - 134.

Senate tabled Douglas' voting registration plan. 53 - 24.
(President empowered to appoint federal registrars to enroll Negroes, after petition and investigation.

March 21 - House again defeated 157 - 137 plan to make voting legislature applicable only to federal elections.

Narch 22 - House approved voting referee measure (section removed providing school facilities for children of servicemen when schools closed by integration) 199-104.

Celler moved to abolish poll tax as voting requisite, and then sought to revive Title III. Chair ruled neither proposal germane.

March 23 - After amendment to extend anti-bombing penalties to threats of bombing or burning, whether false or genuine, ~~House approx~~ and refusal to testify, House approved 295 - 124 in roll call vote voting referee section . In final form:

1. makes it fed crime to obstruct court desegregation orders
2. provides broadened fed penalties for hate bombings
3. requires preservation of state voting records
4. provides schooling for children of service personnel when scholls closed
5. provides voting referee guarantees

March 23 - Senate Amendment by Clark & Javits combining voting referee plan with alternate use of fed enrollment offices. Morse moved to table to force vote; Sen. Johnson moved to recess.

March 24 - House passed 311 - 109 civil rights bill and sent to Senate.

March 24 - Senate referred House bill to its Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report in five days. Eastland entered motion that bill be submitted without instructions--defeated 72-19. Vote 86-5 for five day consideration
Stella (MO.) school bill wnet back on Senate calendar.

March 28 - After hearings held behind closed doors, an almost unprecedented procedure with Eastland presiding, the Senate Judiciary Committee amended (7-6) the H use bill to require Negroes to face opposing lawyers in public procedings if they want to register to vote (Kefauver proposal) One among several adopted; others non-controversial technical changes.

March 30 - Senate Judiciary Committee amendments to civil rights bill--15 changes, most merely technical:

broadened version of section dealing with obstruction of court orders to include labor union disputes (similar change killed March 11); only one (Kefauver) weakened bill. The broadened section makes it federal crime to transport explosives in interstate commerce for hate bombing, federal crime to flee across state line to avoid prosecution in bomb threat cases, federal election officials required to keep election recores for only 22 months.

April 8 - Senate passed civil rights bill 71-18 (complete bill attached) after 8 weeks of debate, nearly 400 hours of speeches, and 46 roll call votes. Bill contains five of administrations seven basic civil rights recommendations.
Sent back to House for expected agreement on 16 Senate amendments.

AMENDMENTS:

1 3/31 - Kefauver: force referees to give local registrars two days notice before taking registrations and permit them to send lawyers to proceedings; offered to modify so that lawyers could not participate but only take transcripts.

1 4/1 - Senate adopted Carroll substitute amendment, 69 - 22, to require hearings by proposed voting referees to be held at times and places fixed by courts.

1 Javits amendment tabled, 48 - 38, providing for a 15-member anti job discrimination commission.

1 4/4 - Tabled, 61 - 30, administration's federal grants to desegregating schools.

2 4/4 - Javits proposal to permit Atty-Gen. to intervene in school desegregation suits initiated by private citizens, and
MaNamara moved to substitute Part III. Both tabled in one vote, 56 - 34.

1 Hart amendment, to permit Negro applicants to register with court-appointed referee without first going to local registrat. Defeated 52 - 38 (similar to Carroll, below)

1 4/5 - Ervin: amendment to require formal rules of civil procedure in cases where Negro voting applicant had appealed to fed. court. Defeated, 64 - 29.

3 4/6 - Ervin: amendment limiting voting rights provisions to elections for House and Senate. Tabled, 72 - 16.
Johnston amendment ermoving primaries from voting rightsscope of legislation. Tabled, 68 - 18.
Carroll amendment granting fed. courts right to waive any requirement that Negro applicants go before local registration official a second time to try to register. Tabled, 62 - 32.

1 4/5 - Thurmond: amendment to place burden of proof on Negro voting applicant to show he was denied right to register because of race & color. Defeated.

1 4/5 & 4/6 - Ellender offered amendment on 4/5 to kill entire voting referee section (Title 6) and spoke 7½ hours April 5 and two hours 48 minutes April t. Tabled 79-19.

1 4/6 - Adopted, 79 - 12 roll call, change stating provisional voting can be permitted only if Negro under challenge in court "shall be qualified to vote under state law." And had first tried to register under state law.

April 19 - House Rules Committee, 8 - 4, approved proposal that House accept Senate changes in civil rights bill and sent it to the House. (Senate made 23 changes in House bill, many of them technical.

April 21 - Bill passed by House 288 - 95 and sent to President to be signed into law.

May 6 - Civil Rights Bill signed by President.

Aug. 8 - Scott & Keating introduced rights bill embodying Democratic platform.

Aug. 9 - Senate voted 54-28 to table administration civil rights measure, introduced by Dirksen. Bill consisted of two sections deleted from civil rights bill approved in April: 1) fed grants to assist school desegregation, and 2) legislation to make Committee on Gov. Contracts a permanent agency.

Aug. 9 - Javits introduced 4-point bill: 1 and 2 similar to Dirksen bill; 3) make 6th grade education equivalent to literacy for voting purposes in federal elections, and 4) empower U. S. Atty-Gen. to bring actions for desegregation where individuals deprived by economic or physical coercion of their rights to attend desegregated schools. Held over for 2nd reading on 12th.

Aug. 10 - For third day Republicans submitted an anti-discrimination bill in Senate but made no effort to force Democrats to a vote. Sen. Case usged modification of Senate's filibuster Rule XXII (referred to Judiciary Committee).

Aug. 13 - Cooper and Javits called for consideration of Dirksen bill, Tabled Aug. 9.

Aug. 30-31 - Javits tried to introduce resolution to discharge the Judiciary Committee of further consideration of the Dirksen bill on the 30th, and again on 31st. Ruled out of order because did not have necessary unanimous consent.

Sept. 2 - Presidential Nominee Kennedy names committee to prepare comprehensive civil rights bill embodying Democratic platform commitments for introduction at next session of Congress. (Clark and Cellar to write).

Nov. 12 - Plans to purge Colmer (Miss.) from House Rules Committee.

Dec. 25 - Plans to enlarge House Rules Committee to break southern bloc. Other suggestions: 21 day Rule in effect as in 1949 and 1950.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: 1961

Jan. 1 - Two battles to change procedures of the House and Senate began Jan. 2 as the 87th Congress met; the Kennedy administration's legislative program is vitally involved.

Democratic liberals have been meeting in caucus. The attitude of Speaker Sam Rayburn is likely to be decisive; so far no commitment.

Both Republican and Democratic platforms in the 1960 election pledged revision of Senate rules. A compromise proposal (Sen. Keating) would permit majority closure, but would grant each side on a pending issue a further 50 hours of speaking time.

Question to be debated is whether Senate is a "continuing body" with rules that carry over.

Proposals given out to press are: 1) enlarging rules committee by two or three; 2) revising 21-day rule; 3) election (rather than appointment) of two powerful committees: the policy and steering committees.

Jan. 2 - Rayburn announced he favors purge of Colmer and perhaps Winstead (Miss.) and Whitten (Miss.) or even all five southern Democrats who openly opposed the Democratic ticket (Williams (Miss.) Passman (La.).

Jan. 3 - 87th Congress convened.
Mansfield elected majority leader; Humphrey asst. leader, Senate Democrats
Dirksen, leader, Kuchel, whip, Republicans

House: McCormack, leader for Democrats; Halleck leader for Republicans

Nixon opinion (not ruling) after three-hour bombardment: Senate has right to adopt or change its rules at the opening of each session if the majority wishes.

SENATE: Anderson (& T. Morton) submitted resolution for reducing 2/3 requirement for cloture to 60%, or 3/5.

Humphrey & Kuchell offered motion to reduce required votes to 51, a constitutional majority, after 15 days. Their proposal insured 100 hours of debate before a filibuster could be forcibly stopped. (Precedent for majority closure: used in Senate before 1808.)

Bill introduced embodying Kennedy's proposals for aiding economically depressed areas.

Jan. 9 - Hearing on President-elect's cabinet appointees scheduled.
Senate filibuster continued through 5th day.

Jan. 10 - Mansfield & Dirksen moved question of rules changes be sent to Rules Committee. No agreement to vote obtained, and Senate adjourned without voting. Motion necessary, leaders said, so Senate could proceed with important business and take up rules change later in session.

k

Jan. 11 - Assignments to Senate committees ratified.

Vote 50 - 46 to send two proposals to Rules Committee. For D - 32; R - 18; Against D - 31, R - 18.

Rayburn announced plan to enlarge House Rules Committee rather than purge Colmer. Three members to be addes to 12 member committee: 2 Ds and 1 R.
Delay assures that Lyndon Johnson will be presiding when issue comes before Senate again.

Russell preferred tabling and killing motion, but feared he did not have necessary 3/5 vote.

Jan. 17 - Javits & Keating introduced 7 bills to

1) S-481, authorize atty-gen to initiate civil rights suits
2) S-484, provide technical & financial assistance to state and local school districts seeking to desegregate
3) S479, establish a statutory commission on equal job opportunity under government contracts
4) S-483, extend life of CCR indefinitely
5) S-480, establish 6th grade education as proof of literacy for voting purposes
6) S-482, make unlawful deprivations of rights under 14th amendment
7) S478, eliminate poll tax

Cooper: a bill authorizing U. S. atty-gen to intervene in school desegregation cases instituted by individuals.

Moss: three bills to
1) extend life of CCR
2) provide that 6th grade edu satisfy literacy requirements for voting
3) abolish poll tax

Jan. 18 - Rayburn in bat tle with Smith won formal endoresment at caucus of House Democrats for enlargement of Rules Committee. Rules Committee instructed to bring legislature to floor; Smith of Va. to introduce it.

Jan. 23 - Republican House minority in joint D-R conference voted against liberalizing Rules Committee

Jan. 24 - Resolution to increase Rules Committee membership reported to floor Committee vote 6 - 2, Smith and Colmer against.

Jan. 28 - Rayburn rejected compromise, fight continues. Smith had proposed guarantee Rules Committee, if retained in present form, would clear for House consideration the five items on Kennedy's priority list of domestic legislation:

1) development of depressed areas
2) expansion of housing programs
3) higher minimum wage with broader coverage
4) health insurance for aged
5) federal aid for public schools

Rayburn wanted guarantee ALL administration bills would be cleared at his request.

1961

Jan. 30 - White House pressure added to battle. Criticism from N.C. re "blackmail" from Interior Dept. re proposed federal saline water conversion plant at Wrightsville Beach.

Jan. 31 - House Rules Committee enlarged from 12 to 15 members; vote 217 - 212 For: D - 175, R - 22; Against D - 64, R - 148.

Feb. 1 - Southern Democrats who voted against Rules Committee change charged "reprisals" in committee appointments. Committee on Committees denied charge.

Feb. 2 - Sources close to House leadership privately acknowledged charge true; Rayburn denied.

Feb. 4 - Pilcher (Ga.) said fight against enlarging rules committee was sponsored by U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Am. Farm Bureau, and special interests to block Pres. Kennedy's program. Cited other expanded committees in past and said civil rights not issue.

Feb. 6 - Republicans choose 3 conservative members for rules committee. Now 4 conservative southerners and 8 moderate to liberal democrats.

May 9 - Clark-Celler six point proposal to seppd school desegregation. (Pres. Kennedy appointed last year to put Democratic platform promises in form of legislation.)

1) require every school board operating segregated public schools to adopt desegregation plan within six months and file with Sec. of Welfare. Provision for court enforcement. Plans to provide compliance no later than start of 1963-64 school year.
2) make CCR permanent agency
3) provide judicial and administrative remedies against discrimination by business or labor unions in hiring, firing, or promotion
4) empower atty-gen to bring civil injunction suits in federal courts to prevent denial of civil rights because of color, race, or creed; authority now to file only to prevent denial of voting rights
5) eliminate poll tax as requirement for voting in federal elections
6) eliminate literacy tests as requirement for voting

May 10 - Salinger said, "The President has made it clear that he does not think it is necessary at this time to enact civil rights legislation." He added the administration was working on what it could accomplish under existing law.

Aug. 29 - Extension of CCR arguments; no vote in absence of quorum

Aug. 22 - attempts to attach civil rights rider to CCR extension bill made. Javits and Keating proposed amendments to 1) eliminate poll tax restriction on voting, and 2) authorize atty-gen to initiate civil rights suits, including school desegregation. Tabled and killed (Mansfield)

Senator Clark, to prove Senate rules archaic, forced 45 minute delay for 1) reading of preceding day's proceedings, 2) quorum call, 3) other delays within his rights. Hopes for change during next session.

Sept. 13 - House and Senate voted a twoyear extension of CCR by approving appropriations bill 300 - 106. Bill gave CCR $888,000 to finance during current fiscal year, same amount as last year.

Bill sent to President for signature

Sept. 18 - Senate defeated by 43 - 37 cloture petition aimed at changing rules and curbing filibusters. Against D - 28, R - 15; For D - 26, R - 11.

Then voted 47 - 35 to table Mansfield resolution on rules changes.

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: 1962

Jan. 22 - Congressman Ryan spoke to his bill, H.R. 7143, giving CCR authority to issue court enforceable cease and disist order against person or orgnization guilty of civil rights discrimination in fields of employment, insurance, labor relations, housing, and public accommodations.

Jan. 25 - Sen. Mansfield introduced Administaation civil rights legislation (bill drafted by Justice Dept.) to declare completion of 6th grade education is sufficient test of literacy for purpose of voting. One section of the bill states that Spanish-speaking citizens have ample Spanish-language news sources and are well qualified to vote even if they do not speak English. The 6th grade qualification would apply to Puerto Ricans who are now required to pass liberacy test in English.

(Est. 200,000 Puerto Ricans in N. Y. unable to vote last fall because of language requirement)

Jan. 31 - By vote of 61 - 25, literacy test bill sent to Senate Judiciary Committee. VP Johnson's ruling had been challenged by Sen. Javits, who appealed the ruling requesting the bill be sent to Rules Committee. Vote to table Javits' appeal sent bill to Judiciary. (For tabling: D 44, R 17; Against D - 13; R 12)

March 24 - Debate on literacy bill begun in House.
March 14 - Senate opened civil rights debate when Mansfield moved for action on poll tax amendment by attaching it to Hamilton resolution.
March 26 - After 10-day southern filibuster, (6 hours per day), Senate shut off debate 62 - 15 rollcall vote by calling for consideration of minor bill, a resolution to make the New York City home of Alexander Hamilton a national shrine. S.J. Res. 29. Voting against: 14 southern Democrats and Hickey of Wyoming.

Holland, joined by Mansfield and Dirksen, offered as a substitute his proposal for a Constitutional Amendment that would prohibit the imposition of poll taxes as a qualification for voting in federal elections.

A move to outlaw poll tax by simple legislation is also pending. Javits plans to offer similar bill.

March 29 - Vote approving poll tax amendment 77 - 16 after 11=day filibuster.

Sent to House Judiciary Committee.

Five states retain poll tax as requirement for voting: Arkansas, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia. Arkansas recently supported poll tax in a referendum, as a revenue-producing measure for public schools.

Literacy test was principle administration c. r. bill; Atty-Gen. Robt. Kennedy called literacy tests the principal device for discrimination in voting. The bill was unanimously supported by CCR and endorese by 1960 Republican platform.

April 12 - Completing two weeks of hearings on literacy test bill in Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, the bill was endorsed as "inadequate but small and significant step" by: Roy Wilkins, NAACP; Lawrence Speiser, ACLU; Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. ADA.

Now 18,500,000 Negro Americans, about half are living in South - 10% of total population. Under voting rights laws passed in 1957 and 1960, Justice Dept. has brought 23 actions in the South, 14 under Atty-Gen. Kennedy, all instituted in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Alabama.

? Dept. of Urban Affairs bill killed?

April 24 - Mansfield introduced pending bill (private relief refunding $2,001.48 to Texas farmer: Norman) as vehicle for latest civil rights move. The bill had recently been made the Senate's unfinished business. He then planned to offer the literacy bill as an amendment because the original bill is still tied up in the Senate Judiciary Committee. Russell called for quorum and it could not be obtained, so Mansfield adjourned Senate.

April 25 - Mansfield introduced literacy test bill and filibuster began.

19 states require literacy tests (6 are Southern)

Alabama	Georgia	Mississippi	Oregon
Arizona	Louisiana	New Hampshire	Rhode Island
California	Maine	New York	South Carolina
Conn.	Mass.	North Carolina	Washington and Wyoming
Delaware		Oklahoma	

Other essential bills, including appropriations bills which should clear before July 1, are blocked.

"filibuster" is the Spanish equivalent of the Dutch word which literally meant "free booter" and referred to buccaneers who used to raid the Latin American coasts. It has come to mean "talking to death."

April 26 - Dept. of Justice only filed 25 civil rights voting cases to prosecute; Commission on Civil Rights, out of total of 613 complaints only 390 fall in "sworn" category.

April 27 - Sen. Holland offered amendment to narrow scope of literacy bill by making it apply only to literacy requirements. (Bill as written would apply to tests for "literacy or otherwise").

Sen. Dirksen blocked two Senate subcommittees from holding sessions during "debate".

Douglas-Javits proposal tabled

Senate passed Holland amendment

The AFL-CIO in April joined other organizations in urging Congress to defeat the Holland proposal for a Constitutional Amendment to abolish the poll tax and urged substitution of the Douglas-Javits federal statute.

May 7 - ACLU backed literacy test right-to-vote bill.

May 9 - By vote of 53 - 43 (For: D 30, R 13; Against: D 30, R 23) Senate refused to invoke cloture against two-week-long southern filibuster on literacy bill.

Vote to table bill defeated 63 - 33 (Against tabling: D 38, R 26; For: D 23, R 10)

Majority leader asked unanimous consent to limit debate on bill; Russell objected, and this opened filibuster again. Mansfield filed second cloture petition.

May 10 - Sen. Case offered two amendments

1. direct amendment to HR 1361, Norman bill (constitutional amendment to 15th amendment)
   a. 6th grade education qualification to vote
   b. Congress shall have power to enforce

2. Amendment in substitute for Mansfield-Dirksen substitute for that bill

same

May 14 - Spokesman for Justice Dept. estimated that 750,000 Negroes are barred from voting or even registering to vote by unfair literacy tests; the Dept. has 26 court cases pending on this issue.

May 14 - Second attempt to limit debate (cloture) on literacy test bill; rejected by Senate 52 - 42 (D 30, R 22; D 31, R 11). Same margin of loss as last week.

May 15 - On Motion introduced by Mansfield, a vote to formally set aside the literacy bill after three weeks of debate carried 49 - 34 (D 30, R 19; D 22, R 12)

May 16 - Senate resumed consideration of bill HR 1361 for relief of Norman

May 20 - CCR reported last fall that in 129 southern counties where Negroes are a substantial part of population, less than 10% are registered to vote. In 23 counties in five states no Negroes are registered.

May 22 - Amendment to abolish poll tax, in federal elections only, reported out of committee.

May 27 - Under consideration in Congress: two measures approved by House Education & Labor Committee.

1. would deny Federal aid to segregated landgrant colleges (set up under Morrill Act of 1862) $1,600,000 fed funds go to land grant colleges in 16 southern and border states that still maintain segregation.
2. would cut funds to segregated elementary and high schools in impacted areas 17 southern and border states have received $357,393,069 in last 11 years for school construction; more than half has gone to segregated schools.

May 25 - Sen. Humphrey revealed response to enquire of Director of Census requesting population statistics relating to Senate vote on cloture.

46 Senators for (incl pairs)	Pop.	111,121,000
54 Senators against "		67,439,000

(totals to nearest thousandeth)

June 19 - House passed by voice vote and sent to Senate a bill to designate next Jan. 1 as "Emancipation Proclamation Day."

June 21 - House Democrats defeated two Republican attempts to write a civil rights amendment into the Administration's farm bill. Vote 142 - 106. Along party lines; three Negro Democrates voted against the bill too.
(Farm bill would provide federal loans to help farmers create recreation areas to supplement their incomes.)

Similar amendment, presented a few minutes later, defeated by voice vote.

July 27 - Sen. Dodd introduced bill (S 3576) to protect right of citizens to vote in federal election and to facilitate prompt judicial review of alledged denials of such rights, by requiring that literacy tests begiven in writing and meet certain other requirements. Referred to Judiciary Committee.

(Dodd was joined by Beall, Hartke, Metcalf, Scott, Lausche, Fong, Humphry, Randolph, Allott, Long of Miss., Miller, McCarthy, Saltonstall, Muskie, Douglas)

Other bills in this area: S 480, S 2750, S 2979)

Aug. 14 - Vote for cloture passed 63 - 27. to curtail debate on Kennedy's communnications's satellite bill. (Cloture approved only 4 previous times out of 27 attempts, the last occasion in 1927 on a matter concerning prohibition.) Only 15 of 25 southern senators voted to resist cloture; 5 were absent.

Aug. 17 - Vot of 54 - 37 to table Morse-Clark antidiscrimination bill to prevent racial discrimination in employment practices of private corporation created by satellite bill. (Am. tel and tel, part owners with 4 subsidiaries now subject to 18 to 20 complaints to equal job opportunities committee.) (For tabling D - 3, R 24; Against D 28, R 9(

1/22/63

Pol. Dem.

Civil Rights Leg

ited by Castro. This, of course, had to happen before the New Frontier came to power.

Mr. President, in the morning paper I read that our esteemed colleague, the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. FULBRIGHT], has said that the President's preeminent task is to educate and lead public opinion. I wonder if it follows that the Attorney General's preeminent task is to tamper with history and brainwash the American people into a belief that the New Frontier can do no wrong?

AMENDMENT OF RULE XXII—CLOTURE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the motion of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. ANDERSON] to proceed to the consideration of the resolution (S. Res. 9) to amend the cloture rule of the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I rise to defend the rules of the Senate and to speak in objection to the ideas and concepts contained in the brief dated January 4, 1963, entitled "Memorandum and brief concerning the need for a new anti-filibuster rule permitting a majority of the total Senate to close debate, and, supporting the proposition that the Senate of the 88th Congress has power to enact such a rule at the opening of the new Congress by majority vote, unfettered by any restrictive rules of earlier Congresses." This memorandum contains basic presumptions with which I cannot agree. I believe the entire basis of this memorandum is in error. For convenience I have divided my remarks in two parts in an effort to correct the false impressions created by this brief. First I would like to speak against the idea that this rules battle is nothing more than a civil rights squabble and a cloak behind which liberals are making a noble battle to assure our citizens a protection of civil rights. On the contrary, I intend to show, using previous debate and the positions taken by great Members in the history of the U.S. Senate, that exactly the opposite is true and that unlimited debate has been the bulwark behind which minorities have steadfastly stood to defend their rights. I feel very deeply that a close look at the history of the Senate debate on this question will show that this is not a civil rights battle, but one which goes to the very essence of our form of government. I feel equally deeply that the proponents of the change of rule XXII are misleading the public, the press, and many Members of the Senate on what this battle is all about.

My early remarks will cover a wide range including such men as La Follette, Borah, Calhoun, Townsend, Dawes, and many others. I believe a study in depth of the history of these men is irrefutable proof that the brief filed by the proponents on this rules change is based on fallacy.

Second, I shall discuss the second major premise of the brief, that is, that the Senate is nothing more than another House of Representatives, is not a continuing body, and only a simple majority is required to do anything to Senate rules they desire. This particular question has much historical significance and my opponents are not impressed by the most serious scholars and writers on this question. The position of eminent historians and textbook writers as well as the position in the courts, which I shall document in my talk, that the Senate is a continuing body, is dismissed as "dubious academic theory" which the proponents of cloture wish to subject to practical reality. To shed some light on the fallacy contained in this issue I will delve into the practical history of this body and court decisions on this question. I intend to show nothing could be more practical than the 175 years' practice which has given the Senate a wonderful set of rules into which the wisdom of nearly two centuries has gone. These rules must be protected against the onslaught of a temporary majority backed by numerous pressure groups. These are my sincere convictions. I have in the past made my position clear in my three terms in this body and I plead that this evidence and these talks will not be lightly considered by those of us presently enrolled in this battle. For 18 years I have held this same position.

Mr. President, I pointed out in 1961, and I would again like to bring to the attention of the Senate some aspects of this question frequently ignored by the proponents of a more rigid cloture rule of the Senate. I would like to point out that, contrary to popular opinion, we do not have freedom of debate at this time in the U.S. Senate, but, as a matter of fact, two-thirds of those Senators present and voting can require the other one-third, or a total representation of 16 of our sovereign States, to silently watch legislation they detest be passed by this body.

Unfortunately for those who sincerely feel that there are many legitimate reasons why the Senate should have unlimited debate, the American public has been led to believe that there is one reason, and one reason only, why a bare majority vote in the Senate cannot shut off debate, and that the only reason we require a two-thirds vote is because the southern Senators use feedom of debate as a weapon against civil rights legislation.

Mr. President, I can think of no greater disservice that could be done to the citizens of this country than to mislead them about one of our greatest institutions, and to place in their minds the mistaken concept that this battle which has been fought in the U.S. Senate ever since its inception is a civil rights struggle.

Mr. President, there are at least 10 very good reasons why the Senate should have unlimited debate, some of them, of course, much better than others; but each on its own merits a very valid reason for continuing this Senate as the last free forum in the world.

Mr. President, in an effort to shed some light on this subject that has been so clouded by the opponents of free discussion in the Senate, I shall list some of these reasons and discuss them in the hope that we can disprove the opposition's theory that this is merely a sectional civil rights battle.

Mr. President, one of the reasons why we have traditionally had unlimited debate in the Senate and have not resorted to the majority rule which prevails in most of our other institutions, is the very cogent fact that minorities have rights which no majority should be able to override.

The framers of our Constitution, having full knowledge of this fact, set up the Senate as a separate entity without reference to population of the States whatsoever, so that a simple majority of our population could not trample the rights of a minority. Unfortunately, some of our very largest minority groups who have temporarily gained majority influence over the Congress through bloc voting and propaganda efforts unwisely lose sight of the valuable contribution the Senate has made in the protection of the rights of these very minorities. Unbelievably at this particular time, they are among the most vocal advocates of a change in the very rule which so often has protected them.

Mr. President, another reason that the Senate does not have majority cloture is the realization that many times a majority of Senators do not represent a majority of the people of the United States.

Many times in the past Senators of the large populous States have fought against such changes as are proposed here today because, as they have pointed out, a coalition of smaller States representing a fragment of the population of our country, but a majority in the U.S. Senate could, with a simple majority vote, overwhelm the vote of the Senators of the larger States even though the senatorial minority represented by far a majority of the population, the wealth, and the tax contribution of the United States.

Unfortunately again, many of these Senators are at this time on the other side of this battle and now clamor for majority cloture, losing sight of, or ignoring the fact that their predecessors in their infinite wisdom not only established unlimited debate in the Senate, but fought vehemently to protect their right to speak out at length on any subject.

Mr. President, the advocates of simple majority cloture, in the Senate, which should be termed "gag rule," many times have pointed out that this is the last bastion of freedom of debate anywhere in the world, and have cited foreign parliamentary bodies as well as State senates of the great States of our own Nation as operating under rules which include the previous question rule or simple majority cloture. Each time this comparison has been drawn, the Senators fighting to preserve free speech in this body have pointed out, and I shall point out again, that very little parallel can be drawn between such institutions and the U.S. Senate.

First of all, the U.S. Senate has the unique duty of sitting in appellate capacity, so to speak, to carefully inspect

legislation, to mull over, chew on it, and digest it, and we are the only body in this Congress that has the time or the rules to allow such complete consideration. To eliminate freedom of debate in the Senate is to make this body nothing more than a rubberstamp for the House of Representatives and to reduce this Senate to a shell of that which it was when we were elected to office.

Furthermore, the Senate has the additional unique functions of giving advice and consent to the President on treaties and confirmation of appointments which are functions not served by any other body in our Government and which, in itself, requires that we have generous debate so we can freely discuss these things without danger of intimidation by the tremendous powers of the White House. To remove generous debate from the rules of the Senate would, for all practical purposes, eliminate the Senate's function of acting as a curb on the Presidency, since a majority of the President's party could railroad through legislation and confirmation without an opportunity for minority dissidents to speak out in opposition.

Mr. President, a reason frequently given by proponents of cloture in the U.S. Senate is that needed legislation is blocked by unlimited debate and we must, in fact, have majority cloture in order to pass the legislation the country needs.

Mr. President, a review of the debates on legislation throughout the history of the Senate indicates very strongly that the vast majority of the legislation defeated by generous debate was, in fact, later recognized as bad legislation; and the proponents of cloture are sadly lacking in examples of good legislation that has been defeated by unlimited debate. Several years ago in this body, in debate on this same question, it was pointed out that we must have majority cloture if we were to pass foreign aid legislation, the Federal aid to education bill, and civil rights measures.

Mr. President, in the last session, operating under the existing rule, as far as debate is concerned, we saw the largest foreign aid bill ever passed go out of this body, we saw the Federal aid to education bill pass this body, and we saw the Civil Rights Commission's life extended for an additional 2 years, even though a large minority of the Senators feel that the Civil Rights Commission does more harm than good.

If we remove ourselves from the world of fancy for just a few moments and look to the lessons of history, a more concrete basis from which to draw our conclusions, we will see that very rarely in the past has needed legislation been defeated and that, as a matter of fact, many times unwise legislation such as the Reconstruction Act of Louisiana and the force bill, which would have put Federal bayonets around our ballot boxes, has been defeated. I might note that later it was acknowledged by the proponents of these measures that the legislation was unwise and should not have been passed.

Mr. President, in every effort to sway public opinion, the proponents of this measure in the past and at the present time have misled the American people into thinking this entire Government was set up so that a simple majority would prevail in all functions.

It has been pointed out time and time again, and it hardly seems necessary—but unfortunately it is required—that I point out that the very reason the Senate was set up was so that the majority of the population in this country could not run roughshod over the smaller States or the lesser or minority group. The Senate itself was a part of a compromise between the people who wanted majority rule and those who wanted to protect the rights of the States.

Mr. President, it saddens me that a great number of people across this land of ours have chosen to disregard or have completely forgotten the wisdom of our forefathers in framing this Constitution so that we could not have an impassioned temporary majority running wild over the rights of the minority and using the very force of government which is supposed to protect the minorities to grind these unhappy people into dust.

The Constitution itself provides for yeas and nays by a small minority of the Senators as a check on the majority and as a method which can be used and has been used as a dilatory tactic. Furthermore, the Constitution itself provides in several instances, which I shall enumerate later, for a two-thirds vote of the Senators. These constitutional requirements, along with the constitutional provision that no State can be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate without its consent, certainly stand as bulwarks against a temporary majority depriving Senators or States of their votes.

One argument frequently used by those wishing to impose gag rule on the Senate is the possibility of a minority of the Senators holding up legislation that the majority thinks is important. What these people fail to see is that there is much less danger from a minority than there is from a majority. Our predecessors in this body in their wisdom established unlimited debate for the very purpose of allowing deliberations to go to any lengths necessary in order to insure good, calm, deliberative action. Nowhere in their efforts to impose this gag rule on the Senate do the proponents of this measure point out the times that a single Senator or a small handful of Senators have delayed action on unwise bills until the public indignation could rise to such a point that the small minority became a majority and the legislation was subsequently defeated.

There is not a Senator in this body who is not aware that hasty action creates many mistakes, and that time after time the Senate in its deliberations on various measures has recognized mistakes which the House has made in bills passed in haste and corrected them, principally through the efforts of a small minority of the Senators endeavoring to shed some light in the particular subject.

A further argument for majority cloture that goes hand in hand with the contention I was just discussing is the more frightening suggestion that unlimited debate allows a small minority to block much legislation. This particular position of the proponents of majority cloture fascinates me for several reasons.

First of all, it has been pointed out that many times the Senate with relative unlimited debate passes more bills in a session of Congress than does the House with its strict cloture rule. When this fact is pointed out to proponents of majority cloture they easily shift their line of logic and maintain that this phenomenon occurs because of a fear of the majority of the Senators of this body that one Senator may block some pet proposal of theirs if they block his proposal. Not only does this glib switch from one line of reasoning to another refute their contention that legislation is blocked by unlimited debate, but it casts aspersions on every Member of this body who is conscientiously seeking to represent his State.

Mr. President, it seems to me unfortunate that on an issue as vital as this, which concerns the very essence of the U.S. Senate, that all the bad should be pointed out and indeed magnified, while none of the advantages of unlimited debate are given publicity, and especially by our newspapers.

I believe that unselfish interests, when properly instructed as to the nature of majority cloture and the very real protections the Senate offers to minority groups under its present rules, will favor the retention of the rules we now have. It seems to me especially worthy of note that many men who have used unlimited debate, even though they were in a small minority of Senators to protest action when great, vital, constitutional issues were at hand, have been among those considered to be the giants of the Senate.

Three such men who were violently opposed any change in unlimited debate have their portraits hanging in the Senate reception room right outside this Chamber. They represented divergent views on most other issues and they came from different sections of the country, but they were giants of the Senate and they opposed cloture. Men such as John C. Calhoun of my own State of South Carolina, Bob La Follette, from Wisconsin, and Daniel Webster, three Senators selected as among the five greatest in our history. When a vital constitutional issue was at hand in the Senate, none of these men would flinch from using every senatorial power at his command to focus public attention on what he considered to be inopportune action and thus bring great pressure on this body to act in a more wise manner.

Unfortunately in this time and age of fantastic communication devices, people can be given superficial explanations of issues and can be aroused to a fever pitch on the wrong side of any question in a matter of hours. In order to adequately educate the public on issues of vital concern to their welfare under such adverse conditions, it sometimes becomes necessary for a minority of the Senators to resort to lengthy discussion of the issues before the Senate in order to get even a cursory mention of their viewpoint.

While it is true that we have much faster communications in our day and time than this Nation had in the days of such stalwarts of oratory as Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, and Bob La Follette, it is also a truth that much of our communication network is in the hands of a relatively few men, and in many cases there is presently only the side of an issue favorable to limited interests.

One of the things that will be lost if this body adopts majority cloture is the opportunity of a Senator, when he feels in his heart that the Senate is taking precipitate, unwise action, to take the floor and by sheer length of debate focus national attention on what he considers to be the true issues at stake.

Many times since I became a Member of this body, I personally, and many of my colleagues, have been attacked as being provincial because we still believe in sovereignty of the individual States. While the press of modern affairs has required a much greater centralization of government, it does not necessarily follow that we must abolish the system of government so wisely established for these United States by the framers of the Constitution.

Certainly every Senator must concern himself with the national interest, but by no means does this require that a Senator fail to represent the interests of his State. It is sad but true in many cases that the only voices which a State may have to protect the citizens and interests of that State are those of its two Senators. Unfortunately it is also true that many times when a Senator raises his voice in defense of his State, he is accused of provincialism and held up to ridicule before the people of the other areas as though there were no longer any sovereignty vested in our 50 States.

I think it was wise indeed to realize when this great Union was formed, while we had much in common, there would forever be divergent interests among the States, and to provide each member of the Union with two voices in this body which could not be removed without their consent.

I remind every Member of this body that the U.S. Senate is the only place where the State has a voice representing it, and where the rape of the State's rights can be protested.

Unhappily, certain groups in our country have felt it to their interest to ridicule the idea that Senators are ambassadors of their States by refusing to recognize the divergent interests of our States at all, but using the dangerous world situation to spotlight only the general welfare of the United States and, consequently, sneer at any consideration of Senators as being their States' ambassadors.

I sincerely pray that this unfortunate view will be exposed for what it is, to wit, an effort to change the very constitutional nature of our Government and to eliminate the last vestige of States' rights in our country. I think that when the question of unlimited debate is removed from all the trappings that have been placed around it by organized pressure groups and misguided advocates, we shall see the problem a lot more clearly and a lot more sensibly before we are moved to vote on it.

Mr. President, I would like to return and dwell at length on the first point I made and in order to dispel this erroneous notion that the fight over cloture is nothing more than a civil rights battle of a very recent nature, I would like at this time to call to the attention of the Senate some comments of Senators speaking of cloture who have preceded us in this body and who have ranged over a period of half a century. These comments are taken from the report of the Committee on Rules and Administration in 1947, 80th Congress, 1st session, Calendar No. 85, Report No. 87, and should dramatically demonstrate that this is not merely a fight on one narrow legislative objective.

This question has been before the Senate for many years, long before the civil rights issue ever came into being.

William Alden Smith, a Senator from Michigan from 1907 to 1919, said:

The proposed new rule is intended to curtail the individual power of Senators. How can a Senator represent his State appropriately in a crisis if a few Senators may decree in caucus and then absent themselves, leaving the State to its fate, shorn of the power to be effective?

I have never seen the present rule abused. I have been impatient at times with Senators, but good has come to the country in most instances as a result of our liberal latitude in debate.

Much good and no harm has come from unlimited discussion here; and, to curtail it and deprive ourselves of this power and privilege, it seems to me, is not called for by any situation now existing.

The instances where this rule of unlimited debate has been abused and has worked to the disadvantage of the Government are very rare indeed and the cases where it has been of tremendous advantages to the Government and to the people of the United States can be counted by hundreds and hundreds.

Senator Smith, of Michigan, further said:

No, unlimited, debate, as I define it, was such a protracted and prolonged discussion as to bring acutely to the minds of Senators the necessity of composing that particular situation.

The longer I stay here the less I speak. Some of the best men who ever served in this body have grown to dislike verbal controversy.

Men got over the fascination of their own speech, but if the occasion should require, or if some injustice has sought to be done, unlimited debate would be a very desirable and potential weapon to reside in the senatorship.

It is not that a Senator wishes to be heard at great length: It is the power to defend his State, which you are attempting to curtail.

Take away the right of unlimited debate and you take away the one great distinguishing characteristic of senatorial procedure.

A great deal of agitation has been heard at varying times concerning the necessity for having some rule that would limit debate. There were those of us who did not think any rule at all was necessary. I speak now advisedly, as a member of the Committee on Rules, when I say that that rule was adopted as a compromise rule, and assurances were given that if it should be agreed to—as it was, without any controversy—it would end this matter of so-called cloture legislation. It has answered its purpose.

During my somewhat protracted membership of this body a few filibusters have been engaged in. I was the victim of one of those filibusters, Mr. President. A bill in which I was deeply interested, which had been debated for weeks in the body, as I remember it, was at the end of a session defeated by a filibuster.

At that time I felt very keenly on the subject but, when I came to look it all over, I was led to the conclusion that the evils that grew out of our present system were insignificant compared to the benefits that grew out of it.

I think I have myself participated in two filibusters during the time I have been a Member of this body, and I have never had occasion to regret it. I believed that they were justified. I believe that great good came to the country because of those portracted discussions.

Henry Cabot Lodge, a Senator from Massachusetts from 1893 to 1924, said:

This is a general rule to limit all debate, indiscriminately on every measure, whether trifling or of the gravest importance, affecting the Constitution, the welfare of the entire country, or the interests of a section of the country, or what may be the vital interests of a single State. Mr. President, I believe that a rule of that kind is thoroughly unsound in principle, and I think we ought to retain in principle, and I think we ought to retain in the Senate the general debate and the latitude of debate which we now have.

Certainly, Mr. President, as the late Senator Lodge said, we should "retain in the Senate the general debate and the latitude of debate which we now have," even though they have been whittled down somewhat since the time when Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was a Member of this body, because at that time the cloture rule was much stronger than the cloture rule we have today.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). Does the Senator from South Carolina yield to the Senator from North Carolina?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes, if it is understood that in doing so, I shall not lose the floor, and shall not be charged with making two speeches.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator from South Carolina recall, as a historical fact, that when the first cloture rule was adopted, in 1917, the very famous liberal, Senator Robert La Follette the elder, of Wisconsin, stated, in speaking in opposition to the rule:

Mr. President, believing that I stand for democracy, for the liberties of the people of this country, for the perpetuation of our free institutions, I shall stand while I am a Member of this body against any cloture that denies free and unlimited debate. Sir, the moment that the majority imposes the restriction contained in the pending rule upon this body, that moment you will have dealt a blow to liberty, you will have broken down one of the greatest weapons against wrong and oppression that the Members of this body possess. This Senate is the only place in our system where, no matter what may be the organized power behind any measure to rush its consideration and to

compel its adoption, there is a chance to be heard, where there is opportunity to speak at length, and where, if need be, under the Constitution of our country and the rules as they stand today, the constitutional right is reposed in a Member of this body to halt a Congress or a session on a piece of legislation which may undermine the liberties of the people and be in violation of the Constitution which Senators have sworn to support.

Does not the Senator from South Carolina recall that that magnificent statement was made by Senator La Follette during one of the previous fights in regard to the rules question?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes; and Senators will recall that he favored even a stricter rule than the one we now have.

Mr. ERVIN. Yes. At that time Senator La Follette was speaking, was he not, against any cloture whatsoever?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is true.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator from South Carolina agree with me that if either the proposal for majority cloture or the proposal for cloture by 60 percent of the Members of the Senate were adopted, it would sound the death knell of the freedom of debate the Senate has always stood for as the greatest deliberative body on earth?

Mr. JOHNSTON. In My opinion, there is no question about that.

Furthermore, when two-thirds of the Members of the Senate belonged to the same party that the head of the administration belonged to—as at present—if only a bare majority of the Senate were needed in order to invoke cloture and to pass measures, in view of the pressure used by the administration, the minority—in this instance the Republicans—might just as well close shop and go home, for if there were majority rule on everything, the administration could control the Senate.

Mr. ERVIN. And if a majority cloture rule were adopted, would it not permit a majority of a quorum, namely, 26 Senators out of 51, to silence the entire Senate?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is true.

Mr. ERVIN. And if the Senate adopted a rule to permit cloture to be invoked by the affirmative votes of 60 percent, would not that mean that 31 Senators out of a total of 51 could silence the Senate?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is true; in that way Senators could be prevented from speaking.

Mr. ERVIN. Does the Senator from South Carolina share my conviction that if a majority of Senators were granted the power to silence all other Senators, they would be granted the power—which could be exercised arbitrarily—to prevent a minority of Senators from representing their States under the Constitution?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Certainly that is correct.

Mr. ERVIN. I should like to call the attention of the Senator from South Carolina to a statement made by Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, as set forth in an article which he wrote in 1925 for the Saturday Evening Post. I ask the Senator from South Carolina whether he agrees with the observation, made by Senator Moses, to the effect that no good legislative measure had ever been defeated or unduly delayed by the right of freedom of speech in the Senate.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I have read that article, and later in my speech I shall quote part of it. I think Senator Moses was entirely correct when he made that statement.

Mr. ERVIN. I should like to ask the able and distinguished Senator from South Carolina whether he had the privilege of serving the U.S. Senate with the great liberal, Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, of Wyoming?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I did.

Mr. ERVIN. Does the Senator from South Carolina recall that in the fight for the rules change in 1959, Senator O'Mahoney stated that rule XXII, in securing the right to speak, as it does, was necessary to be retained, because it was the only rule which made it possible for the Senate to be a forum of freedom of speech for the benefit of the people of the United States?

Mr. JOHNSTON. He did—and very forcefully.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator from South Carolina agree that not only does the rule under discussion afford protection to a minority, enabling it to state its views, and giving it an opportunity to convert itself into a majority; but also it is a rule which protects all the people in the United States?

Mr. JOHNSTON. The Senator is correct. At times certain questions arise that should be explained to the public at large. Time is required to do that.

Mr. ERVIN. I should like to ask the Senator from South Carolina if it is not his understanding that the Senate is the last legislative body on the face of the earth in which a minority has a right, by virtue of the rule under discussion, to exercise freedom of speech for the benefit of its country?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is true.

Mr. ERVIN. I ask the Senator if the Senate is not the only place, even in our own land, which we call free America, where the rights of the people can be preserved even against the attack of overwhelming majorities?

Mr. JOHNSTON. The Senator has spoken the truth on that point. The right has been very useful on many occasions.

Mr. ERVIN. I thank the Senator for yielding.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I thank the Senator from North Carolina for the questions he has asked.

Mr. President, the case for free debate in the Senate has never been better stated than in a paragraph I am about to read from a well-known book. It is there said:

It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of Government and to talk much about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and the voice, and to embody the wisdom and will of its constituents. Unless Congress have and use every means of acquainting itself with the acts and the disposition of the administrative agents of the Government, the country must be helpless to learn how it is being served: And unless Congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand and direct.

The informing function of Congress should be referred even to its legislative function. The argument is not only that discussed and interrogated administration is the only pure and efficient administration, but more than that, that the only really self-governing people is that people which discusses and interrogates its administration. The talk on the part of Congress which we sometimes justly condemn is the profitless squabble of words over frivolous bills or selfish party issues. It would be hard to conceive of there being too much talk about the practical concerns and processes of government. Such talk it is which, when earnestly and purposefully conducted, clears the public mind and shapes the demands of public opinion.

That, Mr. President, is taken from "Congressional Government," pages 303 and 304, written by the then President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, and I think it would not be easy to find a more powerful exposition to that necessity for debate which, I think, is infringed on by this proposed rule.

Warren G. Harding, a Senator from Ohio, 1915–20:

I have been hearing about the reformation of the Senate since I first entered politics; and it was rather an ironical thing the other day that one of the most emphatic speeches made in favor of the adoption of this rule was uttered by the very latest arrival in this body.

I have been observing the Senate at close range now for 3 years. I came with the notion that the Senate "fiddled" away a great deal of valuable time in debate, and I am still of that opinion; but the debate that needlessly consumes the time of the Senate is not reached by the proposed rule.

If it is desired to cut down the number or length of speeches, Senators could be told at the beginning of a session that they could speak only 25 or 30 hours during the year, and when they had spoken for that length of time, they would have to stop. Such a rule might prevent some from talking so long and taking so much time to make speeches.

Further quoting from Harding:

I want to feel that the Senate still controls its own destinies. Moreover, the new cloture rule is ample. I am opposed to the so-called reformation of the Senate in the name of a war measure.

But the reformation of the Senate has long been a fad. I came here myself under the impression that there ought to be cloture and limitations on debate; and the longer I sit in this body, the more convinced I become that the freedom of debate in the U.S. Senate is one of the highest guarantees we have of our American institutions.

Mr. President, before I take my seat I wish to say that the length of a speech is not the measure of its merit.

While the Senate may not listen, because the Senate does not listen very attentively to anybody, I discover, though Congress may not be apparently concerned and though the galleries of this body may not be filled to add their inspiring attention, I charge you, Mr. President, that the people of the United States of America will be listening. This is the one central point, the one open forum, the one place in America where there is freedom of debate, which is essential to an enlightened and dependable public sentiment, the guide of the American Republic.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield so that I may ask him some questions to determine whether he agrees with me that one of the best illustrations of the wisdom of the Senate rules occurred in 1946?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I yield, with the same understanding, that I do not lose my right to the floor.

Mr. ERVIN. I ask the Senator if he does not recall that during the spring of 1946, a strike of many weeks' duration occurred in the coal mines of the United States.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I recall the incident clearly.

Mr. ERVIN. I ask the Senator if he does not recall that before the end of that strike, a strike vote was taken on the railroads, and some of the railroad unions voted to go on strike on a certain designated day.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I remember.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator recall that a great deal of public feeling was aroused due to the fact that a long strike had taken place in the coal industry, and that a threat had been made that on a particular day there would be a nationwide strike on the railroads?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I recall that.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator recall that at that time a proposal was made in the House of Representatives that railroad workers be drafted into the Army, and, as members of the Army, be compelled to remain at work regardless of their wishes?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I remember that also.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator remember that the House of Representatives acting under the high popular feeling of the moment and acting under a rule which limited debate to a comparatively few minutes, passed the bill undertaking to draft railroad workers into the Army by an overwhelming majority?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I recall that.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator remember that when that bill, which had passed the House after only a few minutes of debate and by an overwhelming majority, reached the Senate, a request was made that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of the bill and that thereupon an objection was interposed by a Senator under the Senate Rules, which necessitated the bill going to the committee?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I recall that.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator recall that as a result of the ensuing delay, Senators were given time to think, and recognized the truth, which apparently had escaped all of us in the House—that if the bill became law, the Congress of the United States would be undertaking to impose involuntary servitude upon railroad men?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is correct. I remember it. I was a Member of the Senate at that time.

Mr. ERVIN. Can the Senator from South Carolina understand why the Senator from North Carolina, after a few minutes' reflection, has always considered that that was the worst vote he, the Senator from North Carolina, ever cast as a member of any legislative body?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I presume the Senator would so consider it.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator from South Carolina think that is a perfect illustration of the unwisdom which legislators may exercise in times of public excitement if they are not restrained by some rule which enables one Senator, or a minority of Senators, to point out the unwisdom of the legislative proposal which the majority may be at the point of adopting?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I certainly do. I can understand why the Senator feels as he does today, because he acted, we might say, hastily, without proper debate having been had upon a subject, such as should be had in the Senate.

Mr. ERVIN. Does not the Senator from South Carolina rejoice in the fact that so long as rule XXII stands in its present form the Senate is not likely ever to engage in the passage of legislation like that piece of proposed legislation in haste?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is correct. That is the way I feel, and I know the Senator feels as I do in this regard.

Mr. ERVIN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I thank the Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. President, I now wish to quote the words of a Senator with whom I served in the Senate. He represented the State of California from 1917 to 1945. I refer to Hiram W. Johnson. This is what he said:

> But in this day, Mr. President, there is something else that I see as well. I see that we have transmuted in the past 14 months our Republic; I see that upon which we have prided ourselves in the past, that of which we have boasted in the past, that which we have taken upon ourselves and loved during all of the years that this Nation has been a nation—has been transmuted under the exigency and the emergency of war, and rightly so, into an autocracy as powerful as any autocracy upon the face of the earth.
>
> But, Mr. President, there is another day coming as well, and in transmuting our Government temporarily in the fashion that we have done, there is no reason why any man of wisdom, of foresight, with an atom of statesmanship, should not prepare against that day when it will be his duty and his obligation as great as is the obligation today to win this war, to bring back this Republic into its own, and make this Government as it has been in all the years of the past.
>
> It is that day when we must finally face the ultimate issue and restore this Government to its pristine purity and its pristine glory and to its original character; it is this day I guard against now by permitting not the entering wedge in this body and with its Members, so that they could not do fully, freely, wholly, absolutely, and successfully their duty when the day shall come.
>
> The last place in all this world where freedom obtains, the place where freedom of speech may be abused, abused, abused, and abused again, but the last free forum in that day will then have been destroyed, and we here this day will have commenced and made easy that destruction.

It is my understanding that the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. FONG] wishes to make a short statement at this time. I shall be glad to yield to him with the understanding that I shall not lose my right to the floor and that when I resume my remarks it not be counted as a second speech, if the Senate will agree to that request unanimously.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request by the Senator from South Carolina? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, as a cosponsor of the Humphrey-Kuchel substitute amendment for Senate Resolution 9, I should like to make a brief statement for the record setting forth my reasons for supporting a change in Senate rule XXII so as to permit a constitutional majority of elected Senators to limit debate after reasonable time has been allowed for debate.

What we seek to provide by this additional method of limiting debate is a way by which the principle of majority rule may become operative so that the majority of the Senate can come to a vote on the merits of the substantive issues which come before it.

In the brief 3½ years it has been my privilege to serve in the U.S. Senate, I have witnessed five "talkathons" designed to prevent the majority of the Senate from voting on the merits of substantive measures before it. I have witnessed how the threat of a talkathon succeeded in forcing the majority to emasculate legislation in order to get a bill of some sort passed. I have witnessed how the Senate rules have been used not as tools for promoting orderly business in the Senate but as tools for thwarting the majority from its duty to legislate.

I recall very vividly the round-the-clock sessions of the Senate in 1960 which lasted for 9 days and nights and forced Senators to remain within calling distance of the floor at all times, sleeping at night in their offices and in rooms near this Chamber. An attempt to halt the talkathon by closing debate under existing rule XXII requiring a two-thirds majority failed. The upshot was that, in order to pass a civil rights bill, the majority was forced to water it down to the point of acceptability to the minority of civil rights opponents.

What has happened from time to time in the Senate resembles minority rule rather than the majority rule contemplated by the Founding Fathers. These architects of the U.S. Constitution clearly endorsed majority rule as the rule for congressional action, for they expressly specified all the instances in which more than a majority vote is required. There are only five instances in which a two-thirds majority is stipulated in the Constitution: in the power of Congress to override a Presidential veto, in Senate ratification of treaties, in the initiation by Congress of amendments to the Constitution, in the impeachment power, and in expulsion of Members of Congress. It seems clear that, insofar as the drafters of the Constitution were concerned, Congress was to operate by majority rule unless otherwise instructed by terms of the Constitution.

Indeed, Alexander Hamilton, in Federalist No. 22, wrote:

> To give a minority a negative upon a majority [which is always the case where more than a majority is requisite to a decision] is, in its tendency, to subject the sense of the greater number to that of the lesser.

Hamilton also pointed out:

If a pertinacious minority can control the opinion of a majority, respecting the best mode of conducting it, the majority, in order that something may be done, must conform to the views of the minority; and thus the sense of the smaller number will overrule that of the greater, and give a tone to national proceedings.

In the words of the Supreme Court, majority rule is "sanctioned by our governmental practices, by business procedure, and by the whole philosophy of democratic institutions" (*N.L.R.B.* v. *A. J. Tower Co.*, 329 U.S. 324, 331). Moreover, the Court has ruled that a House of Congress may not by its rules ignore constitutional restraints (*United States* v. *Ballin*, 144 U.S. 1, 5).

The history of the U.S. Senate shows that throughout the years Senators have zealously guarded their rights to full and free debate, each always conscious of the fact that while today he might be in the majority on one issue, tomorrow he might be in the minority on another issue.

This helps to explain why the Senate has been so loathe to limit debate of some of its Members who have used filibusters to prevent majority action. Since 1917, when the Senate adopted the original rule XXII to limit debate, there have been 27 votes to limit debate, only 5 of which succeeded. That is a batting average of only 17 percent. The Senate succeeded in limiting debate in 1919, on the Versailles Treaty; in 1926, on the World Court; in 1927, on branch banking; in 1927, on prohibition reorganization; and last year, on the communications satellite.

Eleven of the twenty-seven cloture votes have dealt with civil rights issues, including two votes last year on the literacy test bill. Every attempt to close debate on civil rights matters has failed.

It seems ironic that the majority of the Senate, in attempting to protect the rights of minority groups throughout America, has found itself thwarted time and time again by a minority of Senate Members right here in this Chamber.

That the existing rule XXII makes it possible for a minority to obstruct the will of the majority of the Senate was recognized by both major political parties in their platforms adopted in 1960. The Republican platform states:

We pledge: Our best efforts to change present rule XXII of the Senate and other appropriate congressional procedures that often make unattainable proper legislative implementation of constitutional guarantees.

The Democratic platform pledges:

In order that the will of the American people may be expressed upon all legislative proposals, we urge that action be taken at the beginning of the 87th Congress to improve congressional procedures so that majority rule prevails and decisions can be made after reasonable debate without being blocked by a minority in either House.

To accomplish these goals will require Executive orders, legal actions brought by the Attorney General, legislation, and improved congressional procedures to safeguard majority rule.

Unless and until these reforms in congressional procedures are effected, the pledges of both the Republican and the Democratic Parties for meaningful and effective civil rights legislation will remain just noble words and noble promises, incapable of fulfillment, for never has the Senate agreed to limit debate on a civil rights issue since rule XXII was first adopted in 1917.

To permit the principle of majority rule to operate, not only in civil rights matters, but in all other substantive matters, no matter how controversial, we sponsors of the Humphrey-Kuchel substitute are proposing a second procedure whereby the Senate could limit debate.

Our proposal, which is embodied in Senate Resolution 10 and in the substitute amendment to Senate Resolution 9, retains the existing method whereby a vote on cloture could be had 2 days after filing of a cloture petition signed by 16 Senators. To succeed, this, of course, would require two-thirds of the Senators present and voting to vote in the affirmative. If 100 Senators voted, 67 would have to vote "yes" in order to limit debate.

Under our proposed alternative, the vote on cloture would occur 15 days following the filing of a cloture petition by 16 Senators. To limit debate under our proposal, 51 of the 100 Senators would have to vote in the affirmative.

A majority of the Senate can vote to draft your young men into the armed services, and a majority of the Senate can vote to send them to war. It would seem reasonable that a majority of the Senate should be allowed to limit debate. Particularly since the Constitution, article I, section 5, provides that a majority shall constitute a quorum for doing business and that a majority shall determine rules of procedure.

Inasmuch as all Senators are well aware that they may be in the minority sometimes, it is highly doubtful that 16 Senators would file a petition until there was real evidence of a filibuster. Probably 2 to 3 or even more weeks of debate would occur before Senators would sign a petition. After the petition is filed, our plan guarantees 15 additional days of debate before the vote on limitation could be taken. This adds another 2 weeks for debate.

Then, if 51 votes are cast for debate limitation, a minimum of an additional 100 hours of debate is allowed. The majority would have 50 hours to debate and the minority would have 50 hours to debate. If the 50 hours of debate on either side expired before a Senator had an opportunity to speak, he would be given an hour to talk, under our guarantee of 1 hour for each Senator.

Ours is a more generous plan for the minority than existing rule XXII, which guarantees only 1 hour of debate for each Senator. Thus, at present a minority of 20 Senators would have a total of 20 hours guaranteed them for debate. Under our plan, this same minority would be guaranteed 50 hours.

Certainly, the weeks preceding filing of a debate limitation petition, plus the 15 days guaranteed after its filing, plus the minimum of 100 hours after the Senate agrees to limit debate, provide ample time to present the pros and cons of any issue and to inform the American people.

The Senate often passes important, far-reaching, and costly legislation with only a few days' debate. Last year, for example, the Senate debated the highly controversial trade bill only 3 days and the controversial tax revision bill only 9 days.

To contend that our proposal unduly restricts the time for debate is not very persuasive in the light of such experiences. For, in the 5 to 6 or more weeks available for debate under our plan, surely Members of the Senate—majority and minority alike—have ample opportunity to present their opposing viewpoints.

So we come to the real bone of contention—whether the majority of the Senate shall be permitted to perform their duty to legislate on matters of vital importance to the Nation; or whether one-third of the Senate shall be permitted to obstruct the other two-thirds of the Senate.

In other words, shall the minority rule the Senate by denying the majority the right to come to a vote?

Or shall the Senate, by its rules of procedure, permit the majority to work its will while at the same time safeguarding the right of the minority to be heard?

If I understand the sum and substance of the present parliamentary tangle in the Senate, the Senate could be doomed to a self-perpetuating debate limitation rule which a minority could employ to block majority rule.

If the opponents of changing rule XXII prevail, the majority of the Senate may even be denied an opportunity to vote on the merits of the changes proposed in rule XXII. If the majority of each new Congress is denied the right to change Senate rules by minority filibuster which can only be cut off by two-thirds vote, the Senate forever will be the victim of rules adopted by a Senate of years gone by. The majority will continue to rule only by sufferance of the minority, who will still possess the weapons with which to deny the majority the right to legislate. Only insofar as the minority decides to permit the majority to act, will the majority be able in practice to act. Majority rule as contemplated by those who framed our Constitution will be a mockery.

Against a determined minority, the majority will continue to be frustrated in attempts to insure the protection of civil rights for those Americans who now do not enjoy the rights guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution.

Against a determined minority, the majority will continue to be frustrated in attempts to enact legislation in other essential fields, despite the mandate of the electorate at the polls and despite party platform promises.

The rule XXII change we propose will help the majority fulfill its responsibility to legislate while at the same time it will protect the right of the minority to be heard. As Alexander Hamilton said:

The public business must go forward.

The rule XXII change we propose will offer Senators from every State, large or small, equal opportunity to be heard.

Similarly, the equal number of votes awarded to each State in the Senate, whether large or small, is undisturbed, so that small States under our proposal need have no fear of being outvoted merely on the basis of size. Each State will still have two votes.

The rule XXII change we propose is one step toward more orderly procedure in the Senate at a time when representative government is on trial before all the world whose people are watching to see whether our National Congress is geared to the space age.

Attempts to improve rule XXII have failed at the beginning of each of the last three Congresses by the expedient of avoiding a vote on the merits of the proposed changes. I hope that this year the Senate of the United States will be permitted the opportunity to express itself on the merits of the pending proposals. Let the Senate of the United States no longer sidestep the important issues involved, but face up to its responsibilities.

Let us make representative government more workable in this legislative body and more responsive to the will of the American people who are represented here in the U.S. Senate. Let us justify the faith the people had in electing us and let us demonstrate anew the viability of the Government fashioned so wisely by the Founding Fathers that individual freedom and liberty might be perpetuated for one and for all in America forevermore.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield to me, so that I may make a brief statement, without his losing his right to the floor?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I yield to the Senator with the understanding that my so doing will not affect my speech in any way, and that it will be regarded as only one speech, and that I do not lose my right to the floor.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I ask unanimous consent that these remarks may not in any way affect the rights of the distinguished Senator from South Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection it is so ordered.

EXCESSIVE SPENDING

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I have been disturbed—as I am sure many other Members of the Senate have also been disturbed—by the increase in Government spending, particularly in some areas in which such increases are hard to understand and explain.

One of the most shocking of this spending increases is listed in the budget under "Commerce and Transportation." In the past 6 years there has been an increase in Government spending for Federal aviation, for example—representing subsidies to commercial aviation, from $219 to $885 million; for water transportation—representing largely subsidies to shipbuilders—there has been an increase from $365 to $677 million; and the most dramatic of all increases has been subsidies for "advancement of business"—which is the term that is used in the budget—from $127 million in 1957 to $617 million in the present budget. This is an expansion from 1957 alone of nearly fivefold.

One of the reasons for this explosion of spending is because the Small Business Administration has expanded its activities. I am conscious of this, as chairman of the Small Business Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee.

Today there appears in the Washington Daily News an article entitled "Small Business Agency Is Now a Banking Giant." It is written by Dixon Preston, and spells out in detail the story of Small Business Administration loans for recreational purposes.

The regulations of SBA provide, at page 8 of its pamphlet entitled "Business Loans" under "Ineligible Applications," the category of ineligible:

> 6. If the purpose of a loan is to finance the construction, acquisition, conversion, or operation of recreational or amusement facilities.

For this purpose the agency is not by law to make loans. However, there is a saving clause which provides "unless the facilities contribute to the health or general well-being of the public."

As Mr. Preston points out, under this "unless" clause, in the 6 months between June and November 1962, the SBA made loans to 128 motels and hotels, 42 bowling alleys, 15 ski lifts, ski lodges and other skiing operations, and 11 golf courses.

Mr. President, in my State, as I am sure is also true in many other States, we find that some commercial recreational enterprises are overbuilt; there are too many of them, and they are having difficulty surviving competition.

In areas where banking facilities are adequate, which is true in most parts of the country, it is very hard to justify this kind of activity by a Government agency.

I hope Congress will consider, during this session, modifying the authority of the Small Business Administration to make loans of this kind, which make a very questionable contribution to the economic growth of our Nation.

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield on an economic matter?

Mr. PROXMIRE. I yield.

Mr. ERVIN. I have a question which troubles me. Due to my limited capacity, I find I am unable to unscrew the inscrutable. I was reading this morning an article by a theoretical economist who said that if the Government spent more money than it received in revenue, it had an active deficit and the likelihood was that this would spur the economy into action; however, if the Government received in revenue less than it spent, it meant that there was a passive deficit, which was bad. Can the Senator explain exactly how much difference there is between spending more than one receives, and receiving less than one spends, and why one of them is good for the country and the other is bad?

I am incapable of comprehending the difference, because I have not studied enough of modern economics.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I was fascinated by the same phrase, which appeared, I believe, in the Washington Post lead editorial this morning. It said that the kind of deficit proposed in the 1964 budget was an active deficit. I was deeply concerned because that was not in keeping with even the Keynesian economics that I studied. Keynes theorized that during a depression, or recession, at a time when the economy is going downhill, a Government deficit stimulates the economy and helps to halt the decline. But the idea of an active deficit in the editorial is that when the economy is moving ahead, and progressing, and profits are going up, and all the business indexes are advancing, but not fast enough, it is still necessary to have a deficit. But under these circumstances to increase the growth even further.

This means, to me, that when the economy is going downhill, we have a passive deficit; that when it is going up, we have an active deficit. However, at all times, we have a deficit, and at no time do we have a surplus.

Apparently that surplus word is one that is going out of the economic vocabulary. During super economic expansion periods when the economy is operating, perhaps, under virtual war conditions, the economists will permit a surplus to prevent inflation. But this would be, if past experience is a guide, only at a time when the Government is spending astronomical sums of money. As we know from World War I and II experience, the deficits are bigger than ever under such circumstances. They become super active deficits. The surplus is on its way to dodo land to become extinct.

I share the view of the Senator from North Carolina. I am not capable of unscrewing this inscrutable. I feel it remains inscrutable.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article published in the Washington Daily News be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ITS RECORD: $2 BILLION IN LOANS IN 10 YEARS—SMALL BUSINESS AGENCY IS NOW A BANKING GIANT

As a taxpayer, you might be surprised to know you're helping finance a commercial deer park in Park Rapids, Minn.

Also a ski lift in northern Indiana, golf courses in New Mexico, Ohio, and Tennessee, bowling alleys in Texas, a summer camp in Pennsylvania, a kosher delicatessen in Memphis, a marina here in Washington, mountain lodges in Colorado, motels in Alabama, and a fellow out in Hawaii who simply describes himself as a professional planner.

You're doing all this because you, as a taxpayer, help to support a young but fast-growing Federal agency called the Small Business Administration (SBA).

The Small Business Administration, as its name implies, makes loans and provides other services for small businesses. But as an agency, SBA itself is anything but small business.

RAPID GROWTH

From virtually a standing start 10 years ago, SBA has grown into a banking giant. It has 3,200 employees, a loan fund of nearly $1.3 billion and has, in 10 years, made or taken part in 54,518 loans totaling more than $2 billion.

Yet it loses money. And that is where you come in. Tax funds of $26 million a year pay the administrative costs of operat-

Not only is the arms race in the Near East a matter of deep concern to the United States but also one of great complexity. Quoting the President again from his comments to the press on April 3:

We would be reluctant to see a military balance of power in the Middle East which was such as to encourage aggression rather than discouraging it. So this is a matter which we will have to continue to observe. We have expressed our strong opposition to the introduction or manufacture of nuclear weapons in the Middle East, and we have indicated that strongly to all of the countries. So we have to wait and see as time goes on. At the present time, there is a balance which I think would discourage military action on either side. I would hope it will continue.

While watching the situation closely, the Department also is exploring carefully every possible solution to the problem.

If I may be of any further assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK G. DUTTON,
Assistant Secretary.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, D.C., April 26, 1963.

Hon. SAMUEL S. STRATTON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. STRATTON: Your telegram of April 4, 1963, addressed to Secretary McNamara regarding West German scientific activity in the United Arab Republic has been referred to this office for reply.

We have evaluated the points set forth in your message and find them essentially correct. West German activity in Egypt has been well publicized for several years. On the aircraft side, the Egyptian Government began efforts in the late 1950's to establish its own aircraft industry. As stated in your letter, there are German technicians and mechanics engaged in the production of a jet trainer and a light fighter reconnaissance aircraft. To the best of our knowledge Mr. Willy Messerschmidt has not been identified with this program in Egypt.

Insofar as the United Arab Republic's rocket project is concerned, we estimate that there are some West Germans engaged in this program. There is no evidence that any West Germans are working on nuclear, radiological or biological weapons. Parenthetically, we have not been able to identify any prominent Nazis involved in any of the foregoing activities.

I am sure you will appreciate that your query as to the steps the U.S. Government can take to terminate German scientific activity presents policy considerations which fall within the proper competence of the Department of State. I understand the Department of State is writing you separately on this point. However, I can assure you that both the Department of State and the Department of Defense are conscious of the need to stabilize conditions in the Middle East area, particularly with reference to Israel and its neighboring Arab States. As you know, the United States has long held to the view that the introduction of weapons of mass destruction and sophisticated offensive weapons into the Middle East was inimical to our interests as well as to those of countries immediately concerned. I believe our recent decision to make the Hawk missile available to Israel to broaden Israel's capability for defense against manned aircraft demonstrates our Government's resolve to maintain a power equilibrium in the area.

I trust that the foregoing is responsive to the military points raised in your communication to Secretary McNamara. If I can be of further service to you on this matter please do not hesitate to call me.

Sincerely,

FRANK K. SLOAN,
Deputy Assistant Secretary.

STATEMENT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

(Mr. MULTER (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following is a statement I presented today to the Judiciary Subcommittee presently holding hearings on civil rights bills:

STATEMENT OF HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER BEFORE HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE No. 5, MAY 9, 1963

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to testify in support of the bills before the committee, including my own bills, H.R. 543 and H.R. 548. H.R. 543 is designed to prevent discrimination in public places and public transportation against members of the Armed Forces; H.R. 548, to protect the right to vote in Federal elections.

A modern-day De Toqueville or Lord Byrce, Mr. Chairman, might well conclude that civil rights is a triennial bloom in the congressional garden. In 1957 after years of agonizing frustration—frustration within as well as without the Congress—we enacted a Civil Rights Act. In that act the Congress took a significant step toward fulfillment of the promise of the 15th amendment which guarantees to every American citizen the right to vote regardless of race or color. By that act Congress authorized the Federal Government to bring civil actions for injunctive relief where discrimination denied or threatened the right to vote. The act further prohibited intimidation, threats, and coercion for the purpose of interfering with the right to vote in Federal primary and general elections.

Three years later, in the wake of some obvious disappointments in connection with its earlier efforts, Congress sought to strengthen the 1957 act by enacting the Civil Rights Act of 1960. It provided that States, as well as voting registrars, may be sued for discriminatory practices. Title III of the 1960 act required the preservation of voting records, and empowered the Attorney General to inspect them. Under title IV, Congress provided for Federal voting referees to facilitate the registration of persons improperly denied the right to vote.

Another 3 years have passed. We are now seized of the opportunity which, if I may continue with my horticultural analogy, will permit us to convert this delicate bud into a hardy perennial. The means for accomplishing this are embodied in proposals before this committee.

The right to vote is a constitutional right. As everyone familiar with Federal elections knows, many qualified Americans are systematically denied the right to vote. This is accomplished by the so-called literacy test. These tests, fair and nondiscriminatory on their face, are administered so as to prevent certain of our citizens from voting. They make a mockery of the 15th amendment. They eat at the vitals of the democratic process. They are, in short, an intolerable evil in a representative system of government.

H.R. 548, if enacted, will remedy this unwholesome situation. This is not a new proposal, indeed some of the members of this committee have introduced identical or similar legislation in this as well as the 87th Congress. It is, in truth, a modest proposal. It does not attempt to eliminate literacy as a proper and reasonable qualification for voting. I do not think the requirement of literacy for voter qualification should be abandoned completely. It is important that the voter have an understanding of the issues which he is called upon to decide. But, as frequently used, these tests bear absolutely no relationship to a person's qualification to vote.

This bill, moreover, is applicable only with respect to voting in Federal elections, a matter of some concern to the Nation and Congress as well as to the States.

Lastly, the bill does not propose any oppression or arbitrary governmental action against individuals. On the contrary, it is designed to facilitate a person's constitutional right to vote only in the face of State discriminatory action.

The bill requires the States which use literacy tests, to use an objective standard. The maximum uniform standard set forth in the bill is the completion of the sixth grade in any public school or accredited private school. This includes such institutions in the several States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. This is a reasonable standard; it is much like the standard which my own State of New York has used for many years.

When this proposal was before the last Congress, some Members expressed doubts as to its constitutionality. The power to determine the qualifications of voters, they argued, was left to the States. That power—the power to set the qualifications for voters in Federal as well as State elections—is not, however, unlimited.

The 15th amendment provides that neither the Federal Government nor the States can deny or abridge the right of citizens to vote on account of race or color. And, Congress is empowered to enforce this prohibition by appropriate legislation.

The clear import of the 15th amendment is that Congress has the power to enact laws to prevent the States from abridging the right of citizens to vote on racial grounds. The Commission on Civil Rights has found that certain States are in fact using their voter qualification laws to deny citizens the right to vote on racial grounds. If Congress endorses these findings—which are incorporated in H.R. 548—it clearly has the power by appropriate legislation to prevent the States from abridging the right of citizens to vote on racial grounds.

Is the enactment of an objective standard—the sixth grade test in this case—beyond the power of Congress? This test does not alter the State requirement that persons be literate in order to vote. The sixth grade test is simply a means by which Congress may insure that an otherwise legitimate State voter qualification—literacy—is not used as a means of excluding voters on racial grounds.

Under the Constitution the qualifications prescribed by the States for elections to the most numerous branch of their legislature apply in Federal elections. The right to vote in Federal elections is not however a right derived from the States. State-established voter qualifications are, of course, subject to the Constitution, particularly to the 14th and 15th amendments which prohibit certain types of discriminatory action.

The Supreme Court, in a number of cases, has upheld the validity of literacy tests. But these cases, and I refer specifically to *Lassiter* v. *Northampton County Board of Elections*, 360 U.S. 45 (1959), hold only that a State may adopt a fair literacy test for voting provided that such a test applies alike to all citizens of the State without regard to race or color. The Lassiter decision suggests, what commonsense tells us, that a State may not establish qualifications that abridge the right to vote on racial grounds.

The 14th amendment provides that no State shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." That amendment also provides that Congress "shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation" the provisions of the amendment. In providing that persons who have completed the sixth grade shall be regarded as literate under any State literacy law, the Congress would be enforcing the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment.

Under article I, section 4, clause 1 of the Constitution the States may prescribe the "times, places, and manner of holding elections" except that "Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations." There are a number of decisions under this section, but none to my knowledge, has ever held unconstitutional an act of Congress regulating the manner in which elections are held. In *Smiley* v. *Holm*, 285 U.S. 355, 366–367 (1932), the Supreme Court indicated that Congress "has a general supervisory power over the whole subject" of congressional elections. Chief Justice Hughes speaking for the Court said:

"Consideration of the subject matter and of the terms of the provision requires affirmative answer. The subject matter is the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives. It cannot be doubted that these comprehensive words embrace authority to provide a complete code for congressional elections, not only as to times and places, but in relation to notices, registration, supervision of voting, protection of voters, prevention of fraud and corrupt practices, counting of votes, duties of inspectors and canvassers, and making and publication of election returns; in short, to enact the numerous requirements as to procedure and safeguards which experience shows are necessary in order to enforce the fundamental right involved. These requirements would be nugatory if they did not have appropriate sanctions in the definition of offenses and punishments. All this is comprised in the subject of 'times, places, and manner of holding elections' and involves lawmaking in its essential features and most important aspect.

"This view is confirmed by the second clause of article I, section 4, which provides that 'the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations,' with the single exception stated. The phrase 'such regulations' plainly refers to regulations of the same general character that the legislature of the State is authorized to prescribe with respect to congressional elections. In exercising this power, the Congress may supplement these State regulations or may substitute its own. It may impose additional penalties for the violation of the State laws or provide independent sanctions. It has a general supervisory power over the whole subject."

In enacting a sixth-grade standard for literacy as regards Federal elections, Congress would simply be exercising its "general supervisory power" to assure that State officials in the performance of their duties under State law also did their duty as regards the United States.

These provisions—the power of Congress to enforce the 15th and 14th amendments and the power of Congress to provide for the manner in which elections are held, plus the "necessary and proper" powers—provide an adequate legal basis for enactment of H.R. 548.

I also commend to the committee for its prompt consideration, H.R. 543. This bill would make it unlawful for hotels, restaurants, theaters, parks, or other public or semipublic places as well as public transportation facilities to discriminate against any member of the Armed Forces of the United States because of race, color, or creed. It subjects proprietors, managers, and employees of such facilities to criminal penalties for discrimination directed against members of the uniformed services.

We have an obligation to protect our service men and women from the insults of racial bias. The necessity for Federal action in this regard does not have to be labored, it is obvious to all.

Mr. Chairman, I am told that 1963 is a vintage year. The 88th Congress has it within its power to make it a vintage year for constitutional rights. Let us pour some new legislative wine into these old bottles.

WATER POLLUTION: A SERIOUS NATIONAL PROBLEM

(Mr. McDOWELL (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, water pollution has become a serious national problem. It is bad enough when people have to resort to buying bottled water in order to get a drink of water free of industrial waste and sediment. But now, we are told by the official West German Institute for Water, Soil, and Air Hygiene, that it has found indications of cancer-producing detergents in the water supply.

Scientists in the Taft Sanitary Engineering Center in Cincinnati have reported on the consequences arising out of the use of such contaminated water.

Senator GAYLORD NELSON, of Wisconsin, is to be congratulated for introducing a bill to set standards that detergents must meet including solubility. His bill takes advantage of the fact that new processes have been developed which would produce soluble detergents. These processes have been pioneered in West Germany where the Parliament had to outlaw insoluble detergents because that nation's principal rivers, including the Rhine, had become piled high with foam.

I include as part of my remarks an article by Marquis Childs on this subject:

SENATOR NELSON OPENS WAR ON DETERGENTS

(By Marquis Childs)

When they returned recently from their recess within a recess a number of Members of Congress reported they found people back home interested not in Laos or Cuba or even in the Rockefeller marriage and how it may affect the presidential race next year but in something much more immediate. That is how they can be sure of getting a drink of relatively unpolluted water when they turn on the tap.

Pollution of the water supply is becoming a serious problem in area after area. In many communities those who can afford it are buying bottled water. They are becoming accustomed to seeing a deposit of sediment from water out of the tap run into bathtubs and dishpans.

This has a direct bearing on conservation and the survival of fish and game. But as hundreds of newly developed chemical compounds are dumped into streams in industrial waste and used with a heavy hand in insect sprays it is a factor of still undetermined significance in the health of human beings. And as compared to the thousands of scientists at work developing new chemicals and pesticides very little is being done about this wholesale pollution of the environment.

A principal source that has been building up during the past 15 years is the chemical detergents used by millions of housewives in automatic dishwashers. Today 4 billion pounds of detergent a year are used. This chemical dissolves in water only very gradually and so, as it is dumped into sewage systems that in turn pour into streams and rivers, it is a more or less permanent cause of pollution.

Senator GAYLORD NELSON, Democrat, of Wisconsin, has put in a bill which would set standards that detergent manufacturers must meet after 1965. New processes are available which at little additional cost would produce soluble detergents. This has been proved out in West Germany which pioneered the chemical detergents. There the Parliament outlawed insoluble detergents after a certain date when it was shown that even principal rivers, such as the Rhine, were piled high with detergent foam.

NELSON, who as Governor pushed through a $50 million conservation program to preserve the great recreation resources of his State, told the Senate that chemical detergents had been found to have polluted the underground water in 64 of Wisconsin's 72 counties. He punctured the idea that this was a State problem which could be handled by the State, pointing out that underground water supplies following mysterious underground routes lead for hundreds of miles in all directions from Wisconsin rivers.

He called attention to the effect of detergent foam in clogging sewage plants. This foam becomes impregnated with a high bacteria count and carried by the wind it becomes an immediate health hazard. As early as 1950 the Wisconsin State Board of Health reported a wall of foam on the Mississippi River in western Wisconsin 15 feet high, 35 feet wide, and 300 feet long. Some years later helicopters had to be used to blow away foam on the Baraboo River in searching for a lost boy.

The official West German institute for water, soil and air hygiene reported last year finding indications of cancer-producing effects of detergents in the water supply. This is, of course only a tentative finding. But it suggests the unknowns in the release of a vast new volume of chemicals in man's environment.

A few scientists in the Taft Sanitary Engineering Center in Cincinnati have been studying the effects of detergent pollution. In a recent report they pointed out how dire the consequences can be as virtually all of this material finds its way into surface and ground water. Since with the population explosion water supplies must be used over and over, the cumulative volume of detergents can be an ever-increasing menace unless it is checked.

Only the more dramatic instances get into the news. In Suffolk County, N.Y., the tap water came out foaming like beer. At one point the Federal Housing Administration refused to insure mortgages because the quality of well water showed the long-term effects of detergents from septic tank effluent.

NELSON, a freshman Senator, is convinced there is a large body of public opinion deeply concerned about pollution of the air and water and ready to respond to leadership seeking to save what is left of the American heritage and to protect defenseless individuals from poisons discharged at random into the environment. In introducing his detergent bill, he spoke of a battle to preserve the simplest basic elements necessary to human survival. This is a line that may have far more political appeal than is realized here.

HANFORD ELECTRIC GENERATION BONDS: CONFIDENCE IN PROJECT SHOWN BY LOW INTEREST BID ON BONDS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. LIBONATI). Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. HOLIFIELD] is recognized for 30 minutes.

(Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks, and to include extraneous matter.)

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CLSA Reports

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
of the AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th St., New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

No. 23 INFORMATION BULLETIN June 19, 1963

The President's Second Message on Civil Rights

In February of this year President Kennedy sent to Congress a message calling for the enactment of a civil rights program which was modest to the point of obvious inadequacy. (See Information Bulletin No. 17). Nevertheless, in neither House of Congress was there any indication that the program or even part of it was likely to be enacted into law. Today, barely four months later, he again sent a message to Congress on civil rights, but proposing this time a more ambitious and far-reaching program. Despite this, the new proposal appears to have much greater chance of passage than the earlier one. The reason for this remarkable development is that, as recognized by the President and the nation at large, in the interim the Negro community has shown clearly that it will wait no more for the justice long overdue and that we are truly faced with a social revolution. The earlier program appeared to have been based upon a hope that it might be accepted, no matter how reluctantly, by the Southern Senators and Congressmen. The present program clearly manifests a realization that any civil rights program will have to be enacted over the opposition of the Southerners in Congress, and that accordingly nothing is to be gained and much lost by offering a totally inadequate bill.

The President's message breathes throughout a spirit of urgency. The revolution will not wait. It would be equally immoral and futile to attempt to halt it. The only choice left to the nation is to determine whether it shall be peaceful or violent. That decision must be made by Congress, for, according to the President, the Judiciary and the Executive have been doing all they can; the default has been exclusively that of the legislative branch of our Federal Government.

The President accordingly asks Congress to enact a comprehensive civil rights bill. Measured by what he called for in February it is a great advance. Measured by the needs of today, it is minimal; less would hardly be meaningful.

The President's program, which he urges be enacted into a single, comprehensive Civil Rights Act of 1963, encompasses the areas of voting, public accommodations, education and employment. In addition it calls for the creation of an agency to conciliate racial disputes, broadening of the functions of the Civil Rights Commission, and the authorization to withhold funds from Federally financed projects guilty of racial discrimination.

The right to vote.

There had been some reports that in the field of voting, the President would call for more than what was contained in his February message, as for example, the elimination of all literacy tests as a prerequisite for voting rather than merely providing that the completion of six grades of elementary school education shall

create a presumption of literacy. Unfortunately, this has turned out not to be the case; all the President calls for in the field of voting is the enactment of the proposal set forth in the February message. In addition to the presumption of literacy on completion of six years of schooling, the President proposes that: (1) interim relief should be provided by the use of temporary Federal voting referees to determine qualification for registration and voting during the pendency of lawsuits in any county in which fewer than 15% of the eligible Negroes are registered to vote; (2) voting suits shall receive preferential treatment on Federal court calendars; and (3) the law should specifically forbid the use of different standards, practices or procedures for different applicants seeking to register and vote in a Federal election. (The proposal contains no provision for meeting what is perhaps the most serious obstacle to Negro voting -- voter intimidation.)

Public accommodations.

"Events of recent weeks," the President's message states, "have again underlined how deeply our Negro citizens resent the injustice of being arbitrarily denied equal access to those facilities and accommodations which are otherwise open to the general public. That is a daily insult which has no place in a country proud of its heritage -- the heritage of the melting pot, of equal rights, of one nation and one people. No one has been barred on account of his race from fighting or dying for America -- there are no "white" or "colored" signs on the foxholes or graveyards of battle."

The President therefore calls for the enactment, as part of the Civil Rights Act of 1963, of a provision guaranteeing all citizens equal access to the services and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement and retail stores. The proposal would give the rejected customer the right to obtain a court order against the offending establishment or person. In addition, the Attorney General could sue if voluntary conciliation fails and if the aggrieved party is unable to sue for lack of financial means or because of fear of reprisals.

The Federal Government, the President declares, has both the power and the obligation to eliminate these discriminatory practices first, under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, inasmuch as the practices affect the national economy and the flow of interstate commerce, and secondly under the power conferred upon Congress by the 14th Amendment to enact legislation making certain that no state law permits or sanctions the unequal treatment of any of its citizens.

School desegregation.

The February message called only for legislation to provide Federal technical and financial assistance to aid school districts in the process of desegregation in compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. The present program recognizes that this is obviously inadequate. It calls for, in addition, a provision authorizing the Attorney General to bring suit to compel desegregation of a public school district, but only if he receives a written complaint from Negro parents who prove to his satisfaction that they lack the financial means to sue for themselves or fear reprisals if they do so.

This is a very much watered down version of the so-called "Part III", for which civil rights organizations have been pressing. It is the weakest part of the program; first, because it applies only to schools (and public accommodations) rather than to any case in which a person is denied his constitutional rights; second, because it requires what in effect is a degrading "pauper's oath", and third, because it imposes no affirmative obligation on school districts themselves to come forward with programs of desegregation in the absence of a specific court decree in a particular lawsuit. These deficiencies imply an assumption completely

inconsistent with the philosophy which otherwise permeates the President's message -- that racial discrimination is not merely a private wrong committed against a specific Negro who alone has cause to complain, but a wrong committed against the whole of our democratic society which the government has not merely the right but the duty to eradicate.

Fair and full employment.

Delinquency, vandalism, gang warfare, disease, slums and the high cost of public welfare and crime are all directly related to unemployment among whites and Negroes alike. But unemployment, the President declares, falls with special cruelty on minority groups. The unemployment rate of Negro workers is more than twice as high as that of the working force as a whole. Employment opportunities, moreover, play a major role in determining whether the right to equality is meaningful. There is little value in a Negro's obtaining the right to be admitted to hotels and restaurants if he has no cash in his pocket and no job.

To meet the problem, the President calls for (in addition to his previous requests for tax cuts to spur the economy and Federal aid to education) additional funds to broaden the Manpower Development and Training Program and to finance the pending youth employment bill, financing of expanded vocational education programs to provide for the teaching of job skills, and for work-study programs for high school youths, particularly in areas with high rates of school dropouts. These and similar measures are needed because even the complete elimination of racial discrimination in employment will not put a single unemployed Negro to work unless he has the skills required and unless more jobs have been created.

Coupled with these economic measures, must be the elimination of racial discrimination in employment. To achieve this, the President calls for enactment of pending Federal fair employment practices legislation, applicable to both employers and unions. In addition, he asks Congress to provide a permanent, statutory basis for the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under the chairmanship of the Vice-President, assuring it adequate financing and enforcement procedures.

The Civil Rights Commission.

The President renews the request presented in his February message that the life of the Civil Rights Commission (scheduled to expire at the end of November, 1963) be extended, and that its authority be broadened to enable it to serve as a national civil rights clearing house offering information, advice and technical assistance to any public or private agency requesting it. (The President, however, does not request that the Commission be made a permanent Federal agency.)

Community Relations Service.

Progress in race relations can be more solidly and peacefully accomplished to the extent that legislation can be buttressed by voluntary action. To that end, an agency similar to municipal bi-racial human relations committees is needed on the Federal level. Such an agency would work with the local committees, providing them with advice and assistance and working independently in those cities which lack local committees, to help ease tensions and resolve interracial disputes. The President therefore calls for authority to establish an independent Community Relations Service which would work without publicity and keep in confidence all information imparted to it. Its function would be to provide a means of communication; it would be an instrument, not of compulsion, but of conciliation and reason.

Federally financed programs.

Simple justice, the President asserts, requires that public funds, to which all taxpayers of all races contribute, should not be spent in any fashion which encourages or subsidizes racial discrimination. Direct discrimination by government is

unconstitutional; but indirect discrimination through the use of Federal funds is just as invidious. It has been proposed by many (including the Civil Rights Commission itself) that Federal funds be withheld or withdrawn from any project in which discrimination is practiced. This proposal the President finds too extreme. Its universal application would often penalize those who least deserve it without ending discrimination. It would mean the death of programs urgently needed by Negroes as well as white.

All the President's message requests is a single comprehensive provision making it clear that the Federal Government is not required, under any statute, to furnish any kind of financial assistance to any program or activity in which racial discrimination occurs. This would not automatically result in punishing an area for the discrimination that occurs in it, but it would clarify the authority of any administrator with respect to Federal funds or financial assistance and discriminatory practice.

(What the President is apparently seeking to do is to establish a statutory base for the power to withhold Federal funds from projects in which discrimination is practiced, but not requiring that the power be exercised in every case where such discrimination is practiced. The decision whether or not to cut off Federal funds or impose a condition of non-discrimination in order for Federal funds to be allocated to a project, would be made on an ad hoc basis by the particular Federal administrator.)

The Administration bill (S. 1731)

Simultaneously with the delivery of the message, Senator Mansfield, majority leader, introduced the Administration's bill to put it into effect. The measure does not include an FEPC provision, the President simply having in his message expressed continuing support for pending FEPC bills. The provisions for funds to establish job training, adult education, etc. are also to be presented in separate bills.

S. 1731 opens with a statement that discrimination on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin is incompatible with the concepts of liberty and equality to which our government is dedicated. The elimination of such discrimination is therefore declared to be the policy of the Civil Rights Act of 1963.

Title I of the bill, dealing with voting rights, is identical with the bill (S.1283) introduced in April to carry out the election provisions of the President's February message.

Title II is entirely new, containing a ban on discrimination in hotels and motels that furnish lodging to transients including guests from other states, places of public amusement which exhibit movies, shows or athletic exhibitions that move in interstate commerce, and retail establishments whose goods and services are in a substantial degree provided to interstate travelers or whose goods have moved in interstate commerce or whose activities affect interstate commerce.

Title III deals with desegregation in public education, and contains (in a modified form) the old "Part III" provision for suits by the Attorney General to compel desegregation. Title IV establishes a Community Relations Service to assist communities in the peaceful resolution of racial disputes.

Title V extends the powers and functions of the Civil Rights Commission. Title VI states that no law shall be interpreted as requiring Federal financial aid to any program wherein discrimination is practiced. Title VII authorizes the President to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity to prevent discrimination by firms having contracts with the Government.

(Note: A more detailed summary and analysis of S. 1731 is now in preparation.)

Leo Pfeffer

GB

CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION: 1963

Jan. 9 - 88th Congress opened.

In return for keeping the membership of the ~~Senate~~ Rules Committee at 15, the liberal bloc capitulated on the return of the 21-day rule for release of bills favorably reported by House Committees and a seven-day rule for bills returned from House-Senate conference.

Vote on membership of House Rules Committee 235 - 136 (50 of 98 Dixicrats in House voted with majority for retaining 15 members).

A Republican amendment to increase Republican membership from five to six was defeated 249 - 183.

Senate postponed action on antifilibuster moves until after Jan. 14.

Jan. 14 - Sen. Anderson offered middle-of-road (S Res. 9) resolution that would allow three-fifths of senators voting to put time limit on debates.

Sen. Humphrey offered substitute motion to let Senate impose debate limitation by vote of majority (51 of 100 members).

Sen. Miller introduced identical amendments to both proposals to require that cloture could not be invoked unless the approving vote included a majority of members of each party.

Russell objected, which postponed bills for one day.

Jan. 15 - Southern senators began filibuster; Senate in session less than 6 hours.

Jan. 30 - Sen. Mansfield submitted a preposed agreement for a vote on Jan. 31 on a motion to table the liberal bloc's pending constitutional claim that they have a right to alter rules by a straight majority. (Humphrey's substitute motion). (Mansfield's original porposal, modified because of southern opposition, would have permitted a straight vote on constitutional question itself.)

Jan. 31 - Senate voted to table Humphrey motion 53 - 42. Senate adjourned until 2/4.

Sen. Anderson's proposal now comes up for discussion (three-fifths); technically the filiguster continues

Feb. 5 - Humphrey sent to Senate desk a round-robin petition signed by 51 Senators favoring some strengthening change in rules (Rule 22). The petition avoided commitment to any specific antifilibuster rule. (signers listed, attached)

Feb. 6 - By vote of 92 - 5 motion to table antifilibuster proposals was defeated by unlikely combination of northern liberals and southerners.

Feb. 7 - On petition to invoke cloture (debate on Anderson proposal) Vote of 54 - 42 against, after 4 weeks of filibuster (18 days last session) Senate adjourned until Feb. 11. Liberals forced roll call on adjournment, losing 64 - 33. 18 Democrats and 1 Republican were able to kill rules change, and thus civil rights legislature.

Feb. 28 - President Kennedy's Civil Rights message to Congress. He urged Congress to pass legislation

1 - Voting: to ~~legix~~ expedite voting suits in Federal courts and to let temporary referees register Negroes while suits pending, and
(to apply to federal elections only)
to prohibit use of different tests or procedures in registering voters, such as discrimination in administering tests or qualifying examinations or disqualifying for minor errors; specify that a 6th grade education constitutes "presumption of literacy".

2. Schools: to provide Federal financial and technical aid to school districts that are desegregating; delete "separate but equal" phrase from law governing land grant colleges.

3 -CCR: to extend life of CCR for "at least 4 more years and to expand its role by statute so it could serve as "a national civil rights clearing house providing information, advice, and technical assistance to any requesting agency, private or public.

He promised strong executive action in all civil rights fields: antidiscrimination provisions in government contracts, civil service employment; full equality in use of national parks and recreational areas. Noted that 13 states have ratified anti-poll tax constitutional amendment and urged other states "to take prompt action on this matter."

Aftermath of filibuster bitterness:

charges that V.P. Johnson responsible for failure of liberals to win rules change; Southern Democrats in cahoots with western Democrats in a deal to block civil rights bills in exchange for protection of 27½ per cent oal depletion allowance; Be Democratic leadership may have used committee assignments to punish Democrats who fought change of rules.

March 28 - Republicans Javits (plus Keating, Case, Fong, Scott, Kuchel, Beall -- and Saltonstall on CR Commission portion only) introduced civil rights bills:

1. make CCR permanent
2. to prohibit public accommodations discrimination by hotels, motels, or other public places engaged in lodging and interstate commerce
3. authorization for damage suits and for Atty-Gen to initiate injunction suits
Javitts 4. eliminate "separate but equal" from Hill-Burton hospital construction act.
Kuchel 5. school desegregation bill to require all public schools adopt within 180 days a desegregation plan and put at least first step into effect in next school year.
Case 6. Three bills aimed at eliminating discrimination in employment
Keating 7. voting rights bill
Scott 8. Two housing bills
(Javits principal sponsor of the above bills on justice)
~~Muller~~ 9

Rept. Muller proposed two bills in House:
HR 543--to prevent discrimination in public places and public transportation against members of Armed Fordes; HR 548--to protect right to vote in federal elections.

(See Joan Grant article and quotes from Dist. Court Judge J. Skelly Wright, attached)

May 14 - Sen. Javits abandoned effort to tack on to pending feed grains bill a rider to give Atty-Gen. right to sue in civil rights cases.

May 3 - Rep. Fitts proposed five House bills to: empower Civil Rights Commission or Atty-Gen. to eliminate discrimination in schools, housing, boting procedured, banking and insurance, public accommodations, employment and unions; permit Justicd Dept. to protect persons endangered or harassed because of their participation in civil rights movement; make CCR a permanent agency with power to investigate discriminat~~ion~~ory practices and obtain court order to stop discrimination.

May 24 - Committees of House and Senate at work on variety of civil rights measures. MORE THAN 90 civil rights bills have been introduced in House. Hearing in progress before Judiciary Committee.

Celler, chm. of committee, said confident of House passage of bill to: 1) extend CCR for four years; 2) establish 6th grade education as base for literacy test in voting; 3) appointment of federal registrars in any community showing 15% of ~~eligiblexNegroxvoters~~ eligible Negro voters prevented from registering.

Also, considering old 1957 Section III giving Atty-Gen. authority to ~~xxxxx~~ initiate injunctive proceedings to prevent civil rights deprivations in voting, housing, employment, and use of public accommocations--and any other areas.

SENATE: two principal bills being considered in Senate C. R. Subcommittee are: 1) sixth grade literacy test; 2) extension of CCR

May 23 - Dodd and Cooper sponsored two civil rights bills:
1) granting initiative to Atty-Gen to sue to prevent discrimination in school attendance and in use of public accommodation.

Celler said he will close current hearings on C. R. legislation on June 13.

Feb. Equal Employment Opportunity Act (H.R. 405) now before submommittee of House Education and Labor Committee.

THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

February 28, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

SUBJECT: The Civil Rights Bill

This memorandum was prepared for Commission, staff and state advisory committee use in response to many recent inquiries from committee members and Members of Congress.

In this memorandum we summarize the main provisions of the Civil Rights Bill as passed by the House of Representatives and which is now pending in the Senate. The main allegations advanced in opposition to the legislation are mentioned and discussed briefly.

TITLE I - VOTING

The 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Act sought to guarantee to all citizens the right to vote without discrimination as to race or color and authorized the Attorney General to commence court action to prevent persons from interfering with the right to vote. However, the Commission on Civil Rights found in 1963 that there are still at least 100 counties in 7 States where qualified Negro citizens are denied the right to vote by being forced to meet standards not applied to white citizens. Title I is intended to cope with problems encountered in the implementation of these earlier Civil Rights Acts.

With respect to elections held for the purpose of electing Federal officials, the bill would:

a. prohibit the imposition of different standards for Negroes and whites seeking to register and vote,

b. prohibit the denial of the right to vote because of immaterial errors or omissions,

c. require that any literacy test employed as a qualification for voting be administered in writing and a copy of any individual's test be available on request,

d. establish a rebuttable presumption that any person who has completed the 6th grade is literate.

With respect to any voting proceeding commenced by the Government, the Attorney General or the defendant may request the appointment of a three-judge court to hear the case initially. Appeals would be taken to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Attorney General would not have authority to register any voters.

Amendments: Title I was amended twice on the floor of the House with the effect that now defendants as well as the Attorney General may request the appointment of a three-judge court. Also persons who have completed the 6th grade in an English language school in Puerto Rico will be presumed to be literate. This provision originally applied only to the States, territories and the District of Columbia.

TITLE II - DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination would be prohibited in specific places of public accommodation whose operation affects interstate commerce or whose practices of discrimination are supported by State action. An example of the latter would be State or local laws requiring proprietors to exclude or segregate Negro customers. The public accommodations covered include hotels and

motels, restaurants, lunch counters, gasoline stations, theaters and staduims or other facilities which are part of an establishment covered by the bill.

The provision would be enforced by civil actions brought by the persons discriminated against or by the Attorney General. The Attorney General could use Federal, State or local public agencies to secure voluntary compliance before beginning the court proceeding.

The civil rights bill would not make persons or businesses licensed by a State or city subject to the Act by virtue of their license. Nor are all businesses offering goods and services to the public covered. Only those establishments specifically listed in the bill or physically part of a listed establishment would be subject to the Act. (The bill would not prohibit racial discrimination in barber shops, beauty parlors and many other service establishments, retail stores, bowling alleys and other places of recreation unless such places serve food. It would not cover hotels or lodging houses which have less than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the proprietor.) Merely operating under a State regulation would not make an establishment subject to the Act.

It has been suggested that the public accommodation section would be a vast extension of Federal control and that it is unconstitutional. However, businesses open to the public are already subject to many Federal, State and local regulations (e.g., anti-trust laws, zoning ordinances, health and sanitation standards) designed to protect the public and business itself. Also, the proposed legislation prohibiting racial discrimination by certain businesses serving the public is similar to statutes already in existence in 30 States. These statutes have been held constitutional.

Amendments: Discrimination "supported by State action" was redefined by the House to mean discrimination or segregation carried on under color or any law, statute, ordinance or regulation; or carried on under color of any

custom or usage required or enforced by public officials; or required by action of the State.

Finally, the Committee version of the bill made it unlawful to incite, aide, or abet any person to discriminate against another. The House deleted this section, but left in tact the prohibitions against intimidation, coercion and retaliation.

TITLE III - PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to institute civil actions against any publicly owned or operated facility (such as a State owned park) whenever he receives a complaint of discrimination. Such facilities are required by the Constitution not to engage in racial discrimination, but many still do discriminate.

He is also authorized to intervene in any action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

Amendments: The Committee version of the bill made the United States liable for court costs in any proceeding under this Title, and the House added "reasonable attorney's fees" to these costs.

TITLE IV - PUBLIC EDUCATION

The U.S. Office of Education is directed to conduct a survey on the availability of equal educational opportunity. It is authorized to render technical assistance to school districts in the implementation of desegregation plans, to arrange training institutes for school personnel and to make grants to school boards to employ specialists for in-service training. These plans have been required by law since 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that enforced racial segregation in public schools

violates the Constitution. This provision is intended to assist school boards which wish to comply with their constitutional obligations.

The Attorney General is authorized to institute civil actions upon receipt of complaints alleging the continuance of school segregation.

It has been alleged that the U.S. Commissioner of Education "could influence the transfer of children from one school to another . . . . until racial balance exists." The civil rights bill gives no authority to the Commissioner of Education to require or influence the transfer of children.

Amendments: The House redefined "desegregation" to make it explicitly clear that it does not include the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance.

Another amendment provided that besides school boards, States, municipalities or school districts, other governmental units might apply for technical assistance provided that the unit is legally responsible for operating public schools.

TITLE V - COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the Commission on Civil Rights is extended for four years and in addition to its present functions of investigating denials of the right to vote and infringements of equal protection guarantees, and appraising Federal policies, the Commission is directed to serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information and to investigate general allegations of voting frauds not related to racial discrimination.

Amendments: The Committee version of the bill made the Commission a permanent agency, but the House limited its life to four years. In addition,

the House specifically prohibited the Commission from inquiring into or investigating fraternities, sororities, private clubs or religious organizations.

TITLE VI - FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Each Federal agency which administers a program of financial assistance by grants, loans or contracts is directed to require the elimination of discrimination under the program.

Action of a Federal agency effectuating this requirement might include the termination of or refusal to grant assistance. If such action were taken, it would be subject to review by the courts.

This Title has been attached as an extension of Federal control beyond that presently exercised as part of the normal supervision of Federal expenditures.

The Supreme Court has ruled that the Constitution prohibits the Federal Government or its instrumentalities from discriminating because of race. Other Federal courts have ruled that private or public agencies receiving Federal financial assistance cannot deny the benefits of the program to persons because of their race. Title VI of the civil rights bill simply states these rulings as a principle supported by Congress. It says in effect that when Federal tax monies are collected from all citizens regardless of color the benefits flowing from Federal expenditures of these monies should be available to all citizens regardless of color. For example, this Title would require:

> Hospitals constructed with Federal funds to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

State employment agencies entirely financed by Federal funds to refer qualified job applicants to employment opportunities without discrimination;

Elementary and secondary schools constructed and maintained by Federal funds to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

Colleges and universities receiving Federal funds for the construction and operation of research centers to admit students without discrimination.

It has also been alleged that this section would apply to farmers and to homeowners, implying that they will be "subject to Federal Control." Actually, the bill simply means that when Federal money is made available to help farmers it must be available to Negro farmers as well as white farmers without racial discrimination. It means that when the Federal government makes funds available for the construction of homes, the homes must be offered to all eligible persons without regard to race.

Amendments: The procedures to be followed in the administration of this Title were amended by the House to require that (1) the President approve all implementing rules and regulations, (2) a hearing be held before compliance steps are taken, and (3) Congress be notified 30 days before funds are denied or discontinued to a program.

Another amendment makes clear that this Title would not apply to Federal programs which insure or guarantee loans by private institutions. The Housing Executive Order remains unaffected by this amendment.

TITLE VII - EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is created to receive or initiate complaints alleging discrimination by employers in industries affecting interstate commerce with 25 or more employees or by labor unions or employment agencies whose activities affect interstate commerce. The Commission initially would seek to eliminate any discriminatory practices found by conciliation and persuasion but where these efforts fail is authorized to bring civil actions in which the courts would review the facts de novo. If the court finds racial or religious discrimination, it would order the discriminating employer, employment agency or union to treat all persons on the basis of their merit and ability rather than on their race, religion, national origin or sex.

It has been alleged that employers could be told by Federal officials "whom they shall hire, fire, promote and demote, and how they shall handle their employees," that employers could be required to maintain a work force which is balanced along racial or religious lines, and that the rights of employees within their company could be destroyed.

The civil rights bill does not give the Federal government these powers. It only requires that employers, labor unions and employment agencies treat all persons on the basis of their merit and ability and without regard to their race, color, religion or national origin. Employers subject to the bill are free to hire, promote or fire anyone they want provided their action is not based on the person's race, color, religion or national origin. And, under the bill, it would be as unlawful for an employer to discriminate against a white applicant because of race as it would be if he discriminated against a Negro.

Amendments: The House extended the coverage of this title in two respects: (1) sex is now within the prohibited types of discrimination; and (2) retraining and in-service training were added as areas in which there can be no discrimination. The rest of the amendments were largely limiting in nature. Atheists and Communists were excluded from coverage, and religious institutions of learning were allowed to use "religion" as an employment criterion. The Committee bill provided that no union or employer would be subject to coverage during the first year after enactment, only those with 100 or more workers during the second year, fifty workers the third year, and 25 or more during the fourth and succeeding years. The House modified this by adding another year and a 75-worker level to the graduated coverage, postponing coverage of employers of 25 or more till five years after enactment.

Title VII was further amended by several procedural provisions. In order to initiate a complaint, the Commission must now have reasonable cause to believe a violation has occurred. The Committee bill had empowered the Commission to bring a civil action before exhausting their informal techniques if circumstances warranted, but this provision was deleted by the House. The investigative powers of the Commission were clarified and modified to the extent that it may now inspect records of and examine only those persons being investigated or proceeded against. The Committee bill had authorized such action whenever it might add to the enforcement of the title. Regulations or orders by the Commission may now be prescribed only after a public hearing. Government agencies must still furnish all relevant information to the Commission, but the House limited this requirement to information that can be disclosed legally.

An entire section relating to employment practices of Federal agencies and contractors with the government, which was essentially a restatement of an existing executive order, was deleted from the bill. Certain clarifying amendments were also passed.

TITLE VIII - VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is directed to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and have voted, in such geographic areas as recommended by the Commission on Civil Rights.

This Title was not amended by the House.

TITLE IX - REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The order of a Federal court sending a civil rights case back to a State court shall be reviewable by appeal.

This Title was not amended by the House.

TITLE X - COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

This entire Title was inserted in the bill on the House floor, after having been deleted by the Judiciary Committee. It establishes a Community Relations Service in the Department of Commerce to provide informal assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems. The Service is limited to a Director and six employees.

TITLE XI - MISCELLANEOUS

The last title in the act contains necessary miscellaneous provisions. Appropriations are authorized to carry out the act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law.

Amendments: A new section was added by the House to insure that the provisions of the act are not construed as "occupying the field" of civil rights legislation. State laws in this area are to remain in force unless inconsistent with the act.

CONCLUSION

The civil rights bill pending before the Senate would not, as has been alleged, deprive people of their personal liberties. It would prevent discrimination because of race, religion, or national origin or sex. And it would not even prevent all forms of discrimination. It prohibits discrimination by government officials in education and voting; discrimination by large employers and unions in their hiring practices; discrimination by business establishments which operate in interstate commerce and are open to the general public; and discrimination by institutions such as universities, schools and hospitals which give service provided by Federal funds. The bill would certainly not prohibit a homeowner from deciding whom he wants to invite to his house, or a private club from restricting its membership on the basis of race.

Contrary to allegations, the bill does not deny anyone's constitutional rights. In fact, its major provisions are designed to secure rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution but which have been denied some citizens. The constitutionality of the major provisions of this legislation is supported by bar associations, eminent lawyers and law teachers throughout the Nation.

Prepared by the staff,
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

February 28, 1964

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NEW SIT-IN BRIEF TO SUPREME COURT As requested by the Supreme Court, the Solicitor General of the U.S. has submitted a new brief to the high court involving five sit-in cases arising in Maryland, South Carolina, and Florida. These cases raise the question whether private discrimination, when actively supported by a State's criminal process, constitutes State action under the Fourteenth Amendment. In its earlier brief the Justice Department had suggested that these cases be decided on narrow grounds, that the sit-in convictions were invalid since the States had not given adequate warning to the violators that their conduct was illegal. The court sought, however, the Government's position on the broader constitutional question.

In the recent brief, the Government has taken the position that, "for a State to give legal support to a right to maintain public racial segregation in places of public accommodations, as part of a caste system fabricated by a combination of State and private action, constitutes a denial of equal protection of the laws."

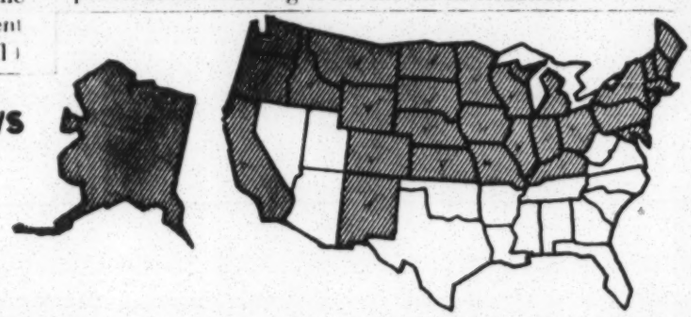
The argument is based on the proposition that the States involved in these cases have a history of official discrimination against Negroes. The brief claims that racial discrimination in public accommodations is part of "a community-wide practice of stigmatizing Negroes an inferior caste" and that the States have shared in creating this history and pattern of segregation. The Government argues that the State's direct involvement in the sit-in cases is based upon three propositions: (1) the State is involved in the arrest and prosecution of the sit-iners'; (2) the State is involved by its failure to purge itself of its prior part in establishing the system of segregation; (3) the State is involved by the traditional acceptance of responsibility for regulating public accommodations. The first proposition of State involvement in arrests and prosecution looks to the theory of the Court in *Shelley* v. *Kraemer*. There the court held that judicial enforcement of a restrictive covenant on the sale of land constituted State action within the Fourteenth Amendment. The Government limits the applicability of *Shelley* by noting that the case applies only to arrests and prosecutions arising out of a sit-in, that is, where the alleged trespass occurs at a public accommodation traditionally regulated by the State and for which, therefore, it is partially responsible.

It should be noted that by taking this approach the government's brief does not reach the broader constitutional question as to whether *any* prosecution arising out of an attempt to enforce segregation in public accommodations is constitutional. By showing that there existed an established pattern of segregation for which the State shared responsibility, the government was addressing itself only to the instant cases, all of which arose in Southern States. Left unanswered is the question whether it is necessary to show an established pattern of segregation in order to deem unconstitutional any prosecution enacting from the sit-in situation.

STATE ANTIDISCRIMINATION LAWS (as of January 1, 1964)

States with anti-discrimination laws

States without anti-discrimination laws



State	Privately Owned Public Accommodations	Private Employment	Private Housing	Private Schools	Private Hospitals
Alaska	1959	1959	1962		1962
California	1897	1959	1963		1959
Colorado	1885	1957	1959		
Connecticut	1884	1947	1959		1953
Delaware	1963	1960			
Hawaii		1963			
Idaho	1961	1961			
Illinois	1885	1961		1963	1927
Indiana	1885	1945			1963
Iowa	1884	1963			
Kansas	1874	1961			
Kentucky					
Maine	1959				1959
Maryland	1963				
Massachusetts	1865	1946	1959	1949	1953
Michigan	1885	1955			
Minnesota	1885	1955	1961		1943

State	Privately Owned Public Accommodations	Private Employment	Private Housing	Private Schools	Private Hospitals
Missouri		1961			
Montana	1955				
Nebraska	1885				
New Hampshire	1961		1961		1961[2]
New Jersey	1884	1945	1961	1945	1951
New Mexico	1955	1949			1957
New York	1874	1945	1961	1945	1945
North Dakota	1961				
Ohio	1884	1959			1961[2]
Oregon	1953	1949	1959[7]	1957[7]	1961[2]
Pennsylvania	1887	1955	1961	1939	1939
Rhode Island	1885	1949			1957[2]
South Dakota	1963				
Vermont	1957	1963			1957[2]
Washington[10]	1890	1949		1957	1957[2]
Wisconsin	1895	1957			
Wyoming	1961				1961[2]

The dates are those in which the law was first enacted; the underlining means that the law is enforced by a commission. In addition to the above, the following cities in States without pertinent laws have enacted antidiscrimination ordinances: Albuquerque, N. Mex. (housing); Ann Arbor, Mich.[1] (housing); Baltimore, Md. (employment); Chicago, Ill. (housing); El Paso, Tex. (public accommodations); Kansas City, Mo. (public accommodations); Louisville, Ky. (public accommodations); Madison, Wis. (housing); Oberlin, Ohio (housing); Omaha, Neb. (employment); St. Joseph, Mo. (public accommodations); St. Louis, Mo. (public accommodations and housing); Tacoma, Wash. (housing); Toledo, Ohio (housing); University City, Mo. (public accommodations); Yellow Springs, Ohio (housing); and Washington, D.C. (public accommodations and housing).

[1] Alaska was admitted to the union in 1959 with these laws on its books.
[2] Hospitals are not enumerated in the law, however, a reasonable interpretation of the broad language contained in the public accommodations law could include various health facilities.
[3] The law appears to be limited to business schools.
[4] Hospitals where operations (surgical) are performed are required to render emergency or first aid to any applicant if the accident or injury complained of could cause death or severe injury.
[5] In 1963, the Governor issued an executive order requiring all executive departments and agencies whose functions relate to the supervising or licensing of persons or organizations doing business to take all lawful action necessary to prevent racial or religious discrimination.
[6] The law exempts 11 counties; one other county has until November 1964 to decide whether it will accept coverage.
[7] See 1963 Mich. Atty. Gen. opinion holding that the State Commission on Civil Rights has plenary authority in housing.
[8] The statute does not cover housing *per se* but it prohibits persons engaged in the business from discriminating.
[9] The statute reates to vocational, professional, and trade schools.
[10] In 1962, a Washington lower court held that a real estate broker is within the public accommodations law.

★ ★

MUNICIPAL LEGISLATION PROHIBITING PRIVATE HOUSING DISCRIMINATION

Albuquerque, New Mexico	1963	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1963
Ann Arbor, Michigan	1963	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	1958
Chicago, Illinois	1963	Schenectady, New York[1]	1963
Duluth, Minnesota	1963	St. Louis, Missouri	1964
Erie, Pennsylvania	1963	Tacoma, Washington	1963
Madison, Wisconsin	1963	Toledo, Ohio	1961
New York, New York	1957	Yellow Springs, Ohio	1963
Oberlin, Ohio	1961	Washington, District of Columbia	1963

[1] This ordinance has not been enforced since the State legislature passed a more comprehensive law.

(The underlining denotes whether the law is administered by an agency. The date indicates the year of enactment).

★ ★

VARIOUS CLAUSES OF CIVIL RIGHTS PROPOSALS POINT WAY 4-8-64 Metro Herald

Hotels, Restaurants, Theatres, Press, Public And Private Schools Under Federal Control?

(EDITOR'S NOTE: *This is the 3rd in a series of articles on the proposed civil rights bill now before the Senate of the United States. Not many details of the bill have been published by the daily Press. These series of articles were prepared by a group of Congressmen, headed by Georgia's E. L. (Tic) Forrester. Mr. Forrester is a member of the House Judiciary Committee and has made perhaps the most comprehensive study of the bill by sections of any man in Washington. In these articles each section is given detailed study and interpreted as the author's of the bill have not done for the American public.)*

Hotels, restaurants, and theatres — Places of "public accommodation" do not cater by custom to one race in preference to another solely from proprietary preference. People are in business to make money and in certain areas they have learned, or have reason to believe, it is more profitable to serve only one race or another. In other areas, proprietors have learned it is more profitable to serve all races, indiscriminately. A host follows the customers of his community else he suffers economically.

To force him to abandon his practice, to run counter to prevailing opinion, is to injure his business and his property. He does not, and he cannot, set custom. He follows it or suffers.

Under the provisions of this bill, the proprietor's right to decide whom he will or will not serve, as that decision pertains to race, color, religion, or national origin, is stripped from him (title II). Moreover, if a customer proves objectionable, the owner can have him removed from his premises only at peril of being in violation of the race laws. For, under this act, the proprietor, if challenged, must prove he did not remove the objectionable customer because of his race, but because of some other reason. This is a perversion of basic principles of our laws . . .

How can a restaurant operate successfully if its owner is not given freedom of choice in the selection of waiters, chefs, and cashiers? Although a restaurant serves, and advertises as its specialty, genuine southern dishes, under this bill the owner could not hire only Negro chefs if covered by sections 601, 602 or title VII. (See Labor Standard, p. 12.) He could not, even though the success of his business depended on such chefs; even though his patronage was built upon the belief the food was being prepared by Negro chefs whose culinary art with "southern" specialties is world renowned. He could be forced instead to hire in a "racially balanced" manner — so long as the potential employee had a modicum of skill — else be in violation of law. And a *modicum* of skill, it need not be added, is insufficient to attract clientele to a restaurant whose reputation is build upon the culinary art of southern Negro chefs.

The Press — Race, as the first criterion of employment for newspapers, periodicals, radio and television, applies under this bill, as well as for other elements of our commerce. If a job applicant can write and there is an opening and if he is of the race called for to balance the makeup of the staff, that person must be employed in preference to someone of another race.

What such employment practices would do to the character of the newspaper or program is immediately apparent to those who earn their living in the world of mass media. Yet that is the sense of this bill. The bill grants the power to make it mandatory that the staff of a newspaper be thoroughly integrated, racially and religiously, else the owners are in violation of Federal law.

If the owners of a television station prefer an announcer of a certain race to enunciate its commercials, it is denied that choice. Announcers, as well as commentators, actors, and supporting staff, must be raically balanced, despite the fact that the use of members of a certain race may, demonstrably, cause diminished sales to both station and sponsor.

Even so, this destruction of the right of free choice, serious as it is, is not the most fearsome feature of this bill it applies to the press.

Title II, section 203, says: "No person shall * * * incite or aid or abet any person to do any of the foregoing," i.e., deny or attempt to deny any person any right or privilege described in the title.

Read that language as you will, if this becomes the law it means that no editor could with impunity editorialize in opposition to its provisions.

If a citizen takes a position in direct opposition to some provisions of this title and a newspaper writes an editorial in support of that position, indeed, urges other to take similar stands, is that newspaper inciting, or aiding, or abetting? It would seem so (sec. 203 (a) (e)).

The fact of the matter is this: If a person stands in a public square or before a civic club and advocates that segregation is best for either race and urges that it be maintained — and his stand is editorially supported by a newspaper — both would be in violation of Federal law and both would be subject to fine and imprisonment (sec. 202, 203 (a) (e)), if they continue to exercise freedom of speech and of the press. Under such a circumstance, what becomes of the right of free speech? Or freedom of the press? Of course, this violates all constitutional concepts.

Teachers and Schools — Public and Private — The proposed legislation ultimately would result in total Federal control of the education processes in the United States.

Under provisions of this bill, the President and his appointees in Federal agencies would have the right to dictate pupil assignments in local schools and to approve the faculties (secs. 601, 602, 711 (b), title IV). The alternative would be the loss of all Federal aid (sec. 602). The child who is given lunch through Federal grant must also study under a federally approved faculty. This applies to every school, public or private, benefitting from programs involving Federal aid.

The power contained in this bill to cut off Federal funds is not merely a negative power. Those who have already accepted Federal funds can be compelled, in various instances, by foreclosure, injunction and blacklisting, to meet the current Federal standards (secs. 601, 692, Executive Order 11063).

The bill gives the Attorney General the power to institute school integration suits, not only against individuals but against States and local governments as well (sec. 407). This action gives to one man a power which has never before existed; previously the Attorney General could only intervene in private suits. This new power needless to add, can affect the rights of local school boards where no parents or pupils have filed any suits. Under this power the defendents could be deprived of the right of trial by jury. In any contempt actions arising out of U.S. suits, local school officials would be tried by the very judge whose order was allegedly disobeyed.

(Continued Next Week)

FEATURE PRESS SERVICE

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WEEKLY BULLETIN #2160 January 7, 1963

ACLU ASKS SUPREME COURT TO REVERSE "BALANCING" THEORY IN FIRST AMENDMENT CASES

The United States Supreme Court has under consideration an appeal from the American Civil Liberties Union that the court reverse its position of "balancing the competing private and public interests at stake" in cases involving the First Amendment. At the same time the high court was asked to establish a new rule of "cogency" in determining whether Congressional investigating committees can require witnesses to disclose information concerning political affiliations.

The argument was set forth in a friend of the court brief filed by the ACLU. The brief called for a reversal of the 1960 contempt of Congress conviction of Edward Yellin, a graduate engineering student, who had declined to answer questions put to him by the House Committee on Un-American Activities on the grounds that his rights under the First Amendment were being violated.

The civil liberties organization urged the Supreme Court to upset its rulings in the Barenblatt, Wilkinson and Braden cases in which the Court said that a witness' right under the First Amendment not to answer questions by the HUAC as to his Communist associations, must be balanced against the public's need to maintain national security. The high court ruled that in this situation the public's need outweighed the individual's First Amendment claim. "We respectfully submit," the ACLU stated, "that the underlying concept of a 'balance' of interests is fallacious, partly because even if balancing were appropriate the scales are unduly weighted if one considers the issue to be one of public versus private interest."

The ACLU emphasized it was not urging "dogmatic assertion of absolutes" and situations can be "envisioned in which unrestricted freedom of expression might result in the denial of another basic right guaranteed by the Constitution, such as the right of a fair trial."

After noting that the protection of the First Amendment of "the right to remain silent about affiliations, political, religious, or otherwise" must be affirmed in the light of various Supreme Court decisions over the years, the ACLU asked the Court, "Is that right protected against inquiry by all government agents, and if not, against which?"

A difference must be drawn, the brief asserted, between the compelling of answers in a law suit and in an inquiry by a legislative committee. In the former, it continued, the public interest is served in the administration of justice which is superior to the public interest in free association and the right not to disclose. The ACLU questioned, however, whether the public interest in all inquiries by legislative committees was so great as to outweigh its interest in free association.

The ACLU reminded that the purpose of bodies such as the House Un-American Activities Committee is to recommend legislation, not to establish facts about specific people or occurrences. When a legislative committee has already gathered enough material for its purposes from willing witnesses, the brief said, the "cogency" of a recalcitrant witness' testimony must be considered. Only if this testimony is considered absolutely essential for legislative purposes, should the answer be compelled, it said, or punishment inflicted.

Pointing to the "dangers of the Communist conspiracy" is not a sufficient excuse, the ACLU noted. While these dangers may justify the formation of a Congressional investigating committee, it added, they are "a far cry" from being sufficient to require disclosure of political affiliations from unwilling witnesses. The "cogency of the need for the particular answers requested, not the importance of the general subject under investigation" is what must be born in mind, it said. "For

what a court will do if our suggestion is deemed acceptable would be to study the record, not only with regard to the particular witness, but the entire record relating to the background, to see what information the Committee had obtained and was generally available. Ordinarily enough information for legislative purposes is gathered from willing witnesses. That certainly has been the case with the House Un-American Activities Committee. Only if a study of the whole record shows a 'cogent interest' in obtaining answers to the particular questions put to the recalcitrant witness should answer be compelled -- or punishment inflicted."

In the Yellin case, the Committee had asked questions relating to membership in the Communist Party and "colonization" of the steel unions by the Communist Party. The hearings, held in Gary, Ind., were public, a previous request for a hearing in an executive session having been denied by a Committee staff member.

The ACLU brief noted that Yellin's attorney at the trial sought to establish that the Committee already had so much relevant material when it questioned Yellin that "its interest in answers to the questions put was trivial."

The government's contention, the ACLU added, that "the inquiry was necessary because the Committee knew nothing about the activities of the Communist Party in Indiana is also beside the point. Indeed, the claim is disingenuous in the light of the many pronouncements about the Communist Party which have emanated from Congress. For the issue is not, as the government would have it, whether petitioner could offer material for 'new investigation' but whether there was 'cogent' need for it in view of what was already known. And of that there was no evidence whatever."

Yellin refused to answer the committee's questions on the grounds that they interfered with his freedom of speech, belief and association. He was indicted and convicted of contempt in 1960. The U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the conviction. After initial argument last year, the Supreme Court ordered reargument this fall.

At the time of the Committee hearing, Yellin was a senior at the Engineering School of the University of Colorado. He later received a fellowship grant at the University of Illinois. In March, 1961, he received a loan-grant from the Ford Foundation and a grant from the National Science Foundation. After speeches in Congress by HUAC members attacking the NSF grant it was revoked.

the great personal and social ills of our day to concentrate wholly or primarily on one's status before a judgmental God in the life to come, it sounds hollow and harsh. Many would prefer hell to life in heaven with a God who is made to appear unconcerned about persons in the here and now and exclusively concerned for the restoration of his own offended dignity. Many have come to feel that a God in whom belief is not comprehensive and emancipating and healing is hardly worthy of the devotion of one's life.

Southern Baptists do recognize the "there-ness" of the Christian message, and they intend to be loyal to it, though their fundamental orientation is subjective. This recognition is one of the contributions they could make to the whole church if they were more closely allied with it. On the other hand, they need to see that their emphasis on particular facets of the Christian message stems partly from the fact that those facets were relevant to the outlook, needs and fears of the frontier-rural "old south." Reformulation of the message would not be a tampering with the eternal gospel, as they are likely to see it, but actually a step required by the nature of the gospel itself. And besides, such reformation has good Southern Baptist precedent.

At present the most educated guess would be that during the next two decades the Southern Baptists will be moving in a reactionary direction theologically, becoming more doctrinaire in temper. But what will happen once the new breed of laymen and pastors enters many key leadership positions defies prediction. The outlook and tone may change under the influence of progressive leadership; on the other hand, the liberal spirits, unable to remain and retain their integrity, may eventually affiliate with another Baptist body or another denomination.

Perhaps the Southern Baptist vocation in this age, so free to discard traditional outlooks, is to be reactionary. In such an age a reactionary agency can serve providentially. As I noted above, Southern Baptists might serve the universal church well by overemphasizing the objectivism, the givenness of the gospel at a time when relevance is claiming wide attention. But I cannot believe that a reactionary course is what the Lord of the church would enjoin the Southern Baptists to follow.

Leg. Inv. Com.

1-9-63

Why the H.U.A.C. Should Go

Ten reasons why the continued existence of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is detrimental to the nation's health.

HAROLD E. FEY

✦ THE HOUSE of Representatives should relieve of further responsibility its standing Committee on Un-American Activities. In practice, although not by specific mandate from the House, the principal activity of the Committee on Un-American Activities is to oppose communism and in particular communist subversion. This purpose is a useful one and deserves to be carried out effectively. The House committee, however, is performing this function so ineptly that it weakens and confuses the forces in our government and in our society which strengthen democracy. It should therefore be retired and its object pursued by more appropriate means.

The patriotism and sincerity of the members of the House committee are not in question. Neither should doubt be cast on the right of Congress to investigate by means of its committees any matter which has a bearing on the constitutional function of Congress, which is to enact legislation. Since the nature and methods of the communist conspiracy against the free world constitute such a matter, it is highly important that the government and people of the United States be accurately informed about it. But the members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, operating under a mandate which Congress has a right to convey, are ineffective and maladroit in their efforts. In the committee's long history its members have developed a pattern which provides little ground for hope that their ideas or methods will improve. They should therefore make way for instrumentalities which make better use of the taxpayers' money.

There can be no doubt that a major element in the instability of the international situation stems from the efforts, both threatened and actual, of the communist powers to spread their doctrine and their political domination by force or subversion. Against these efforts the United States and other free nations are obliged to maintain a balance of military power. But ideas, even bad ideas, cannot finally be defeated by force. In the words of Richard S. Leghorn, chairman of the National Planning Association's committee on security, the communist threat can be reduced most effectively "through measures which tend to promote the evolution of communist countries toward societies compatible with our basic national political goal."

Dictatorships flourish by frightening their people

with stories of external threats. We as a nation can encourage freedom by reducing threats to the minimum necessary to keep power balanced, by working for disarmament with inspection, by making it reasonable for communist powers to distribute to their people more of the products of their work, by encouraging exchanges of persons and goods, by stepping up the volume and quality of information concerning the nature of American life and the scope of our national purposes. When communist nations become "have" nations they become less revolutionary and imperialistic, less inclined to destroy or subvert, more open to "enforced, competitive peace under law and justice," as Mr. Leghorn says.

Our main reliance for security from domestic subversion lies in the willing, informed and participating loyalty of American citizens. Loyalty is many-faceted, but at its core it is voluntary personal identification with other persons in a living community whose traditions are understood and believed, whose present purposes are shared and promoted and whose objectives inspire the cooperation of all. Loyalty cannot be coerced. It is a faith which is drawn out by the faith of others, an aspiration which shares in the common hope, an affection which blooms only in an atmosphere of trust and unity.

This is the first point at which the House Committee on Un-American Activities fails. Since "exposure and punishment is the aim of this committee and the reason for its existence," as Justice Black said in his dissent in the Barenblatt case, it cannot and does not create loyalty. A policy which seeks to curb subversion and encourage loyalty by such acts of coercion as "exposure" to public shame, "pursuit" resulting in loss of employment, punishment without due process of law, is subject to serious question on grounds of morality as well as intelligence.

The last Congress abandoned the effort to create loyalty among students by economic coercion as exercised through student loans. The present Congress should abandon the effort to create loyalty among citizens by the coercive tactics followed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Loyalty is a good thing. We shall have more of it if we stop trying to create by coercion that which is by nature voluntary.

If Congress abolished the H.U.A.C. as a standing committee, the House judiciary committee would still be responsible for checking on enforcement of laws and Congress would still be free to authorize congressional investigations when and where needed. Indeed, the House should debate the advisability of such investigations and should publicly authorize them if they are to be held. Its handing over to H.U.A.C. majority vote—five members of a committee of nine—all the decisions as to the subjects of investigation and the timing of such probes is an unwise delegation of House responsibility.

If there were reason to believe, for example, that communism had infiltrated the churches, the House debate preliminary to a decision whether to enter into an investigation would itself inform the public as well as the House concerning the reality and the seriousness of the threat. If the entire House were to be involved in making such decisions, there would be less politically motivated timing of investigations and less jockeying for positions on *ad hoc* committees, for there would be less opportunity for self-promotion at public expense than obtains with regard to a standing committee. Finally, there would be less likelihood that the quest for truth would become twisted by the vested institutional interests which collect around standing committees. The personal ambition and organizational imperialism, the bureaucratic inflexibility and self-perpetuation that frequently characterize such committees would be discouraged if investigations were made the special responsibility of the Congress which authorizes them.

I

A second reason why the House of Representatives should abolish its Committee on Un-American Activities is that the House has never been able to define what it wants the committee to do. Its terms of reference are so ambiguously stated that it is impossible to define the requirement that testimony be pertinent. The committee now has virtually unlimited authority. As Chief Justice Warren said of the authorizing resolution of the H.U.A.C. (in his decision in the 1957 Watkins case):

> It would be difficult to imagine a less explicit authorizing resolution. Who can define the meaning of "Un-American"? What is that single, solitary "principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution"? . . . No one could reasonably deduce from the charter the kind of investigation that the committee was directed to make. . . . Unless the subject matter has been made to appear with undisputable clarity, it is the duty of the investigative body, upon objection of the witness on grounds of pertinency, to state for the record the subject under inquiry at that time and the manner in which the propounded questions are pertinent thereto.

If it is objected that too narrow a definition of purpose would handicap the committee, the answer is that the present lack of precision constitutes a greater handicap. Has it never occurred to the committee that one reason many witnesses who appear before it give ambiguous and evasive answers is that they do not know why they have been summoned or what their rights are in the situation? Irving Ferman, in his contribution to the procommittee book *The Committee and Its Critics,* writes:

> Because of the extremely broad language of the mandate to investigate un-American propaganda given by Congress to the H.U.A.C., a witness appearing before it may not be able to decide clearly whether the Committee has the power to ask a particular question, much as he may doubt the point. Persistence in refusing to answer a question may subject him to citation for contempt by

> Congress, in the absence of any line of legal reasoning which would lead to a test of the relevancy of the disputed question to the mandated function of the Committee. He must answer at his peril. (p. 250)

The witness is equally jeopardized by silence.

The House should abolish the Committee on Un-American Activities because it is impossible to redefine its mandate in such a way as to avoid transgression of the proper functions of the judiciary committee. Redefinition would necessarily reduce the functions and scope of the committee, and thereby increase the importance of the question as to whether this standing committee is needed. Abolishing a committee which has never had a clear mandate but which has built a tradition and a staff on an assumption of unlimited competence and authority would be easier than continuing the committee on its present basis or trying to define and limit its operation.

II

A third reason for Congress to retrieve the authority it has alloted the H.U.A.C. is that by so doing the House could move toward development of better methods of acquiring information necessary for writing legislation—or for forming fair judgments on the efficacy of government departments charged with responsibility for enforcement of laws, particularly those against subversion.

The characteristic method by which the House committee has worked is through detailed inventory of particular cases. Its policy of exposing individuals indicates that it believes it should examine communists one at a time in order to decide what sort of legislation against subversion is needed. The logic of this method serves to perpetuate the committee that uses it, since it can never get all the facts until it has examined all communists who can be found, then re-examined those who may have changed their minds. Congress does not proceed in this manner in dealing with legislation concerning offenders of any other sort. By following such a policy the committee gives the impression that everybody who appears before it must be a communist, a communist sympathizer, a former communist or a communist dupe. Careers have been undermined by nothing more than a summons to appear before the H.U.A.C.

Special investigating committees appointed by the House when need arises would not be bound to follow the procedures which are characteristic of this standing committee. So that the legislative judgment might be informed, these committees would welcome expert advice—advice that would generally be freely available to such committees without resort to compulsion. British royal commissions obtain cooperation in investigating the most difficult issues. Like many congressional committees, these royal commissions call witnesses and receive their opinions and recommendations without impugning their loyalty or jeopardizing their status or employment. Persons who come before them are not held up to suspicion, disrespect or harassment; on the contrary, their rights are respected and protected.

III

A fourth reason why the House should recover the authority it has delegated to the H.U.A.C. is that by doing so it would strengthen the faith of Americans in themselves, in their laws and government and in particular in the Congress as a free and representative legislative body. To justify its existence as a standing committee H.U.A.C. has contributed, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to an atmosphere of fear. Partly through its influence, many Americans believe that communism is winning the cold war, that our young people are easy "dupes" for communist "machinations," that the entertainment field and the teaching profession are teeming with traitors, that labor unions and college professorships offer hideouts for treasonous activity, that the Protestant ministry harbors communists or communist sympathizers. One result is that extremist organizations flourish as never before in our history. Fear and suspicion are sufficiently prevalent so that the way is prepared for demagogues who pursue personal ends by fomenting panic.

We need to listen again to the voice, now regrettably stilled, of the late Judge Learned Hand:

> I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where nonconformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation, without specification or backing, takes the place of evidence, where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our conviction in the open lists to win or lose. Such fears as these are a solvent which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving.

Congress can and should give the country an example of how to proceed on trust by refusing to initiate probes until it establishes the need for them in public debate and by decision of the whole body. It should also deny H.U.A.C. permission to proceed in this divisive field on the basis of a mere majority of five in a committee of nine.

The way in which a committee can, without intending to do so, contribute to widespread fear and panic in the country is illustrated by the H.U.A.C.-sponsored film *Operation Abolition*. Intended in the first instance as a report to the House in substantiation of the committee's claim for new appropriations, this controversial film has reportedly been seen by 15 to 20 million people. Irrespective of the authenticity of particular statements or the order of its episodes, the film's general effect has been

to stir up dissension in hundreds of communities, to arouse resentment and disappointment among students and young people, to deepen dismay among teachers and others who seek to foster intelligent participation in civic life. Granting that the H.U.A.C. did not necessarily intend all the disruptive effects of this film, such an acknowledgment does not diminish the judgment that spreading dissension and dread at a time when the country needs confidence and unity is a blunder of first magnitude and a further proof that Congress should confine its activities to gathering information concerning needed legislation and passing such legislation.

IV

A fifth reason why the House of Representatives should terminate the H.U.A.C.'s mandate is that the type of loyalty probe conducted by the committee no longer serves the national interest. The administrative agencies of the federal government have, under prodding from the H.U.A.C., worked out their own battery of loyalty tests for government employees. They have set up safeguards which make what is regarded as the necessary compromise between individual rights and national security. In the opinion of former U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle, "Loyalty probes create confusion, suffering and the disunity of suspicion." Be that as it may, we have regularized this form of civic agony, and loyalty procedures have been established at great cost as a factor in government service.

It would be wrong and mistaken for Congress to ask the executive or judicial arms of government to extend loyalty tests to the entire population. It would be even more tragically wrong and mistaken for the legislative branch of the government to extend through H.U.A.C. a role for which it is not equipped by law, temperament or function. Yet if H.U.A.C. does not contemplate proposing legislation to make loyalty tests universal, why does it continue its preposterous procedure of probing the loyalty of individual citizens?

The objection to generalized loyalty tests is that they tend to bring into question the basis of loyalty which is freedom of choice. Says Alan Barth in *The Loyalty of Free Men:* "The loyalty of free men must be freely given, which is to say, that those who give it must be genuinely free to withhold it. Nothing is more fundamental to freedom than that this choice be a real one." The presumption of loyalty is a valid and precious element in our free society. Loyalty probes by government agencies bring this presumption into question and introduce elements of doubt, suspicion, fear and coercion. They also give rise to resentment over injustice when such probes are conducted without adequate safeguards for individual rights. Free-ranging probes of citizen loyalty, conducted by a committee whose original mandate is uncertainly defined and whose procedures are difficult to predict with accuracy, do more harm than good and should be terminated. Wrote Telford Taylor in *Grand Inquest* (1952):

> Loyalty committees have become a sort of irregular and irresponsible security police force, operating on a mounting scale which is rapidly approaching an overt and acknowledged inquisition. They exert the power of office and the pressure of publicity to inflict severe punishment, outside the due and regular processes of criminal law, and increasingly resemble the special peoples courts established by the Nazis to execute the 'healthy feeling of the people' and in Communist countries to enforce Party standards of individual behavior and attitude. Perhaps the most sinister feature of these events and circumstances is that they are inducing a serious decline, even in government circles, of respect for law and the processes of justice. (p. 280).

Sixth, the H.U.A.C. should be discharged as a standing committee because it has become a divisive force at a time when American life needs to experience the full unity inherent in an order dependent upon "the consent of the governed." Although it has not so intended, the House committee has exaggerated and deepened divisions between segregationists and integrationists, between labor and management, between parents and educators, between students and law officers, between people and Congress. The tensions and disturbances which are increasingly related to H.U.A.C. hearings are not a good sign. If the only objection to the hearings is that they offer communists an opportunity to show their dislike for the committee, and the committee members an opportunity to show their dislike for communists, they would not be a serious matter. But others than communists become involved. Some of these others probably are dupes, as the committee charges. But still others are driven to protest because they do not like to see government officers engaging in procedures of doubtful legality, serving as dividers and troublemakers in the community, giving opportunities to apostles of discord to raise rows, encouraging extremists of the right as well as the left to engage in public brawls and disruptions, diverting attention from the great issues of domestic and foreign affairs by exaggerating out of all reasonable proportion the threat of a small communist minority.

Some may counter that H.U.A.C. enjoys wide public support and that such support is not consistent with the charge that the committee has developed into a symbol of division. There can be little doubt that the committee does have wide support, but some of the reasons for that support should give Congress pause. The H.U.A.C. has such support because it has convinced multitudes of Americans (1) that subversion is widespread in our government and in our nation; (2) that subversives cannot be dealt with by existing law, democracy being essentially a vulnerable form of government; and (3) that only H.U.A.C. has the power and the will to "dig out," to "expose," to "pursue" and otherwise punish communists or other subversives.

In other words, the public has been misinformed concerning the loyalty of our citizens, the nature of the national danger and the strength of our democratic remedy, and the peril to the nation involved in the legislative arm's violation of the principle of separation of powers.

Seventh, the House of Representatives should withdraw the mandate it has given the H.U.A.C. in that doing so would be a step toward strengthening freedom of speech and association in the United States. These basic freedoms, established in the First amendment, stand in serious danger because of the extremity to which anticommunism is being pushed. There is no doubt that communists would deny freedom of speech, assembly and the press in this country if they had a chance. They have done so elsewhere. But they do not have that power in this country, and please God will never have it. On the other hand, we their opponents have the power, and if we are not careful we do harm to freedom by the means we use to protect it. At least four justices of the Supreme Court now believe that the Un-American Activities Committee's operations violate the First amendment. Justice Black, in his dissent in the Wilkinson and Braden cases, said:

> The result of all this is that from now on anyone who takes a public position contrary to that being urged by the House Un-American Activities Committee should realize that he runs the risk of being subpoenaed to appear at a hearing in some far-off place, of being questioned with regard to every minute detail of his past life, of being asked to repeat all the gossip he may have heard about any of his friends and acquaintances, of being accused by the committee of membership in the Communist party, of being held up to the public as a subversive and a traitor, of being jailed for contempt if he refuses to cooperate with the committee in its probe of his mind and associations, and of being branded by his neighbors, employer and erstwhile friends as a menace to society regardless of the outcome of that hearing. With such a powerful weapon in its hands, it seems quite likely that the committee will weather all criticism, even though justifiable, that may be directed toward it. For there are not many people in our society who will have the courage to speak out against such a formidable opponent. If the present trend continues, this already small number will necessarily dwindle as their ranks are thinned by the jails. Government by consent will disappear to be replaced by government by intimidation because some people are afraid that this country cannot survive unless Congress has the power to set aside the freedoms of the First Amendment at will.

An illustration of the H.U.A.C.'s divisive effect is to be found in its relation to the Protestant churches. Here the committee has been identified with and used by extreme fundamentalists against persons and organizations of mainline churches. This development first became apparent in the public hearing given Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. Sections of the front rows in that hearing were occupied by men identified with the American Council of Christian Churches, a small organization of fundamentalist congregations and splinter denominations. Again, at the San Francisco hearings which resulted in the *Operation Abolition* film, among the passholders invited by representatives of the committee were seven or eight ministers of extremist views. The latter have faithfully repaid their obligation by issuing statements supporting the committee's version of what went on and endorsing the film report of the event.

Moreover, the committee has often referred in terms of hostility to the National Council of Churches. A particular instance is the committee's 1961 publication *The Truth About the Film "Operation Abolition,"* which, without quoting in its entirety at the outset a statement carefully drawn up by the General Board of the National Council on February 22, 1961, declared that it is "a statement which, without any justification whatsoever, makes vicious insinuations against the committeee" (Part II, page 50).

V

Eighth, the mandate of the H.U.A.C. as a standing committee should be withdrawn because the impression is widespread, whether justified or not, that the committee manifests a dangerous tendency to use state power for the purpose of silencing its critics. Two of the dissenting judges in the Wilkinson case, Douglas and Black, argued "that this case involves nothing more nor less than an attempt by the Un-American Activities Committee to use the contempt power of the House of Representatives as a weapon against those who dare to criticize it." Yet Wilkinson went to prison. It is a major point of criticism of the committee that it attempts to treat its critics as subversives. Its reaction to the San Francisco students who protested against its hearings is a case in point. In the film *Operation Abolition* the whole country has been given an opportunity to observe that the committee believes that all those who would criticize its work are communist-inspired.

But the principal opposition to the committee is not communist-led or communist-inspired, and an attempt to identify this opposition with communism simply proves the point. The American Civil Liberties Union is not now and has never been on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations, yet its 1960 biennial conference approved a resolution, which its board of directors later adopted, making elimination of H.U.A.C. "a prime order of business." In testimony before the Democratic and Republican platform committees in 1960 the A.C.L.U. maintained that the committee had sapped the strength of the First amendment by engaging in trial-by-publicity rather than allowing security questions to be raised where they belong—in court rooms where in a full trial a judicial judgment could prevail. The *New York Times,* the *Washington Post,* the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*—to name only four newspapers which have called for withdrawal by Congress of

the H.U.A.C. mandate—are not communist publications.

As to religious leaders, anyone who would call the following men communist reveals his own ignorance or animus, although each has publicly called for the abolition of H.U.A.C.: Reinhold Niebuhr, Paul Tillich, John A. Mackay, Howard Schomer, Walter Russell Bowie, John C. Bennett, James Luther Adams, Sumner F. Walters, Edgar A. Love, Malcolm E. Peabody, Clarence E. Pickett, John Nevin Sayre, Walter G. Muelder, Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, Henry P. Van Dusen, Walter M. Horton and Galen R. Weaver. The list could be extended. It is no answer to say that since communists also seek the recall of the H.U.A.C. as a standing committee, these men are "dupes." These men are not influenced by communists except negatively. On the question of abolishing H.U.A.C. they have made up their minds independently, on sound religious and democratic grounds. The fact they have publicly stated their position, knowing they would be exposed to charges of guilt by association, is proof of their high sense of civic devotion.

The ninth reason why standing committee status should be ended for H.U.A.C. can be stated briefly. In a general sense the committee has served to miseducate the public about the norms of dignity, self-limitation and restraint which it has a right to expect an agency of government to follow when dealing with individuals. H.U.A.C. has convinced many loyal citizens that they had better stay out of the reach of any congressional committee. It has made others think they can use H.U.A.C. to grind their private or organizational, their sectarian or ideological, axes to harass their opponents. Neither of these views is commensurate with the high purpose and the dignity which a committee of the U.S. Congress should cultivate, or the respect it should command.

Finally, the committee should be terminated as a standing committee because it operates at the fringes of constitutional power. Its legality is marginal and so is debatable, as evidenced by the 7-5 vote of the 12 appellate judges who participated in the decision in the Barenblatt case, as well as by 5-4 decisions in the Supreme Court. It would appear that since the committee continues to stand just inside legality, it should exercise forbearance and not seek to push its legal power to the utmost. What is barely legal is not necessarily wise, even in pursuing communists. The trouble the H.U.A.C. has caused the courts seems not to impress the committee's members; it should impress the House of Representatives.

To summarize: The House Committee on Un-American Activities has contributed to the understanding by the American people of the character and purposes of international communism, but this task is now being taken over by other agencies and is being done in a more orderly and responsible way. The committee has stirred into action the law enforcement agencies concerned with domestic communism but has often antagonized the justice department in so doing. It should retire from attempts at enforcement and leave the field to those to whom enforcement is entrusted by law.

The credit due the committee for passage of the Internal Security acts of 1950 and 1954 is being assessed in the courts. Until it is fully tested, nothing further is to be gained by enactment of additional laws of similar character. Also, until the courts speak it is premature to render judgment on whether H.U.A.C. has served this country well or ill by promoting such laws.

H.U.A.C. practices—personalizing its attacks; considering persons who are "identified" as communists, no matter by whom, to be guilty until proved innocent; referring to such persons thereafter as "identified communists"; prejudicing the standing of people so that a fair trial is difficult or impossible; usurping grand jury functions by "indicting" people publicly—all such practices should be abandoned.

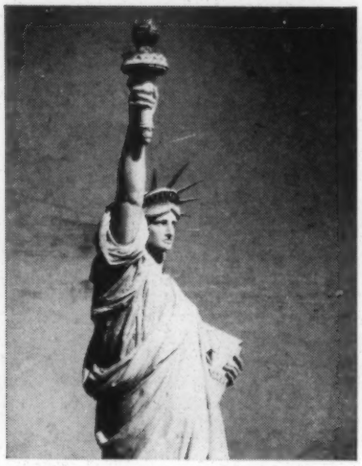
In government the committee has helped downgrade federal service by encouraging the normal bureaucratic tendency to mediocrity, by discouraging initiative, courage and imagination. It has hindered recruitment of scientists and capable leaders, has discouraged persons interested in the teaching profession and government service by making these fields special objects of suspicion.

VI

The H.U.A.C. preoccupation with fighting communism in its myopic way has deflected attention from our main task, which is to eliminate communism by changing the social and economic soil in which it grows. The committee encourages those men whom John Nuveen, a Chicago banker and former ambassador, calls "the well meaning Americans who panic at the idea of one communist book in a library, who think that one communist teacher in a university can infect the whole institution, who unconsciously ascribe to communism a potency which it does not deserve and at the same time deprecate the strength and virtue of democracy."

Thomas Jefferson gave advice which sounds strangely radical today but which is still worth considering: "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." If today we dread to allow dissenters to stand undisturbed, it is partly because the Committee on Un-American Activities has come so near to putting out the light of reason, has curbed and hampered the operation of intelligence by the promulgation of excessive and unreasonable fears. The House of Representatives should withdraw the mandate of this committee.

(Inquiries concerning reprints of this article should be addressed to The Christian Century.)



LIBERTY'S *UNFINISHED* BUSINESS

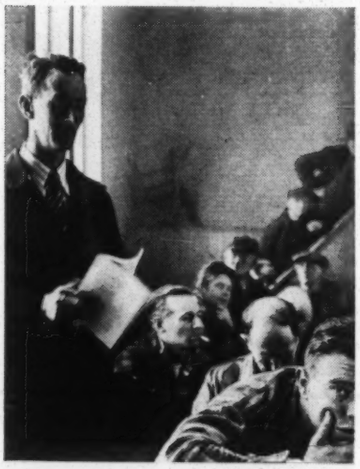


Photo: Black Star

How conflict in many fields underlines the need for progress in civil liberties.

By Alan Reitman

The ferment marking American life in the 1960s underscores a civil liberties maxim that tension generated by historical events creates pressures on the Bill of Rights which can lead to major gains for individual freedom.

Daily headlines describing the conflict of the Negro civil rights revolution is one spectacular evidence. The stream of demonstrations which gives vitality to this drive, not only is advancing significantly the goal of full equality but is also adding new strength to such central First Amendment rights as freedom of speech, association and assembly, and stimulating their use in promoting other social causes as well.

This link between conflict and progress is shown in another major civil liberties area, due process. The public debate now raging over crime-prevention and control points up sharply methods used by police which far too frequently violate such basic constitutional rights as the prohibition against illegal search and seizure, and the need for prompt arraignment and right to counsel. This

failure to obey constitutional guarantees has required the Supreme Court to curb many of these practices, reminding us that only by protecting the rights of the most despised are the rights of the innocent equally safeguarded.

Similarly, the dream of the Great Society and one long overdue step being taken to realize that dream, the anti-poverty program, has made the public aware that equal protection of the law hardly has been applied to the poor. And we are witnessing a beginning step to correct this inequality.

We are living in an era where the cry for more personal freedom is being heard and these gains typify the expanding borders of such freedom. But there is never an automatic guarantee that our civil liberties are secure. There is plenty of unfinished business for liberty.

In a period of high employment the Negro labor force is 25 percent unemployed, a figure which parallels the total national unemployment levels of the 1930s Depression, indicative of the need for continued economic growth, job training and education that must be done before Negro workers can reap the benefits of this social revolution. Ironically, government power, always regarded as the arch foe of the civil libertarian, is now recognized as a strong ally and partner in the battle against racial discrimination.

The anti-discrimination campaign, long focused on the plight of the Negro, will have to enlarge its sights to include other Americans who have also suffered unequal treatment because of color.

High on the list are the "first Americans," the American Indians whose constitutional rights are too often infringed because of their special status as members of tribes, which subjects them to tribal judicial procedure that falls far short of due process. Legislation recently introduced in the Senate following the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights' lengthy investigation seeks to place on the tribes the same limitation and restraints that the Constitution imposes on the federal government. Even more necessary is an affirmative recognition of explicit rights, including availability of free legal counsel to indigent Indians.

Such a fundamental area as the right to vote—and to have each ballot count equally—will require renewed vigilance as a new Dirksen amendment and other devices in Congress and state legislatures aim at circumventing the Supreme Court's reapportionment decisions based on the "one man, one vote" principle. The right of franchise needs to be extended even further, to millions of Americans who cannot cast their vote even in Presidential elections because their move from state to state disqualifies them under rigid voting residency laws.

The spark at Selma that

The civil rights revolution's impetus to greater use of First Amendment rights is leading to new challenges in another civil liberties area, academic freedom.

Enlarging on the nation's traditional protection of teachers' freedom to include student rights, this issue assumes a new level of importance with the openly-expressed desire of a student generation to do something to change the society from which it feels alienated. This desire mirrors a change in civil liberties activity, from one of defensive response to government intrusion on personal freedom to affirmation of individual rights.

In addition to protecting intellectual thought in our colleges, a vital source of creative thinking on social problems, exposure to and exercise of these rights can make today's student a fully-participating member of tomorrow's democratic society. With the rapid growth of educational institutions and the thousands of young people enjoying a college education—now and in the future—there is a rare opportunity for developing people who can assume the responsibilities of democratic citizenship because they have experi-

touched off 1965's historic year Photo: U.P.I.

enced the meaning of democracy as their students.

The complexities of today's social issues require more than ever that the public have access to full information about these issues, including how government and non-governmental organizations propose to deal with them. A shrinking world in which mobility and communication are so rapid only heightens the public's need for information and understanding. Yet the problem of government news management, under which sensitive or unpopular information on government operations is hidden, remains unsolved. The continuing disappearance of newspapers, through mergers, threatens to squeeze out the variety of editorial opinion which can stimulate public expression and thinking on social questions.

In television, the newest form of communication, the question is whether the Federal Communications Commission will continue its present course of strengthening diversity on the air. Its recent decision openly criticizing two Jackson, Miss., stations for discriminating against Negroes and civil rights programs and thus failing to observe the FCC's "fairness doctrine" is an important step, even though the commission stopped short of ordering a hearing at which the charges could be openly heard. Congressional and industry pressures on the FCC will certainly be felt, if the air waves are opened to a full spectrum of political and social dissent, especially in election years.

This agency will need strong support to strengthen its authority, without dictating program content, to have publicly-granted franchises present fair and balanced programing. Achievement of true diversity on the air may even require government participation, paralleling the boost given the civil rights campaign by government action. We may have to re-interpret the First Amendment to mean an affirmative obligation on the part of government to keep the public fully informed, for example, through financial aid to educational television.

The recognition that a sub-society of the poor exists, despite America's affluent society, means that new programs must be adopted to assure that economically-deprived Americans receive an equal measure of justice before the law.

Progress has been recorded through the Supreme Court's pace-setting *Gideon v. Wainright* decision requiring states to provide counsel to all indigent defendants in criminal cases; the Criminal Justice Act of 1964 should improve the quality of legal representation for similar defendants involved in federal cases by providing funds to pay for such necessary services as investigative costs,

A picket in New York Photo: Black Star

Photo: Black Star

an important requisite for an adequate defense.

No better example of the gap between rich and poor exists than the right to bail, so often an illusion for the latter, but experiments in 40 American cities are showing how the community can be guaranteed the appearance of defendants at trial without taxing meager family resources; legislation to liberalize federal bail requirements is now before the Congress.

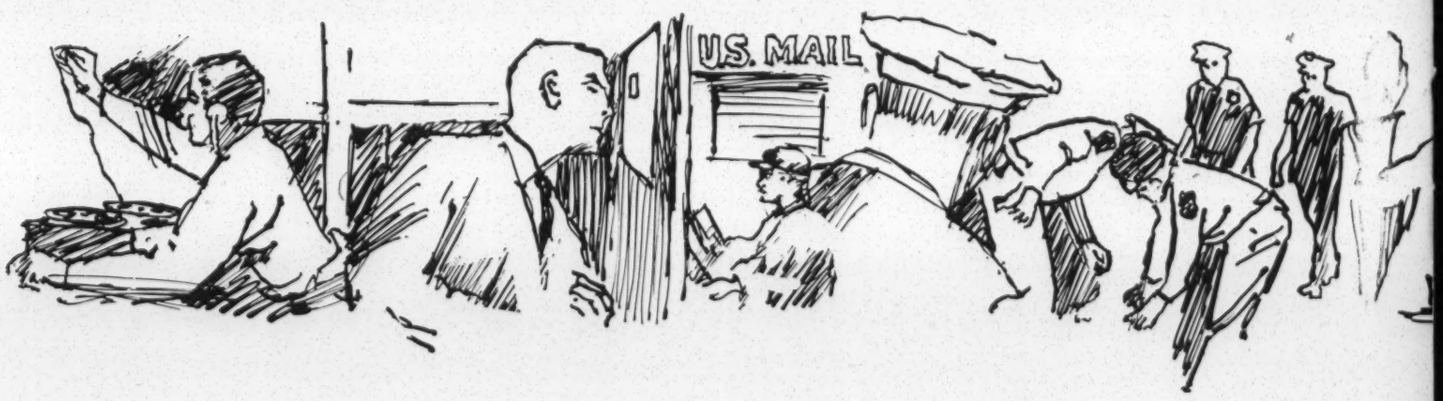
Yet the battle to assure victims of poverty due process and equal treatment is far from over. Provisions for legal services in the Office of Economic Opportunity's anti-poverty campaigns have stirred a hornet's nest in the legal profession because of the OEO requirement that the poor themselves play a participating role in any program that affects them. Lawyers' complaints that only professionals can truly deal with legal problems affecting the poor does not offset the correctness of the OEO policy. It merely sharpens the issue with which bar associations, legal aid groups, and others concerned must grapple. The maze of ordinances and laws that entrap persons challenging rat-infested housing and other slum conditions requires expert and dedicated legal representation.

In a related social welfare field, the mentally ill, there is growing recognition that vital civil liberties issues are at stake. Persons committed to institutions without an adequate opportunity to challenge the decision, criminal defendants sent to mental hospitals for indefinite periods—without ever facing trial—and lack of fair hearings in release of the mentally ill raise first-rank due process problems.

The specter of automation is no longer a figment of science-fiction imagination but a reality, and a machine-run society can deeply invade civil liberties. Hearings before the Senate Constitutional Rights and Administrative Practice and Procedure Subcommittees have described dramatically the invasion of privacy which new technology can produce. Such devices as lie detectors, wiretapping and other forms of electronic surveillance infringe the spirit and letter of the Fourth Amendment's prohibition against illegal search-seizure.

The agenda of civil liberties unfinished business does not end with the pressures that life in the 1960s creates. Basic problems that always confront the civil libertarian remain, with some new wrinkles. Censorship has been set back by Supreme Court decisions shackling the pre-censorship power of official film review boards.

Other battles must still be fought, such as the proposed federal commission to determine "noxious and obscene" material, a term which courts and juries differ on widely across the country; well-motivated efforts of private pressure groups,



abetted by zealous prosecutors and police who extra-legally coerce news dealers from carrying objectionable books and magazines; legislation authorizing state agencies to classify films as suitable for showing to youth and adult audiences. Wherever the seed of censorship is planted it can sprout in other places to limit freedom of expression.

Reminders of the 1950s, that black period of civil liberties history when loose charges and smears of Communism frightened people into stultifying conformity, are still entrenched. Institutionalized McCarthyism, taking the form of loyalty oaths, continuation of the House Un-American Activities Committee, security hearings without proper due process safeguards, rigid controls over passports and the right to travel, remains a major challenge. The fact that so many of these abuses are deeply imbedded in our governmental structure, national, state and local, and rarely reach the point of headline attention, only increases the difficulty of extracting them.

The perennial conflict goes on between law-enforcement agencies charged with gigantic responsibility in preserving public safety in today's period of great social unrest, and those who value constitutional guarantees as the mark of the democratic, civilized society. Supreme Court decisions have strengthened such fundamental rights as the right to counsel—which must be timely provided if it is to be effective, the privilege against self-incrimination, prohibitions against improper searches and use of force to obtain confessions, arousing deep resentment in police circles and among the public. "Handcuffing our police" is the accusation hurled at the high court.

An intensive educational drive is needed to explain that the maintenance of constitutional rights is not a threat to law enforcement but an ally. A society which by mistreatment disrespects the dignity of man which these rights represent, breeds disrespect for the law itself. When police and prosecutors—the symbols of law—use improper methods to win convictions, they are encouraging the citizen to act in the same way.

As urban tension increases, additional strains will be placed on the police. To instill greater confidence in the community they ought not, as they presently do, turn a deaf ear to the demand for independent review boards, composed of outstanding citizens, which can impartially review charges of police malpractices. The review board mechanism can provide an outlet for the deep-felt grievances of minority groups and also serve as an unbiased forum where the policeman himself can be heard.

Is all of liberty's unfinished business the responsibility only of the professional civil liberties worker and the social reformer? Not at all. The average citizen has a vital stake in preserving and extending democratic liberties, for they are an integral part of the system under which he and his family live.

If he truly believes in democracy and wants to see it grow he should strike to accelerate achievement of these rights. This can be done first by supporting organizations directly working in the field. Secondly, by learning more about these rights and their relationship to contemporary events.

Thirdly, to keep in mind the indivisibility of all rights, that by protecting the freedom of speech, due process or equal treatment of the non-conformist or unpopular person or group, we really are binding tighter the fabric of liberty which protects everyone else's freedom. And finally, to remember that civil liberties are only as good as they are used, that they atrophy unless exercised. Liberty belongs to all of us and should be used by everyone.

Alan Reitman, associate director of the American Civil Liberties Union, has been active in the civil liberties movement for many years. He was also involved in labor's political action efforts in the 1940s.

the strategy of

The important differences between protest and civil disobedience.

By William L. Taylor

Civil disobedience is a term that has been bandied about a good deal in connection with protests against racial injustice. It is obvious that not everyone who uses the phrase means the same thing. Segregationists tend to use 'civil disobedience' as a catch-all phrase to cover any protest against the practice of racial dicrimination. But civil rights advocates may disagree even among themselves about what they mean when they talk about 'civil disobedience.'

One aspect of civil disobedience is *a willingness to accept the penalty.*

This willingness to accept the penalty is based upon a principle crucial to the philosophy of civil disobedience—that the violation of unjust laws is justified by the fact that these laws themselves violate a higher law, which may be called moral law, natural law or divine law, depending on the point of view of the interpreter.

But not every violation of law is an act of civil disobedience.

If a violation is committed under a claim of legal right with the intention of seeking redress in the courts, it can hardly be termed civil disobedience. In fact, under our judicial system, it is frequently necessary to violate the law in order to vindicate one's legal rights.

By this test, sit-ins in places of public accommodation, the pioneer technique of the contemporary protest movement, were not acts of civil disobedience. The great majority of the sit-inners did not plead guilty; they acted under a claim of legal right, or at least, of immunity from prosecution for their acts.

Similarly, it would be grossly inaccurate to characterize many of the street demonstrations and marches to protest discrimination that have taken place as acts of civil disobedience. For the most part these protests have been marked by restraint; they have been peaceful and orderly.

protest

The protestors, far from violating any law, have been exercising their rights of free speech, free assembly and freedom to petition for a redress of grievances, all protected by the Constitution.

There have been, however, random activities by civil rights groups which have not been conducted under any claim of legal right or immunity.

When demonstrators physically block the access of trucks to a New York construction project in protest against the discriminatory practices of management and unions; when they rearrange the shelves of a California supermarket in protest against employment policies; when they sit down on the Triborough Bridge during rush hour—it is generally acknowledged that they are acting in defiance of admittedly valid laws and not pursuant to any constitutional right or immunity. Are these then acts of civil disobedience?

Reverend Martin Luther King says that civil disobedience is the violation of unjust laws—laws which are "out of harmony with the moral law of the universe." On the other hand, he says, the devotee of nonviolent social action feels a "moral responsibility to obey *just* laws."

Gandhi defines civil disobedience more broadly to encompass not only a refusal to obey bad laws, but also a violation of laws which work no hardship where the breach "does not involve moral turpitude and is undertaken as a symbol of revolt against the State." But in Gandhi's view, such resistance is justified only in a corrupt or tyrannical state.

What then *is* civil disobedience? Is it possible to have true civil disobedience in a society in which unjust racial laws are almost always unconstitutional also?

Two situations may warrant closer examination. The first is the technique of school "boycotts" in the North to protect against *de facto* segregation and second-class education.

The theory of the boycotts must be that while compulsory attendance laws are valid, it is unjust

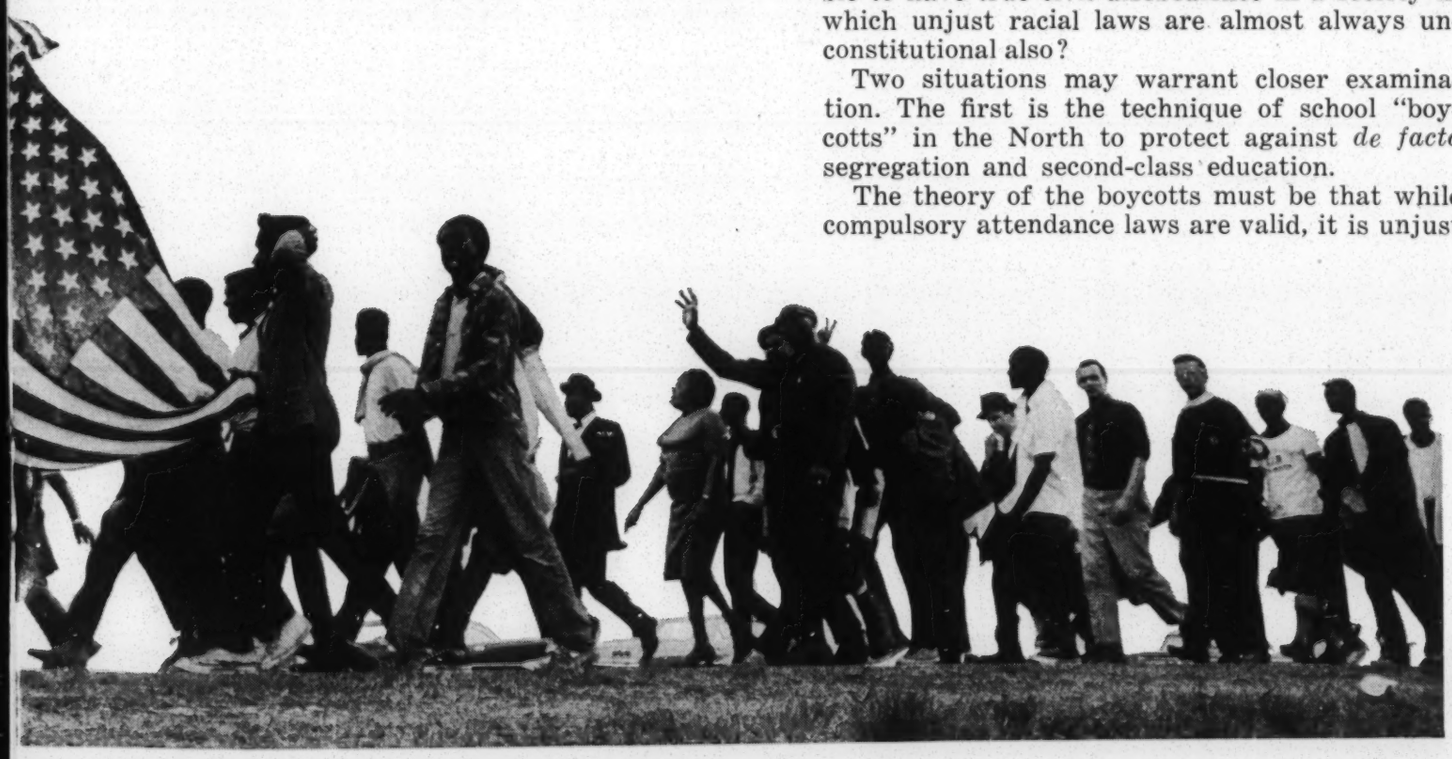


Photo: Black Star

to use them to compel children to attend schools in which they receive unequal and inferior education. . . . But in practice, most school "boycotts" have not really been boycotts at all, but one-day stay-outs, designed to protest substandard educational conditions in a dramatic way.

Thus, whatever one may think of their wisdom in particular circumstances, these "boycotts" have been more closely akin to exercises of free speech and assembly than to acts of civil disobedience.

The second situation involves the violation of court injunctions in the South. Increasingly, Southern officials have resorted to local courts to obtain orders prohibiting all forms of protest and demonstration, including those clearly protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. It is clear that these injunctions violate the Constitution and that ultimately they will be dissolved in the courts of legal appeal.

The issue is whether protestors have a legal obligation to obey these injunctions until they are overturned. There are conflicting theories in American law on this question.

. . . There is no escaping the fact that a philosophy of disobedience implies that the rule of law is bankrupt, and that each man should be the judge of his own case.

To say this in no way suggests that man must resign his conscience or forfeit his right to revolution against a despotic government. It merely says there are principles of forbearance that qualify Thoreau's observation that "the only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think is right" and that he was seriously wrong in saying that "Law never made man a whit more just". . . .

Now, my postscript. During the past year, we have witnessed the enactment of sweeping civil rights legislation, the election by an overwhelming margin of a President committed to securing civil rights through law over a candidate who opposed the 1964 legislation, and the events which gave rise to the strong voting bill recently enacted. At once, these dramatic events have vindicated the techniques of the protest movement and rendered some of them obsolete.

Many of the overt rules and practices of discrimination are being swept away. The nation, North and South, is facing the more intransigent problems of jobs, education and housing.

In these areas, poverty, deprivation and discrimination combine to present social problems which do not yield readily to dramatic protest and demonstrations. In these areas despair and frustration have given rise to lawless activity, to demonstrations which promote social disorder and to riots.

So, finally, by distinguishing among protests which are legally protected—those which may be termed civil disobedience and those which are simply lawless—we may help to define better the obligation of government.

If civil disobedience in a Ghandian sense ever comes to the United States, it will be a protest not against a national government so strong and tyrannical that it enforces unjust laws, but so weak that it is unable to enforce its just laws.

It may well be that one contribution those who work directly with the poor and the victims of discrimination can make is not to stifle protest, but to stimulate it and help channel it to constructive ends. For the issue before all of us is whether the conditions for equal justice can be established by all the legitimate techniques available to a free people, rather than by those which are symbols only of despair, revolt or lawlessness.

William L. Taylor is staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. This article represents excerpts from a chapter by Mr. Taylor in 'Legal Aspects of the Civil Rights Movement', *published by the Wayne State University Press and printed here with the permission of the publisher.* *Copyright 1965 by Wayne State University Press.*

THE VANISHING RIGHT OF PRIVACY

Ever since man first learned to communicate with his fellows, somebody not included in the conversation has been trying to listen in.

The difference today is that the motive for eavesdropping has changed from idle curiosity

Photos: John Burwell

to an all-consuming desire to know everything you do or even think. And the stakes are about as high as you can go. On the line are your personal dignity, your good name and reputation, your job.

Big business, big government and big education are all in on the act.

Do you work for a living? Own an insurance policy? Carry a credit card? The file on you is growing.

Ever use the telephone? Members of your own family or your employer may be listening to every word you say by means of a completely harmless-looking item called a telephone extension. It is without question the most widely used eavesdropping device in the world.

Beyond that, the bugging business is so brisk that it now honeycombs the nation's communications network. A professional estimate made

Your privacy is getting less private all the time in the electronic era.

By Lee White

in May 1965, for example, reveals that the city of Miami, Fla., has as many as 10,000 telephones tapped at any one time.

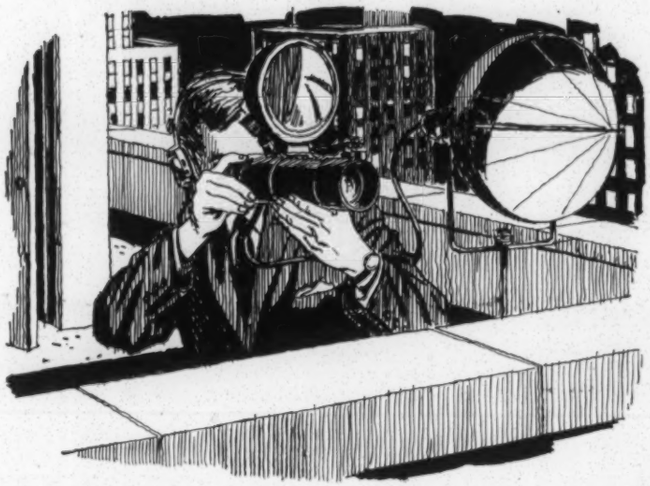
But even wiretapping—universal as it has become since the early 1940s—accounts for only a portion of the surveillance in commerce, in government, in everyday life that is infiltrating and destroying privacy from the cradle to the grave.

The super-snoopers are collecting information about millions of private citizens by the use of a wide variety of sophisticated techniques, including personnel questionnaires, polygraphs (the so-called lie detectors), hidden microphones no bigger than a sorority pin, tape recorders that look like a pack of cigarettes, two-way mirrors, peep-holes in the most unexpected places, cameras and spy-glasses that see as well in the dark as in broad daylight, the mail watch, penetration of secret places by laser beam, computers—and dozen of others.

All of this may make privacy totally obsolete in our own lifetime.

When George Orwell's "1984," gave us a new and frightening prediction of things to come, just four years after World War II ended, the public did take notice. "Big Brother Is Watching You" kicked up such a storm of discussion that any prognosticator could see it would have a profound effect on at least one full generation of Americans.

Yet the fact is that today, when "somebody"



really is watching most of the time, the public seems unaware of or indifferent to what is happening.

The arrest by computer of a housewife in New York who failed to pay up after getting a ticket for passing a red light, got the circus treatment in the tabloids, but at least one sober editorial noted the resemblance to Orwell's nightmare.

And somewhere, already, they may be watching Big Brother.

The situation does have its amusing side—for example, the Internal Revenue Agent who couldn't answer satisfactorily a question about his use of the super-snooperscope: Was he watching the suspect on the roof of that house, or the nude sunbathing of the suspect's wife? But it's really not funny.

Vance Packard made a valiant effort to arouse public indignation with his book, "The Naked Society," published just a year ago.

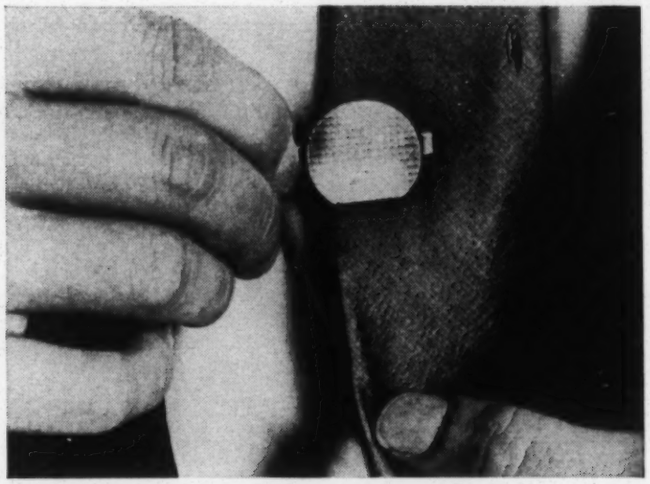
Packard's picture of a reasonably successful family in a typical city of the Land of Liberty, 1964, showed that by telescoping time just a bit, these examples of surveillance could all be happening simultaneously:

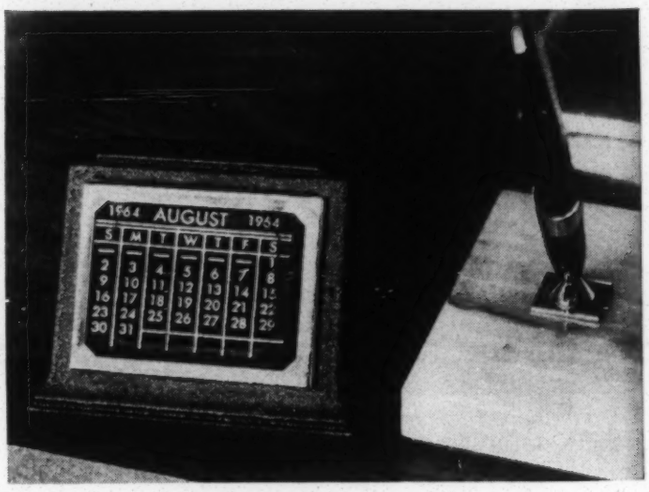
While Mom is trying on a new dress in a department store, her every move is being watched via closed-circuit television.

Dad, a junior executive at the company where he works, is being watched by an undercover agent who seems to be just another employee but is in reality a private detective; the company wants to keep tabs on its key subordinates. At the same time, Dad's bank account is being investigated by an insurance company because Dad recently applied for an insurance policy on his personal property.

Meanwhile, young John is taking a lie detector test as part of applying for a job as a salesman.

Photos: John Burwell





Some of the snooping devices in all-too common use, complete with an infra-red spy glass and various forms of concealed microphones

This is supposed to probe his honesty, his possibly dangerous habits, and his manliness. And at still another location, John's college professors are being interrogated about the boy's political opinions. All of this will go into a lifetime record.

Now here is a direct quote from the book:

"Daughter Mary, sweet girl, is still only a sophomore in high school. She is in the classroom struggling with a 250-item questionnaire. It asks her to reveal whether her parents seem to quarrel a lot, whether they have ever talked to her about sex, and whether she is worried about menstrual disorders. If Mary's parents happen to hear about this probing, they would be denied any information as to her various responses and how they were scored."

This vivid dramatization of a growing trend in American society faded almost at once into the dark stacks of the public library.

Hardly anybody noticed it except a few of the "sick" comics who milked it for gags. And even the gags never got off the ground.

Obviously, the public was not up in arms about the loss of its privacy. As a matter of fact, it would be easy to build a case for the existence of a new breed of citizens who actually enjoy life in the goldfish bowl.

Among those who make up this new breed might be mentioned the teenagers who swoon over the Beatles (in front of the camera), ladies who identify with the "housewives" in TV commercials for soap, etc., voluntary participants in the "Candid Camera" television program, and all of those who have been corrupted by the presence of wiretap and eavesdropping equipment installed for "legitimate" purposes.

Now, it is over the use of the word "legitimate" that the real dialogue has begun.

As a basic part of its current investigation of invasions of the privacy of individuals by government agencies, Senator Edward V. Long's Judi-

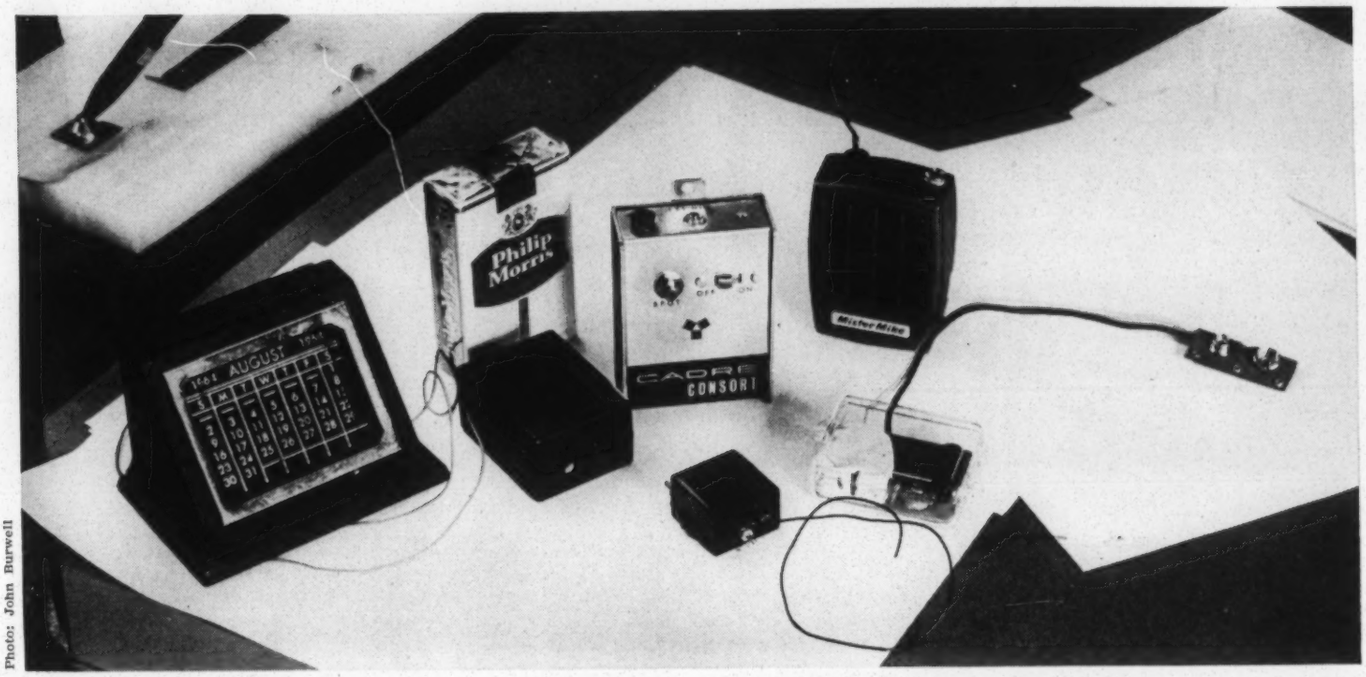


Photo: John Burwell

What the well-equipped snooper uses for listening to other people's conversations

ciary subcommittee is seeking to define, according to the *New York Times*, "the admittedly thin line that might separate legitimate law enforcement activities from unconstitutional snooping."

There are strong differences of opinion on the subject.

Law enforcement officers point to court action upholding convictions where mail surveillance provided vitally-needed leads to criminal activity including fraud, espionage, sabotage, organized gambling, racketeering and smuggling of drugs.

Specific examples: the Frank Costello income tax case, the capture in Mexico of a rapist-murderer, health insurance frauds that victimize elderly persons.

On the other hand, Judge Archie Dawson of New York termed the mail watch reported on Roy Cohn as "shocking," and the American Civil Liberties Union joined in the uproar caused by the revelation at Cohn's recent trial.

Defending wiretap for "selected targets" in the war on crime, Chicago Superintendent of Police W. W. Wilson said that the higher-ups in the Cosa Nostra, the syndicate, "or whatever name you choose to call it," are, under our present law, given complete immunity in their oral and telephonic communications.

Thus the only persons who are charged with crimes are the minor figures in the rackets, according to Wilson: "the lowly policy runner, the prostitute, or the narcotics pusher, all of whom are at the bottom of the ladder."

He points out that wiretapping is not unconstitutional. Even if it were, he maintains, "the Constitution does not make any of our rights absolute. Our homes are our castles but they are not immune against search and seizure—only against unreasonable search and seizure. And so it should be with our telephone communications."

Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Superintendent Wilson posed a clear choice:

1) Put court-authorized wiretapping on the side of the prosecution, or

2) Recognize organized crime as a fact of life in the United States "for which society must continue to pay a frightful cost in life and property and ever-mounting insurance rates."

Answering for those who want more, not less privacy, Senator Long said, "Our country was not founded that its citizens might be spied upon at the whim of a government bureaucrat.

"Our Constitution was not framed by men who doubted the value of personal liberty.

"Our vast continent was not tamed and settled by persons who wanted to weigh every word of their every conversation against the possibility of its being overheard by official ears."

Feeling that the gain to be won by the legalization of wiretapping would never offset the loss of personal liberty, the Missouri Democrat concluded:

"Wiretapping for domestic law enforcement should be prohibited."

Organized labor is firmly committed to a pol-

icy of outlawing telephone tapping—except in matters of national security—and on a wider front is waging a determined battle against snooping on workers by employers in the personnel office, in the plant, and off the job.

So far the most effective means of forcing management to draw back on the use of peepholes and hidden cameras has been instant retaliation in the press and solid membership resistance to such practices, when discovered.

When members of Communications Workers of America found a hidden camera in the men's room of a telephone company building in New York, they promptly filed a grievance—and also called the *New York Times*. Result: no more hidden cameras.

In Baltimore, according to *UAW Solidarity*, management of the Chevrolet plant installed a closed-circuit TV surveillance system, with cameras all over the plant.

"They installed the cameras," UAW Vice President Leonard Woodcock recalled, "but the union chairman called up the UAW GM Department and said, 'What are we going to do about it?' We at the international said, 'Are your people prepared to fight?' He said, 'Yes, they are.'

"We said, 'Call a membership meeting and then go in and tell management—and we will tell Chevrolet here—that when the cameras go on, the plant goes down.' At this moment the cameras have not gone on."

The American Newspaper Guild found that Hearst management on San Francisco papers was monitoring telephone calls made by classified advertising employees. Admitting the charge but arguing that monitoring was "a constructive tool" of supervision, management refused to stop the practice. This and other developments in California have brought about one of the most heartening developments in the unions' concerted attack on spying and snooping of all kinds.

On July 27, 1965, the Public Utilities Commission of the State of California ruled that management could no longer listen in on monitoring, service observing and training equipment, without notifying those under observation of that fact.

This means that telephone company supervisors, classified newspaper sales supervisors, and all other management persons who use monitoring equipment, must "beep" at regular intervals or "by clearly, prominently and permanently marking each telephone instrument" indicate it may be monitored.

To all who have had dealings with supervision in labor-management affairs, the California Commission's instructions—to mark each instrument not only clearly, but clearly and prominently, as well as permanently—will remain a classic of its genre.

Sen. Edward V. Long (D. Mo.) examines a wristwatch microphone device

In another world altogether, the world of the supermarket where a good deal of the worker's income is spent, the peeping-tom techniques are eroding what's left of our average citizen's privacy.

"Heaven knows, the American consumer has for years been the object of an unrelenting scrutiny that measures everything from his salary to his saliva, from his pulse to his purse, from his libido to his liver," complained Marya Mannes.

"Now they've got a secret eye camera that checks up on your pupil dilations. A fellow looks at a package of Fig Newtons, say, and if he likes Fig Newtons, his pupils dilate, and if he doesn't, they contract."

It would seem that there is no place left to hide.

And if the citizen's right of privacy is, as Louis D. Brandeis said, the most comprehensive of rights as well as "the right most valued by civilized man," there is much to be done to protect it.

That is, by those of us who don't mind being overheard—and recorded—in defense of the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth Amendments to the Constitution.

Lee White, author of this article, is a journalist with a long interest in civil liberties. He is public relations director of the Communications Workers of America.

HUAC AN OUTMODED INSTITUTION

A Congressman's look at the record of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee.

By Rep. Don Edwards

One wonders what the reaction would be if Britain were to adopt a "Committee on Un-British Activities." It would seem a most un-British thing to do, and certainly amusing.

Our own Committee on Un-American Activities also has its amusing aspects, and too many of us have brushed it aside as a curious eruption on the tough hide of our democracy—one that will go away in good time just as the Palmer Raids subsided eventually and Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin got his come-uppance when he took on the U.S. Army. It is easy to ignore the inherent danger to our constitutional liberties and sense of fair play as long as the targets are Communists, "radical" professors and students, and other disruptive members of our society. The fact is that the rights and liberties of *all* Americans are bound to the rights and liberties of *each* American, no matter how misguided or obnoxious his beliefs, associations, and preachments may be.

Although Congressmen enjoy a good joke occasionally, there are objections to the House Un-American Activities Committee which are so fundamental and constitutional that I believe it is the duty of Congress to set its own house in order and not wait for the Supreme Court to save us from our follies.

HUAC was created as a standing committee by a very close vote in 1945. At that time, Majority Leader John McCormack said: "If this amend-

Congress of the United States

begun and held at the City of New-York, on Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine

THE Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government will best secure the beneficent ends of its institution

RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLES in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by the Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

Article the first. After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

Article the second. No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

Article the third. Congress shall make no law, respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Article the fourth. A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

Article the fifth. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Article the sixth. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Article the seventh. Excess bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. No person shall be subject to be twice tried for the same offence. Nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. Nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Article the eighth. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

Article the ninth. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law.

Article the tenth. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Article the eleventh. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people of the United States.

Article the twelfth. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ATTEST.

Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

John Adams, Vice President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

John Beckley, Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Sam. A. Otis, Secretary of the Senate.

Article the third..... Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances

ment is adopted, as far as I know, it will be the first time in history of this body that a committee of this kind was ever established as a permanent or standing committee." Since then there has never been a serious threat to the existence of the committee from the House of Representatives itself.

HUAC's legislative score, during its 20 years of life, is considerably less impressive. To date, not a single conviction under the legislation it formulated has been upheld in the Supreme Court.

The Committee spends over $300,000 a year running "show-off" hearings and keeping up voluminous files of unverified information. These files have been used, according to *The New York Times*, by anti-Negro agencies in Alabama. The director of the House Un-American Activities Committee, Francis J. McNamara, has stated that the staff replied to 3,800 requests for information from Congressmen in 1962 alone. On July 29, 1963, the Congressional Record contained 30 pages of material inserted by a Member of Congress from the committee's files. The material purported to prove that the NAACP was subversive. It suggests that the NAACP is infiltrated with Communists. Among the NAACP leaders whose reputations for loyalty to this country were besmirched are such distinguished Americans as A. Philip Randolph, Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Dr. Ralph Bunche, Solicitor-General Thurgood Marshall and Clarence M. Mitchell.

HUAC's basic mandate from the Congress is to investigate "subversive and un-American propaganda," in itself an infringement on the First Amendment. But what it actually does, besides building files from dubious sources, is to investigate people, not propaganda, for the purpose of exposing them to the general public and the press, as subversive. The press is often informed in advance who has been subpoenaed, a violation of committee rules. At HUAC hearings, the ordinary protections one has in a court of law are all but absent.

Punishment of an American citizen by bringing him before a Congressional committee "for the purpose of exposure" is a legislative trial and is unconstitutional, under Section 9 of Article I, which prohibits bills of attainder. A bill of attainder is, in effect, a judgment of guilt and punishment by a legislative body rather than in a court of law.

Yet we permit HUAC to punish citizen after citizen for prior actions, opinions and associa-

tions which are not crimes, but which the committee considers distasteful. Witnesses are called and subjected to publicity and exposure, in effect convicted by a legislative committee of associations or ideas which are not crimes but which the committee feels are punishable regardless. Loss of reputation and job follow as news of the legislative trial is spread on the front pages of the newspapers.

I do not want to leave the impression that it is hopeless to expect the House of Representatives to act regarding the committee, or that we must wait for the Supreme Court to proceed case by case to correct the abuses of this arm of the Congress. More and more, our highly respected newspapers, church organizations, and other groups are calling upon the Congress to put an end to HUAC.

I suspect, too, that the excesses of the Radical Right in vilification of such people as Chief Justice Earl Warren and Dwight Eisenhower have awakened to their responsibilities as citizens those who had been silent so long as the super-patriots were denouncing egg-heads and liberals as un-American and willing tools of the Kremlin.

Unfortunately, some critics of the committee took comfort in the announcement that HUAC would investigate the Ku Klux Klan. They may hope that HUAC will now go after the Radical Right with the vigor it has heretofore reserved for causes on the left. It is ironic that if there is one institution that is peculiarly "American," it is the Klan. We can't blame the Klan on the Soviet Union.

The point is that *acts* by Klansmen—or Communists, or anyone else—which threaten the rights and lives of other American citizens, should be punished. But their right to speak openly their misguided, and in some instances loathsome views, cannot be restricted without imperiling the liberties of us all. Investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee, or any other committee, of the KKK is not what is needed. What is needed is the enforcement of the law against members of the Klan or any other group who deprive people of their civil rights by threats, intimidation, bombing, and murder. New federal laws are needed to protect the civil rights guaranteed in the Act of 1964 and in the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Photo: J. Maschhoff, U.A.W.

Rep. Don Edwards (D, Calif.)

The proper committee to draft this legislation is the Committee on the Judiciary where both of these historical acts were drafted. That committee, composed of 35 lawyers, has never gone about the country garnering headlines by "sensational exposés" of people the FBI knew about all the time.

I am convinced that a substantial majority in the House of Representatives is opposed to the existence of the House Un-American Activities Committee and would welcome the transfer to the Committee on the Judiciary of all matters affecting the internal security of our country.

What the House of Representatives needs in order to act is a more vocal support from those back home. We owe it to ourselves and to our heritage to do better by the First Amendment.

The 89th Congress made important gains in changing rules which allowed a handful of powerful men to bottle up needed legislation year after year. I hope that the 90th Congress on opening day will remove another outmoded institution which demeans and belittles the Congress, by abolishing HUAC.

Don Edwards is the Democratic Representative from the Ninth District of California. He is national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action.

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Med
Med. Care & Welfare

NY Times
9/4/64

Senate's Roll-Call Vote On the Medical Care Bill

WASHINGTON, Sept. 3 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which the Senate passed today the bill establishing health care for the elderly under Social Security and increasing cash payments for all those now on benefit rolls:

FOR FINAL PASSAGE—49

DEMOCRATS—48

Anderson (N.M.)	McGovern (S. D.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Bible (Nev.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Brewster (Md.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Morse (Ore.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Moss (Utah)
Cannon (Nev.)	Muskie (Me.)
Church (Idaho)	Nelson (Wis.)
Clark (Pa.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Pell (R. I.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Hart (Mich.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Russel (Ga.)
Humphrey (Minn.)	Salinger (Calif.)
Johnston (S. C.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Jordan (N. C.)	Symington (Mo.)
Long (Mo.)	Talmadge (Ga.)
Long (La.)	Walters (Tenn.)
Mansfield (Mont.)	Williams (N. J.)
McCarthy (Minn.)	Yarborough (Texas)
McGee (Wyo.)	Young (Ohio)

REPUBLICANS—12

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N. Y.)
Beall (Md.)	Keating (N. Y.)
Boggs (Del.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N. J.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Me.)

AGAINST FINAL PASSAGE—28

DEMOCRATS—10

Eastland (Miss.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Edmondson (Okla.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (La.)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Stennis (Miss.)
Holland (Fla.)	Thurmond (S. C.)

REPUBLICANS—18

Allott (Colo.)	Mechem (N. M.)
Bennett (Utah)	Miller (Iowa)
Carlson (Kan.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Tower (Tex.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Williams (Del.)
Jordan (Idaho)	Young (N. D.)

Not voting, but announced as pairs (pairs are used to denote opposing position of Senators when one or both are absent): Inouye, (D-Hawaii), for, and Lausche (D-Ohio), against; Kenney (D-Mass.), for, and Simpson (R-Wyo.), against.

Not voting, nor paired, but announced as for final passage: Magnuson (D-Wash) Jackson (D-Wash) Hartke (D-Ind.).

Absent and positions not recorded: Hill (D-Ala.), Byrd (D-Va.), Fulbright (D-Ark.), Hickenlooper (R-Iowa) and Goldwater (R-Ariz.)

Bill's Provisions

The Senate's bill would provide coverage for hospital and nursing-home care, home nursing visits and outpatient diagnostic services for persons 65 and over. It also would give a $7 monthly raise to persons on Social Security rolls. The $4.2 billion cost of the proposed benefits would be financed by an increase in the Social Security tax from 7.25 per cent (on a wage base of $4,800) to 10.4 per cent (on a wage base of $5,600)—half to be paid by the employe, half by the employer.

Administration leaders conceded there was little chance the House would approve the amended version in its entirety but they hoped bargaining would lead to a compromise retaining some medicare features. The main opposition comes from a coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats, with Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Democrat of Arkansas, the key man. Mr. Mills, who firmly opposes Social Security financing of medical care, is chairman of the Ways and Means Committee which originated the House bill and his endorsement is vital for House approval.

Whatever the bill's fate, it is likely to be a major issue in the Presidential campaign. President Johnson made that plain when he hailed the Senate's vote on medicare as a victory "for all Americans." Senator Goldwater, on the other hand, in voting against the proposal, called it a "most significant step" toward making Social Security a relief and charity organization.

The Social Security bill was the most important of several taken up by Congress last week in its drive to wind up the session so members can hit the campaign trail. Among other actions was House approval of the $6.4 billion, three-year extension of the Food for Peace program.

Major bills still pending, besides Social Security, are a rider to the foreign aid bill that would delay further reapportionment of state legislatures and a proposal for aid to the depressed Appalachia region.

medcare

NYT 9/6/64

Toward Medicare?

The advance of medical science has brought a general lengthening of the life span. Today there are 18 million Americans over 65 years of age, constituting nearly 10 per cent of the population with the percentage rising yearly. A major problem for those in this age group is that their medical expenses rise at the very time their income declines. Often this creates severe financial hardship for them or for younger relatives who contribute toward their support.

Over the last 15 years many attempts have been made in both houses of Congress to enact proposals that would put medical care for the aged on some sort of systematic national basis. The Kennedy and Johnson Administrations have pressed the matter. But all such proposals have been blocked by those who contend that a Government-sponsored "medicare" program would be a step toward socialized medicine.

Last week, when Congress reconvened after a 10-day recess for the Democratic National Convention, the Senate broke the logjam. On Wednesday it voted 49 to 44 to provide health insurance for the aged under Social Security. The proposal was included in a bill which also called for a boost in Social Security cash benefits. The Senate approved the over-all bill Thursday 60 to 28 and sent it back to the House where it faced a tough fight. The Senate's bill was an amended version of one passed by the House July 29—without medicare.

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Social Security for M.D.'s

Majority in Profession Favor Coverage, Physician Says

TO THE EDITOR:

Extension of Social Security coverage to self-employed physicians, included in the omnibus Social Security bill approved by the House Ways and Means Committee and passed by a vote of 388 to 8 by the House of Representatives, was knocked out of the bill by the Senate Finance Committee and was not restored by the Senate, despite vigorous efforts by Senators Dodd, Ribicoff, Clark and others.

Our only chance to obtain this insurance protection, which now covers every group except physicians, lies with the Conference Committee which will meet the week of Sept. 14 to iron out differences between the House and Senate versions.

Indisputable evidence that the majority of this country's physicians want to be included under Social Security lies in official polls conducted by state medical societies and in surveys by the Honest Ballot Association. These reveal that Social Security coverage is favored by a substantial majority of doctors in nineteen states and is opposed in only eight states. More than 60 per cent of the physicians in private practice in this country practice in the nineteen states which registered a majority sentiment.

No Evidence From A.M.A.

The House of Delegates of the American Medical Association does not represent the viewpoint of the nation's physicians on this issue. The A.M.A. has never offered evidence to substantiate its repeated assertion that physicians do not want Social Security. Repeated requests by many state medical societies for a national poll on this issue have been turned down year after year by the A.M.A.

Since it is clear that the majority of physicians want coverage, there is no reason why we should be the only self-employed professional group to be excluded. Even in the medical profession, approximately 35 per cent of our colleagues are covered by virtue of employment in group practice, in the armed forces, or as salaried employes.

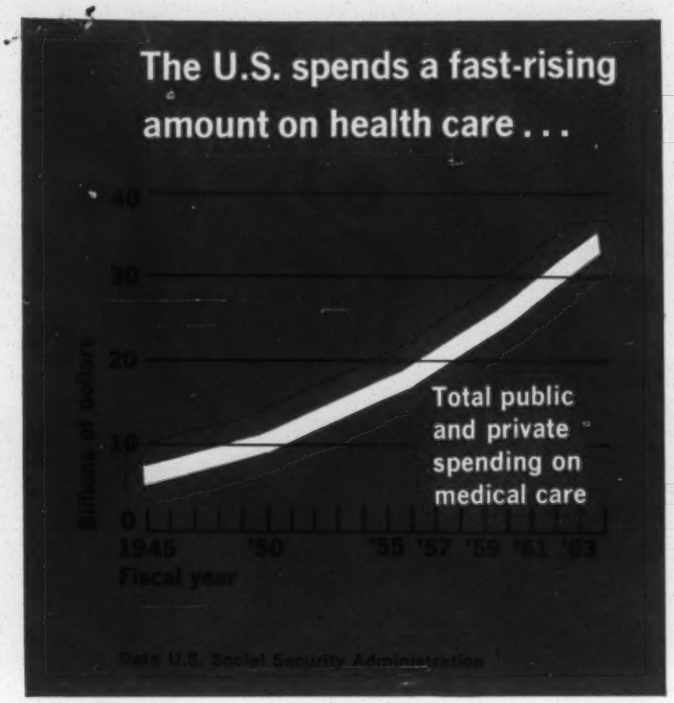
Widows and orphans of doctors do not receive the monthly Social Security checks which other widows and orphans receive. If forced to give up practice because of illness, physicians find themselves and their families faced by serious financial need. And many doctors are unable, for financial reasons, to retire when they want to.

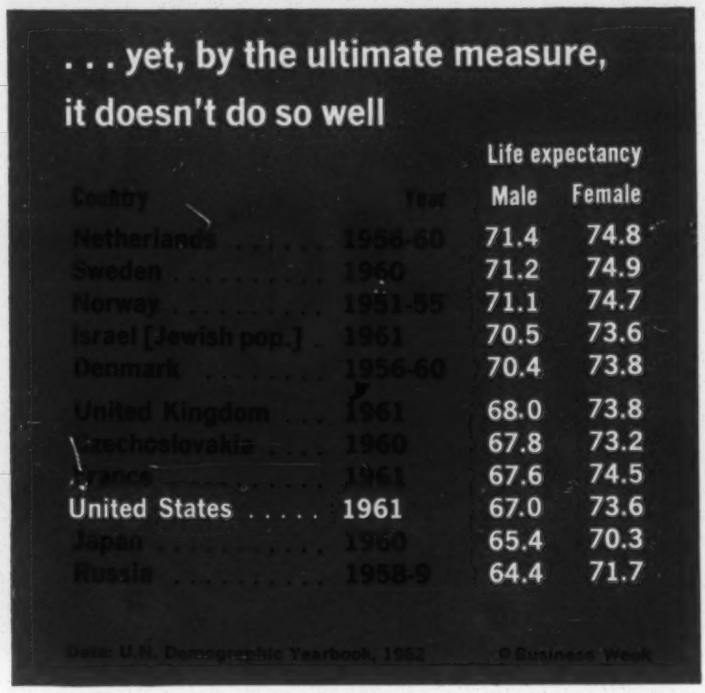
Aid to Needy

Contrary to myth, doctors are subject to the ills, accidents and misfortunes that befall other mortals. We have received scores of letters from physicians in both rural and urban communities documenting these facts. In addition every state medical society and many of the larger county medical societies maintain aid associations whose sole function is to afford financial help to needy physicians and their families.

When the doctor falls on hard times, he does not want to accept charity, from his medical society or from other sources. He wants to enjoy as a right, as do all other Americans, the protection and benefits of insurance under the Social Security system.

IRA LEO SCHAMBERG, M.D.,
Chairman, Committee on Social Security for Physicians.
Elkins Park, Pa., Sept. 9, 1964.





Country	Year	Life expectancy Male	Female
Netherlands	1956-60	71.4	74.8
Sweden	1960	71.2	74.9
Norway	1951-55	71.1	74.7
Israel [Jewish pop.]	1961	70.5	73.6
Denmark	1956-60	70.4	73.8
United Kingdom	1961	68.0	73.8
Czechoslovakia	1960	67.8	73.2
France	1961	67.6	74.5
United States	1961	67.0	73.6
Japan	1960	65.4	70.3
Russia	1958-9	64.4	71.7

ECONOMICS

Can the doctor do better?

He's overworked, and there aren't enough of him. Economists are wondering if his profession is organized most efficiently to meet rising demand for health care

The affluent U. S. is getting some of the best medical care in the world—and well it should.

The nation's annual health bill will come this year to more than $35-billion—almost 6% of gross national product. And in 1963 private patients and their insurance companies spent $5.9-billion on doctors' bills alone—nearly 8% more than in 1962, a not untypical rise for this sector.

The money went to some 180,000 private practitioners, who—with 40,000 salaried doctors, another 40,000 interns and residents—constitute a medical corps that is at least as good as any in the world.

For years, economists considered health outside their mainstream of interest. But with the growing investment in health—and the growing concern with welfare problems generally—they have begun in recent years to take a fresh look at what the country is getting for its medical dollar. Their research is backed by the Ford Foundation, the federal government, and universities.

Hard job. The task is not a simple one for economists. They often come to the field with biases that are difficult to shed. Medicine is so complex institutionally that economic propositions used to explain other markets sometimes don't work.

Most economists studying the subject so far have been asking one basic question—whether U. S. medicine is doing as good a job as it could. Among their reasons for asking:

- People are living longer now, yet life expectancy in the U. S. still runs three or four years behind that of several European nations (chart, above).
- Infant mortality rates in the U. S. are higher than in 10 other countries—Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands among them—and are improving more slowly than in any of them.
- Some minority groups fare poorly. For U. S. Negroes in certain areas, the chance of surviving birth is only half as good as it is for whites in families of roughly the same incomes and education.

Economists agree there can be no simple explanation of why the U. S. lags behind less wealthy nations in some of these vital statistics. But they feel it is important to try to find out why the U. S. isn't using its capacity and its affluence to best advantage.

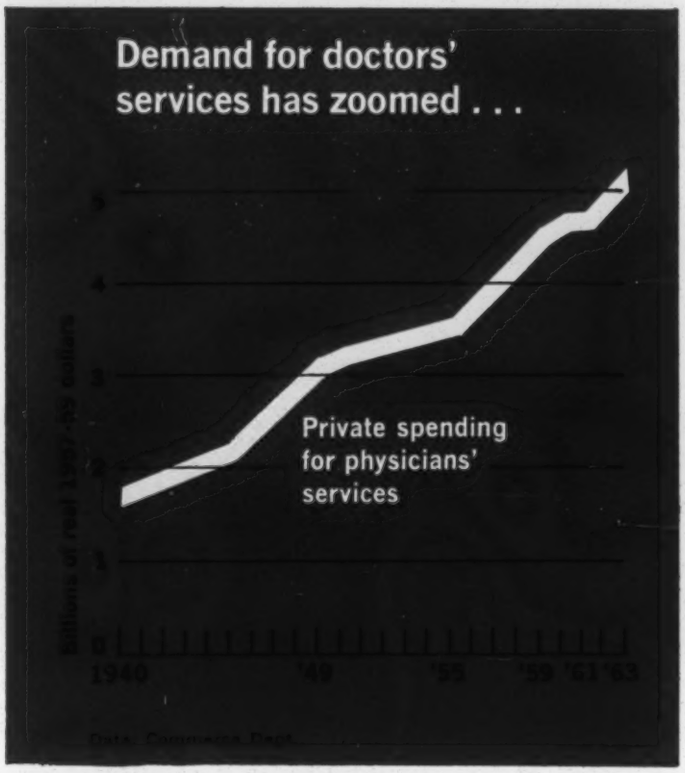
I. The doctor shortage

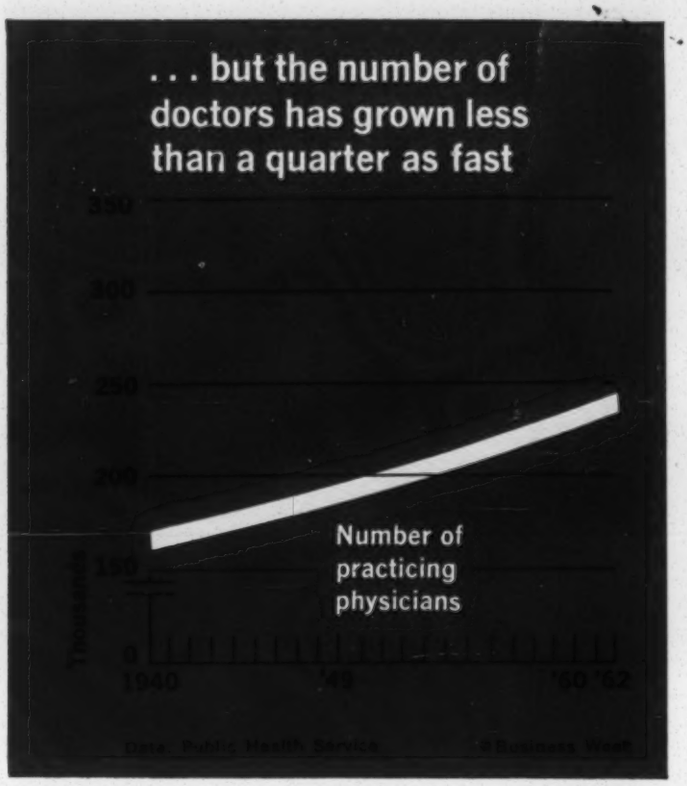
The first point always brought up is the nation's shortage of doctors.

Unlike most economic markets, which react to shortages by pushing prices up and thus encouraging new suppliers to enter the field, the health care market reacts slowly and uncertainly. The new supplies in this case must come from medical schools, and these aren't expanding very fast.

Actually, the number of doctors per capita has held steady at about 136 M. D.'s per 100,000 persons for more than 20 years. But the demands on these doctors have multiplied. For example, patients in the 1930s saw the doctor 2½ times a year; now they go at least twice as often.

Money going to physicians has





rocketed—from 1940 to 1963, consumer spending on private practitioners rose 206% in constant dollars. But the number of practicing M. D.'s in this period rose only about 49% (chart, above).

The result has been poorer service: crowded waiting rooms, less time spent by the doctor on each patient, and the gradual disappearance of house visits, night calls, free telephone consultations, and office chats.

Getting worse. The outlook is for even greater pressure on the medical profession. Seymour E. Harris, Harvard professor emeritus who now heads the economics department at the San Diego campus of the University of California, explores this prospect in a recent book, The Economics of American Medicine.

People have more money, more insurance, and more medical knowledge, Harris says. They are less isolated in rural living. People are living longer and need increased medical attention.

Heavier work load. To the dismay of their wives and children, doctors have met the increased demand by working themselves harder. According to Medical Economics magazine, their work week is stretched to 58 hours, on the average; their patient loads have more than doubled from 50 visits per week in 1930 to 123 visits now for each doctor.

Economists aren't sure that this sort of productivity gain produces better health. Some countries with fewer doctors per capita than the U. S., such as Sweden with 92 doctors per 100,000 persons and the Netherlands with 111, have better records than the U. S. on infant mortality and life expectancy.

Of course, a nation's health is not entirely the doctor's doing. The Swedes and the Dutch may be healthier for other reasons. Populations of many smaller countries are more homogeneous, economically and ethnically, says Grant M. Osborn, director of the American Medical Assn.'s Dept. of Medical Finance & Economic Research.

But many economists think the U. S. ought to be able to squeeze more health value out of its doctors.

More efficiency. Harris suggests that group practice programs such as the Kaiser Foundation Health Plans or New York's Health Insurance Plan would help raise the doctor's productivity without sacrifice of quality. The AMA, which at first opposed group plans, is conducting a new study of group practice with, according to Osborn, "a completely open mind."

Victor R. Fuchs, director of a study of productivity in the service sector of the economy for the National Bureau of Economic Research, suggests "a better matching of skills and needs" might help. In some countries, he points out, specialists' talents are carefully rationed out. In the Netherlands, for example, 70% of babies are delivered in the home, mostly by midwives who have only three years of hospital training.

In the U. S., money rather than need usually calls the doctor into action. The most difficult delivery may be performed by a general practitioner without enough skilled assistance in an ill-equipped Southern Negro hospital while a highly skilled specialist concerns himself with routine deliveries for high fees in a top-notch New York maternity hospital, with only a brief tour of clinic duty.

AMA economist Osborn admits that talents may be misapplied. But, he asks, "What other profession manages to work at top efficiency all the time? That's one of the prices of freedom." He's convinced that this freedom produces better medical care than "some sort of omniscient planner who would hurt initiative by trying to match needs and skills for all doctors and patients."

II. Lopsided distribution

The doctor scarcity, say economists, is intensified by the exodus of 40,000 physicians from private practice. Of course, these doctors, in universities, hospitals, laboratories, corporations, and public health agencies, contribute to American well-being. But they don't help the private patient in today's crowded waiting room.

In 1930, about 7% of all doctors were outside private practice; now about 15% are, and economists think the trend will intensify

Salary security. Some doctors are lured from the rigors of private prac-

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There are nowhere near enough GPs . . . and the supply is dwindling . . .

Story on page 103

tice by the abundance of medical research programs supported by the federal government. Others shy away from the ordeal of building up a private practice and of investing heavily in equipment. Some find their consciences pain them in making a living from the misfortunes of other people.

Harris says also that the modern doctor's Cadillac image frightens some idealists into lower-paid but secure salaried posts.

Geography. Even the doctors who stay in private practice don't always go where they are most needed. Some states, such as New York and Massachusetts, have about 180 doctors per 100,000 persons; others, such as Mississippi and South Dakota, have only about 70.

The AMA, says Osborn, encourages doctors to go where they are most needed. But, he adds, "It's up to the community to make an attractive offer so the doctor will come."

Specialists in particular are concentrated in big cities, where they have enough interesting cases to keep their skills from rusting and where they are stimulated by contact with others in their field.

Harris thinks federal funds distributed under the Hill-Burton Act, aiding local hospital construction, may bring more specialists to rural areas if the new hospitals attract enough patients to use their talents. If not, rural areas will have to continue relying on the local general practitioner, the busiest doctor in the country. He works longer hours, sees more patients, and has a faster-growing income than any specialist.

Vanishing species. GPs are spread fairly evenly in city and country, but there are nowhere near enough to go around. And the supply is dwindling in this age of specialization. In 1931, there were 97 GPs per 100,000 persons; now, only 40. Johns Hopkins University economist Herbert E. Klarman thinks they may disappear entirely.

"You can tell med students anything you want about general practice and its virtues," Klarman says, "but they still don't want to go into it." Klarman's book, The Economics of Health, commissioned by the Ford Foundation, will be out this year.

He doesn't think the internist or pediatrician will fill the GP's shoes. "These specialists," he says, "don't want to play the family doctor role any longer than necessary to build up a specialty practice of their own."

The GP is also at a professional disadvantage. He can go into practice with only one year's internship while the specialist often must struggle through five or six more years of residency. As a result, the GP has low prestige in the profession, especially in big city hospitals where his privileges are cut to make room for the specialist.

"Less training means less know-how," says a young surgical intern in a New York hospital. "And it also means more time to make money. That's why the GP's motives and his talents usually are suspect."

To improve the training of GPs and help their prestige, the AMA has asked hospitals to devise new two-year training programs for the family physician.

III. Filling a vacuum

Some experts suggest that the nation's 12,000 doctors of osteopathy could help ease the medical shortage. These doctors, who study scientific medicine as well as manipulation, have gained status in recent years from state medical societies, though not from the AMA itself.

Many quasi-doctors, from chiropractors to midwives, owe their public demand to the fact that people needing medical care can't get enough attention from real doctors, economists say. Personnel on the outskirts of medicine have multiplied much faster than physicians since the 1940s, though this is partly due to new technology.

Some physicians don't seem to mind. "God bless the chiropractor," says a surgeon. "He keeps a lot of hypochondriacs off my neck."

AMA economist Osborn isn't convinced it's a simple matter of substitution in an emergency. "Some people are brought up in cultures where the chiropractor is the cure-all," he says. "If there were 50 doctors in the area, such people wouldn't go to them."

Artificial ceiling. Milton Friedman, University of Chicago econo-

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mist who is a key Goldwater adviser, blames the doctor shortage directly for the proliferation of quasi-doctors in the U. S. And, a sharp critic of the medical profession since the 1940s, he holds the AMA largely responsible. The AMA, he says, is "perhaps the strongest trade union in the U. S.," with a stranglehold on the supply of doctors.

Friedman cites state licensing laws that require doctors to have graduated from AMA-certified schools and trained in AMA-approved hospital programs. He would like to do away with state licensing laws altogether. The free market, he is convinced, could have done more for U. S. health than AMA has done. Few economists—and few consumers would go this far. The AMA, of course, defends its power as a quality control and takes prime credit for eliminating the medical quackery of the 1800s.

IV. More medical schools

Last year, Congress took a step toward breaking the bottleneck in the supply line by setting up a three-year $105-million program of grants for medical school construction. Until now, the number of AMA-approved schools has expanded slowly. In fact, before AMA's purge began, there were 162 professed medical schools in 1906; in 1930, there were only 76 AMA-approved schools. Now there are 87.

Existing schools have expanded, yet in recent years about 20% of all newly licensed M.D.s in the U. S. were imported from abroad. Since shortly after World War II, AMA and public health officials have been at odds about whether or not there was a serious shortage of doctors. Until last year, AMA arguments that all was well have handicapped efforts to provide federal funds for new schools, which cost from $25-million to $40-million to build and equip.

AMA economists still argue that there is no general doctor shortage. But they foresee it as a possibility if the output of medical graduates is not increased.

The AMA did oppose last year's action of Congress in setting up a $61-million loan program for medical students, as unnecessary government intervention. It supported the "bricks and mortar" grant-in-aid plan for schools, however.

New schools. According to the Assn. of American Medical Colleges, the government construction program should help provide 11 new schools by 1968, plus expansion and modernization of existing schools. This will provide 600 to 1,000 first-year places for students, on top of today's 8,700 places. The AAMC estimates that 4,000 new places, half of them from expansion of existing schools, will be needed by 1975, just to keep the same number of doctors per capita.

V. Having it good

Meanwhile, the doctors have it good—so good that they are in the top 1% of the income distribution list, with lifetime earnings far ahead of such professionals as dentists and lawyers [BW Sep.28'63,p148].

Harris and Friedman argue that doctors owe much of their affluence to the profits of scarcity. (In 1962, according to Medical Economics, the doctors' median income, after costs and before taxes, was $24,300). But W. Lee Hansen, a staff member for the Council of Economic Advisers, prefers to look at doctors' incomes in the light of their costs of education and their loss of potential earnings during training.

Hansen estimates that doctors in 1956 made 12.8% on their educational investment, compared with 11.6% for all male college graduates, including everyone from poets to corporation presidents.

Most economists pooh-pooh the notion that medical students sacrifice income when they are in their 20s. They say earnings in the 40s more than offset any losses. Besides, medical schools are heavily weighted with students from high-income homes, and many doctors marry wealthy or working wives. The financial sacrifice of doctors in training also guarantees social prestige, a return on investment that Hansen neglects.

Making still more. As economists see it, there's more to the rise in doctors' income than the increase of fees in a scarcity situation. They cite the higher number of patients served by each doctor and a better record of bill collection, to which Harris attributes 43% of income growth since the Depression.

It's true, too, that doctors are getting higher fees for the same service. Harris estimates that this factor has contributed 23% to the physician's improved position since the mid-1930s. During the war and early postwar years, doctors' fees rose only half as fast as general price levels; since 1949, about twice as fast as the over-all Consumer Price Index but not as fast as services generally and far less than hospital costs.

Doctors' share of the total health care dollar has fallen from 30.1¢ in

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1932 to 25¢ in 1963—up a shade from 1962.

Harris thinks doctors are reluctant to raise fees, though less reluctant in the past few years. The shortage of GPs, says Harris, has pushed their rates up faster than those of surgeons; obstetricians' fees have also been pushed up by pressure from the baby boom.

Varied prices. One built-in element in the medical profession is price discrimination, which economists detest. Doctors can charge different fees for the same service; the patient can't fight back.

"You just can't resell an appendectomy," one economist puts it. Doctors don't advertise, and they don't compete publicly, so the market has no way to establish a single price for a single service, as it tends to do for haircuts or shoeshines.

The prevalence of health insurance, however, is affecting prices. Bulk buyers of medical service, such as the government, Blue Shield, or group service plans, encourage uniformity of fees. But the habit of charging what the traffic will bear hasn't entirely vanished.

Motives. Reuben A. Kessel, University of Chicago economist, thinks the money motive can explain all institutions and practices in the medical profession, from sliding fees to AMA's great influence. But other economists aren't so sure it's all a matter of money. Stanford University's Kenneth J. Arrow, for example, points out that most doctors don't discriminate enough in their fees to maximize profits anyway. They don't because of personal scruples, insurance programs, and the occasional fear of scaring away business.

And, of course, doctors still practice charity. New Medical Materia magazine estimates that in 1960 they gave away $658-million in free care.

Arrow offers his own key to the doctor industry's performance—"the prevalence of uncertainty."

In any transaction of course, buyers know less than sellers, but in the doctor-patient relationship the stakes are considerably higher. And the risks to the patient are greater.

Today, a patient at least knows that his M. D. graduated from an approved school and trained in an AMA-endorsed hospital program, that he is probably in the local medical society and perhaps also in a specialists' group, keeping up to date on medical knowledge. If he's on a hospital staff, he can't escape scrutiny of his colleagues.

AMA control and the consequent shortage of doctors are the price that consumers have paid for these guarantees. **End**

CITY FINDS BURDEN OF RISING POVERTY TAXES RESOURCES

NY Times 11/15/64

Welfare Commissioner Says U.S. Aid Is 'Drop in Bucket' in Meeting Problem

Pov. Prog

By MARTIN ARNOLD

Staggering under a load that increases by nearly 5,000 persons a month, New York City is fighting what at best is only a holding action against its welfare problems.

For the problems are the product of urban poverty across the land, and such poverty cannot be successfully attacked without massive Federal assistance, the city administration emphasizes.

Welfare is now the city's third-largest expenditure, exceeded only by schools and debt retirement.

Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson said in an interview yesterday that "if we are really serious about antipoverty and reducing our welfare rolls the $900 million-plus in the [Johnson] Administration's antipoverty bill, is only a small drop in the bucket."

300,000 Children Aided

Mayor Wagner has been equally blunt. The cost of the antipoverty program is "beyond the capacity of the city," he said recently, warning that New York must seek more Federal and state aid for such imperative needs as immediate improvement in education, housing, job training and jobs.

There are 501,131 persons here, or 6.2 per cent of the city's population, receiving some form of public assistance. About 300,000 are children, living in crowded slums, playing on garbage-littered streets. Their clothes are usually shabby; milk and meat are rare luxuries.

The welfare rolls list only "cases," not "families," for there is no other appropriate way to record the aid given to a woman who has had five children by five different men; to a child deserted by his father; to parents of youngsters who drift from corner to corner and who often sleep in doorways and on stoops.

Known as 'Little Dynamo'

Thus, the 501,131 persons who were receiving some sort of welfare aid as of Sept. 30, when the last tabulation was made, represent 200,649 cases, which were granted a total of $37,338,837 in September. A year ago it was $5.4 million less for the month.

The man in charge of trying to alleviate this mounting misery is Mr. Dumpson, a slightly built man who moves quickly and speaks slowly and who, despite the critics of welfare, is known for his zeal in guarding public funds from waste.

Mr. Dumpson has been nicknamed "Little Dynamo" by his

Continued on Page 84, Column 3

City Taxes Resources for Welfare

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

fellow workers because of his long work hours. He has been Welfare Commissioner since 1959.

A self-assured, confident man who at 55 dresses in conservative, blue pin-striped suits, he looks more like a bank president than a harassed social service director. He said, however: "I've just come from my doctor and he fears I have all sorts of stomach ailments.

"I told the Mayor that a man should only hold this job about five years, and I'll probably leave it soon. I want to live, not get sick."

He sees "no end in sight" for welfare departments or welfare payments. His is not an agency that can put itself out of business by succeeding like, for example, the city's Rent and Rehabilitation Administration. Rather, it is more like a municipal middleman between the poor and survival and is almost wholly dependent on other agencies to find a cure for poverty.

The welfare department has become throughout the country a municipal whipping post. Here and elsewhere, there is a vast category of cases in which persons who are on public welfare somehow find the money to buy expensive fur coats; addicts who use their welfare payments for narcotics; and even some persons who get welfare checks while they hold good jobs.

Lowest Rate in U. S.

Mr. Dumpson is not disturbed by this. New York, he said, has the country's lowest rate of ineligible persons on its welfare rolls. Those who are ineligible are continually being weeded out, he said.

"Even among the number we have, many are getting welfare because a staff member, newly trained, doesn't understand the procedure or the law," he said. "Many others go to the wrong department and are put on the rolls. A surprising number are not getting as much as they are entitled to under the laws."

Of those who get some sort of welfare aid here—for food, rent or medical care—at least 75 per cent are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Out of an estimated population of 8,090,000 in September, 1,320,000 are Negroes and 675,000, Puerto Ricans.

However, the Welfare Department statistics show that four out of five Negroes and Puerto Ricans here are employed, and that most do not receive even supplemental aid from available welfare funds.

But the welfare figures keep going up. "It's been rising for three years. The figures go up because the birth rate goes up, the population goes up," Mr. Dumpson said.

Flow of the Unskilled

A big cause of the growing

James R. Dumpson is city's Commissioner of Welfare.

than $10 million—from $475,476,000 to $575,997,000.

In terms of people, about 58,000 more persons received welfare aid last September than in September, 1963; 501,131 as compared with 442,819. The Welfare Department says that its rolls are increasing at the rate of just under 5,000 persons per month.

These persons filter through 23 welfare offices in the city.

They include a tall, overweight, 26-year-old woman with a pretty face and large, warm, brown eyes, three children and no husband. She lives in a three-room apartment, badly in need of paint and floor covering. Her only income is a check for $94 from the city every 15 days.

What she does with that check depends on a variety of things: her thyroid condition, which keeps her overweight; the need for shoes for her children, her rent, her utilities. Each month she also gets 19 packages of food with a retail value of $17.50 from the Federal food surplus program.

Another woman—Mrs. M—receives $3,224 a year from the department for herself and four children. She pays $90 a month for her slum apartment, and she has not had a new dress in 11 years.

Mrs. A, another "case," is 47 and the mother of two. Her husband deserted her two years ago, and every 15 days she receives $99 from the department.

Every two weeks $46 of this goes to her landlord for the rent of a sagging, Lower East Side apartment. She is left with less than $4 a day for food, clothing and the other necessities.

Slumlords Get Money

Much of the criticism directed against the Welfare Department is that a large portion of its

for example, a man entitled to $60 a week in welfare has no incentive to get a $50-a-week job. If he did not get such a job, he would get $10 a week in aid. But Mr. Dumpson—up to a point that would be determined—would like the law to allow the man to keep the salary check and a greater part of the welfare contribution.

In housing, Mr. Dumpson would amend the law to allow welfare funds to be used to pay the rents of low-income families in middle-income developments.

Wants Reorganization

He said he would like to see the department entirely reorganized, so that it could undertake more extensive programs to prevent dependency.

Another proposal by Mr. Dumpson—a controversial one—would be the "repeal of all laws that relate residence and 'worthiness' to eligibility for public assistance."

His plan, actually, would not apply to New York. But in many states a person must live in the state for a certain length of time before being eligible for welfare. In addition, he must be considered "worthy" in a moral sense. Thus an unmarried mother, for example, might have a hard time getting welfare funds.

"When I leave this job," Mr. Dumpson said, pointing to the chair in his office, "I would like to challenge all those who have written newspaper articles about welfare to sit in this seat, and I'd say to them, 'You've criticized—you have the job now. What is your prescription for the program?'"

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But the welfare figures keep going up. "It's been rising for three years. The figures go up because the birth rate goes up, the population goes up," Mr. Dumpson said.

Flow of the Unskilled

A big cause of the growing welfare rolls is the flow of unskilled, poorly educated Negroes from the South to New York and Puerto Ricans from Puerto Rico, although the latter migration is decreasing. The answer to this is better education, better housing and more job retraining, Mr. Dumpson believes. Automation kills off, he noted, the very jobs these people do.

It is hoped in the city Welfare Department that the Civil Rights Act of 1964—as well as the Federal antipoverty program—will help drain away welfare cases by eventually opening up more job opportunities for Negroes throughout the country, particularly in the South.

A total of $244,773,000 was originally budgeted here for public assistance for the fiscal year ending June 30. The City Council later transferred an additional $7,344,000 to the department. For the 1965-66 fiscal year, the department has estimated that the budget for public assistance in the city must rise by about $71 million.

Commenting on continuing criticism of the spiraling welfare costs, Mr. Dumpson said: "Nobody, but nobody, in this country of ours, in terms of our cultural values, has too much respect for dependency.

"Nobody likes to have his tax money used for dependency—for people they don't like. We take care of ourselves, sometimes not even our own families, and we attack people who are dependent, rather than the cause of their dependency."

Allotment of Cost

Of the 501,131 persons who received welfare aid last September, 464,867 of them were getting what is called "direct public assistance" for such basic items as rent, food and clothing. This totaled $32,251,247, of which roughly a third was paid by the city, a third by the Federal Government and a third by the state.

The remaining persons received aid for such items as foster care for children, the money for which comes from the city Controller's office, and for hospital care. These funds come from the Department of Hospitals budget.

The cost for the 501,131 persons of $37,338,837, came to $186.09 a case and $74.51 a person.

In September, 1963, 442,819 persons received public aid here. The budget was $31,911,202, or $176.02 a case and $72.06 a person.

The largest single item in the Welfare Department's budget consists of aid to dependent children—$15,578,660 last September, and $12,564,451 in September, 1963.

An even more stark picture of the Welfare Department's growing problems can be seen in the yearly figures.

Direct public assistance in the budget year ending last June cost $416,630,313, as compared with $339,515,137 for the previous year.

For the same periods, welfare hospitalization costs went from $83,777,074 to $95,236,066, and foster care for children rose from $52,191,531 to $64,131,167.

The total went up by more

ago, and every 15 days she receives $99 from the department.

Every two weeks $46 of this goes to her landlord for the rent of a sagging, Lower East Side apartment. She is left with less than $4 a day for food, clothing and the other necessities.

Slumlords Get Money

Much of the criticism directed against the Welfare Department is that a large portion of its aid goes to the support of slumlords.

But, Mr. Dumpson points out, in many cases there is simply no other housing available for welfare cases.

He said: "When new housing is available, a lot of our families simply cannot afford it. When they are relocated while the housing is going up, we often have to place them in apartments that are not under rent control."

And, under the law, the City Housing Authority, which builds and maintains the low-rent public housing here, has virtually run out of funds to build more.

An example of the type of housing in which welfare recipients often live is the Bryn Mawr, a six-story building at 420 West 121st Street near Amsterdam Avenue. Its exterior is practically indistinguishable from other buildings in the area, most of which are inhabited by middle-income families. But the Bryn Mawr has become a magnet for narcotics addicts and prostitutes: —50 arrests have been made on its premises in the last 44 months.

The Bryn Mawr's tenants are for the most part Negroes, and many are on public welfare. But, Mr. Dumpson said, "As long as there is a housing shortage in this city we have to put people where they will be taken."

Dumpson Seeks Changes

Mr. Dumpson has called for a number of changes in the laws and the policies of the welfare program. "We must rethink the soundness of the 'means test' as the cornerstone for eligibility," he said, so that applicants will not be stripped "of all vestiges of self-respect and dignity."

He also urged that a "more realistic" policy for "considering an accounting of income of persons in receipt of public assistance" so that their incentive "to self-support may be strengthened rather than discouraged."

Under the city welfare laws,

Medical ethics

If we summarize ethics as an attempt to achieve the highest good, we are faced with the conflict of the good of the individual as opposed to the use of the individual as a means of achieving good for all. In this problem we are influenced by our democratic concept that the rights and value of the individual are not subordinate to those of the community or state—R. Lee Clark.

Experimentation brings medical progress —but raises serious questions of ethics

By R. Lee Clark, M.D.

THE PHRASE, "experimentation on human beings," has inherently a slightly noisome connotation, even to the individual trained in scientific disciplines. Yet, as the purpose of medical science is to discover and to extend knowledge of the human being, the general problem of such experimentation has been with us since the dawn of medicine as a science.

For many years subhuman species have been used for experiments; however, the ultimate proof of validity has, of necessity, been decided on the basis of results when these same experiments were performed with human subjects. The medical profession therefore has a duty to its members and to the society in which it practices to define the limitations within which human research may properly be pursued.

An adequate code of medical ethics has been in existence almost as long as there has been recognized medical practice, but in this particular era, human experimentation necessitates redefinition of and adherence to certain scientific, legal, and ethical precepts. Eludication of the principles can be obtained by reiteration of much that is traditional, and of clarification of many precepts that are complex and that are still changing.

The ethical code that governs human research must be commensurate with, and relevant to, the human values linvolved. Acceptance of these precepts, therefore, requires examination of at least three major considerations. The first is the exact meaning of ethics, and the second, an interpretation of what constitutes human experimentation. The third and most crucial proposition—what determines medical responsibility in modern research—can be resolved only after analysis of the first two problems.

The concept of ethics

The dictionary explains ethics as "The science of moral duty; broadly, the science of ideal human character, actions, and ends." Even from this succinct definition it is easy to discern that the concept of ethics has twofold implications: a relative or practical aspect. But although adherence to ethics of course necessitates maintenance of belief in absolute ethics [illegible]

had an extremely long and inspired history. Insofar as is known, no other people ever have expressed with such clarity and nobility the tenets of the physician's moral responsibility as did the Greeks. The Hippocratic Oath, that "most memorable of human documents," contains the essential ethical precepts of the practice of medicine. The Oath was not drafted as a legal document and it did not set forth punitive measures. It is simply an oath, an exhortation, and its strength and beauty stem from its moral decree.

Even though there have been many additions to the codes of medicine, the Hippocratic Oath has remained a monument to the highest ideals of the profession for which it was first intoned.

Although its concepts have been applicable through the ages, there are nonetheless no explicit injunctions in the Oath that pertain to medical research with human subjects and none is now promulgated by the American Medical Association. However as a direct consequence of the experiments performed on human beings under the National Socialistic regime in Germany, a code to govern human experimentation was developed at the Nuremberg Military Tribunals in 1947. This code is outlined in the following statement by Brigadier General Telford Taylor, Chief of Counsel for War Crimes.

Nuremberg code

"The great weight of the evidence before us is to the effect that certain types of medical experiments on human beings, when kept within reasonably well-defined bounds, conform to the ethics of the medical profession generally. The protagonists of the practice of human experimentation justify their views on the basis that such experiments yield results for the good of society that are unprocurable by other methods or means of study. All agree, however, that certain basic principles must be observed in order to satisfy moral, ethical and legal concepts:

"1. The voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential. This means that the person involved should have legal capacity to give consent; should be so situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice, without [illegible]

periments where the experimental physicians also serve as subjects.

"6. The degree of risk to be taken should never exceed that determined by the humanitarian importance of the problem to be solved by the experiment.

"7. Proper preparations should be made and adequate facilities provided to protect the experimental subject against even remote possibilities of injury, disability, or death.

"8. The experiment should be conducted only by scientifically qualified persons. The highest degree of skill and care should be required through all stages of the experiment of those who conduct or engage in the experiment.

"9. During the course of the experiment the human subject should be at liberty to bring the experiment to an end if he has reached the physical or mental state where continuation of the experiment seems to him to be impossible.

"10. During the course of the experiment the scientist in charge must be prepared to terminate the experiment at any stage, if he has probable cause to believe, in the exercise of the good faith, superior skill, and careful judgment required of him that a continuation of the experiment is likely to result in injury, disability, or death to the experimental subject."

Rules similar to those of the Nuremberg Code have been adopted by the American Medical Association and by the Green Committee to govern use of prisoners in research. Since the principles of medical ethics concerning human experimentation have been formally delineated, some attempt must be made to define human experimentation.

Human experimentation

All practice may be regarded as experimentation. Each time that a physician treats a patient, there are factors which may be unknown and which may affect the response of the patient to the treatment. If the accepted treatment does not have a beneficial result, the physician may then try another treatment. This is further experimentation. He has not used a new and untried procedure, possibly, but he is applying a treatment to gain an expected result with no assurance of success. It is the [illegible]

THE HOUSTON CHRONICLE

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Surgeons with a patient—detail from a mosaic over the entrance to Houston's Methodist Hospital. Since no patient is exactly like another, all medical treatment is in a sense experimental.

Outlook

At the direction of King Carlos IV of Spain, his court physician, Dr. Francisco Xavier deBalmes, sailed to the New World in 1803 with twenty-six orphaned children from the city of Caruna, Spain. These children were to be infected in succession, with the live "cow-pox" infection so that "pus" could be obtained from them with which to vaccinate the natives of New Spain. More than 400,000 people were so inoculated in South America alone. The expedition lasted from 1803 to 1812 and largely eliminated the epidemics of smallpox that periodically swept through whole cities and provinces. Orphaned children were used as the carriers of the live virus and were either borrowed or bought from homes or communities and carried with the expedition as long as they were useful—a practice that resulted in saving the lives of hundreds of thousands but was hardly designed with the greatest good of the orphaned children in mind.—R. Lee Clark

harm or permanent damage is done to the patient from whom it was withheld. By the same standard, it might be impossible to withhold even temporarily an established treatment for a disease in which life or death or serious aftereffects are at stake. Each trial must be weighed individually.

Shimkin discussed various categorizations of human experimentation. For example, there is one scheme which is based on the patient's role. Participation is classified as (1) passive, when human tissues or products that are sepa- [illegible]

sponses to the treatment, and also because their consent may be given under indirect duress due to a possible feeling that failure to consent will be detrimental to their standing in their profession. Civil prisoners may be used if their consent is voluntary and not the result of undue influence, such as the reward of a drastic reduction in sentence. Military prisoners are never to be used. The feeble minded should be considered as subjects under the same restrictions as children. Individuals who may die during the experiment should be avoided, since their death would reflect doubt on the [illegible]

petent to undertake and to carry out the experiment. Second, the human experimental subject must understand and voluntarily consent to the procedure, and must not be selected upon any basis such as race, religion, level of education, or economic status. In other words, the investigators and the subjects are human beings with entirely equal, inalienable rights that supersede any considerations of science or general public welfare. Finally, research on human beings is too hazardous and implies too many responsibilities to be undertaken by lone investigators. It should be a group effort supported by a proper consultative body. Experimentation, even on oneself, without such collaboration and consultation seems as indefensible as similar experimentation on another individual.

Until such time as the law establishes limits to "experimentation," the experimenter will be subject to the laws governing "practice." His strict observance of the code of ethics will be his best defense against legal action.

IT IS on the physician and his integrity that we have founded our reliance for the proper conduct of human research and for whom we are dependent for the application of new knowledge to human welfare. This faith is a great inheritance [illegible]

after analysis of the first two problems.

The concept of ethics

The dictionary explains ethics as "The science of moral duty; broadly, the science of ideal human character, actions, and ends." Even from this succinct definition it is easy to discern that the concept of ethics has twofold implications: a relative or practical aspect. But although adherence to ethics of course necessitates maintenance of belief in absolute ethics with an unchanging basic moral code, in the lives of laymen and physicians it is the second nonmetaphysical aspect of ethics that is most often challenged, the relative ethical precepts. The individual may contemplate abstract truth, but in everyday life, specific and urgent problems must be solved by the more practical, relative ethical precepts. In the immediate and concrete situations which William James called "forced options," some action must be taken.

A challenging example of a forced option is that made by William S. Halsted in 1881. At that time, Dr. Halsted's sister was extremely ill after postpartum hemorrhage. According to Halsted's own account, "After checking the hemorrhage. According to Halsted's own account, "After checking the hemorrhage, I transfused my sister with blood drawn into a syringe from one of my veins and injected immediately into hers. This was taking a great risk, but she was so nearly moribund that I ventured it, and with prompt results." This was one of the first instances of direct blood transfusion made in this country, and little was known then of the incompatibility of blood groups. This action attests not only to the skill and courage of William Stewart Halsted but aso to the immediacy of the kind of forced options physicians must take.

Medical ethics, both as a formal system of absolute precepts and as a practical guide of regulating conduct, has

ments yield results for the good of society that are unprocurable by other methods or means of study. All agree, however, that certain basic principles must be observed in order to satisfy moral, ethical and legal concepts:

"1. The voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential. This means that the person involved should have legal capacity to give consent; should be so situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice, without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, overreaching, or right ulterior forms of constraint or coercion; and should have sufficient knowledge and comprehension of the elements of the subject matter involved as to enable him to make an understanding and enlightened decision. This latter element requires that before the acceptance of an affirmative decision by the experimental subject there should be made known to him the nature, duration, and purpose of the experiment; the method and means by which it is to be conducted; all inconveniences and hazards reasonably to be expected; and the effects upon his health or person which may possibly come from his participation in the experiment.

"2. The experiment should be such as to yield fruitful results for the good of society unprocurable by other methods or means of study, and not random and unnecessary in nature.

"3. The experiment should be so designed and based on the results of animal experimentation and a knowledge of the natural history of the disease or other problem under study that the anticipated results will justify the performance of the experiment.

"4. The experiment should be so conducted as to avoid all unnecessary physical and mental suffering and injury.

"5. No experiment should be conducted where there is an a priori reason to believe that death or disabling injury will occur; except, perhaps, in those ex-

perimentation. Each time that a physician treats a patient, there are factors which may be unknown and which may affect the response of the patient to the treatment. If the accepted treatment does not have a beneficial result, the physician may then try another treatment. This is further experimentation. He has not used a new and untried procedure, possibly, but he is applying a treatment to gain an expected result with no assurance of success. It is the use of initiative on the part of the physician, with due attention to the welfare of his patient, which has advanced medicine and medical knowledge.

A distinguishing factor between practice and experimentation is the purpose for which they are conducted. Both undertake treatment for the welfare of the patient. But, as pointed out by Ladimer, "The physician accepts patients and is mainly concerned with their welfare; the investigator selects subjects (problems as well as individuals) and while responsive to the patient's interest, is bent on solving the scientific problem. . . . The investigator's basic purpose, as distinct from the practitioner's, is to elucidate and to generalize."

Although we may use purpose as a dividing line, experimentation and practice will overlap in method. And we must question the ethics of applying a new method of treatment, regardless of its purpose. The welfare of the patient must be of primary importance and the purpose of the trial must be to benefit and not to harm him. The activity of the practitioner and the experimenter may differ only in the nature of their interest in the result.

At times, the ethics of a situation depend on what is at stake. For example, in a clinical trial of a treatment for the common cold to shorten its duration, withholding from one patient the treatment which might help while giving it to another may prove the validity of the treatment. At the same time, no great

possible to withhold even temporarily an established treatment for a disease in which life or death or serious aftereffects are at stake. Each trial must be weighed individually.

Shimkin discussed various categorizations of human experimentation. For example, there is one scheme which is based on the patient's role. Participation is classified as (1) passive, when human tissues or products that are separated from the individual are examined as by the pathologist or biochemist, (2) late active, when studies on man are undertaken only after prior investigation on animals, and (3) initial active, when certain investigations must be undertaken first, or exclusively, on man.

Other kinds of classification are possible, such as the purpose of the research, and whether such research is basic or applied science.

Types of subject

If an experiment is proposed, it must be weighed against the ethical considerations which have been mentioned. The purpose of the experiment must be well defined, and if there is any risk, the value of it should be assessed by a competent group of scientists. Basic or initial research in the subject should be made on animals when possible, and man should be used only when unavoidable or when necessary for a final evaluation.

Choosing a human subject for the experiment must be done with regard for both the subject and the experiment. Children should never be used, except in extreme cases where the benefit to the child indicates the experimentation is less hazardous than withholding such treatment. The consent of the parents or guardians must be obtained if a child is used. Laboratory personnel and medical students should be avoided as subjects because their knowledge of the study and their association with other subjects will condition subjective re-

that failure to consent will be detrimental to their standing in their profession. Civil prisoners may be used if their consent is voluntary and not the result of undue influence, such as the reward of a drastic reduction in sentence. Military prisoners are never to be used. The feeble minded should be considered as subjects under the same restrictions as children. Individuals who may die during the experiment should be avoided, since their death would reflect doubt on the result of the experiment. The best type of subject is one who is mature and capable of understanding the nature of the treatment and the risk involved, and one who gives voluntary consent to participating in the experiment.

Medical responsibility

In medical jurisprudence, "the treatment of a patient obliges the physician to possess the ordinary knowledge of his profession and to exercise the ordinary skills. Failure to do so, including willful neglect, renders him liable for malpractice." The conduct of practice is governed by state statute and supporting administrative licensing and regulatory bodies. If a question of malpractice arises, the ability and standing of the physician, the accepted methods of treatment for the particular condition and his adherence to them, and the consent of the patient to receive the treatment are considered.

Although the practice of medicine has laws, precedents, customs, and rules for the patient, human experimentation has no specified legal precedents to protect the subject or the investigator. On the other hand, there is an abundance of precedent to indicate that the investigator experiments on man to his peril. According to Ladimer, "court decisions that have involved 'experimentation' have generally been based on issues of nondisclosure or lack of consent, negligence, unfitness, and other improper activity arising in cases of departure from accepted diagnosis, therapy, or other medical practice. These have failed to recognize the important distinction between poor medical practice and legitimate research."

On the matter of consent, Koerner stated, "Under the maxim, volenti non fit injuria, the law says a person has assumed the risk if he knows a given situation is dangerous, has a reasonable opportunity to discover the nature of the risk, has an appreciation of that risk, but still remains in that dangerous situation of his own accord until injured.

What is the law governing new forms of treatment? What are the pitfalls? What should a physician do when he wishes to try out a new treatment, say, for cancer? First, he should make sure the treatment method does not vary too much from accepted medical standards. Then he should explain to the patient and those legally responsible for him all that is known about the method or the material, its mode of action, the fact that there may be reactions not heretofore experienced with it, th erisks involved, and the consequences that are possible. Then the patient or, if he is a minor, incompetent, etc., those legally responsible for him should execute a consent. . . . "

Shimkin's analysis of the various rules shows that they can be reduced to two primary principles: First, the investigators must be thoroughly trained in the scientific disciplines of the problem, must understand and appreciate the ethics involved, and must thus be com-

lishes limits to "experimentation," the experimenter will be subject to the laws governing "practice." His strict observance of the code of ethics will be his best defense against legal action.

IT IS on the physician and his integrity that we have founded our reliance for the proper conduct of human research and for whom we are dependent for the application of new knowledge to human welfare. This faith is a great inheritance from the past and begins with the gods and demigods of healing of the ancients as exemplified by Imhotep, Aesculapius, and Hippocrates, and passes through centuries of dedicated medical practitioners, teachers, and investigators. The justification of this faith is the first duty of the physician to his patient and his fellow man.

The physician should remind himself of the precepts inherent in that code expressed in the Oath attributed to Hippocrates, "I will follow that system of regimen which, according to my ability and judgment, I consider for the benefit of my patients, and abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous."

And further reflection on the dictum, was pronounced by the Father of Experimental Medicine himself, Claude Bernard, who gave this advice: "So, among the experiments that may be tried on man, those that can only harm are forbidden, those that are innocent are permissible, and those that may do good are obligatory."

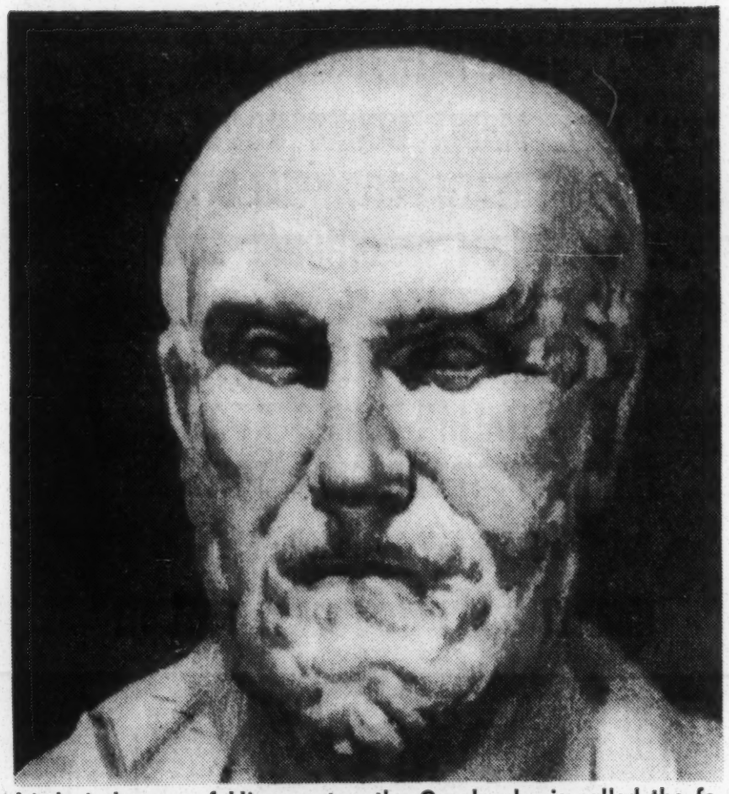
The physician has the guiding principles of his profession to assist him in the ethical pursuit of human experimentation. In his love of humanity (philanthropia of Hippocrates) and reverence for life (Albert Schweitzer), he will preserve the life and individuality of each patient. While furthering his own knowledge of life and medicine he will make the most of this privileged opportunity by an unbiased appraisal and by a free sharing of the knowledge gained. He will preserve his own integrity, admonished, as was Shakespeare's Laertes, by the precept:

"This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

Finally we may turn to the words of Christ in speaking to the disciples about their work with the sick, hungry, thirsty, imprisoned and abandoned—words which may be used both as a guide for the conduct of human experimentation and for a limitation of its use:

Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." (Matthew 25:40.)

R. Lee Clark, M.D., wrote the paper, from which the above is excerpted, to help formulate institutional policy for research pertaining to clinical problems at the University of Texas M. D. Anderson Hospital and Tumor Institution (Houston), of which he is director. It was first printed in Transactions of the Alumni Association of the Mayo Foundation. Dr. Clark has been appointed to the President's Committee on Heart Disease, Cancer and Stroke.



Little is known of Hippocrates, the Greek who is called the father of medicine. He was a teacher as well as a practitioner; lived around 400 B.C.

The Hippocratic oath

Hippocrates formulated the first code of medical ethics:

"I swear by Apollo Physician and Asclepius and Hygeia and Panacea and all the gods and goddesses, making them my witnesses, that I will fulfill according to my ability and judgment this oath and covenant:

"To hold him who has taught me this art as equal to my parents and to live my life in partnership with him, and if he is in need of money to give him a share of mine, and to regard his offspring as equal to my brothers in male lineage and to teach them this art—if they desire to learn it—without fee and covenant; to give a share of precepts and oral instruction and all the other learning to my sons and to the sons of him who has instructed me and to pupils who have signed the covenant and taken an oath according to the medical law, but to no one else.

"I will apply dietetic measures for the benefit of the sick according to my ability and judgment; I will keep them from harm and injustice.

"I will neither give a deadly drug to anybody if asked for it, nor will I make a suggestion to this effect. Similarly I will not give to a woman an abortive remedy. In purity and holiness I will guard my life and my art.

"I will not use the knife, not even on sufferers from stone, but will withdraw in favor of such men as are engaged in this work.

"Whatever houses I may visit, I will come for the benefit of the sick, remaining free of all intentional injustice, of all mischief and in particular of sexual relations with both female and male persons, be they free or slaves.

"What I may see or hear in the course of the treatment or even outside of the treatment in regard to the life of men, which on no account one must spread abroad, I will keep to myself holding such things shameful to be spoken about.

"If I fulfill this path and do not violate it, may it be granted to me to enjoy life and art, being honored with fame among all men for all time to come; if I transgress it and swear falsely, may the opposite of all this be my lot."

House Maneuver Planned to Pass Aged Care Bill

By JOHN D. MORRIS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 5 — Administration leaders are preparing to invoke a rarely used parliamentary device to assure action by the House of Representatives on health care for the aged under Social Security.

They readily concede that extraordinary measures must be employed to prevent a Senate-House conference committee from deleting health-care provisions from a Social Security bill that has now cleared both chambers in different form.

What they hope to do is win House approval of a motion instructing House members of the conference mommittee to accept a health-care plan in settling differences with the Senate.

The House conferees would be legally bound by such instructions, regardless of whether they personally opposed a Social Security program of health care. The final version of the bill thus would have to include health-care provisions.

The version passed by the House July 29 called for a $1.9 billion increase in annual cash payments to Social Security beneficiaries without dealing with the problem of health care.

The Senate raised the projected increase in cash benefits to $2.2 billion and added a modified version of the Administration's health-care program before passing the bill last Thursday.

Mill's Opposition Is Cited

The impracticability of obtaining an agreement in Senate-House conference on a final bill that retains a health-care plan arises mainly from the opposition of Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Democrat of Arkansas.

As chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, he outmaneuvered the Administration in bringing out a bill that omitted health care in steering it to House passage without a vote on the issue.

Mr. Mills has made it evident that, as chairman of the House conferees, he would do his utmost to delete the Senate health-care provisions. With the four other prospective conferees for the House divided on the issue, 2 to 2, Mr. Mills would prevail 3 to 2.

The Senate conferees, who vote as a separate unit, would doubtless yield, since a majority of them are personally opposed to the health-care plan. They are honor-bound to support the Senate position on issues in conference, but only in the early phase of the negotiations.

The bill is now expected to reach the House floor next Wednesday, when Democratic leaders will ask unanimous consent to send it to conference. An expected objection will put it in the hands of the Rules Committee, which may send it back to the floor some time in the following week with recommendations for a conference.

Floor Wrangle Possible

At that point, according to present plans, Administration forces will seek approval of a motion instructing the House conferees.

Aside from a possibility that such a motion would be rejected by the House, the tactic may provoke a parliamentary wrangle in which a clear-cut test would be precluded.

This is because a minority party, under House rules, must be given the first opportunity to offer an instruction motion. Republican leaders are considering offering and dealing with some other provision of the bill.

If they do, the only way for Administration leaders to obtain a vote on their own motion would be to engage in a highly complicated parliamentary maneuver that would be what is known as a previous question.

To vote on any proposal, the House must first adopt the previous question, and this is usually done in routine manner. But in the present situation, the only way that health-care proponents could kill a Republican motion to instruct the conferees — without precluding a later vote on their own instruction motion — would be to defeat the previous question.

All this would tend to obscure the issue, confounding many House members as well as the public. But Administration leaders say they expect to battle through the parliamentary muddle, if the Republicans make it necessary.

They express considerable hope but not much optimism that they will emerge from it victoriously, and that the House conferees will thereby be legally bound to back the Administration's position on health care for the aged.

Insurance Group's View

In a comment this week on the Senate version of the health care bill, Robert M. Neal, general manager of the Health Insurance Association of America, had this to say:

"The Health Insurance Association of America questions whether the public understands fully what the tax costs would be for the proposed Social Security amendments of 1964, including the medicare provisions as passed by the Senate. It is understood that this measure will be up for consideration by the House shortly and legislative action could be taken as early as Wednesday, Sept. 9.

"Under the Senate measure, Social Security taxes for an individual earning $5,600 or more per year would increase from the present $144 he paid this year to $288 which he would have to pay in 1965 — a $144 increase. In addition, further tax increases are provided so that by 1971, an individual will be paying $291.40 — an increase of $147.20 over 1964.

"Employers would pay similar amounts on behalf of their employes and these sums would probably come either from higher charges on the products or services everyone purchases, or from reductions in employe fringe benefits. The Social Security tax in 1971 would increase to $582.40, a total of 10.4 per cent of the employe's gross salary up to $5,600 a year, shared equally by the employer and the employe.

"It should also be noted that for a married man with two children earning $5,600 or more a year the Social Security tax increase for 1965 of $64 would more than wipe out the entire income tax cut provided for 1965 income, producing for him a total tax increase in 1965 rather than a tax cut. Furthermore, the total Social Security tax increases specified in the Senate bill through 1971 will just about cancel out the entire 1964 and 1965 income tax cuts for such a family man.

"Nor is this by any means the entire story. Our preliminary calculations indicate that tax increases even greater than those provided in the Senate bill would be required to pay for all the health care and old-age benefits specified in the legislation.

"It should be further understood that the Senate bill provides only limited hospital and nursing care benefits. In future years demand would undoubtedly arise for more expensive coverage and liberalized benefits and this could result in still higher Social Security taxes than those in the pending legislation.

"In some European countries, for example, taxes for such social welfare programs approach 20 per cent of total taxable national payroll.

"In view of the probable immediate costs and the probable future costs the public as a whole should have a vital interest in the pending measure."

AMA Reported Under Tax Investigation

CHICAGO (PAI) — Officials of the American Medical Association aren't talking about it, but there are reliable reports here that the Internal Revenue Service is studying its tax exempt advertising in its 13 publications.

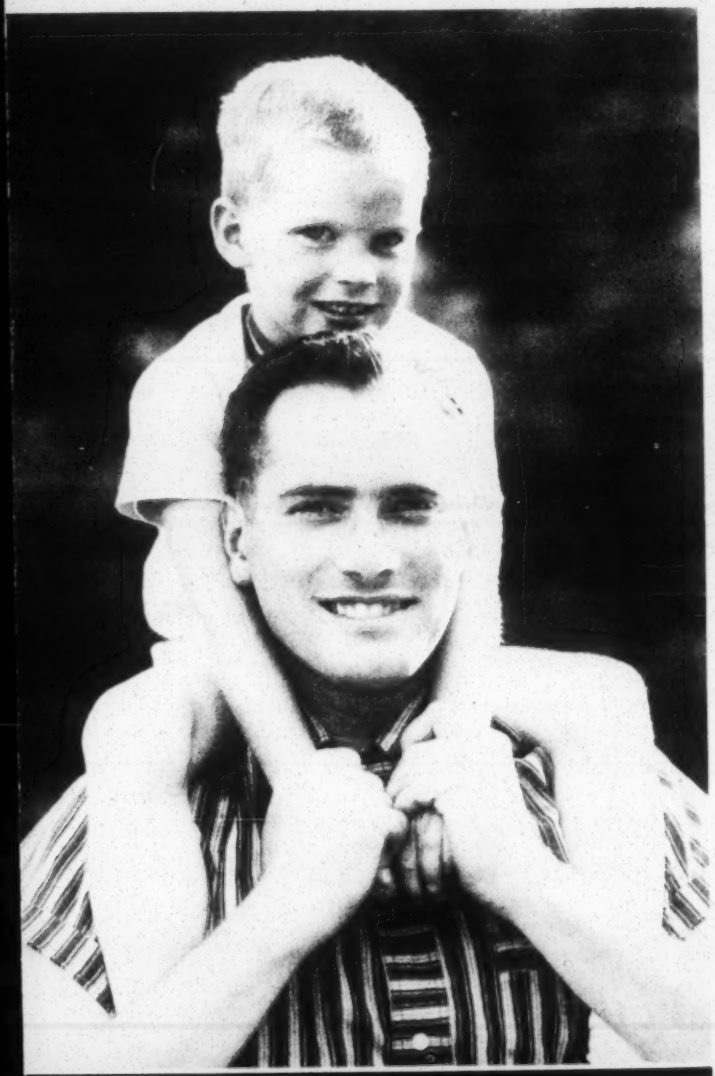
The Bureau is interested in tax-exempt magazines published by other tax exempt institutions which publish magazines carrying millions of dollars worth of advertising each year. But attention is centered on AMA headquarters here, believed to represent the largest tax-exempt publisher in the United States.

While the *Journal of the American Medical Association* is probably its best-known publication, the AMA also publishes other magazines ranging from the 8,000-circulation *Otolaryngology* to the 800,000 circulation *Today's Health,* a layman's magazine.

Last year the *Journal* carried 5,262 pages of ads, well up among the top advertising media in the United States. In 1963, the AMA received more than half of its total income of $22,500,000 from its tax-exempt publications.

The Internal Revenue Service has received complaints from commercial trade magazines that they can't compete with the AMA's advertising rates when they have to pay normal taxes and the AMA doesn't.

Predictions have been made here that the IRS will propose regulations that would impose taxes on such tax-exempt advertising and non-member subscriptions. These would not affect publications of fraternal and veterans' groups.



Your Child

Your Child and His Attitudes

By DONALD M. MAYNARD

Once upon a time there was a father who had no interest in bugs or crawling things. In fact, he didn't like them. To him they were objects to brush quickly from one's clothes, and to avoid when possible. One evening his young son, who was having his first experience with catching fireflies, rushed up to him and asked him to hold a firefly he had just caught. The father's first inclination was to withdraw his hand quickly and to refuse his son's request with an exclamation of disgust and irritation. Fortunately, he caught himself just in time, and gingerly held the firefly in his hand, and then another, and then still another, as the son delightedly continued what was to him a thrilling experience.

It is worthy of note that this young boy continued his interest in all phases of nature, and today, many years later, is carrying on significant research in the field of zoology and teaching in one of the great universities of our land. The father has been grateful through the years that in this every-day, and yet crucial experience with his son, he did not pass on to him his own attitude of dislike for bugs. How easy it would have been for him to transmit the feeling to his son that bugs and crawling things were to be avoided, or to be crushed and killed. And how impoverished the life of the son would have been had the father's attitude been passed on to him.

The purpose of this illustration is to remind us that it is during the formative years of a child's life that many of his basic attitudes are established, attitudes that will do much towards determining whether or not he has confidence in himself, whether or not he has wholesome attitudes towards others and can get along with them, and the kind of values around which he builds his life. As a parent contemplates this responsibility, it is almost frightening.

But it is equally important that we do not let this illustration give us the wrong impression. Important as the parents may be in the formation of children's attitudes, he is not the sole determiner of them. Other people, the child's peers, and his first hand experiences with objects and people in his environment, all influence him. This particular boy, for example, even though he had at first caught from his father a dislike for bugs, might have changed when he discovered that many of his peers were interested in objects of nature. A teacher in the school might have directed him into many interesting contacts with, in this case, bugs, and later on the teaching of science in school might have created an interest in the whole field of zoology. Nevertheless, the influence of parents, especially during the earlier years, is likely to be more important than any other factor.

By the term "attitudes," we are thinking primarily of the feeling that a child or a person has towards objects, events, people, or ideas. It is the feeling aspect of attitudes that is as important. And although it is true that we feel more intensely about some things than others, we think of an attitude as having an intensity of emotion connected with it that leads to a certain type of behavior. Attitudes give direction to our behavior and our lives. If I have a favorable attitude towards someone, I want to be with that person, in my behavior I tend to approach him. If I have an attitude of dislike, I try to avoid the person, and I tend to go away from him. I tend to be favorably inclined toward the ideas of people whom I admire and like; I tend to be critical of the ideas of those whom I do not like or admire.

It is important, then, for you to ask yourself two basic questions: What are the more basic attitudes I want my child to develop? And second, what part do I have to play in the development of my child's attitudes?

The child is not born with attitudes about people or ideas. He is not born with prejudices toward others; he is not born with a deep-seated sense of inferiority. These are attitudes that are acquired, that grow out of his experiences. Because they are acquired, they may either be prevented in the first place, or changed after they have been developed. This, of course, is why you, the parent, have such a significant role to play. Your child is in your care during the formative years when many of the most basic attitudes are created.

As you think of your child and his attitudes, keep in mind the following:

I. Your child, very early in life, learns to behave in ways that bring about the gratification of his needs, some of which are physical, others psychological and social. He discovers that how well they are satisfied depends upon how well he gets along in his interpersonal relationships which, for a small child, means with you, the parent. The behavior that he discovers is pleasing to you becomes associated with certain attitudes. These attitudes consequently influence his future interpretation of his environment and create within him a readiness to act in a certain way.

Your child, for example, has a great need for your approval. If he discovers that whenever he exercises initiative and resourcefulness in his play, or manifests great curiosity about the world of nature and of people, you seem to be a bit irritated and express your disapproval, he may decide that it is better to stifle creative thinking and curb impulses to express himself freely and enthusiastically. He is likely to develop a basic attitude towards life that says life must be lived cautiously, rather than with an adventuresome spirit. In the future, therefore, he responds negatively to creative opportunities.

Again, in his play with his peers it is inevitable that he should run into conflicts and difficulties. This is a normal part of the process of learning how to get along with others. But one evening he comes home and says he has been in a fight, and he speaks disparingly of his adversary. It soon is revealed that the boy is one of another race, or creed. You may not realize it but this may be a very crucial moment in your child's life. How you respond to the situation may determine whether your child develops racial prejudice or exemplifies a feeling of tolerance and appreciation for others. If you, too, speak with contempt for the lad of another race, and encourage your son to feel that he is "no good" or inferior, the seeds of racial prejudice may be firmly entrenched. On the other hand, if you show disapproval of such evidences of racial prejudice, your child's attitude towards others may become one of respect and appreciation. Behavior, you see, helped influence the development of attitudes, which attitudes, in turn, influenced future behavior.

II. Although your child's attitudes may be affected by what you say, other means of communication are likely to be more effective. And of course what you do is more important than anything else. But do not forget that it is important that you offer verbal expressions of approval and appreciation to your child. Do not take for granted that he knows you love him and are proud of him. Tell him so, in no uncertain terms.

Far more important than your words, will be the more subtle means of communication. The smile on your face and the light in your eye as you congratulate your son on something he has done, are far more significant than the words you may utter. And a scowl, or a shrug of the shoulders, or the pursing of the lips when your child shares with you a mediocre report card conveys your disappointment more eloquently than scolding or recrimination. Saying nothing in such a situation may be more devastat-

ing to the spirit of your child than the honestly facing of the facts in the situation.

Actions have special significance as you try to help your child develop wholesome attitudes toward religion. You can tell your child that you believe in God, but if in the telling you are unenthusiastic and seem to be expressing shibboleths that you have learned, your child is not fooled. If, in addition, he sees no evidence that you ever pray to God; if you never speak of Him in connection with the ongoing life of the family; and if your grace at the table is purely perfunctory, he soon senses the fact that God isn't a very vital factor in your life. You can take your child to church school and tell him it is good for him, that you went as a child. If you then return home to read the Sunday paper, and do not bother to attend the services of your church, your son will look forward to the time when he is big and can stay home. In other words, your child's attitude toward religion is likely to reflect your own.

III. Your child will tend to assume the attitudes of persons and groups with which he identifies himself. When he is small, you may note that he frequently expresses the attitudes of a beloved character in his favorite story. Later on he tends to emulate the athletic heroes with whom he identifies himself. There is considerable evidence that children who watch television extensively reflect the attitudes of their favorite characters.

In later childhood, and especially during adolescence, your child will be particularly concerned about the approval of those who belong to a special group of which he is a part. Sometimes the expectations and attitudes of these peer groups are quite different from your own. Your child thus finds himself in a quandary. He wants to please you—although this may be news to you—and he also wants the approval of his group. He may find himself vacillating between espousing the attitudes of the group, and those of the home. He may be genuinely concerned as to what is right or wrong, as attitudes are closely related to values. Try to be as sympathetic as possible with him in his predicament. Watch for moments when you can share with him the reasons for your attitudes; give him a chance to express his own viewpoints, and encourage him to make up his own mind.

Recognizing the importance of peer groups upon the formation of attitudes, it is perfectly proper that you should be concerned about the groups to which your child belongs. You will try to provide for your children friends and companions whose basic attitudes you deem to be commendable, although they may not always be identical with your own.

IV. Far less important than the influence of peer groups, is the influence of logical argument, or the acquisition of factual information, although they both have some influence upon attitudes. Encourage your child to think logically and to get the facts that form the basis of judgment and thus of attitudes. Remember, however, that these are not all important. It may be well, also, to remember that the attitudes of your child will not be markedly changed by threats or punishment.

V. Your child's first-hand experiences with his environment help determine his attitudes toward himself and others. A child who is guided into a creative activity in which he achieves something that seems to him and to others to be significant, develops confidence in himself. Happy experiences with those of other races provide a foundation for attitudes of respect and appreciation for them. A role-playing experience in which he tries to feel as others feel, may bring about changes in his attitudes.

VI. Do not forget the influence of the community in which you live upon your child's attitudes. In your efforts as a citizen to see to it that you have honest officials, that your schools and teachers are held in high regard, and that throughout the community there is respect and appreciation for the various racial and religious groups, you will be trying to provide your child with that kind of an environment which will help produce wholesome, worthwhile attitudes.

Department of the Christian Family
in cooperation with
Department of Christian Education of Children
Division of the Local Church
General Board of Education, The Methodist Church
Box 871, Nashville, Tennessee

No. 3109-C 100M - 1962

Med Care +
Welfare

OUR CHILDREN

INTER-FAITH GROUP

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER

FEBRUARY 8, 1963
10:30 A. M. - 12:30 P. M.

I saw Tomorrow passing by
On little children's feet,
Within their forms and faces,
Read their prophecy complete
I saw tomorrow look at me
Thro little children's eyes,
And thought how carefully,
I must teach.

Author, unknown

OUR CHILDREN

WHAT SHALL WE TEACH THEM ABOUT HUMAN RELATIONS

- - - - - -

And Thou Shalt Love the Lord Thy God
With all thine heart,
And with all thy soul,
And with all thy might.

- - - - - -

And these words, which I command
Thee this day,
Shall be in thine heart,

And thou shalt teach them diligently,
Unto thy children,
And shall talk of;

When thou sittest in thine house,
And when thou walkest by the way,
And when thou liest down, and
When thou riseth up.

- - - - - -

And thou shalt bind them
For a sign upon thine hand,

And they shall be as frontlets
Between thine eyes,

And thou shalt write them
Upon thy gates.

...Deuteromony 6:5-9

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LITERATURE TABLE

Samples of material have been sent from many church boards. They are free. We hope you will avail yourselves of it.

PROGRAM

10:30 --- 12:30

INTRODUCTION Mrs. M. E. Tilly

CALL TO WORSHIP Mrs. Seymour Haber

IN UNISON

Blessed be the name of God, for ever and ever, for wisdom and might are His. He giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him and He will show them His covenant.

WORSHIP Mrs. Herman Yang

PANEL "What Shall We Teach Our Children About Human Relations?"

COORDINATOR --
Mr. Pat Watters

PARTICIPANTS --
Miss Janet Rogan -- Rabbi Stuart Davis
Dr. Jerome I. Berlin -- The Audience

SUMMARY --
Mr. Vincent Harding

PRAYER IN UNISON:

Almighty God our Heavenly Father, who has set the solitary in families, we commend to Thy continual care the homes in which Thy people dwell. Put far from them every strain of prejudice, every root of bitterness. Fill them with faith virtue, patience, knowledge, Godliness. Turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers.

We praise Thee for renewing Age with the company of Youth, Bless their vision of a New Time, grant that they may be strong; that Thy Word may abide in them that they may run a straight race, and not be weary. ...Amen.

From ... Prayers, Old and New
Forward Movement Publications

WHO'S WHO

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, The Fellowship of the Concerned, Southern Regional Council

Mrs. A. Haber, President of the Atlanta Council of B'nai B'rith Women

Mrs. George Gunning, President, Atlanta Diocesan Council of Catholic Women

Mrs. Van P. Enloe, President, United Church Women of Atlanta

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Corresponding Secretary, United Church Women of Atlanta

Mr. Pat Watters, Columnist, The Atlanta Journal

Rabbi Stewart Davis, Asst. Rabbi, The Temple

Miss Janet Rogan, St. Martin's Council on Human Relations; Regional Medical Social Consultant

Dr. Jerome I. Berlin, Dr. of Philosophy and Clinical Psychology;
Director of Human Development Institute,
1299 W. Peachtree Street, N. E.

Dr. Vincent Harding, Representative in the South Mennonite Central Committee

STEERING COMMITTEE

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Mrs. Fred Patterson

Mrs. John Patton

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson

Mrs. A. J. Rubin

Mrs. J. Owen Smith

Mrs. W. W. Weatherspool

Mrs. W. R. Wilkes

"If all the girls in the world took hands,
beginning here with me,
It would make a line exceeding fine that would
reach from sea to sea;
If all the boys in the world took hands,
stretching from shore to shore,
It would make a circle of friendliness where
wars could be no more."

My family resides in a segregated society, where even to be a "moderate" is to be suspect, and where "One Worlders" are referred to with contempt. From such a situation many people, both white and colored, seek to escape by moving. Every section of our land is faceing its greatest struggle, and its greatest opportunity, at the same time. I want to remain in my community to share the struggle and the opportunity.

... Wherever I am, I try to teach my children, by precept and example, to respect persons as persons, and as children of God.

... We have a globe in our home, and some large maps: one of the United States and one of the world. We have a picture of the flags of the United Nations. Three of our children can associate flags and nations.

... One daughter is a member of the World-Wide Doll Club and receives periodically a doll from some different country, along with an explanation of the customs of that country.

... Our family watches together some TV programs, one of which is the World Series in baseball. Sometimes it is amazing how many different nationalities and ethnic groups are represented by the players. Another program which we see together frequently is the World News Roundup. By this means we travel here, there, and yonder around the world. We become more aware of places and problems, though, than we do of conflicts among persons of other races and backgrounds.

... We sometimes count, and locate on the map, the date lines to the front page of the newpspaer. Our family uses various devotional guides. Occasionally THE UPPER ROOM has a"World Fellowship Number."

Human rights are more basic than states' rights. The state does not create rights; its task is to make fraternity and conditions which support equal rights secure for all its citizens. We can't legislate morality, but we can and should develop and support legislation which encourages and supports morality. There is a natural "consciousness of kind" but it need not be "unkind." Each person, as a child of God, has the right of equal opportunity for full self realization. Intelligence, mutual respect, and co-operation are musts for survival. They are necessary if we are to build a good society, and more necessary still if we are to take seriously the discipleship of our Lord who calls us to prepare the way for the gift of the Kingdom of God.

----By Bond Fleming

From .. The Board of Education, The Methodist Church

Med. Care & Welfare

THE OTHER AMERICA

POVERTY AS A SEPARATE CULTURE

Traditionally, America has been the land of opportunity and mobility. To be an American was to live, regardless of existing circumstances, within the context of a culture of hope. But what happens to people when there is no hope? Today, Mr. Harrington believes, there are many for whom the American dream is no longer true. Their poverty is not a temporary condition: they live outside the patterns of opportunity and mobility.

Mr. Harrington is the author of The Other America: Poverty in the United States *and was until recently the editor of* New America.

Michael Harrington

"Poor people in the United States of America are different. They can easily be defined in terms of their income. But that doesn't tell you everything about them. Poor people are different in terms of psychology, in terms of a way of looking at the world. Poor people live in a separate culture, in a vicious circle, in a downward spiral. It is not enough simply to change the income of the poor. One is dealing, when one deals with poverty in the United States, with a total problem of a way of life. Therefore, it is a problem that can't be disposed of by the simple expenditure of funds or the material construction of a building. It is a problem that can only be dealt with if we have the ingenuity and the vision to actually break through that culture and offer a new way of life to these people. . . .

"One of the problems of our society is, in many ways, that we no longer see the poor. And, if we are to do something about poverty, the first thing we have to do is to get people to see it; to understand that it is still there; to break through the myth and the fantasy that we live in a society of affluence, where everyone is all right. We live in a society where the development of our cities, the flight from the central city to the suburbs, has removed practically the entire middle class from contact with poverty. Poverty is no longer 'across the tracks' in our society. Poverty is now miles away, segregated . . . and not only in racial terms.

"Therefore, we must get people to see it. We live in a society where we have probably the best dressed poor the world has ever known. We don't live in a society of rags. One of the few things the American poor can get fairly decently is clothes. Therefore, we don't *see* the poor."

For the first time in history, the poor are a minority. When the poor are a majority, they have a break because everybody has to be concerned with them. But when the poor are a minority it is possible that their plight is worse, because there are fewer of them and it is possible to ignore them. It is possible to run the society, to have the growth and production, to have two-thirds who are happy and content, and simply forget about the rest of the society.

"There are signs that there is a developing consciousness about poverty. We have a Congressional Joint Economic Committee report that states that 32 million Americans, 19 per cent of our population, are poor. That

figure is derived by a very modest definition: by setting $2,500 as the income needed for an urban family of four. . . .

"We have a recent report by the Conference on Economic Progress [see *Current*, July 1962, Readers Service] that estimates that 77 million Americans, that is to say, 40 per cent of the population of the United States, are either poor or deprived; that is to say, live at a level much lower than is necessary for a decent existence by our standards.

"But the point with poverty is not to get involved in a numbers game. . . . Take any one of these figures and you have a scandal. More than that, it seems to me, if anything, the *prospect* for the poor in our society is a grim one. As things stand now, things will get worse for the poor before they get better. We live in a society where automation is destroying jobs and will destroy more jobs. We live in a society that has already tolerated unconscionable new poverty: in the coal mining areas in West Virginia and Pennsylvania; among automobile workers in Detroit; among packing house workers in Chicago. And the process that has been creating new poor people in the midst of an affluent society is not going to stop. If anything, it is going to accelerate.

"Moreover, we live in a society in the West, among the advanced nations of the earth, that today has the lowest growth rate of any society, and when a trend of that kind develops, it means fewer jobs, fewer new jobs.

"We live in a society that has, among all of the advanced nations, with the exception of Canada, the highest rate of chronic unemployment to be found in the Western world, a rate of unemployment four times greater than that of the countries of the Common Market, for example. You will find no country in Europe with unemployment over 2 per cent. You will find some with less than 1 per cent. And, in the United States, for years now, our unemployment has not dropped below 5 per cent. It is the goal of American policy now to hit a level of unemployment that, if reached, will still be three times greater than that currently prevailing in Europe: a goal we look forward to as an achievement.

"As a result of this automation and unemployment situation, you have . . . one special group that is literally stricken with social havoc: the young people. . . . We know now that these young people, barring considerable changes in our society, are already, . . . at 16, 17, 18 years of age, condemned to be poor for the rest of their lives. This is so because we live in a society whose skill level is moving up and up; yet these young people have dropped out of school. . . .

Yesterday's poor

"Poverty-stricken people form a culture. They have a special plight. In the old days in the United States, in the days of the great immigrant waves, it was possible to live in a slum and not be a slum dweller. Then you were part of a culture of hope, a culture of aspiration, which came from the old country. The slum was the center of a culture, of a religion, of a language—and of hope. There were, in the slums, the intelligent and the not so intelligent. There were those who wanted to break out. There was a mood; the great drama of American society was that the miserable slums at the turn of the century, in the period of immigrant waves, were way stations into the great society. Today that is no longer true.

Today's poor

"Today our slums are peopled by those who weren't part of history when it moved forward, who were rejected by progress. It is peopled internally by migrants and particularly by racial minorities who have problems the like of which no other groups have faced. In these slums, now, the way into society has become much more difficult. It used to be that there was

a continuum of skill in American society and a young person who dropped out of school could go into the plant as a laborer and slowly pick up skill and become a machine helper; then take a course at night and finally become a tool and diemaker. In an automated society, that process is over. We now, more and more, have a chasm between those who are highly trained and those not trained at all. Those who, because of their birth, because of the accident of their birth, get the disadvantage of a lack of education and culture and are in a worse position than in any like situation in the history of our country.

"We have understood, more and more, that to be poor is to think and feel differently. George Gallup, in one of his polls, has found that the poor are more pessimistic about everything. The poor think World War III is more likely than do the middle class or the rich. The poor think that depression is likely. The poor think they won't take a vacation next year. The poor, given an option of predicting the future as a function of the present, assume it will be miserable.

"And we now have evidence that is contrary to the myth that the really terribly mentally torn people of our society live in the suburbs, suffering the anxieties of $15,000, $20,000, and $25,000 a year. That is not true. We have evidence from studies in New Haven and from the 'Midtown' studies in New York City that the life of poverty is a life productive of mental disturbances, neurosis, and psychosis: that the poor are not 'the happy savages' of an affluent society but, rather, that the poor are the greatest mental and spiritual and psychological victims of the affluent society—precisely because they *are* poor. We know the poor live in a vicious circle. They get sick more often, because they live under unhygienic conditions. They stay sick longer, because they don't have the money for the doctor and medicine. As a result of that, they are less capable of facing illness the next time it comes around. There is a downward treadmill that exists in the culture of poverty. . . . Suffice it to say that, in the United States of America, there is not simply poverty as a fact, there is poverty as a way of life.

Integrate the poor

"In order to approach this problem seriously, we need to think differently. We need to be radical, in the traditional sense of the word: we need to go to the root of the problem. Above all, we need to be comprehensive. If there is anything that is true about poverty, it is that you cannot attack it piecemeal. You cannot simply change one thing about a poor person's life and expect that you have made great progress. That is penny-wise and dollar-foolish—if you want to put it in the most actuarial sense of the word.

"We can build decent housing for the poor. We should. But, if, at the same time that we build a building that is nice, we leave the job situation the same; we leave medical care provisions the same; we leave these people isolated from contact with the great society—then we will have vitiated 90 per cent of what we have done. Because poverty is not simply this factor or that factor or the other—poverty in the United States is the interconnection between these factors. That is what is meant when when we say poverty makes a culture. If one is serious about attacking a culture, then one must think about it comprehensively. . . .

"If we are serious about abolishing poverty, we will understand that the first thing we have to do is bring the people I have been talking about back to society. And, to bring them back to society, we have to integrate them into society." ("Poverty in U.S.A.," *Journal of Housing*, Dec. 27, 1962)

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worth, N.Y., in the amount of $77,364. The contract was awarded by the U.S. Army Engineer District, N.Y. Subsequently the contractor submitted a claim for $5,825 additional compensation covering alleged extra work performed in installing 470 feet of 8-inch water distribution main with fittings and valves. The claimant corporation alleged that it was required to do the work by the contracting officer even though it was not required to be constructed under the terms of the contract, since the lease boundary line was not indicated on the pertinent drawing. The claim was denied by the contracting officer, who found that although the lease boundary line was not shown on the drawing, it was shown on a large scale portion of the same drawing and could be established readily on the other drawing by scaling.

The division engineer reviewed the claim and determined that an ambiguity existed in the drawings relative to the new 8-inch water line and that this was misleading to a reasonably prudent bidder and, therefore, the contractor should be compensated for this additional work under the contract.

Subsequently, new negotiations were made between the Corps of Engineers and the Middlesex Corp. and it was agreed that $4,000 was due the contractor. The Army had already allocated funds within $2,400 of the maximum allowable. The contractor was paid this $2,400, leaving a balance due of $1,600.

The report of the Department of the Army indicates that the only reason for not paying this balance was the absence of available funds and that "it would be against justice and good conscience for the Government to accept the work performed without compensating the contractor. Therefore, this Department interposes no objection to the bill."

In view of all of the foregoing, the committee concurs in the report of the Department of the Army and recommends that the bill, S. 1003, be considered favorably.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF ISRAEL

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to call the attention of the Senate to the 35th birthday anniversary of the Women's League of Israel, an organization of 20,000 American women who have made extraordinarily fine contributions to America's interest in Israel and have taken many constructive actions for the benefit of the young people who are making their homes and seeking their opportunities there.

The Women's League has established centers in Israel which have been likened to our own "Y" centers, and at one time were characterized as "a home away from home, located in the spiritual home of all mankind, Israel," by the late Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, during the course of one of her visits to the Holy Land.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a recent editorial by the Seven Arts Feature Syndicate of New York entitled "Memorable Anniversary," which summarizes the fine record of this women's group and lauds its accomplishments.

There being no objection the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEMORABLE ANNIVERSARY

The three and one-half decades of service to the young people of Israel being marked this year by the Women's League for Israel, which is now observing its 35th anniversary, covers a vital period in the life of the organization.

Since its official founding in 1928, the league has helped close to 50,000 persons in its five Israeli homes—one in Jerusalem, two in Haifa, one in Tel Aviv, and one at Nathanya, where it also mtaintains a training center for the blind.

Headed by Mrs. Ann Cahane-Neiditz as president, the league has accomplished a great deal. It has received and absorbed the newcomers, integrating the many victims of oppression and homelessness, training the handicapped to self-sufficiency, and now, is aiding future Israeli leaders and students from many lands to a university education in an atmosphere of freedom and democracy.

This year the league will complete construction of a new $500,000 three-unit university student center in Jerusalem at the Hebrew University, where it has already built dormitories, a student cafeteria, and donated funds to maintain a chair in sociology.

The league's history mirrors recent tragedies and joys of millions of the Jewish faith. Convinced as early as 1928, that no adequate housing existed for young women arriving to live in the Yishuv (Jewish settlements), the group pledged its resources to provide its first home for women in Haifa.

The tragic massacre at Hebron in 1929, brought the decision from Yishuv leaders that serious measures for self-defense of the settlements were needed. The league similarly decided that its building program must be accompanied by training and integrating facilities for the new immigrants. The Hitler holocaust increased the already speedy tempo of its work.

Its greatest satisfaction came of course with the arrival of the independence of Israel, for the organization had worked hard toward its achievement.

On its 35th anniversary I commend the league for its dedication and accomplishments.

Med. Care & Welfare

DESEGREGATED HOSPITAL FACILITIES

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed at this point in the RECORD three papers of an article from the American Journal of Public Health, April 1963, entitled "Achieving Equal Opportunity in Use of Medical Service and Hospital Facilities." The papers are by Richard V. Marks, secretary-director, Detroit Commission on Human Relations; the Right Reverend Richard S. Emrich, bishop of Michigan, Protestant Episcopal Church, Detroit; and Dietrich C. Reitzes, Ph. D., deputy director, Commission on Youth Welfare, Chicago, Ill.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACHIEVING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE USE OF MEDICAL SERVICES AND HOSPITAL FACILITIES

(The need to make health services and facilities available to all regardless of race, creed, or national origin is today accepted as a basic principle of a democratic society. One of our national problems is the fact that this principle has not yet been fully implemented. The following three papers offer the experience of one community, Detroit, in endeavoring to deal with this problem as it affected the Negro population. Certain conclusions are drawn.)

I. THE CATALYTIC ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL HUMAN RELATIONS AGENCIES

(By Richard V. Marks)

Basic to the medical profession and to a democratic society is the belief that medicine must be available to all men. In the Detroit area, local government has attempted to implement this principle and insure the availability of medical care to all persons regardless of economic status, race, religion, or national origin. We can give service to the financially distressed in public hospitals, but what can a community do to guarantee competent, adequate service to all persons seeking private medical consultation and treatment?

The Mayor's Interracial Committee, Detroit's first intergroup agency, addressed itself to this question early in 1952. In our area, as in many other urban centers, hospital facilities, medical personnel, and training opportunities were generally inadequate, and the problem of servicing the needs of the community's Negro population, which had doubled in one decade, was acute.

Many persons in our community voiced the belief that racial discrimination within the field of medicine was placing minority group members at a disadvantage and that this inequity must be eliminated. The occasion of our city's first study of hospital facilities, resources, and needs in relation to our total population became the focus around which these community concerns were expressed. When the study of needs was complete and a plan for using Federal funds in conjunction with the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act was initiated along with the raising of $19 million in private construction funds, the issue of "who" would participate became a question of communitywide significance.

This was clearly a situation which deserved the attention of the medical profession and the city's intergroup agency. The Mayor's Interracial Committee and its successor, the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, were assigned a responsibility "* * * to promote good will, and to cultivate responsibility for the common welfare." It "shall seek to correct situations * * * endangering the peace and welfare * * * or to be unjust and discriminatory." It shall do these things "* * * through negotiation and conciliation."

In fulfilling its responsibility, the commission attempts to find community solutions to community problems and depends upon civic leadership and support in these undertakings. With the belief that discrimination in health services is unjust and causes dissatisfaction and tension in the community, the commission created citizens' committees.

The Medical and Hospital Study Committee was created in 1952, under the sponsorship of the Mayor's Interracial Committee, and accepted as its responsibility the task of surveying the racial factors in the field of medical training, service, and the facilities for the care of the ill in the Detroit metropolitan area. The factfinding activities of this committee were completed in 1956 with the publication of the Medical and Hospital Study Committee's Reports.

A second citizens' committee, the Advisory Committee on Hospitals, was established in 1957 to implement the recommendations of the study committee and seeks to correct unfair practices outlined in the original study.

The importance of the committee approach in solving community problems has been

monstrated many times over, and the success of any committee program is dependent upon its personnel. It was the intent of the commission to bring together representative citizens of good will who had an appreciation for the problems to be studied and a desire to work toward a resolution.

Leaders in many fields have brought not only status to the program of the study committee and the advisory committee, but dedication to the goal of achieving nondiscrimination in all phases of medicine and hospital operations in Detroit. The varied interests in our community represented on the committees included business, labor, church, community (including minority groups) and professional, medical, nursing, and hospital leaders. With singleness of purposes, the membership reviewed racial factors in hospital policy and practice and explored logical and efficient means for eliminating discrimination based upon race, creed, color, or national origin. Persons were asked to serve who were involved in the problem and in its solution. At the outset they were chosen for committee membership on the basis of their recognition that a racial problem did in fact exist. Their job became one of honestly setting forth the facts and finding avenues of solution.

Within the framework of their general assignments, the committees functioned as autonomous groups, with complete freedom to shape their own policies, define the scope and form of the study, and the contents of their reports.

In the sequence of committee activity, the study was first defined through the selection of six specific areas for investigation. The survey itself was designed to determine the extent of the problem in each of these areas.

Institutions were asked to state policy governing selection of personnel and trainees in the areas of nurse training, medical training, medical staff, nursing staff, and nursing service, and hospitals indicated their bed assignment policies. Data, furnished and in some instances interpreted by hospitals and other training institutions, illustrated current practices in the areas under study. The committee in subgroups and as a whole analyzed all available information to determine if the patterns, as they emerged in the various categories, suggested the exclusion of or segregation of minority group members.

The study committee discharged its full responsibility in 1956 with the reports of findings, conclusions, and recommendations for the clarification and implementation of nondiscriminatory policies.

As a result of committee conferences, the State Office of Hospital Survey and Construction, in 1958, required a declaration and guarantee of nondiscrimination from all recipients of Federal funds. In 1960, the Detroit Area Hospital Council publicly supported our community goal and urged all member hospitals to adopt statements of nondiscrimination similar to the one suggested by the State agency. The Metropolitan Detroit Building Fund for Hospital Construction has also indicated a willingness to include a clear policy requirement in all contract agreements. Each report of the advisory committee marks a step toward the achievement of our eventual goal and recognizes the adoption of and demonstration of a nonrestrictive policy within a category of institutions. Thus in 1957, progress with the college nursing schools was reported; in 1958, the report of medical schools was issued; and the committee report of enrollment policies of hospital nursing schools was made public in 1959.

The committee began the resurvey of individual hospitals offering medical training programs in 1959. Here again, significant progress has been made as a result of lengthy negotiations. One major medical training hospital has not only adopted a satisfactory policy but has agreed to implement this policy through a program of informal recruitment of qualified Negro medical school graduates.

In none of its negotiations has the committee advocated the revision of professional standards; the emphasis has been upon the application of these standards without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

Detroit's redevelopment project application for the medical center area provided a situation for accelerating our community goal of equal opportunity in medicine. The chairman of the advisory committee and commission staff participated in conferences, convened by the mayor of Detroit, to discuss and resolve the community controversy arising over the use of Federal and city funds for the expansion of institutions charged with the practice of discrimination. In early 1961, the four hospitals within this area, all offering medical training programs, submitted declarations of commitment to a policy of nondiscrimination in all phases of their operations. Not all these hospitals are moving ahead "with deliberate speed." At least one of these hospitals is acting on its pledge with such reluctance as to endanger the entire program.

The business of changing established practices in our society is slow. Such attempts meet with organized and individual resistance. The progress we have made, however, strengthens our position as we meet new situations.

Next steps in our program include contact with Blue Cross-Blue Shield and the medical society to ask for their active endorsement of democratic practices within the profession, continued conferences with hospitals offering medical training opportunities to urge a clearly demonstrated policy of inclusiveness, and contact with hospitals not offering training on the matter of staff appointments and bed assignment policies.

Detroit has benefited greatly through the operation of its citizens' committees. Outstanding persons have given of their time and influence to become knowledgeable in the area of medicine, to plan a realistic corrective program, and to carry out this program with determination. These committees have successfully interpreted the concerns of the community to hospitals and other institutions and have helped the community understand better some of the administrative and professional problems within the field of medicine.

Over the past 9 years, Detroit has been investigating itself to define the real problem in the area of discrimination in medicine and attempting to correct practices which are unjust and which create tension in our community. Our goal is as worthy of support and conscientious effort today as it was in 1952 and the problems which remain are as great a handicap to our city and the medical profession as the ones now behind us. We are grateful for the opportunity to discuss and describe our methods and techniques in the belief that our success can be duplicated in other American communities.

II. ACTIVITIES OF THE CITIZENS' ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON HOSPITALS OF THE DETROIT COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONS

(By the Right Reverend Richard S. Emrich, Ph. D., D.D.)

Background

The medical and hospital study committee was created in 1952 for the purpose of reviewing racial factors in hospital policy and practice and recommending logical and efficient means for eliminating this problem in our community. The committee was sponsored by the mayor's interracial committee, predecessor of the present commission on community relations. Staff services for the study committee were provided by the interracial committee. Following its review, the study committee, composed of 35 distinguished citizens representing all aspects of Detroit's community life, issued six reports on the major phases of hospital and medical services: nurse training and employment; medical training, including medical schools and internship and residency training programs; medical staff appointments; and bed utilization and assignment practices in 47 Detroit area hospitals. In its reports, the committee dealt only with the scope of the problem; it did not single out any hospital or institution by name. The medical and hospital study committee completed its work in the summer of 1956, when it submitted its reports of findings and recommendations to the Detroit Commission on Community Relations, and thus to the public.

The study committee found some serious problems in the areas studied. For example: only two of the nine hospital-affiliated nurse training schools had any record of consistent enrollment of qualified Negro students. Only 4 of the approximately 20 hospitals offering internship training had any record of accepting Negro interns. Comparatively few of the 170 Negro physicians in Detroit held staff appointments in the voluntary nonprofit hospitals. Except for governmental hospitals, patient segregation in wards and semiprivate rooms was the prevailing pattern.

Advisory committee on hospitals

In 1957, the commission on community relations created the present advisory committee on hospitals to implement the recommendations made by the study committee. Its goal is that Detroit lead the Nation in achieving a completely nondiscriminatory, equal opportunity system of medical and hospital practice. The 20 members of the committee are leaders in business, labor, medicine, nursing, and the religious and civic life of the city. Staff services for the committee are provided by the commission.

The advisory committee has approached the problem on three levels: (1) The individual hospital or institution; (2) hospital planning and funding organizations; and (3) governmental action.

Achievements

1. On the level of individual hospitals, the advisory committee concentrates its attention on one category of hospitals or institutions at a time. Thus the 2 schools of medicine, the 2 colleges of nursing, the 7 hospitals now offering nurse training, and the 10 additional hospitals offering internship and residency training programs have been resurveyed as groups by the committee. Where necessary, negotiations have been undertaken with the administration and board of trustees of institutions whose practices have been found to fall short of the standards enunciated by the study committee. When the resurvey and negotiations are satisfactorily completed for the institutions in a category, the advisory committee submits its report on the institutions to the commission on community relations. At this time, the committee reports become public information.

Following this procedure, the advisory committee has reported that the Schools of Medicine at Wayne State University and the University of Michigan and the Schools of Nursing at Mercy College and Wayne State University have demonstrated their openness to all qualified students. The report on the seven hospital-affiliated schools of nursing stated that six had satisfactorily demonstrated nonrestrictive policy and practice in admission to the schools. The board of trustees of the seventh hospital assured the committee that the enrollment of its school of nursing would reflect an inclusive pattern of admissions at the earliest opportunity. Subsequent to the publication of the com-

mittee's report that school enrolled its first Negro student nurse.

The committee is presently resurveying and conducting negotiations with hospitals offering internship and residency training programs. The committee is now concentrating its attention on negotiations with the major teaching hospitals in the Detroit area. Progress is slow, partly because of the unavoidable lag between the making of a policy decision and the demonstrated implementation of that decision, and partly because of reluctance on the part of some institutions to recognize any responsibility for the solution of problems called to their attention, or, in some cases, to recognize the existence of such problems. To date, no hospital has been certified by the committee as being free of discriminatory practices in all phases of its operation.

2. On the level of hospital planning and funding organizations, the advisory committee has concluded an agreement with the Michigan Office of Hospital Survey and Construction that, pursuant to its obligations under Federal law, no hospital would receive public funds for the construction of any facility unless it could provide guarantees that it was either operating without reference to race in the service of people, or could guarantee and covenant that it would so operate. The State office developed a model resolution of nondiscriminatory policy whose adoption is required of hospitals seeking funds under the provisions of the Hill-Burton Act. This resolution states:

"That the Board of Trustees of ——— Hospital does hereby certify that all phases of the operation of ——— Hospital shall be without discrimination against individuals or groups of individuals on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin and that the administrator of ——— Hospital is hereby directed to take such action as is necessary to assure that ——— Hospital shall in fact be so operated."

Following this action by the office of hospital survey and construction the advisory committee called the resolution to the attention of the governing bodies of the hospital planning and coordinating agency and of the major fundraising organization, urging their endorsement and adoption of the policy resolution. Following exploratory discussions with members of the advisory committee, the executive committee of the Greater Detroit Area Hospital Council, Inc., adopted a resolution recommending nondiscriminatory policy and practice by member hospitals, and further recommended their adoption of the above resolution. The hospital council serves as the planning and coordinating agency for 70 member hospitals in the Greater Detroit area.

Similarly, at the advisory committee's suggestion and following discussions and negotiations with the committee, the allocations committee of the Metropolitan Detroit building fund moved to incorporate the resolution in its statement of principles and in its contracts with fund recipients. The building fund is a private organization which raises funds for hospital construction and expansion through the contributions of businesses, foundations, and individuals.

3. Early in 1960, the chairman of the advisory committee was invited to assist in the resolution of the community controversy which arose in regard to the medical center redevelopment plan. This urban redevelopment proposal calls for the clearing of some 200 acres in the heart of the city, and the development of a center for medical research, education, and service. At the Detroit Common Council's hearings on approval of the plan, three organizations endorsed the project as worth while, but would not permit the project to proceed until the practices of racial discrimination charged against three of the four hospitals, which would form the nucleus of the center, were corrected. At the suggestion of the chairman, the nondiscriminatory policy resolution quoted above was submitted to the boards of trustees of the four hospitals and adopted. This action was accepted by all parties, and the common council, on receiving the chairman's report of the action, approved the plan.

The events reported here represent significant progress toward the advisory committee on hospitals' goal of a completely nondiscriminatory, equal opportunity system of medical and hospital practice in the Detroit area. However, much work remains before that goal is fully realized.

III. THE DETROIT EXPERIENCE IN THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

(By Dietrich C. Reitzes, Ph. D.)

Supply of medical personnel

An increasing U.S. population requires increases in the supply of trained medical personnel. This is particularly true for the Negro population of the United States. Without implying that Negroes should be taken care of by Negro physicians, it can be shown that, to a large extent, the medical care received by Negroes in this country depends upon the number and quality of Negro physicians. The number of Negro physicians in this country is inadequate. Negroes constitute approximately 10 percent of the entire U.S. population. Negro physicians, however, constitute only 2 percent of all U.S. physicians. Physician population ratios show that there are 132 physicians for every 100,000 population, but there are only 20 Negro physicians for every 100,000 Negro population in this country.

Without an increased effort to do something about this problem, the situation will not improve. While there has been an increase in the number of Negroes attending medical schools, particularly in predominantly white medical schools, Negro students still represent only about 3 percent of the total enrollment in medical schools. Less than 200 Negroes graduate from all medical schools a year. In regard to advanced training of Negro physicians, there has been an improvement. Negro physicians who are certified by the American Specialty Boards have increased 400 percent since 1947 to a total of 369. Yet, even with this increase, only 0.6 percent of all board certified specialists are Negroes.

Patterns of racial integration in medicine

Medical Schools

Today, the shortage of Negro medical students is due primarily to a shortage of qualified Negro applicants to medical schools rather than discrimination on the part of medical schools. This shortage, in turn, is due to:

(a) Discrimination at levels below the medical schools. This means the general problem of discrimination in our society and discrimination in educational opportunities at the lower levels.

(b) The opening up of other professional opportunities for qualified Negroes.

Internships

At the present time this provides no problems for Negro graduates of medical schools. Under the old ghetto system a Negro medical graduate was forced to serve his internship in one of about 10 approved Negro hospitals or go without, save for occasional openings in big northern hospitals like Bellevue in New York City and Cook County in Chicago. Today, under what is called the matching plan, nearly all Negro medical graduates receive acceptances for internship at two, three, or even more hospitals, so that during the last several years the graduates of Howard and Meharry alone have been distributed to about 55 hospitals for their internships. Most of these hospitals have been in the North or West, but some, like the hospitals of the University of Texas and t Medical College of Virginia, have been in th South.

These increased internship openings have resulted chiefly from the fact that there are about 5,000 more approved internships than medical graduates annually. More liberal attitudes, however, have also been a factor.

Residents Training

Essentially, the same situation prevails here as regards to internships.

Advanced Training

The major problem in this area is to find qualified Negro physicians willing to do advanced work beyond board certification. National Medical Fellowships, Inc., which provides scholarships and fellowships for Negro physicians discontinued its program of advanced fellowship simply because there were not enough applicants.

Hospital Staff Appointments

There is general consensus among physicians and medical educators that the most important single factor which determines the kind of medical care that physicians can provide is the opportunity that physicians have for continued education through hospital affiliation. Since private patients are admitted to hospitals through their physicians, the accessibility of hospital beds to Negro patients is related to these appointments of Negro physicians. This is the area in which the problem of racial discrimination in medical care is greatest across the country.

Factors affecting integration in medicine on the community level

In 1956, we conducted a survey in 14 communities across the United States on the patterns of integration in medicine. In comparing the 14 communities, we found that in each the situation regarding integration in medicine was unique. Nevertheless, it is possible to isolate some of the key factors which make up the patterns.

The uniqueness of each community is the result of the particular way in which these key factors combine to form a particular pattern. The component parts of the pattern tend to be very similar. The main factors which we isolated were the following: (1) the presence and importance of predominantly Negro hospitals; (2) the presence of influential persons and groups actively interested in integration; (3) the existence of opportunities for Negro physicians to establish professional contacts with influential white physicians; (4) the strategy used by Negro physicians in obtaining hospital appointments; (5) the supply of well-qualified and well-trained Negro physicians; (6) the professional relationships among Negro physicians with particular emphasis on referrals; and (7) the general patterns of race relations in each community.

Of the seven factors no single factor was consistently related to the degree of integration found. This was so because in any given community the importance and significance of any of the above factors was greatly influenced by particular characteristics of the other factors in that community.

Implications of the Detroit experience

In Detroit the developments regarding integration in medicine demonstrate the significance of community awareness of the problem, professional contacts between white and Negro physicians, the interest of influential persons in integration, and action by Negro physicians in bringing about a higher degree of integration in medical facilities.

The relative attractiveness and promise of Detroit for Negro physicians was reflected in the fairly rapid increase in the number of Negro physicians since 1946: The 160 Negro physicians in 1956 represented an in-

crease of 21.2 percent. Of this number 52.6 percent were under 50 years of age. Only in Gary, Los Angeles, and Indianapolis was a higher percentage of physicians under 50 years of age. In regard to training, Detroit with 17 board-certified Negro physicians was tied with Philadelphia for fourth place among the 14 communities we studied.

Community awareness

The previous papers have already clearly indicated a high degree of community awareness in Detroit which was focused on the problem of integration in medicine, as demonstrated in the Medical and Hospital Study Committee and the followup committee. Thus, Detroit provides an excellent example of the effectiveness of this approach.

Contacts between white and Negro physicians

The contacts established between white and Negro physicians were among the most important aids to achieving staff appointments at predominantly white hospitals in Detroit. A study of the 25 Negro physicians having such appointments indicated that 15—or 60 percent—had either attended the 2 medical schools in the Detroit area or had spent their internships and residency periods in predominantly white hospitals in Detroit. At these hospitals, they established professional relationships with white physicians which were directly responsible for their appointments to the hospital staffs.

In other cases, professional contacts established in governmental and predominantly Negro hospitals led to affiliations at predominantly white voluntary hospitals. For example, one Negro physician was helped in securing affiliation at a white hospital by staff members of this hospital with whom he had worked at the Veterans' Administration hospital. In another case, close professional relationships between the staffs of a white and a Negro hospital led to the appointments of at least three Negro physicians to the staff of the white hospital. In this instance, the superintendents and medical directors of the two hospitals were close personal friends; some of the key men at the white hospital also served on the staff of the Negro hospital; the chief pathologist of the white hospital conducted most of the meetings for the staff of the Negro hospital; and furthermore, the Negro hospital often used the laboratory of the white hospital.

In another case, a Negro physician was able to get a desired affiliation with a predominantly white hospital as the result of working with an influential staff member of this hospital at the Detroit Receiving Hospital. Still another Negro physician desiring affiliation with a specific hospital deliberately accepted an appointment at a clinic because this clinic was also serviced by important physicians from the hospital with which he desired affiliation. This technic proved successful, and after 2 years the Negro physician was able to get the appointment he wanted.

There was also a number of instances in Detroit where affiliations were secured because a Negro physician had studied or worked under white physicians of high prestige in other communities. We also found instances where Negro physicians on a staff were instrumental in getting other Negro physicians appointed.

In general, we found in Detroit that the majority of appointments to hospital staffs required that somebody on the staff be actively interested in pushing the application. A white hospital administrator made this point:

In every case where a Negro has been accepted he has been screened very carefully, and there was always somebody on the staff who had personal knowledge of the individual concerned and would speak up for him. It would be very difficult for a Negro to be put on the staff if he had not had previous contact with the white physicians already on the staff.

Interest of influential persons

In view of the prevalence of professional contacts between Negro and white physicians, there were comparatively few white physicians or administrators who appeared to be especially active in promoting integration. We encountered, however, two instances where integration in specific hospitals was clearly the result of the interest of key persons on the staffs.

In one case, the hospital was a very large one. Negro physicians on the staff pointed out that their appointments were directly due to the interest taken in their cases by the administrator. This particular person had been interested in integration for many years, but he felt that it should be encouraged by persuasion and education, rather than by determination of policy on his part. Consequently, his effect on integration in hospital appointments developed only slowly and required the operation of some of the other forces that have been discussed.

The other case concerned a medium-size, predominantly white hospital. A number of interviewees stated that the integration in staff appointments was the direct result of the personal interest in integration taken by the chief of staff of this hospital. He initiated the recruitment of qualified Negro specialists and insisted that they be given staff appointments. In this he also had the support of several of the department heads and thus was able to overcome the initial resistance of many white staff members.

Action by Negro physicians

The actions taken by Negro physicians in Detroit in order to achieve integration were an extremely important component of the Detroit experience.

Negro hospitals

The presence and the relative importance of Negro hospitals in a community are significant in two ways: they indicate the degree of integration in the community and they influence the integration process.

Predominantly Negro hospitals were absent in the six communities which had the highest degree of integration as measured by our index of the percentage of Negro physicians having appointments at predominantly white hospitals. These communities were: Gary, New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Indianapolis, and Boston. Detroit, where Negro hospitals were relatively unimportant, was in seventh place, and the communities with important Negro hospitals followed.

Our data indicate that the presence of Negro hospitals influences the process of integration in two ways.

First, that Negro hospitals can provide a focal point for the self-segregation of Negroes. Such a hospital provides a place where Negro doctors can hospitalize their patients and thus reduces the doctors' needs to become affiliated with predominantly white hospitals. Furthermore, a predominantly Negro hospital provides a physical facility where Negro physicians meet, and this, in turn, can easily lead to the formation of a strong Negro ingroup, which may even resist integration.

Second, the presence of Negro hospitals reduces the pressure on white physicians and hospital administrators to admit Negroes to staff positions at predominantly white hospitals. The absence of Negro hospitals, on the other hand, puts strong pressure on whites to make some provision for the needs of Negro physicians and patients.

At the time of study in 1956 Detroit had three predominantly Negro hospitals which were approved by the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals. These three hospitals had a total of 324 beds. In the total situation of medical services for the Negro community and hospital affiliations for Negro physicians, the three Negro hospitals were not significant either in the actual services they provided or in their influence on the actions of the Negro community. This is illustrated by the fact that an attempt to enlarge one hospital and make it a focal point for Negro physicians failed because of the lack of community support. There was no indication that the three Negro hospitals influenced integration in other Detroit hospitals either positively or negatively.

REPORT OF PANEL ON MENTAL RETARDATION

The panel created by President Kennedy to study the problem of mental retardation has published its report, "A Proposed Program for National Action To Combat Mental Retardation." The report defines mental retardation as "a group of complex phenomena stemming from many different causes, but one key common characteristic found in all cases is inadequately developed intelligence." Except in the very young, mental retardation can be distinguished from mental illness by the fact that it is usually present at birth or begins in childhood, whereas mental illness usually occurs after there has been normal development.

Severe mental retardation is frequently associated with organic defects and is usually fairly evenly distributed throughout the population regardless of socioeconomic status. On the other hand, mild mental retardation which constitutes the bulk of the cases can seldom, with our present biomedical technics, be associated with specific organic defects and cases are heavily concentrated in low socioeconomic income groups.

Some of the measures needed to combat mental retardation cited by the panel are: (1) more research regarding the causes of retardation and in methods of care, rehabilitation, and the learning process of the retarded; (2) better preventive health measures including strengthened maternal and child health programs, protection from known hazards in pregnancy such as radiation and drugs, and extended diagnostic and screening services; (3) educational and vocational programs for both children and adults geared to the needs of the retarded; (4) more comprehensive and improved clinical and social services; (5) development of a wide range of local community facilities for care; (6) a new enlightened legal as well as social concept of mental retardation; (7) intensified recruitment of professional personnel in all fields of science and service with provision of opportunities for them to acquire firsthand knowledge about mental retardation and the creation of a Domestic Peace Corps to stimulate voluntary service; (8) programs of education and information to increase public awareness of the problem of retardation.

The report is available from: Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.; 65 cents.

Mr. JAVITS. I call attention to the very serious and most distressing situation which exists under the Hill-Burton Act, which, by the terms of the legislation itself, allows separate but equal facilities for whites and Negroes in hospitals as accommodating the requirements of the Hill-Burton Act. This act gives the Federal Government a very important share in the construction of new hospitals and presents a situation which urgently requires legislative attention. It is literally shameful that in this day and age, after the Supreme Court decision of Brown against the Board of Education in 1954, we still have imbedded in the Hill-Burton Act—and, incidentally, in the Morrill Act with respect to land-grant colleges—the separate but equal doctrine which has been

struck down by the Supreme Court, and which has caused the whole structure of policy negating the idea that that represents the American way, which it definitely does not.

These articles show how urgently legislative attention is required. I would say that one of the greatest challenges faced by the Congress is whether it can exorcise this completely obsolescent and very damaging and harmful provision of law, or whether it must sit with its hands folded and allow a provision of law with which such a great majority of the country disagrees, and which the U.S. Supreme Court struck down as being contrary to our beliefs. The question is whether that provision must remain imbedded in the law because we do not have the necessary procedures or a way of manifesting our will to change it. I shall do everything I can to bring about such change. It is a real challenge to the Congress, and one of those challenges which will determine how the Congress stands in the eyes of the country. If we cannot cope with anything as elementary as that problem, it seems to me the country must take a very dim view of our capacity for running the country's business.

SIXTH ANNUAL OBSERVANCE OF LAW DAY, USA

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, today, May 1, marks the 6th annual observance of Law Day, USA. Observance of this day, inaugurated by the American Bar Association in 1958, and now designated by Presidential proclamation, gives us Americans an excellent opportunity to reaffirm our devotion to and respect for the great heritage of American law.

Embodied in our Constitution we find the basic tenet that we are a government of laws and not of men. Article V of the Bill of Rights assures each person that the Federal Government shall not deprive him of life, liberty or property without due process of law. The 14th amendment provides that the State government shall respect this same rule. Through the consistent and continuous application of this principle we assure the freedom and equality of every individual.

Due process of law is maintained and protected through our courts. These bodies interpret our legal ideals and maintain our traditional concepts of justice through the impartial application of these principles. While our rules of law and means for enforcing them are not perfect, they allow more personal freedom than any other system known to man.

Many people have been attracted to the shores of this Nation, knowing that in America they need not fear discrimination and tyranny. These immigrants have recognized and appreciated the climate of freedom and security which the Anglo-American tradition of law has been able to offer.

The occasion that we Americans are commemorating today is in sharp contrast to the observances presently going on in Communist nations. We reserve this day as a reminder of the many freedoms we enjoy as Americans, freedoms which are constantly protected by our body of laws. The Communists use this day for a raw display of power which serves to intimidate their people and to make them aware that the only rules guiding their government are rules of physical power, administered by men outside of a framework of law. There is no room in such a system for individual freedom and expression.

We must remind ourselves and the rest of the world that the strength of our system is based on far more than overt displays of physical force. It is our belief in the protection of human rights, rights which the Communists refuse to recognize, which can best express the idea that we seek to make peace and prosperity, with freedom, a living reality throughout the world.

To survive and to fulfill its purpose, our code of law and the Nation which it sustains need the support and dedication of the people whom they serve. Law Day provides us with an appropriate opportunity to reflect on the importance of law in the American way of life.

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, today, as on every May 1st since 1958, the Nation is celebrating Law Day. It is altogether fitting that we should pause for a moment in this age of rockets and missiles, to give recognition to our system of law which is so basic to peace and order in our own society as well as in the world at large.

The purpose of Law Day is to help us to become more aware of the significance of the rule of law in the preservation of freedom and the maintenance of peace. Bar associations, civic groups, and private and public organizations across the length and breadth of the Nation will hold ceremonies today directed at fostering an abiding respect for law and providing an occasion for the American people to rededicate themselves to freedom.

Our observance will serve to focus attention on the rule of law where the rights of people are governed by established rules, where the essential interests of individuals are guaranteed through limitations on the authority of the state, and where disputes are decided by impartial courts. It will help to demonstrate to the world the meaning of reliance on the rule of law.

In his proclamation of January 28, requesting our people to observe today as Law Day and to participate in ceremonies suitably signalizing its significance, President Kennedy stated:

> In a time when all men are properly concerned lest nations, forgetting law, reason, and moral existence, turn to mutual destruction, we have all the more need to work for a day when law may govern nations as it does men within nations; when systemized reason may bring us a confident future; when moral development of the human race may assure us a peaceful and law-abiding world.

It is in this spirit and with this hope that we celebrate Law Day today, knowing how essential law has been to the preservation of our own freedom and believing that the greatest promise for the consummation of our expectations of peace and tranquillity for the future lies in the development of a system of law among nations.

"ANATOMY OF DECISION"—FICTIONIZED STUDY OF EXECUTIVE DECISION PROCESS IN AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY CRISIS

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, 3 months ago on February 1, 1963, a written study was filed at the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala., that is of specific interest with relation to the international Haitian-Dominican crisis of the past few days.

It was a fictionized study of the executive decision process in an international security crisis entitled "Anatomy of Decision." I think it is interesting reading on the interplay between the White House, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense on the making of vital decisions in time of crisis.

It is a unique piece of writing, for while it is fiction, it is documented fiction with some 225 citations from some 121 publications. Yet I think its achievement of sustained interest gives it the potentiality of an excellent 3-act play.

Because of the interest that I feel that Members of this body would have in reading it and because of the potential interest that students of government and international and military affairs might have in it, I ask unanimous consent that it be placed in the body of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the study was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANATOMY OF DECISION—A FICTIONIZED STUDY OF THE EXECUTIVE DECISION PROCESS IN AN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY CRISIS

(Prepared by William C. Lewis, Jr., brigadier general, U.S. Air Force Reserve, for completion of vol. II of course 4, War College Extension Course, Air University, February 1, 1963)

PART 1. DETECTION

Chapter I. Discovery

It had been a raw, bone-chilling day so typical of Washington in mid-March. The days were getting longer but that was not much consolation from the mixed weather pattern of snow, sleet, and rain—and those reckless impatient drivers, who literally panicked at the drop of the first snowflake—making the drive home even to nearby Georgetown a nightmare.

Scott Davidson sat by the warming fireside leisurely enjoying his nightly predinner martini with his attractive wife Martha, who had a knack for relaxing him with intelligent conversation about matters other than intelligence—Central Intelligence (14:57), that is. As his right hand stroked the soft hair of the head and back of "Cappy," the English setter, sitting by his chair, he gave a gentle sigh of relief with this fleeting peace of mind.

Central Intelligence Agency

For nearly 3 years things had not been going well for the CIA (91:31). Hindsight on the Quahog Bay invasion failure had cast such a shadow on the Agency for a year that his predecessor as Director had resigned in bitterness (5:7). Faulty intelligence had been a major defeat in the Abuc misadventure (94:68). Scott himself had been one of the critics pushing for the resignation—and when it came the President in a "put up

Med. Care & Welfare

POST ON BULLETIN BOARD
UNTIL MAY 25 • Page 6 • SABIN ON SATURDAY
AFTER MAY 26 • 3 Page INSIDE SPREAD —
CHICAGO: A SUMMER FESTIVAL FOR YOUTH

CHICAGO
COMMISSION ON
YOUTH WELFARE
NEWSLETTER

VOLUME IV | MAY, 1963 | Richard J. Daley, Mayor

SUMMER OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHICAGO YOUTH

CHICAGO SUPPORTS YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1963

In a letter to a cross-section of civic, religious, business and labor leaders, Youth Welfare Commission Chairman, Patrick H. Hoy, urged them to check the proposals of the Youth Employment Act of 1963. He also asked that they write Congressmen and state their views about the proposed Youth Conservation Corps and the local area youth employment programs.

"The majority of responses shared with me," Hoy reported, "indicate that Chicago is aware of the employment problem facing many young people in today's increasingly more complex work situation and that interested citizens want to make sure that every possible measure is taken to help youth prepare themselves to take their rightful place in a productive society."

"The Youth Employment Act has earned the favor of most Chicagoans who work with young people in the inner-city."

Among those who shared opinions they had expressed to Washington were religious, industry, and labor groups, welfare agencies, parents' and youth groups, veterans' and community organizations.

Typical of the comments was a priest's, "If ever an ounce of prevention is worth tons of cure, it is in our present difficulty," and that the Bill, "if passed will keep our youth off the street, will arouse ambition and create self-respect."

Added indication of public concern with its passage was shown by numerous requests to the Commission from various organizations for hundreds of copies of the legislation.

Mr. Hoy stated, "Citizen support for the Youth Employment Act is high. It exceeds the response I had expected or hoped for."

(THIS BILL HAS PASSED THE SENATE, BUT NOT THE HOUSE. YOUR OPINION NOW, EXPRESSED TO YOUR REPRESENTATIVE COULD MAKE THE DIFFERENCE.)

FESTIVAL OF FUN

The city of Chicago offers an exciting array of leisure-time pleasure and profitable experience. For all who are young-at-heart—of every age—the choice of wholesome activity is as varied as the interest of youth.

Most of these recreational and educational attractions cost little more than carfare. Listed inside are 3 pages of ideas you can share with youngsters. They probably will suggest still others to you.

Most of these programs offer such long lists of things to do that we give only brief descriptions plus information about how to reach friendly folks happy to give you further help.

You will find this 3 page Bulletin Board poster handy as you help make CHICAGO A SUMMER FESTIVAL FOR ALL YOUTH.

THAT SIP MAY SAVE HER LIFE as south side girl gets Sabin polio vaccine from Board of Health Nurse. Commission Chairman Pat Hoy provided 5000 suckers for youngsters in drive. Full particulars of new polio drive on page 6, read it now.

NORTHWEST SERVICES

At the April meeting, the Commissioners, in order to stabilize city-wide services to youth, authorized an extension of CYW services to a portion of the northwest side.

Included are parts of the 26th, 27th, 28th, 31st, 32nd, and 34th Wards. This newest service will be activated as soon as qualified staff can be obtained.

ADMISSIONS PROGRAM

As part of its service to aid neighborhood youth agencies enrich both their program and their volunteer adult participation, the Commission on Youth-Welfare supplies limited numbers of free admissions to cultural, sports, and other activities.

For further information check with the Commission office nearest you (listed on page 4).

NEWLY APPOINTED COMMISSIONERS, William G. Klupar and Dr. A. Lincoln James, flank CYW Chairman, Pat Hoy, as he explains their duties.

Service Opportunities

American Junior Red Cross—467-5800—Educational Relations Dept., Miss Troutman—July and August Hospital Volunteer Program for high school students 16 and over—registration deadline June 24.

Junior Zoo Guide program at Lincoln Park Zoo — CE 6-3850 — volunteer teenagers trained to act as uniformed hosts for visiting groups.

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Education

The Chicago Board of Education offers summer courses to 6th, 7th and 8th grade students, and to high school students. Courses of study are the same as those offered during the regular school semester, except that 6th grade students may only take remedial reading and arithmetic.

The eight-week schedule runs from June 24 through August 16 at most Chicago high schools. Classes are from 8:15 a.m. to 1:15 p.m.

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Group Tours

Among the most rewarding and educational summertime activities for young people are the many business, industrial and institutional tours which are available to youth groups with adult leadership. Prior arrangements are important. Some are:

Amling's Flowerland — 8900 W. North Avenue, Melrose Park, Illinois—Tour Secretary—EStebrook 8-7200—Greenhouses, flower shop, landscaping and garden center.

Chicago Post Office—433 W. Van Buren Street—WAbash 2-9200, X-209—Largest postal operation under one roof.

Haeger Potteries, Inc.—7 Maiden Lane, Dundee, Illinois — MAnsfield 6-3797 — world's largest art pottery.

Pepsi-Cola General Bottlers, Inc.—DIckens 2-9800—Guided tours through bottling plant at 51st and Union Streets.

Sears, Roebuck & Co. — 925 S. Homan Avenue — Phone 265-3733.

Underwriter's Laboratories, Inc.—207 E. Ohio Street — MIchigan 2-6969 — Groups of 15 to 40 — One week's advance notice required.

The Conrad Hilton Hotel—720 S. Michigan Avenue — WAbash 2-4400, X-467 — world's largest hotel.

Board of Trade — 141 W. Jackson Blvd. —world's leading grain exchange.

Merchandise Mart — Write Tour Dept., Merchandise Mart, Chicago 54. World's greatest wholesale market center.

Children's Memorial Hospital — 707 W. Fullerton Ave.—DI 8-4040—for 16 year olds and over.

Louis A. Weiss Memorial Hospital—4646 N. Marine Dr.—AN 3-0260—for 16 year olds and over.

Lake-River Terminals — 5005 S. Harlem Avenue, Berwyn, Illinois—BIshop 2-2300 — Inland waterway terminal.

Illinois Bell Telephone Co. — 212 W. Washington Street—727-2363.

Hawthorne-Mellody Farms Dairy—1 mile south of Libertyville, Illinois on Route 21. BEverly 5-5600 — General and Picnic Tours.

Chicago City Hall — 121 N. La Salle Street — RAndolph 6-8000, X-2360, Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information.

Chicago Police Department — 1121 S. State Street — WAbash 2-4747, X-533 — world's most modern police communications system — new data processing system.

Fire Alarm Office, Fire Academy, Fire Boats — write to Robert J. Quinn, Fire Commissioner, Room 105, City Hall.

U.S. Naval Training Center—Great Lakes, Illinois—336-3500—Recruit reviews, missiles, fire-fighting, technical schools.

Newspapers — Chicago Sun-Times and Daily News — 401 N. Wabash Avenue — 321-3005. Chicago Tribune and Chicago's American — 441 N. Michigan Avenue — 222-3993. Advance reservations required.

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Colleges and Universities

Chicago Teachers College, College of Jewish Studies, DePaul University, Illinois Institute of Technology, Loyola University, Mundelein College, North Park College, Northwestern University, Roosevelt University, St. Xavier College, University of Chicago, University of Illinois.

The Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, 30 W. Monroe Street, maintains a much more extensive list of available business and industrial tours.

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Radio and Television Stations

The following broadcasting stations have programs or visiting galleries to which studio audiences are admitted.

Radio Station WMBI — 820 N. La Salle Street — visiting gallery — no tickets required.

Radio Staiton WGN—2501 Bradley Place —write for tickets.

Television Station WTTW-TV — Museum of Science and Industry—57th Street and Lake Michigan — no tickets required.

Television Station WBKB-TV — American Broadcasting Co.,—190 N. State Street—write for tickets.

Television Station WGN-TV—2501 Bradley Place — write for tickets.

Television Station WBBM-TV — 630 N. McClurg Court — write for tickets.

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Museums

Adler Planetarium (Astronomical museum and programs)—Lake Michigan and Roosevelt Road—WAbash 2-4488—Shows Sat. and Sun. 12:30, 2:00 and 3:30 p.m.; Sat., 11:00 a.m. for children; Tues. and Fri. 7:30 p.m. Free every day. Lectures, children 25c, adults 50c.

Art Institute — Adams and Michigan — CEntral 6-7080—Free. Open daily 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.; Thurs. 10:00 a.m. to 9:30 p.m.; Sun. and Holidays 12:00 to 5:00 p.m.

Chicago Historical Society — Clark and North Avenue — MIchigan 2-4600—Free weekdays and to students at all times. Open 9:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.; Sun. and Holidays 12:30 to 5:30 p.m.

Chicago Academy of Sciences—2001 N. Clark Street (Chicago area nature exhibits) —LIncoln 9-0606—Free at all times. Open 10:00 - 5:00 p.m.

Natural History Musuem — Roosevelt Road and Lake Shore Drive — WAbash 2-9410 — Free Thurs., Sat., Sun.; Children at all times. Open daily 9:00 - 6:00 p.m.

Museum of Science and Industry — 57th Street and Lake Michigan — MUseum 4-1414—Free at all times. Open 9:30 - 5:30 p.m., Sun. and Holidays, 9:30 - 7:30 p.m.

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago—1155 E. 58th Street — MIdway 3-0800 — Open Tues. and Wed. 10:00 - 12:00 and 1:00 - 5:00; Thurs. through Sun. 10:00 - 5:00 p.m. Closed Mon.

Shedd Aquarium — Roosevelt Road and Lake Shore Drive — WEbster 9-4681 — Children always free; adults free Thurs., Sat. and Sun. Open 9:00 - 5:00 p.m. daily.

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Libraries

Chicago Historical Society Library—Clark and North Avenue—MIchigan 2-4600.

Chicago Public Library — Washington Street and Michigan Blvd.—CEntral 6-8922 —Call local branch library for specific information on summer activities—"Read a Book a Week" program.

John Crerar Library — 35 West 33rd Street—225-2526.

Newberry Library — 60 West Walton Place — SUperior 7-7363.

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Special Activities

McCormick Place — East 23rd Street and Lake Michigan — 225-4350 (Call for current attractions).

International Trade Fair—June 19-July 7.

Century of Negro Progress Exposition — August 16 - September 2.

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Athletic Fields

Comiskey Park—35th Street and Shields Avenue, Chicago White Sox.

Wrigley Field — Clark and Addison Sts., Chicago Cubs.

Soldier Field — HA 7-5252 — Call for current attractions.

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Airports

All of these welcome visits by groups.

Chicago Midway—57th Street & Cicero Ave.

Chicago-O'Hare International — Bryn Mawr and Wolf Road.

Merrill C. Meigs Field — 15th Street & Lake Michigan. Largest downtown airstrip in United States.

City of Chicago

Chicago is A Summer Festival For Youth

Commission On Youth Welfare

Zoos

Lincoln Park — Webster and Armitage Avenues—LIncoln 9-3009 (Sat., Sun., and Holidays—LIncoln 9-3008)—Free. Open daily 9:00 - 5:00 p.m. Children's zoo.

Brookfield, in Brookfield, Illinois—3100 South and 8500 West—HUnter 5-0263—Children under 15 free. Adults free Thurs., Sat., Sun., and Holidays.

Indian Boundary Park Zoo — 2500 W. Lunt Avenue—SHeldrake 3-8089—Free. Open at all times.

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Youth-Serving Agencies

The many agencies which work directly with young people provide full programs for members. All welcome inquiries. Some of the city-wide agencies which are active in your community include:

Boy Scouts—STate 2-3990—8 camps for troops and individual members, 11 to 18; home-centered Cub program, 8 - 10.

Camp Fire Girls — ANdover 3-6218 — Program for all members 7 through 17. 15 *day camps* and full program including *swimming* instruction and *crafts*.

Girl Scouts—FRanklin 2-7388 (Mrs. J. Banke) — Program for all members 7 through 17. Established *camps* for individuals and troops.

Chicago Boys' Clubs — FInancial 6-0830 —Provides *summer camp* for boy and girl members. Call Camp Director at BIshop 7-0700. Thirteen clubs offer a full summer program; contact local Boys' Club Director. Also offers two *day camps;* phone the Day Camp Director, BIshop 7-7557.

Young Men's Christian Association — CEntral 6-6787 or local YMCA office — 9 *residence camps;* 21 *day camps* (call Mr. Fred W. Bezanson); one *family camp. Swimming* classes at 39 local YMCA's all summer.

Young Women's Christian Association — WHitehall 4-4380 — The YWCA operates a *summer camp* and a *family camp.* Contact Camp Director — Membership: girls $.75 — families $2.00.

Catholic Youth Organization (CYO) — WEbster 9-7273. Open to all youth — 22 *summer day camps* featuring *arts* and *crafts* instruction and a wide course of *athletic instruction* with *baseball* and *swimming.*

Jewish Community Centers of Chicago — STate 2-3085 — For all age groups. Full summer program including 6 *day camps,* one *established camp, drama, art,* and *hobby* classes plus a full *athletic* program, *swimming,* and *softball.*

American Youth Hostels — EA 7-8114 — *Sailing, canoeing, hiking, cycling, horseback riding* — nominal fee.

Chicago Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers — ST 2-5140.

31 settlement and neighborhood centers offer full summer programs, including *day camps, crafts* and *athletics.*

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Religious Institutions

Most churches and synagogues have active youth programs. Often centered about neighborhood resources, vacation schools, and organized tours, they provide profitable experiences for young people. Check with your local religious leaders.

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Cook County Forest Preserve District

— CO 1-8400 — Specific questions about particular activities will be answered.

48,000 acres of forests, meadows, and waters; 180 *picnic* areas; *hiking; bridle paths;* six *golf* courses; three outdoor *swimming* pools: *Cermak Pool,* Ogden Ave. west of DesPlaines River, *Green Lake Pool,* 159th Street at Torrence, *Whalen Pool,* Devon and Milwaukee Avenues; 29 *fishing* lakes and rivers; *play areas;* Sand Ridge Nature Center, River Trail Nature Center, Trailside Museum, and Little Red School House for *nature study.*

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Morton Arboretum

Route 53, North of Lisle. 1400 acres of woods and meadows. Two self-guided *nature trails.* No charge for parking and *hiking.*

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Board of Education — DEarborn 2-7800

16 *daylight playgrounds* with varied activities — Call Director of Playgrounds.

30 *swimming pools* — Call Director of Health and Physical Education.

Special classes in school subjects are offered.

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Mayor Daley's Youth Foundation — FRanklin 2-9277.

Offers *baseball* instruction to boys in 38 Chicago parks. Area Supervisors with park personnel serve as instructors. Program continues through summer months.

CTA SERVICE

The Chicago Transit Authority issues a ready-reference map, and also suggestions of Chicago attractions and current events in a pamphlet called "SEE CHICAGO GUIDE." The above is available free by phoning MO 4-7200, Ext. 805.

Here is a partial list of the points of interest described:

CONVENTION HALLS — SPORTS ARENAS

Chicago Stadium
Coliseum
International Amphitheater
McCormick Place
Navy Pier

MUSEUMS, ETC.

Adler Planetarium
Brookfield Zoo
Chicago Academy of Sciences
Chicago Historical Society
Chicago Natural History Museum (Field Museum)
Lincoln Park Zoo and Reptile House
Museum of Science and Industry
Shedd Aquarium

PARKS

Burnham Park
Calumet Park
Columbus Park
Douglas Park
Garfield Park
Grant Park
Humboldt Park
Indian Boundary Park and Zoo
Jackson Park
Lincoln Park
Marquette Park
McKinley Park
Ogden Park
Palmer Park
Portage Park
Riis Park
Sherman Park
Washington Park
Winnemac Park

OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST

Baha'i Temple
Beaubien Preserve
Beverly Hills or Ryan Woods
Board of Trade Building (Observation Tower)
Buckingham Memorial Fountain
Burnham Woods
Schiller Woods Preserve
Chicago Art Institute
Chicago Medical Center
Chicago Midway Airport (Municipal)
Chicago-O'Hare International Airport
Chicago Public Library
Chicago State Hospital
Chinatown
City Hall and County Building
Eggers Woods
Elks Memorial
Grant Park Band Shell
Hawthorne Race Track
Hines and Vaughan Hospitals
Hull House
Mannheim Woods
Maxwell St. Market
Merchandise Mart
Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitariums
Navy Pier
Oriental Institute
Palmolive Beacon
Post Office
Prudential Building (Observation Tower)
Riverview Amusement Park
Sauganash or Caldwell Preserve
Sportsman's Park Race Track
Stock Yards (Union)
Thatcher's Woods
Tribune Tower
U.S. Court House
Water Tower
Wrigley Building

RAILROADS AND BUS STATIONS

Chicago North Shore and Milwaukee Station
Chicago and North Western Station
Dearborn Station
Grand Central Station
Greyhound Bus Station
Illinois Central Suburban Stations (Central Station at 11th and Michigan)
LaSalle Street Station
Trailways Bus Depot
Union Station

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

Amundsen Junior College
Chicago Teachers College
Crane Junior College
De Paul University
De Paul University (Downtown)
Fenger Junior College
Illinois Institute of Technology
Loyola University
Loyola University (Downtown)
Moody Bible Institute
Mundelein College
North Park College
Northwestern University (Chicago Campus)
Northwestern University (Evanston Campus)
Roosevelt University
Southeast Branch of Chicago City Junior College
St. Xavier College
University of Chicago
University of Illinois
Wilson Junior College
Wright Junior College

ADD YOUR IDEAS

To keep this a permanent source file, write down information about other activities here.

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PARK DISTRICT OFFERS BROAD PROGRAM

Chicago Park District — HA 7-5252

Throughout the city, parks offer such a wide variety of events that you are urged to visit your local park for specific schedules of activities. A free booklet about general activities is available.

Chicago Park District operates 15 major *beaches*, 40 *outdoor pools*, 20 *indoor pools* and 15 street-end *beaches*. Beaches open in June. *Boating* available at Humboldt and Jackson Parks for boys and girls 10 through 13, and at Burnham Harbor for youngsters 14 and over. *Fishing* contests for boys and girls at nine park lagoons. Lake Michigan piers at Loyola, Lincoln, and Jackson parks also offer fishing.

Free *tennis* instruction available at 27 park sites. City-wide *horseshoe* championship tournaments held in city parks. *Golf* courses open at Columbus, Marquette, Jackson and Lincoln Parks.

Softball leagues open to boys and girls 12 to 17, plus senior groups 18 and over. *Baseball* leagues for boys 7 to 18, and for senior groups 19 and over.

Grant Park Concerts, Wed., Fri., Sat., and Sun. evenings from June 26 through August 18.

Two conservatories offering beautiful floral displays at Garfield and Lincoln Parks, and **Buckingham Fountain** in Grant Park should be seen.

Soldier Field activities include: *Auto Racing,* Saturday and Sunday evenings; *International Soccer Games,* May 29, June 5, 12, 19, and July 3; *American Legion Show,* July 4; *Chicago Fire Department Thrill Show,* July 8, 9; *Shriners' Parade,* afternoon of July 9 and evening of July 11; *Tournament of Thrills,* July 25; *All-Star Football Game,* August 2; *Venetian Night Festival,* August 16; *Chicagoland Music Festival,* August 17; *Armed Forces Benefit Football Game,* August 31.

LOCAL PARK DAY CAMPS

Day camps at 100 parks for children aged 8 to 12 inclusive.

NAME AND LOCATION OF PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS	TELEPHONE AND PERSON IN CHARGE
Abbott-Harlan School Park	
49 E. 95th St.	CO 4-1050, Earl Davis
Addams	
1254 S. Loomis	CA 6-6070, James Young
Ada	
11250 S. Ada St.	BE 8-5255, Wm. Ward
Archer	
4901 S. Kilbourn	RE 5-5080, George Kalas
Ashburn-Carroll School Pk.	
2929 W. 83rd St.	PR 6-4441, John McNutly
Austin Town Hall	
5610 W. Lake St.	ES 8-0126, Otto Lyng
Avalon	
1215 E. 83rd St.	RE 4-8139, Kenneth Friend
Avondale	
3516 School St.	IN 3-3729, John Zalinski
Bessemer, 8930 S. Muskegon Ave.	SOuth Chicago 8-1079, Francis V. Krause
Beverly Park	
2460 W. 102nd St.	HI 5-5443, Miss Perle Jordan
Bogan School Park	
3939 W. 79th St.	LU 2-4464, William Ivers
Brands	
3259 N. Elston Ave.	IN 3-3759, Harry Heath
Brooks	
7100 North Octavia	SP 4-3404, Jos. Scarpelli
Calumet	
9801 S. Avenue "G"	SA 1-3925, James Diamond
Carver	
929 E. 132nd St.	WA 8-6555, Walter Roberts
Chase	
4701 N. Ashland Ave.	LO 1-4887, Ed Kelly
Chippewa	
6758 N. Sacramento	BR 4-4288, Mrs. Dorothy Holmes
Chopin	
3420 N. Long Ave.	AV 3-3418, Miss Lorraine Trent
Clarendon Community Center	
4501 N. Clarendon Ave.	LO 1-1274, George Morse
Columbus	
500 S. Central Park	ES 8-0643, Wm. Steinhaus
Douglas	
14th & Albany	LA 1-3244, Durell Hunter
Durkin School Park	
84th & Kolin	PO 7-7667, Joseph Gleason
Edison	
6755 Northwest Hwy.	NE 1-3471, Mrs. Lottie Clark
Fernwood	
10438 S. Lowe Ave.	BE 8-7653, Miss Lynette Baumhardt
Foster	
1440 W. 84th St.	RA 3-7215, Charlotta Mascione
Fuller	
331 W. 45th St.	BO 8-0062, S. Cockrum
Garfield	
100 N. Central Park	VA 6-3175
Pool (Summer only)	KE 3-3274, Thomas Warren
Gladstone	
5421 N. Menard	RO 3-8338, Mrs. Vivian Mingus
Gompers	
4224 W. Foster Ave.	PE 6-4338, Umberto Marchese
Grand Crossing	
76th & Ingleside	RA 3-3262, A. Fonfara
Graver	
1518 W. 102nd Pl.	BE 8-6913, Miss Andrea Fritz
Green Briar	
2650 Peterson Rd.	RO 4-3008, John Gierum
Hale School Park	586-3834 (Summer)
6258 W. 62nd St.	LU 6-2920, Edmund Zegan
Hardin Square	
2531 So. Wentworth Ave.	CA 5-4579, Robert Huber
Hermosa	
2240 N. Kilbourn Ave.	BE 5-1638, Harvey Dunham
Hollywood	
3312 W. Thorndale	CO 7-7432, Robert Kreutzer
Horner	
2741 W. Montrose	CO 7-2444
Shelter Building	CO 7-0120, James F. Kelly
4201 N. California (Summer only)	Miss Marie Bassi
Humboldt	
1400 Sacramento	AR 7-0107, Edward Matula
Independence	
3945 N. Springfield	IR 8-1039, Clem Piot
Club House, 3800 W. Byron Ave.	IR 8-7589, Clem Piot
Indian Boundary	
Lunt & Rockwell	RO 4-7648, Mrs. Rose Nelson
Indian Road	
6010 W. Matson	NE 1-8246, John Novotny
Jackson	
6401 Stony Island	MI 3-6363, Esteban Deveranez
Day Camp	BU 8-6104, Mrs. G. Scott
Jefferson	
4822 N. Long Ave.	KI 5-3992, Robert Ellsworth
Craft Shop	MU 5-4281
Kelly School-Park	
4150 S. California	YA 7-1663, John Ratkovic
Kelly Field House	
2725 W. 41st (Summers only)	YA 7-1664, John Ratkovic
Kelvyn	
4438 W. Wrightwood	AL 2-8547, Wm. Del Frank
Kilbourn	
3501 N. Kilbourn	PA 5-1597, Mrs. Edith Aluzas
Kosciuszko	
2732 N. Avers	AL 2-2596, Herbert Buell
LaFollette	
1333 N. Laramie Ave.	ES 8-0124, Edward Schalk
Lake Meadows School Park,	
549 E. 31st St.	CA 5-2463, Mrs. Alyce Holden
Lawndale	
4247 W. 31st St.	BI 7-6131, John Kosnar
Lincoln Park Fieldhouse	
2045 Lincoln Park W.	LI 9-3516, James Vanderbosch
Loyola	
1230 W. Greenleaf	AM 2-0690, Mrs. V. Morrison
Mann	
130th & Carondolet	MI 6-2633, Albert Fitch
Margate Fieldhouse	
4931 Marine Drive	LO 1-9809, Charles Valorz
Marquette	
6700 So. Kedzie Ave.	PR 6-9879, James H. Lackey
Mayfair	
4550 W. Sunnyside Ave.	KI 5-4049, Harry Dromerhausen
McGuane Park	
2900 S. Halsted St.	CA 5-4686, Frank Strocchia
McKinley	
2210 W. Pershing Rd.	LA 3-3811, Wilbert Kautz
Merrimac	
6343 W. Irving Pk. Rd.	PA 5-5080, Mrs. E. Harris
Mt. Vernon School-Park	
1031 W. 106th St.	PR 9-3497
Jr. Field House	779-3498, M. R. McLean
Norwood	
5801 N. Natoma	NE 1-3994, John Morris
Ogden	
6500 S. Racine	TR 3-1038, Edward Wilke
O'Hallaren Playground	
8335 S. Honore St.	HI 5-5831, Miss Ada E. Meyers
Oriole School-Park	
5424 N. Oketo	SP 4-4228
Oriole Park Fieldhouse	
5430 N. Olcott Ave.	RO 3-6069, George Koppe
Palmer	
111th & Indiana	PU 5-4277, Albert Wegenast
Pasteur School Park	
5835 S. Kostner	LU 5-1466, Steve Zukowsky
Pasteur Fieldhouse	
4334 W. 58th St.	RE 5-4654 (Summer only)
Portage	
4100 N. Long Ave.	KI 5-4337
Gym-Natorium	SP 7-3660, Michael George
Pulaski	
1419 W. Blackhawk	AR 6-0611, Sygmunt Jarosz
Rainey-Hancock School-Park	
4350 W. 79th St.	LU 2-1424, George Carpita
Ridge	
96th & Longwood Dr.	BE 8-1655, James Egan
Riis, Jacob A.	
6100 W. Fullerton	ME 7-8952, Andrew Kovach
Rockwell	
150 S. Western	HA 1-6236, Orin Taylor
Rogers School-Park	
7345 N. Washtenaw	AM 2-4772, Jack Boyle
Rosedale	
6312 W. Rosedale	NE 1-1546, Ralph Capparelli
Sauganash	
5861 N. Kostner	KI 5-9113, Mrs. Angela DiVito
Sayre, Rutherford	
6851 W. Belden	ME 7-4035, John Dolce
Scottsdale	
4637 W. 83rd	PO 7-8442, Miss Beryl Kelly
Shabbona	
6935 W. Addison	AV 3-6787, Byron Mingus
Sheridan	
910 S. Aberdeen	HA 1-6919, James Di Vito
South Shore School-Park	
7647 Constance	ES 5-3468, George Feld
So. Shore Fieldhouse	
1936 E. 76th St.	MU 4-6474 (Summer only)
Stateway Gardens	
3658 S. State St.	KE 8-1132, Jacob Thompson
Stony Island Park	
88th & Clyde Ave.	BA 1-2288, Mrs. Lena Valentino
Robert Taylor Homes	
41 W. 47th St.	AT 5-3384, Joseph Ford
Trumbull, Lyman	
2400 E. 105th St.	So. Chicago 8-1434, Steve Meuris
Tuley	
501 E. 90th Pl.	RA 3-0150, John Bathum
Union	
1505 W. Randolph St.	SE 3-3550, Joseph Sharpe
Wallace Playground	
607 W. 92nd St.	VI 6-3411, Anna Thompson
Washington Park Fieldhouse	
5531 South Parkway	MU 4-6530, John Day
Welles	
2333 W. Sunnyside	LO 1-1184
Welles Gymnasium	LO 1-8646, John Schneider
Wentworth-Kinzie School-Park	
5625 S. Mobile	LU 5-1881, Ralph Bodin
West Pullman	
123rd & Stewart Ave.	PU 5-6963, Joseph R. Herman
Wildwood School-Park	
6950 N. Hiawatha St.	NE 1-7374
Wildwood Park Shelter	
7025 N. Tahoma	SP 4-3251, Charles Mutter
Wilson	
4630 N. Milwaukee	KI 5-7649, Mrs. Cecilia Pearson
Touhy Beach (Rogers Day Camp)	
Touhy & the Lake	BR 4-2474, Stanley Leone
Hamilton	
72nd & Normal Blvd.	ST 3-5657, J. H. Grand Pre

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City of Chicago — Richard J. Daley, Mayor

COMMISSION ON YOUTH WELFARE

185 N. Wabash — Chicago 1
FInancial 6-8450

Chairman ..... Patrick H. Hoy
Executive Director ..... Charles P. Livermore

COMMUNITY OFFICES

Grand Boulevard-Oakland, 591 E. 37th, BO 8-6800
North Lawndale, 1306 S. Pulaski Rd., LA 2-7336
Englewood, 733 W. 64th, ST 3-8507
Uptown, 4555 N. Broadway, LO 1-0191
Near North, 1344 N. Sedgwick, MI 2-7954
Midwest, 2400 W. Madison, CH 3-3165
Woodlawn, 1230 E. 63rd,, 324-2575
Near West Central, 1307 W. Roosevelt, 243-5958

COOPERATING SERVICES CENTER

North Lawndale, 1308 S. Pulaski Rd., 522-7464
Grand Boulevard-Oakland, 591 E. 37th, 624-1685

WANT THIS NEWSLETTER?

You, or any Chicagoan interested in youth welfare, can be put on the mailing list.

Send your name and address to the nearest office listed above.

COOPERATIVE CURFEW EFFORTS BY RADIO-TV

June 15 marks another first for Chicago radio and TV. Joint action will produce the same 10:30 p.m. weeknight time-signal over most Chicago stations.

"It's 10:30; curfew time for Chicagoland young people under 17. Parents, do you know where your children are?"

Conforming to the provisions of both the city and the county ordinance, the spot announcement will be heard at 11:30 p.m. on Friday and Saturday nights. It will continue for the 2 weeks around the closing day of Chicago public schools.

In no way a punative effort, the curfew announcement will serve to remind parents and their youngsters about their respective responsibilities toward each other.

The advent of warm weather and increased leisure time as schools close often results in young people's having more chances to be away from home at later hours. Since much of the serious trouble into which young people fall occurs late in the evening it is important that parents be aware of their children's activities.

The Commission's suggestion met with immediate cooperation by broadcasting media executives. The action of these business leaders, the interest of Captain Mike Delaney of the Chicago Police Youth Division and Captain Nate Klein of the County Police mark the increasingly more effective joint planning and effort now being carried on for the welfare of youth here.

WEST SIDE STORY

The Commission on Youth Welfare has opened its 8th Community Organization Intensive Service Office. Located at 1310 W. Roosevelt Rd., its staff serves the Near West Central area.

Community Unit Director Julian Schwartz and a staff of 3 are busy becoming acquainted with community residents and civic leaders as well as determining available area resources and local youth needs.

SURPRISED MAYOR DALEY accepts roses for his wife from youngsters after speaking to 500 participants at CYW's Midwest Community "LET'S CHECK PROGRESS FOR YOUTH" conference.

WOODLAWN YOUTH EXCHANGE

With a healthy assist from the Commission on Youth Welfare, two teen-age groups of different cultural and ethnic backgrounds have worked out an exchange program. They are enjoying joint recreational activities. Students of Lyons Township High School in La Grange, and a group of Woodlawn's Negro, white and Puerto Rican youngsters meet on Saturdays at different Woodlawn youth-centers or at the suburban school. They are making plans now to work together on a project to acquaint Woodlawn mothers with the importance of physical exams for children.

WILSON-CHI. TEACHERS' STUDENTS VOLUNTEER

Volunteer student tutors from Wilson Junior College and Chicago Teachers College are aiding a cooperative community effort to combat the problem of student dropouts at Englewood's Parker High School. Concerned over increasing dropouts among Parker students, officials of the school requested the Youth Welfare Commission for assistance. The Commission, which has been helping to develop means to combat the dropout problem on a city-wide basis, enlisted the support of officials at the 2 colleges. Forty-seven students volunteered to act as tutors in a study-center program for Parker students, some of whom, because of inability to keep up with their school work, were in danger of becoming dropouts.

The Rev. Lowell Mathes also secured volunteers from the Christian Student Movement, whose membership includes students of both colleges.

Adult supervision at the study centers is provided by the Parker PTA, while professional guidance is given the tutors by Mrs. Marie Truex, Dean of Students at Chicago Teachers College. Canaan Baptist and Union Tabernacle Baptist Churches provide meeting space regularly.

HEIGHTEN ACTIVITY IN COOPERATING SERVICES CENTERS

This Commission activity — bringing available resources to the individual child in trouble — has been tripled in North Lawndale. The caseload, now averaging 70 cases open at all times, is currently handled by a Director and 3 workers. Increased service was made possible by simplified methods and by addition of 2 well qualified Neighborhood Workers, Mrs Marguerite Chapman and Miss Alyce Farley.

OPEN GRAND BOULEVARD-OAKLAND

Working toward opening of another Cooperating Services Center, Unit Director Mrs. Emily Hawkins, is meeting with police personnel to develop operational procedures. On May 17 she met with the Youth Officer force of Area I.

She also is setting up lines of communications with Cook County Department of Public Aid, schools, and similar organizations.

FOR THE FIRST TIME, the Midwest Region, National Conference of Public Youth Agencies, met in Chicago. CYW Chairman Patrick H. Hoy was Master of Ceremonies. Surrounding him are some of the program participants:

Eugene P. Schwartz, Metropolitan Youth Commission of St. Louis; Erwin A. France, Chicago Commission on Youth Welfare; Lester Granger, Director, Youth Development Project, U.S. Children's Bureau, and John A. Troike, Chairman, Illinois Youth Commission.

WANT A JOB? NEED A SKILL?

You may know persons eligible for courses under the "Manpower & Development Training Act." For courses listed below, contact the Illinois State Employment Service office indicated.

TRAINING COURSE AND MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS:	OFFICE:
STENOGRAPHERS (MALE & FEMALE) High school grad; must pass clerical aptitude tests; 18-50 yrs. of age. (40 Wks.)	CLERICAL & SALES 40 W. Adams St.
TYPIST (MALE & FEMALE) High school grad; pass clerical aptitude tests; 18 years and up.	CLERICAL & SALES 40 W. Adams St.
SALESPERSON, AUTOMOTIVE PARTS (MALE) High school grad; must pass aptitude test; well groomed; 18-50 yrs. of age. (48 Wks.)	CLERICAL & SALES 40 W. Adams St.
SYSTEMS TESTING LABORATORY TECHNICIAN (MALE) Pref. one year college; basic courses in physics, electric shop, trigonometry and mech. drawing. Must pass aptitude test; 18 years and up.	PROFESSIONAL, MANAGERIAL & SCIENTIFIC 208 S. LaSalle St.
WIRERS & SOLDERERS (FEMALE) Literate; must pass aptitude test; good vision; 18 yrs. and up. (8 Wks.)	METAL TRADES 321 S. State St.
PRE-APPRENTICE TRAINING FOR TOOL & DIE MAKERS (MALE) High school grad. or equivalent; pass aptitude test & physical exam.; good vision. (48 Wks.)	METAL TRADES 321 S. State St.
LICENSED PRACTICAL NURSE (MALE & FEMALE) 2 yrs. high school; must pass aptitude test. (48 Wks.)	SERVICE OFFICE 608 S. Dearborn St.
FOOD SERVER (MALE & FEMALE) 8th grade reading ability; pass aptitude test & physical exam.; 18 yrs. and up.	HOTEL & RESTAURANT 608 S. Dearborn St.
PANTRY WORKER (MALE & FEMALE) 8th grade reading ability; pass aptitude test & physical exam.; 18 yrs. and up.	HOTEL & RESTAURANT 608 S. Dearborn St.
AUTOMOBILE MECHANIC (MALE) High school grad. or equivalent; pass aptitude test; 18 yrs. and up. (48 Wks.)	GENERAL INDUSTRIAL 321 S. State St.
AUTOMOBILE BODY REPAIRMAN 8th grade; 18 yrs. and up; must pass aptitude test. (48 Wks.)	GENERAL INDUSTRIAL 321 S. State St.

NEAR-NORTH YOUTH EFFORTS

The CYW's Near-North Community Unit has a new Director. He is Wade Parker, whose 2 years of previous Commission experience was on the south side. In addition, a new Neighborhood Worker, Kenneth M. Bogusz, is now on duty.

Millard Hughes is now devoting 4 days per week to aiding the Joint Youth Development Committee, which is becoming increasingly active in the area.

NEWEST CYW PUBLICATIONS include a colorful poster, "WE OBEY THE LAW" produced to aid neighborhood organizations concerned about minors' obtaining liquor, and a one-page description of the functions of the Commission. These are free upon request.

MUSIC IS IN THE AIR on the south side, in Uptown, and here at Cooley Vocational High on the Near North side. An outstanding cultural opportunity for youth resulted from joint efforts of local groups and the Chicago Music Foundation with CYW help.

BOARD OF HEALTH OFFERS VITAL PROTECTION THROUGH SABIN ON SATURDAY STATIONS-MAY 25

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Name of School	Address
Waller	2039 N. Orchard
Newberry	700 W. Willow
LaSalle	1734 N. Orleans
Schiller	700 W. Scott
Cooley, Edwin G.	1225 N. Sedgwick
Sexton, J. A.	160 W. Wendell
Funston	2010 N. Central Park
Darwin	3116 W. Belden
Yates	1839 N. Richmond
Moos	1711 N. California
Anderson	1851 W. Division
Wells	936 N. Ashland
Tuley	1313 N. Claremont
Lafayette	2714 Augusta
Burr	1621 W. Wabansia
Wicker Park	2009 W. Schiller
Carpenter	1250 W. Erie
Cameron	1234 N. Monticello
Lowell	3320 W. Hirsch
Nobel	4127 W. Hirsch
Morse	620 N. Sawyer
Marconi	230 N. Kolmar
Tilton	4152 West End
Heffernan	4409 W. Wilcox
Delano	3937 W. Wilcox
Sumner	715 S. Kildare
Beidler	3151 W. Walnut
Dodge, Mary M.	2651 W. Washington
Gregory	3715 W. Polk
Ericson	3600 W. 5th Ave.
Manley	2935 W. Polk
Marshall High	3250 W. Adams St.
Calhoun	2850 W. Jackson
Smyth	1059 W. 13th Street
Grant, Ulysses	145 S. Campbell
Crane	2245 W. Jackson
King, William H.	740 S. Campbell
Brainard	2113 W. Washburne
Gladstone	1231 S. Damen
Herbert	2131 W. Monroe
Skinner	111 S. Throop
Jackson	820 S. Carpenter
Jefferson	1522 W. Fillmore
Medill	1326 W. 14th Place
Herzl	3711 W. Douglas Blvd.
Howland	1616 S. Spaulding
Shepard	2839 W. Fillmore
Bryant	1355 S. Kedvale
Crown, Sol R.	2128 S. St. Louis
Harrison, Carter H.	2850 W. 24th Street
Whitney	2815 S. Komensky
Gary	3740 W. 31st Street
Burns	2524 S. Central Park
Farragut	2345 S. Christiana
Spry	2400 S. Marshall
Komensky	2001 S. Throop
Jungman	1746 S. Miller
Pickard	2301 W. 21st Place
Cooper	1624 W. 19th Street

For Further Information Call
Dr. O'Connell at Board of Health
RA 6-8000 — Ext. 530

Almost no Chicagoans are protected against Polio Type 3. Other shots do not cover this common type of polio.

For persons without a family doctor, the Chicago Board of Health is providing free Sabin oral vaccine, one day only: *SATURDAY, MAY 25 from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.* It is absolutely painless; 3 drops on a lump of sugar.

The Commission on Youth Welfare is helping to alert local neighborhoods about the one-day drive and its vital importance to all children.

Because of the urgent need, especially by children (including pre-schoolers 3 months to 6 years) and young adults, more than 175 local stations will be operated, this one day only. Consent cards for children must be signed by family.

PASS THIS WORD ON TO EVERY FAMILY. THE CHILD WHO AVOIDS CRIPPLING POLIO THIS SUMMER WILL NEVER KNOW IT, BUT YOU MAY BE THE ONE WHO SAVED HIM.

Find the nearest Sabin On Saturday station here. Then bring (not send) every child in your neighborhood.

Name of School	Address
Haines	231 W. 23rd Place
Abbott	250 W. 37th Street
Hendricks	4316 S. Princeton
Parkman	245 W. 51st Street
Sexton, A. O.	641 E. 60th Street
Fiske	6145 Ingleside
Carnegie	1414 E. 61st Place
Williams	2710 S. Dearborn
Drake Elementary	2722 South Parkway
Douglas	3200 Calumet
Phillips, Wendell	244 E. Pershing
Pershing, J. J.	3113 Rhodes
Oakland	750 E. 40th Street
Felsenthal	4101 Calumet
Hartigan	8 W. Root Street
Forrestville	622 E. 45th Street
Farren	5055 S. State St.
Shoesmith	1330 E. 50th Street
Kenwood	4959 S. Blackstone
Burke	5356 South Parkway
Carter	5740 S. Michigan Ave.
Healy	3037 S. Wallace
Holden	1104 W. 31st Street
McClellan	3527 S. Wallace
Tilden Technical	4747 S. Union Ave.
Sherman	5116 S. Morgan Ave.
Dewey	5415 S. Union Ave.
Murray, Phillips	5335 Kenwood
Kozminski	936 E. 54th Street
Harte	1556 E. 56th Street

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

Name of School	Address
St. John Berchman	2508 N. Maplewood
St. Sylvester	3027 W. Palmer
Presentation	734 S. Springfield
Cabrini	2944 W. Polk Street
St. Mel's High School	1 N. Kildare
St. Francis Assissi	1230 S. Newberry
St. Nicholas	2238 W. Rice Street
St. Callistus	2183 W. DeKalb
St. Columbkille	521 N. Paulina
St. Vincent DePaul	2135 N. Kenmore
St. Bonaventure	1651 Diversey
St. Hedwig	2219 N. Hamilton
Holy Name Cathedral	751 N. State St.
Blessed Agnes	2658 S. Drake
Providence of God	712 W. 19th St.
St. Procopius	1625 S. Allport
St. Thomas More	8130 S. California
St. Clement's	2524 N. Orchard
St. Jarlath	319 S. Hermitage
St. Stephen	1846 W. 22nd Place
Assumption	5952 S. Marshfield
St. Anthony de Padua	512 W. 28th Pl.
Epiphany	4223 W. 25th St.
St. James	2912 S. Wabash
St. Ann	2207 W. 18th St.
Our Lady of Grace	2426 N. Ridgeway
Our Lady of Pompei	1224 W. Lexington
St. Bridget	2928 S. Archer
St. David	3211 S. Emerald
Corpus Christi	4924 South Park Ave.
St. Daniel Prophet	5337 S. Natoma
St. Joseph and St. Anne	2744 W. Pershing
St. Ambrose	1014 E. 47th Street
Five Holy Martyrs	2901 W. 43rd St.
St. Pancratius	2940 W. 40th Pl.
Nativity of our Lord	649 W. 37th St.
St. Gabriel	4500 S. Wallace
St. Roman	2635 W. 23rd St.
St. Casimir	3047 W. Cermak Rd.
St. Columbanus	7130 Calumet Ave.
St. Carthage	7316 Yale Ave.
St. Fidelis	2650 W. Hirsch
St. Stanislaus Kostka	1366 W. Potomac
St. Mary of Angels	1810 N. Hermitage
St. Laurence	7206 Dorchester

INFANT WELFARE STATIONS

4606 N. Kenmore Ave.	6504 Cottage Grove
4430 N. Oakley Ave.	2210 W. Pershing Rd.
4630 Milwaukee Ave.	2411 W. 55th St.
3210 N. Clark St.	4410 S. LaPorte
2732 N. Avers Ave.	1538 W. 69th St.
2318 N. Lavergne Ave.	5902 S. Halsted St.
1832 W. Washington Blvd.	37 W. 47th St.
6935 Addison St.	7458 S. Langley Ave.
900 N. Hudson Ave.	200 W. 95th St.
3902 W. Chicago Ave.	8910 Commercial Ave.
3216 W. Roosevelt Rd.	13248 Baltimore Ave.
1943 W. Madison St.	941 E. 132nd St.
2919 W. Madison St.	437 W. 119th St.
4350 W. 16th St.	1518 W. 102nd Pl.
3448 Ogden Ave.	10801 S. Racine
3704 Vincennes Ave.	1000 S. Lytle
3658 S. State St.	1539 S. Springfield

Published Periodically By

City of Chicago

COMMISSION ON YOUTH WELFARE
185 N. Wabash Avenue • Chicago 1, Illinois

Richard J. Daley, Mayor

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Robert H. MacRae
Dr. Matthew H. Schoenbaum
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Rabbi Ralph Simon
Mrs. Clifton Utley
Charles P. Livermore, Exec. Director

Return Requested

Medical Care & welfare

MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
P. O. Box 499, Madison Square Station
New York 10, N. Y.

June 12, 1963

Dr. George M. Fister, President
American Medical Association
535 North Dearborn Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Dr. Fister:

Our nation is currently engaged in a great effort to assure equal opportunity and human dignity to all its citizens. Racial segregation and discrimination can no longer be tolerated in a society based on democratic principles.

In addition, racial segregation and discrimination in medicine and in health services lowers the quality of patient care and violates the ethics of the medical profession.

We, therefore, respectfully ask the American Medical Association, the most important and most eloquent spokesman of American physicians, to speak out immediately and unequivocally against racial segregation and discrimination. Further we ask the American Medical Association to use its dominent leadership position in the medical field to assure a prompt and orderly transition to full integration wherever racial segregation and discrimination exist in medicine and in health services.

In particular, we ask you, the President of the A.M.A., the other national officers, the Board of Trustees and the House of Delegates the following four questions:

1. Will you use your considerable personal and organizational strength for terminating the racial exclusion policies of State and County medical societies?

2. Will you make available direct membership in the American Medical Association to Negro physicians who are denied membership in their State and County medical societies because of their race, as has been requested for years?

3. Will you actively oppose the "separate but equal" clause of the Hill-Burton Act which provides Federal construction grants to hospitals and other health facilities when this Act comes up for renewal in the Congress in the next few months?

4. Will you instruct your representatives on the Joint Commission on Accreditation of Hospitals to vigorously urge that racial integration of patient services be added to the minimum standards for hospital accreditation?

Sincerely yours,

John L.S. Holloman, Jr., M.D.

Walter J. Lear, M.D.

MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
P. O. Box 499, Madison Square Station
New York 10, N.Y.

AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION REGARDING RACIAL SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

This "Appeal to the A.M.A." has been conceived as a first step by physicians and other health workers towards assuming their important and special role in the nation's current struggle for equal opportunity and human dignity for all citizens.

This "Appeal" will achieve a maximum effect as those making it are willing to do so publicly and bodily, should this be necessary. Although an appeal of this type is not ordinarily used by physicians, the continued existence of racial segregation and discrimination in medicine and in health services does not permit us anything less than the maximum expression of our convictions in this regard.

Attached is the text of a letter we have sent to Dr. George M. Fister, President of the A.M.A. Copies of the letter have also been sent to the other officers of the A.M.A., its Board of Trustees and its House of Delegates.

If a positive reply to this letter is not received by Tuesday evening, June 18th, the public phase of the "Appeal" will take place on Wednesday morning in front of the Traymore Hotel in Atlantic City where the House of Delegates will be meeting. The public phase of the "Appeal" will be carried out in a manner appropriate for the traditional humanity and dignity of the medical profession confronting the inhumanity and indignity of racial segregation and discrimination.

If you would like to join us in this "Appeal" or support it, please fill out the following section and return it immediately to the above address.

John L. S. Holloman, Jr., M. D.

Walter J. Lear, M. D.

☐ I will participate in the public phase of the "Appeal to the A.M.A." at 8:30 A.M. Wednesday, June 19th in front of the Traymore Hotel, Atlantic City.

☐ I enclose $10. in support of the "Appeal to the A.M.A.".

(Please make checks payable to: Medical Committee for Civil Rights.)

_____
(signed)

Name (please print or type): _____

Office Address: _____ Telephone: _____

Home Address: _____ Telephone: _____

Labor Donated

6/12/63

Medical Care & Welfare

PUBLIC WELFARE

IN MISSISSIPPI

April
May
June
1963

Racial Amalgamation Propaganda Versus Segregation And Racial Cooperation

by Fred A. Ross, Commissioner,
State Department of Public Welfare*

Madison Avenue "public relations" firms, New York, radio and television "commentators," certain college "professors," authors, and propagandists during the past thirty years have kept up a constant barrage of propaganda about "discrimination," "prejudice," "equality," "non-discrimination," "integration," and "anti-segregation" in a concerted effort to hide and conceal from the American people the differences which God ordained between the white race, the black race, and the brown, red and yellow races.

They actually advocate racial amalgamation though they coined a new word for it called "integration." God did not integrate or amalgamate these races any more than he integrated or amalgamated the fowls of the air, or the fishes of the sea, or the animal kingdom.

These highly skilled and clever propagandists have deliberately disseminated false propaganda to America and to the world that the white people of Mississippi mistreat Negro citizens, deny them "civil rights" and other benefits granted freely to Negroes by the white people of other states. Most of this propaganda to integrate which means to amalgamate contains half truths or whole falsehoods. The **official records** show:

PUBLIC SCHOOL[1]/

A special legislative session in Mississippi was called in 1953 to consider recommendations made by an 18 man committee study group in the field of **equalization of educational opportunities for the races.**

Legislation was passed abolishing all school districts and authorizing reconstituted districts to borrow up to 75 per cent of the money necessary to construct new schools or add to old ones where they were acceptable. The state issued full faith and credit bonds for the purpose of financing this program .

Provision was made to repay the indebtedness by earmarking $550,000 per month ($6,660,000 annually) of the Sales Tax collections. School districts would not actually repay any money to the state, but would be able to repay the construction loan by receiving credit for its ADA (Average Daily Attendance) funds. This was set by the legislature at $12 per child in average daily attendance. **Each Negro child was given an additional $3, making $15,** until 1964. After 1964 each child would receive from the state $12. This program is designed to amortize itself by 1982.

Since the program started, more than $100,000,000 in state funds has been provided and approximately $90,000,000 in local funds, making a total of approximately $190,000,000.

The $100,000,000 state funds loaned to school districts for construction has been expended in the following manner:

> Two thousand nine hundred eighty-seven **(2,987) white classrooms** have been constructed or are under contract. Cost of this construction is **$36,048,396.45.** In other words, **37 per cent** of the state's funds is being spent **for construction of white classrooms.**
>
> Four thousand eight hundred eighty-two **(4,882) Negro classrooms** have been constructed or are under contract. Cost of this construction is **$62,362,848.72.** In other words, **63 per cent** of the state's funds is being spent **for Negro classrooms,** although they constitute less than 45 percent of the state's population.[2]/

Is that "discrimination"? Is that Negro "prejudice"?

During the 1961-62 school year, the tax supported public school system census (ages 6-21) showed **329,215 white children; 337,871 Negro children** attending. Discrimination?

In 1941-42 there were 11,971 white children in grade 12; in **1961-62 there were 14,904,** an **increase of 24.5 per cent.** On the other hand, in **1941-42** there were **1,709 Negro children** in grade 12; **in 1961-62 there were 8,162,** an **increase of 377.6 per cent.**[3]/ Is that race prejudice?

What do the records show concerning the training of teachers (Bachelor's Degree and above)? **In 1943-44,** there were **5,063 white teachers** with a Bachelor's Degree or above; **in 1961-62** the number **increased to 11,058,** an increase of **118.4 per cent.** On the other hand, **in 1943-44** there were

turn to page 3

1/ Source: "School Plant Construction in Mississippi" by T. H. Naylor, Jr., Executive Secretary, Mississippi State Educational Finance Commission.

* Presented to Department Staff, Edgewater Park, Mississippi, April 16, 1962 at State Conference on Social Welfare and to the members of the Policy Committee of the American Public Welfare Association, Washington D. C., April 22, 1963.

2/ Source: "Breakdown of Rooms," Statistical material supplied by Mississippi State Educational Finance Commission, T. H. Naylor, Jr., Executive Secretary.

3/ Sources: Biennial Report, State Department of Education, 1941-1942. "Statistical Data" bulletin, State Department of Education, 1961-1962.

705 Negro teachers with a Bachelor's Degree or above; in **1961-62** the number **increased to 7,382,** an increase of **947.1 per cent.** Is that race prejudice? Discrimination?

What do the records show concerning salaries (from state and local funds)? **In 1941-42 white teachers** received **$5,383,054.80; in 1961-62** they received **$40,601,189.00,** an increase of **654.2 per cent. In 1941-42 Negro teachers** received **$1,565,988.39; in 1961-62** they received **$25,107,469.75,** an **increase of 1503.3 per cent.**[4/]

COLLEGES

During 1960-62, new buildings provided by state tax money for public higher education of **white students** amounted to **$372.56 per student** and for **Negro students** it amounted to **$497.13 per student.** Is that race prejudice?

Amount of state tax money allocated for educational and general support of public higher education, 1960-62: **White** institutions, **$580.23** per student; **Negro** institutions, **$622.40** per student.[5/] Discrimination?

What about college enrollment? **In 1941-42** there were 5,845 **white students** enrolled in college; **in 1961-62** there were **16,238, an increase of 177.8 per cent.** On the other hand, **in 1941-42** there were **589 Negro students** enrolled in college; **in 1961-62** there were **3,521, an increase of 497.8 per cent.**[6/] Does that indicate racial bias, prejudice?

CHARITY HOSPITALS

From 7-1-59 to 6-30-61 Mississippi spent **$577,877.00 for white charity** patients in private hospitals; but, on the other hand, spent **$662,952.04** on **Negro patients.**[7/] Is that race bias or prejudice? Discrimination?

"INTEGRATION" MEANS AMALGAMATION AND THE ABOLITION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN MISSISSIPPI.

Here's why.

After the Warren Court decision of 1954, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican President at the time, proclaimed to the world that the Government intended to make the Washington public school system a model for racial "tolerance," "cooperation" and "good will" so that the communist doctrines preached by Madison Avenue Propagandists and the Warren Court would spread throughout America, particularly in the southern states.

Since then, what has happened?

Since that time, white people have been leaving Washington with their school children like rats escaping from a sinking ship.

The movement to completely change God's plan by the amalgamation of the races under the guise of "integration," "anti-segregation" and "non-discrimination," and "brotherly love," has caught **the imagination** as well as **the impulse for publicity** of some of our ministers—Jewish, Catholic and Protestant.

The blind is leading the blind. Communism is the principal, if not the only, beneficiary. The movement is promoted, in a few cases, by wolves in sheep's clothing!

How has the great "model of integration" for the world worked?

TOLL OF A RACE RIOT

Official investigation of the Thanksgiving Day riot at District of Columbia Stadium revealed:

INJURED number at least **316 whites, 30 Negroes—total 346.** In addition, 145 persons reported being pushed, shoved, slapped.

SERIOUS INJURIES included:

Broken Nose	13
Broken jaw	2
Dislocated jaw	1
Teeth knocked out	4

All those seriously injured were white.

WEAPONS used included knives, chains, bottles, umbrellas, sticks and stones. The following types of attack were reported:

Cut or stabbed	20
Clubbed with a pipe	4
Struck with umbrella	29
Thrown down and kicked	29
Hit by sticks, rocks, bottles	60
Hit by fists or kicked	105

PROPERTY LOSS INCLUDED: 70 cars damaged; 5 purses snatched; 4 band instruments dented; numerous cases of torn clothing, broken spectacles, stolen articles. (U. S. News and World Report, January 21, 1963)

Tax assessment rolls throughout the state reflect that not less than 90 percent of the real and personal property in Mississippi is assessed to the white race. That means, of course, the white race pays at least 90 per cent of the ad-valorem taxes collected on such property.

The per capita earnings of the Negro race in Mississippi is only a fraction of what the per capita earnings of the white race is in Mississippi. That means, of course, the Negro race pays only a fraction of the total amount of excise and other taxes levied and collected in the State of Mississippi.

The undisputed facts are that the white population of Mississippi give, monthly and yearly, **more money, goods and services** to the members of the Negro race in Mississippi than do the white people of any other state in the United States when the comparable ability to pay taxes is considered.

For this, does the white population receive any thanks or appreciation? The answer is, "No."

They receive national ridicule and abuse through the dissemination of half truths and whole falsehoods by national news media.

The question arises as to how much longer the white population of Mississippi will consent to be taxed and drained of

4/ Sources: "Stastical Data" bulletin, Mississippi State Department of Education, 1961-1962. "Statistical Data" bulletin on school session 1943-1944, Mississippi State Department of Education.

5/ Source: Biennial Report of the Board of Trustees of State Institutions of Higher Learning, 1959-1961.

6/ Source: "Statistical Summaries," 1961-1962, A Presentation of Operational Finances and Other Pertinent Data at the Universities and the State Colleges. E. R. Jobe, Executive Secretary, p 3.

7/ Source: Letter dated April 1, 1963, Satte Hospital Commission, Robert G. Myers, Secretary.

its substance for the benefit of a race, and a nation, which shows no appreciation for their sacrifices.

A simple majority of each House in the Legislature present and voting can pass a law authorizing the abolition of public schools on a local option basis.

A two-thirds majority of both Houses of the Legislature present and voting have the power to abolish public schools state-wide.

Only one vote more than two-fifths of the members of each House is necessary to discontinue making an appropriation for public schools throughout the state. We all know that when and if the money stops, school is out.

It is not unreasonable to predict that public schools in Mississippi will be abolished, and it will be done sooner than we think!

The white race possesses the brains, the wealth and the earning capacity to devise a system of private schools to educate its children.

The Negro race has not indicated enough interest in Prince Edward County, Virginia, or anywhere in the United States to devise a system of private education for members of its race.

NEGROES RECEIVE MOST FROM WELFARE DEPARTMENT

The Department of Public Welfare in Mississippi makes an annual study, usually in September, on the distribution of the number of recipients of public assistance, by type of assistance, by county, by race.

TOTAL CASELOAD, ALL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

	September 1958	September 1962	% Increase
Total	110,757	115,612	4.4
White	44,311	44,935	1.4
Negro	66,239	70,440	6.3
Indian and/or Chinese	207	237	14.5

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN PROGRAM

		September 1958	September 1962	% Increase or Decrease
Total	Families	17,203	20,304	18.0
	Children	51,352	62,839	22.4
White	Families	4,962	4,433	-10.7
	Children	13,307	11,842	-11.0
Negro	Families	12,154	15,774	29.8
	Children	37,854	50,770	34.1
Indian and/or Chinese	Families	87	97	11.5
	Children	191	227	18.8

There has been a steady decrease in the number of white families receiving this type of assistance from September 1958 to September 1962.

The total state appropriation is $3,200,000.00; available federal funds is $14,933,312.00 during the 1962-1964 biennium. The total funds available is $18,133,312.00 or $4.66 federal tax dollars for each state tax dollar spent for this purpose.

Is that racial "bigotry," "prejudice" or "discrimination"?

79.07 percent of the assistance money goes to Negro children; only

20.47 per cent goes to white children; and

.46 per cent of the money goes to children of Indian or other nationality.[8]/

Is that racial "prejudice" — "discrimination"?

SUMMARY OF AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN CASES REPORTED TO COURTS BECAUSE OF ALLEGED PATERNITY AND/OR SUITABILITY OF HOME JULY - DECEMBER 1962 [9]/

TOTAL ADC CASES REPORTED TO COURTS	898
1. Alleged paternity	728
2. Suitability of home	170
ALLEGED PATERNITY CASES REPORTED BY RACE	728
1. White cases	28
2. Negro cases	696
3. Indian cases	4
(above paternity cases involved 1,607 children)	
SUITABILITY OF HOME CASES REPORTED BY RACE	170
1. White cases	12
2. Negro cases	157
3. Indian cases	1
(above suitability of home cases involved 614 children)	
REASON CASES REPORTED FOR SUITABILITY OF HOME	170
1. Illegitimate pregnancy of mother	34
2. Birth of illegitimate child	82
3. Promiscuous behavior of mother	45
4. Other (intoxicating liquor in home)	9

Do the above figures indicate that it is our duty as Christians to "integrate" the races or listen to a propagandist who claims we "sin" if we resist man's "integration" which, of course, means **amalgamation?**

A simple majority of both Houses of the Legislature can abolish the Welfare Department.

Only one vote more than two-fifths of either House is necessary to discontinue making any appropriation of any description to the Welfare Department.

QUESTIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

We assume that Almighty God **was** and **is** impartial. He is no "respector of persons," according to scripture.

Why was the Negro kept in Africa for 100 million years by our Lord God as we are told by our scientists?

The Negro has had the continent of Africa, beyond dispute, since his advent upon earth, one of the richest in natural resources of any continent.

Why has the Negro not developed it, and filled it with

8/ Source: Race distribution of recipients made once each year of the total number and the total amount of money to the recipients in each program, Mississippi State Department of Public Welfare, attached to Memorandum No. 1258 dated January 22, 1963.

9/ Source: Statistics compiled by the Division of Research and Statistics, State Department of Public Welfare, from monthly reports submitted by counties to the State Office.

the monuments of his greatness?

The Negro has been in contact with the oldest civilizations, including "Ur of the Chaldees," whence came Abraham; and in Egypt where he amalgamated with whites and then destroyed that civilization. He helped haul the stones for the great pyramids five thousand years ago; he served in the armies of Xerxes; he marched against the armies of Alexander the Great; he saw the legions of Rome march across his horizon; and witnessed the rise and spread of the Empire of the Saracens.

But **the record** shows that from this he learned nothing, caught none of the fire, or the visions, of the greatest of antiquity.

He lived in his jungle home; he worked his wife; he sold his children; he ate his brother.

We have been told thousands of times "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son," etc. (John 3:16). But, also Jesus said: "For the tree is known by its fruit," (Matt. 12:33).

It is reported that there have been over 200 cases of cannibalism recently in the Belgian Congo. Since the Belgians were forced out by the U. N. there have been several hundred murders, and wholesale rapes of white women and children.

Contrary to Madison Avenue propagandists and radio, television and press "commentators," the black man was not "stolen" but was bought from their captors.

The South took these black men, taught them to eat cooked food, to wear clothes, to work, exposed them to religion, and forced them to lead a limited moral life.

After 100 million years of jungle savagery before they were brought here, in less than 300 years of association with our civilization they have now been "raised," by the **Warren court fiat,** and brotherhood by bayonet by both Eisenhower and Kennedy from cannibals to the "equals" of the President, the Vice-President and the Chief Justice of U. S. Supreme Court.

Why? The hunger of politicians for votes!

Negro births are 25.4 per cent illegitimate; white births are 1.5 per cent illegitimate.[10/]

Does this fit Negroes for white schools?

During the seven year interval from 1955 to 1962 there was reported to the Mississippi State Health Department sixty-three thousand four hundred forty-three (63,443) cases of venereal disease. Four thousand one hundred seventy five (4,175) of these were white and fifty-nine thousand two hundred sixty-eight (59,268) Negro.

In 1955 there were ten thousand two hundred eleven (10,211) cases of venereal disease reported. Six hundred seventeen (617) white cases and nine thousand five hundred ninety-four (9,594) Negro cases.

In 1962 there were five thousand nine hundred twenty (5,920) venereal disease cases reported. Five hundred twenty-six (526) of these were white and five thousand three hundred ninety-four (5,394) Negro.[11/]

Does this fit Negroes for white schools?

Why does Mississippi, with separate schools, have more Negro college presidents and more Negro teachers than all eastern states combined?

According to "Personnel News" the monthly newsletter of the Public Personnel Association, although Negroes constituted in 1960 **only 10.5 per cent** of the total population of the United States, Negroes account for **13 per cent of the** work force in **Government service** in the United States **at** the end of June 1962. This shows, conclusively the Negro receives not **equal** but **preferential** treatment in employment in Government service.

MISSISSIPPI IS NOT "BACKWARD" MISSISSIPPI IS FORWARD

Mississippi is really a great state. It has much for which it is thankful.

There are more churches per capita in Mississippi than in any other state in the nation.

It has the world's largest broiler plant.

The first can of milk ever to be condensed was condensed in Mississippi.

Mississippi had the first concrete highway in the whole Southland; there's no state that grows more commercial trees. Mississippi has the world's highest priced bull; the world's largest plantation; the world's champion corn grower; the world's largest pecan orchard; the world's longest man made beach. The first wood processing plant; the world's largest nursery.

Two Miss Americas in a row. Mississippi has in many fields been a pace setter!

Mississippi was the first state to abolish imprisonment for debt;

the first to give married women property rights;

the first to establish an Institution for the Blind and Deaf;

the first to establish an Agricultural and Industrial Institution for Negroes;

the first to support a college for women (MSCW).

Barnard College, Columbia University, in New York, was named for the Third Chancellor of Ole Miss.

Henry Hughes, of Port Gibson was the first American to publish a book on Sociology.

Mississippi was the first state to establish a consolidated school.

The town of Mound Bayou, Bolivar County, Mississippi, with approximately 2,000 citizens, officially became a town in 1902, a town of which all Mississippians are justly proud. Its crime record is among the lowest in our nation. Since its inception, and to the present date, Mound Bayou is the most completely segregated town in America. Its citizenry is composed entirely of Negroes, because by tradition and ordinances, no white person has ever been permitted to own property or to live therein.

There is less hunger and more happiness, less dirt and more dignity, and less poverty and more opportunity for all men and all women in Mississippi than any other state. There are **fewer** taverns and **more** churches!

You can look in the wrong end of the telescope and see nothing but the mole on the face of Marilyn Monroe. Come to Mississippi with a myopic lens in your camera, photograph molehills and you'll make them look like mountains.

Or, you can walk the stately streets beneath the ancient moss draped live oaks lined with modern homes to savor the traditional graciousness and sense the industrial aggressiveness where two rivers run both ways — prodded by yesterday's poverty and lured by tomorrow's opportunity. It takes a wide angle lens to get the whole picture of Mississippi.

10/ Source: Live Births with Number and Percent Illegitimate, Mississippi, Occurrence Data 1915-1943 — Resident Data 1944-1961. Furnished by Jane Hazlewood, Supervisor of Statistics, Mississippi State Board of Health, March 15, 1963.

11/ (Verneral Disease morbidity, calendar years 1955-1961, Mississippi State Board of Health.)

Med

where youth may yet dare to dream, dig and drive with good odds to win.

The American way of freedom—What is it?

3. It is opportunity regardless of economic status.

The idea that the American laboring man is a poor, bedraggled, enslaved automaton, suffering under the capitalistic heel of oppression is an absurdity. Some of those broadcasting such ideas have gone elsewhere on the globe but soon returned disillusioned about their utopian dreams.

To assert that the little man hasn't a chance anymore cannot be substantiated in fact.

A Chinese Buddhist immigrant came to America in 1927. He went to New York and drove a truck for 3 years. He saved enough money to make a downpayment on a small restaurant. The business began to grow. We are advised that his business is now worth more than $250,000. This Chinese truckdriver, who came to free America, is now living in a $50,000 home, drives a Cadillac automobile and winters in Florida.

The American way of freedom—What is it?

4. It is opportunity regardless of handicaps.

Compared to the environment of yesteryear there are so many today who expect to have things handed them on a silver platter. Many have attempted to reverse the old adage by proclaiming, "the world owes me a living," without any concern of their obligations to the world.

When things get tough we are now prone to look to Government for help in business, in education, in medicine, in housing. There are too many people who just don't want to stand on their own two feet.

Consider for a moment the case of a young university graduate. He had all A's in all courses in all 4 years, the highest record in the history of the school. Don't you envy him? He won the university's highest scholastic honor. He was a popular student and the star of the debating team.

In his high school days he likewise made straight A's and was president of the senior class. He won one of the outstanding scholarship awards of the country in which he competed with many thousands of students.

His case is quite unique because he was the son of Basque immigrants who came to free America from the western Pyrenees of northern Spain. I mention him here because he was totally blind.

What a noble example of the true American spirit to tackle a tough situation and see it through with courage, daring, and faith. How much we need that spirit of self-reliance and independence in this hour of our history.

We are yelling for security these days when what we really need is freedom. We need freedom from the super-state. We need freedom to pit the minds of freemen against the perplexing problems of human life. We need freedom to be creative, to encourage individual initiative and to improve our way of life. With that freedom America's future is unlimited.

If we are seeking a sound solution to America's economic problems we will be obliged to go beyond big Government, big labor, and big business to the freedom of big men over whom nobody stands in control but Almighty God.

This is the core of our predicament today. For this concept of freedom is based on the recognition of a sovereign God as the Lord of life. The Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution were anchored on this fundamental concept.

One of the chief aids of freemen in their resistance to the tyranny of the superstate is in their regular worship of Almighty God and their recognition of the Christian principles at the very center and core of life. The alluring temptation to embrace the state as a god may be appealing but highly dangerous to personal freedom. The welfare state can easily become the collectivist state. The collectivist state can easily become the police state. The police state can easily become the totalitarian state.

Thus, this Independence Day Sunday is an excellent opportunity for Christians to reexamine our fundamental freedoms.

We will do well to reaffirm our faith in a sovereign God. We will do well to reaffirm our belief in our individual rights and privileges. We will do well to rededicate ourselves to the true American way of freedom which undergirds our hopes for peace, national security and the enlightenment of our citizenry.

But always remember that the American way of freedom is a heroic and holy heritage of the Christian church.

As the psalmist penned centuries ago, "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord, the people whom He has chosen as His heritage."

Kiwanis Club of Elma, N.Y., Speaks Out Against U.S. Supreme Court Decision on Constitutionality of Prayers in the Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. PILLION

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 11, 1962

Mr. PILLION. Mr. Speaker, I concur wholeheartedly with the following resolution adopted by the Kiwanis Club of Elma, N.Y. The resolution refers to the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court declaring the recitation of prayers in the public schools to be unconstitutional. This was another step in a long series of decisions wherein the Supreme Court has evidenced its lack of stability and appreciation of the fundamental values that underlie our Western civilization, and this Nation's Constitution.

The resolution follows:

Whereas the attention of the officers, directors, and members of the Kiwanis Club of Elma has been directed to the recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court declaring the use of a voluntary school prayer in New York public schools unconstitutional; and

Whereas it is the considered, solemn opinion of the Kiwanis Club of Elma that this Nation from its inception, has publicly and consistently affirmed its belief in God, and its reliance on adherence to the basic principles of religion; and

Whereas this club is cognizant of the right of each American to worship God in the manner of his choosing; and

Whereas this club has carefully studied the material so declared to violate the Constitution, and satisfied itself that the wording involved is nonsectarian, nondenominational, and highly expressive of the loftiest principles of religious belief: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Kiwanis Club of Elma records its vigorous objection to the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court referred to; and be it further

Resolved, That the Kiwanis Club of Elma urges Kiwanis International to officially record itself as similarly objecting.

Congressman John D. Dingell's Remarks on Hospital Discrimination, Sixth National Imhotep Conference, May 25, 1962

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 11, 1962

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, during his four terms in the Congress of the United States I have had the pleasure of watching the vigor, drive, integrity, and intelligence of young JOHN DINGELL, Congressman of Michigan's 15th District. He follows in the footsteps of his illustrious father, whose years of dedicated service are memorable. I was friend of the father as I am of the son. Indeed, the apple has not fallen far from the tree. There is in the House of Representatives no more forthright, liberal, and no more able and aggressive Member of Congress. He has stood forth vigorously against legislation which would hurt small business by repealing the antitrust laws, has been one of the principal fighters for civil rights legislation and was one of the leading participants in the maneuverings which resulted in enactment into law of the civil rights bills of 1957 and 1959. He was the author of one of the very first bills to include hospitalization for the aged within the framework of the Social Security Act, and his vigorous endeavors on behalf of that great cause have in large measure contributed to the present consideration by the Congress of the King-Anderson bill, of which Congressman JOHN D. DINGELL is a cosponsor, to provide for hospitalization for the aged within the framework of the social security program.

However, no action by our good friend and colleague, the Honorable JOHN D. DINGELL, reflects more credit on him than his vigorous opposition to racial discrimination against the sick, the aged, the helpless, the maimed, the injured, mothers in childbirth, the newborn, the afflicted, and the suffering and dying.

I am referring to Congressman DINGELL's vigorous opposition to racial discrimination in hospitals. Evil weed though our racially discriminatory practices are, this perhaps is the worst of all and strikes hardest at that segment of our population least able to defend itself against such discriminatory practices.

I am including in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, pursuant to permission granted, a speech made by our friend and colleague, Congressman JOHN D. DINGELL, before the Sixth National Imhotep Conference held under the auspices of the National Medical Association, the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at the Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., on May 25, 1962.

This is the most telling criticism of a particularly pernicious form of racial discrimination which I have seen, and for that reason deserves inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The speech follows:

Mr. Chairman, officers, and members of this Sixth Imhotep Conference, I would like to express my deep gratitude for the privilege of being present today to discuss with you not only a medicosociological situation, but what I am sure you will agree is one of the most odious and hurtful aspects of our racial discriminatory practices.

I refer to the problem of racial discrimination in staffing and in admissions of patients to hospitals.

Although the practice of racial discrimination in our Nation is an evil growth, perhaps no fruit borne by it is more noxious than the practice of discrimination against the sick, the aged, the helpless, the maimed, the injured, mothers in childbirth, the newborn, the afflicted, and the suffering and dying.

It is for this reason that, whenever the opportunity was presented, I have opposed this vicious practice, both by sponsorship of appropriate legislation and by offering and supporting amendments to do away with it.

The Hill-Burton Act is a great piece of humanitarian legislation. It has, in and of itself, contributed as much as any other single piece of legislation now on the books to making good medical care available to the American people generally.

The Hill-Burton Act has poured $1.5 billion in Federal funds into construction and repair of 5,500 hospitals and similar institutions and has so stimulated construction to change a critical shortage to a point nearing adequacy.

Some 2,000 hospitals and other health care facilities have been constructed, in whole or in part, in 11 Southern States through Hill-Burton grants in the amount of $562,921,000 of the $1,550,214,062 spent since the start of the program.

Ninety-eight of these hospitals are segregated. Most of the rest of the facilities admit Negroes in segregated wings, segregated wards, in hospital basements, in halls, and in other places where by practice and tradition they put Negro patients, but would never think of placing white patients.

Concurrent with this are discriminations against practitioners of medicine of the Negro race which not only deny physicians an adequate opportunity to utilize their talents and training on behalf of their patients but which deny them the right to earn a decent living. One doctor in discussing the situation said he could treat his patients if they could be cared for in the alley but that he could not if they had a condition requiring hospital care.

In this matter, there have been bright spots, and although the situation is bad, it is slowly improving, but not without enormous effort by right-thinking people.

As in other aspects of the problem of segregation, the North is different in the practice of the vices of discrimination, if only as to amount and degree.

A recent study was conducted in 14 communities. The investigators assumed the most reliable single index of integration to be, "In a given place what percentage of Negro doctors is affiliated with predominantly white hospitals?" This is indeed an important criterion, but I believe it would be helpful to have it compared with the percentage of patients, white and colored, and their respective relationship to the percentage of population in institutions in the area.

The findings, at any rate, are interesting:

Percentage of Negro doctors affiliated with white hospitals

Community:	Percent
Gary, Ind	82
New York (Brooklyn)	71
Philadelphia	28
Los Angeles	25
Indianapolis	23
Boston	21
Detroit	16
St. Louis	11
Chicago	7
Kansas City, Mo	5
Washington, D.C	4
Atlanta	0
Nashville	0
New Orleans	0

Much of this evil is rooted in the Hill-Burton Act itself, which had language in it which read as follows, setting forth in clear terms what was then thought to be the law with regard to the due-process clause and the equal-protection-of-the-law clause and segregation:

"Such hospital or addition to a hospital will be made available to all persons residing in the territorial area of the applicant, without discrimination on account of race, creed, or color, but an exception shall be made in cases where separate hospital facilities are provided for separate population groups, if the plan makes equitable provision on the basis of need for facilities for each such group."

The milestone school case of *Brown* v. *The School Board* and others since have shown that this is not the law, and that it is impossible to have equal and separate since the two are mutually exclusive and contradictory.

I am proud of my sponsorship of legislation to slay this evil, H.R. 10535.

I am sure you understand the enormous difficulty of securing enactment of forward-looking social legislation. Many here in this room participated in the grassroot action which brought about enactment of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1959, and in the misfortune which befell the friends of equality in the recent Senate filibuster which destroyed for this session chances of meaningful legislation in the area of voting and literacy tests.

There is, however, another bright spot, much like that created by the courageous actions of the freedom riders, the sit-ins, and the plaintiffs in school integration cases. I refer to the filing of suit against two hospitals in Greensboro, N.C., to declare unconstitutional the "separate but equal" provision of the Hill-Burton Act. One defendant, the Cone Hospital, has received $1,229,552.50 in Federal aid. It accepts Negro patients under special circumstances and conditions. The Long Hospital, also a defendant, which refuses to accept Negro patients at all, received $1,596,301.60 in Federal funds.

The Department of Justice has intervened in this matter on behalf of the Federal Government and has asked that the separate but equal provisions of the Hill-Burton Act be held unconstitutional. I am assured that the Department will vigorously press its participation in the suit.

A similar suit is pending in Orangeburg, S.C., against the Orangeburg Regional Hospital, which maintains segregated waiting rooms, wards, and other facilities. The thrust of this suit is that the hospital's practices violate the due process clause and the equal protection of the laws provisions of the 14th amendment. In excess of $300,000 has been granted this hosiptal by the Federal Government.

The striking thing about this pattern of segregation of hospital facilities is that it clearly does not conform to the now segregationist doctrine of separate but equal. The facilties are separate but clearly unequal in quantity and quality in a very striking way.

In many cases grantee institutions not only do not furnish separate but equal facilities but simply refuse to admit Negro patients. Where Negro patients are admitted it is to such scandalously inadequate facilities as to factually affirm the finding of the school cases that separate but equal is impossible of achievement as an inherent contradiction in terms.

There are many concrete examples of the way this works out in practice. In heavily Negro counties in Mississippi and other Southern States in older institutions Negro patients were kept in attics, halls and basements. In some new institutions they are now given 40 segregated beds per hundred. In Birmingham, Ala., with a population in the area of 750,000, equally divided between white and Negro citizens, in 10 hospitals there were only 574 beds allocated to Negro patients, and some 1,762 for whites. Beds for Negro patients were broken down to 134 beds for crippled children, 73 obstetrical beds, and 367 beds for medical and surgical cases.

In Atlanta, Ga., out of some 4,000 beds available in the metropolitan area, only 680 are available to Negro patients. Some Atlanta hospitals which refuse to admit Negroes were constructed or improved in part with Hill-Burton grants.

There was recently brought to the attention of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare a hospital in Augusta, Ga., that had previously received Federal assistance and was applying for an additional $400,000. This hospital refuses pediatric or maternity care to colored persons. Facilities for Negroes are limited to 12 beds in the basement. Ironically the requested $400,000 is for expansion of the "white" facilities.

Limitation of time and space precludes elaboration but the pattern is clear, quite uniform, and drearily repetitious. It can be substantially duplicated in most cities in the South. However, by way of further example of northern practice let us take just one city in the North, my hometown of Detroit, Mich.—in fact the same structure appears in nearly all parts of the country.

The Michigan Chronicle, a weekly newspaper of excellent repute, ran a series which both set forth the situation and led to its substantial improvement.

One Detroit hospital was found to have for all intents and purposes refused Negro obstetrical cases. The Chronicle quoted the Detroit Medical Society which found that three hospitals discriminated against Negroes in the admission and placement of patients. In another hospital it was found that of 24 internships available annually only 1 went to a Negro. With a turnover of one-third of its 54 residencies annually, this same hospital has never trained a Negro resident. Only one of four major hospitals in the Detroit area had substantially complied with fair and nondiscriminatory practices.

Happily, I can report that by cooperation of city government, the hospitals, and organized medicine in the area, these discriminatory practices are now being remedied and we hope will soon be eradicated.

There are many factors in this situation which have an unusual relationship of both cause and effect at the same time in this pattern of discrimination.

Perhaps the worst is degradation and hardship on our Negro citizens of an economic, physical, and spiritual sort when their resources are at their lowest because of illness.

Another is the impact on Negro physicians and surgeons. While Negroes comprise 10

percent of the population, Negroes comprise only 2.2 percent of physicians. There is 1 white physician for 770 people, and 1 Negro physician for 4,567 nonwhites, according to Negroes and Medicine by Reitzes.

This work shows that in almost every southern State and locality the percentage of Negro doctors to patients and the number of Negro doctors in absolute terms is declining. The average age of practitioners is increasing.

There are a number of facts hard to explain except in terms of discrimination. Generally exclusively Negro hospitals are old, makeshift, crowded, substandard, and often hand-me-downs from the white community which has erected a new commodious plant.

In the South, Negro medical students are nearly forced to receive their degrees from Negro schools or to go north. The Journal of the National Medical Association in 1961 reported that 11 southern medical schools did not admit Negro schools.

Although the practice appears to have suffered substantial reduction, State medical and especially local societies are reported to deny Negro physicians membership or limit them to a sort of junior participation without the cares of dues paying or voting, and eating dinner with their white colleagues at membership functions.

This denial of membership in medical societies often will deny Negro physicians membership on hospital staffs.

There is also a tendency for hospitals to make new staff appointments from board certified specialists. In 1947 there were 93 such Negro specialists; in 1952 there were 190; and in 1957 there were 320. Still today only about 1 percent of all such board certified specialists are Negroes.

Although there is an increasing percentage of nonwhite interns and residents in non-Negro hospitals that percentage is not yet representative.

The work of eliminating discrimination by enactment into law of the proposal of Senator JAVITS and myself will not eliminate the problem of discrimination in the practice of medicine and care of the sick. It now appears that the courts will act before the Congress in striking down as unconstitutional the separate but equal doctrine as embodied in Hill-Burton. As I pointed out when I introduced this bill, this provision of Hill-Burton cannot stand the test of the courts on the scales of constitutionality after the decision in *Brown* v. *the School Board*.

I do not need to say that elimination of this one form of the evil in this field will leave much other work to be done by dedicated and courageous civil libertarians. I hope that this success which is soon to come will be followed by a new and vigorous rededication by all Americans to the principles of equality and a renewed drive to eliminate the last vestiges of racial discrimination from our dear land.

Med. Care + Welfare

AUGUST 1963 #2

News Letter
of the
Medical Committee for Civil Rights
P.O. BOX 499 MADISON SQUARE STATION, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

Read 9/6/63

Invite Health People To Join Washington March

The Medical Committee for Civil Rights is actively supporting the March on Washington, August 28th, inviting physicians and professional health workers to join the thousands who will demonstrate in the nation's capital for "JOBS AND FREEDOM." "The time is NOW" is the call of the sponsoring organizations, CORE, NAACP, National Urban League, Negro-American Labor Council, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

Purpose of the March, they declare, is "by a massive, peaceful and democratic demonstration in the nation's capital, to provide evidence of the need for the Federal Government to take effective and immediate action to deal with the national crisis of civil rights and jobs that all of us, Negro and white, are facing."

Professional health workers have a special role, MCCR feels. Because we are among the most respected and influential members of every community, conscience requires that we join with all segments of society which are making a united effort to make "freedom" a reality for Negro Americans. Negro physicians and health workers are not only themselves victims of discrimination, but they also, like every practitioner in the field of health, see the tragic results of discrimination. For these reasons MCCR urges all concerned with health to join the Washington March. Health workers also have the special responsibility to urge Congress to pass an effective civil rights measure which will encompass hospitals and other community health services.

Washington March leaders have suggested that physicians, dentists, nurses and others working in the field of health, participate as a medical contingent, rather than as professionally

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AFTER ATLANTIC CITY

MCCR will continue to press its demands for an end to racial discrimination in medicine and health services, since it regards AMA action in this area as "totally unsatisfactory." Against the background of MCCR's "Appeal to the AMA," the American Medical Association agreed to form a joint committee with the National Medical Association to "halt injustices to Negro physicians." Such efforts, MCCR pointed out, by a committee which proposes to meet two or three times a year, lag far behind the needs of the situation. While

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FORM ADVISORY BOARD

In the 60 days since the Medical Committee for Civil Rights joined the historic civil rights battle with an appeal to the AMA, more than 300 physicians have offered financial support to the struggle to outlaw discrimination and segregation in medicine. Temporary officers are directing the activities of the Committee and to help guide them a National Advisory Board is being set up. Its members to date are:

Roy C. Bell, D.D.S., of Atlanta, Georgia. A leader of the struggle against racial segregation in medical facilities and societies in Georgia.

Abbott B. Britton, Jr., M.D., of Jackson, Mississippi. A member of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

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After Atlantic City

– *continued from page 1*

MCCR recognized AMA's decision as a "small step forward," it also pointed out that it was not focused in any way on the health problems imposed on the Negro population. In addition,

MCCR declared it was "unlikely to be effective in the absence of a strong appropriate direction by the AMA Board of Trustees and the counsel of the representatives of the Negro community."

The day after the AMA agreed to form a joint committee with the NMA, the battle against AMA's inaction continued on another front. This time sparked by the NAACP, AMA headquarters in Chicago was picketed by NAACP members including four trustees of the National Medical Association: Dr. Kenneth Clement, President Elect of the NMA, Dr. Jesse L. Leach, Dr. Emery L. Rann, and Dr. W. Montague Cobb. Dr. Cobb is Chairman of the NAACP's Health Committee and Editor of the NMA Journal of Medicine.

Dr. John A. Kenney, Jr., current NMA president who negotiated with AMA, commented on both events. He said that Dr. Clement had been invited to the conference with AMA but "there is a new militancy in our organization....we differ with him (Dr. Clement) on tactics."

While MCCR is continuing its appeal to the AMA, it is also enlarging the scope of its activities. The Committee is inviting a group of physicians, dentists, nurses and other health workers to join the Washington March on August 28th; it is working and consulting with the Negro organizations in the forefront of this struggle; and recently the Committee appeared before the House Judiciary Committee to testify constructively on the proposed civil rights bill.

NMA JOURNAL COMMENTS!

From the editorial pages of the July issue of the Journal of the National Medical Association, under the title "Physicians, Peace, Pickets and Powell," comes this interesting comment:

"Lately some physicians have become convinced that progress needs to be expedited by what are termed "action methods." Recently a bi-racial committee of physicians picketed the AMA at its annual convention in Atlantic City. A member of the Board of Trustees of the NMA was among this group. On July 3, 1963, the N.A.A.C.P. during its annual Convention in Chicago picketed the AMA headquarters. Four physicians, two of whom were officers of the NMA and three of whom were members of the National Board of Directors of the N.A.A.C.P., also two dentists, one of whom was a National N.A.A.C.P. Board member, led this group.

"Neither of these two groups represented opinion hostile to the AMA. They felt merely that as the organization which purports to speak for the medical profession in the U.S., the AMA had been derelict in its duty to the public in not aggressively promoting some tangible program to eliminate hospital discrimination as to both patients and physicians...

"Be it not forgot that history is replete with militant clergy in Europe, Mexico and South America who had led organized protest comparable to picketing. In recent integration demonstrations in Baltimore, distinguished leaders of the church from many denominations were arrested. There can be no doubt that these leaders desired the full impact of their dignity and influence of their positions to be thrown behind the integration effort. It is unthinkable that a physician could consider picketing as beneath him as a dignified form of peaceful protest. The NMA can already point with pride to the fact that in Atlanta, in Detroit and in Cleveland, leading physicians among its number have been participating in picketing demonstrations, under various auspices."

INVITE HEALTH PEOPLE TO JOIN WASHINGTON MARCH – *continued from page 1*

unidentified members of other groups.

The medical group will start August 28th, lobbying with Congressional representatives in the morning. There will be a medical group luncheon at noon after which they will join all groups for the parade and rally. Health workers will be identified in the March by signs bearing a caduceus and their professional degrees (for example, M.D., R.N., D.D.S.)

Headquarters in Washington for professional health workers and physicians will be at the Willard Hotel, Pennsylvania Avenue and 14th Streets. The telephone number is National 8-4420. MCCR there will be staffed from 8 in the evening, Tuesday, August 27th, through Wednesday, the 28th.

All participants are advised to travel as part of an organized group. Private cars should not be used. Health workers are urged to contact their local civil rights, church, or fraternal groups in their own communities to obtain transportation. For health workers coming to Washington from the metropolitan New York area, group transportation by both train and plane at reduced rates has been arranged.

Requests for information about the demonstration should be directed either to Dr. Arthur C. Logan, Medical Committee for Civil Rights, POB 499, Madison Square Station, New York 10, Telephone: OR 4-5660 or to Dr. Paul B. Cornely, Howard University College of Medicine in Washington; Telephone: DU 7-6100.

August 28th will be an historical day. We urge you to participate. Please fill out the form on page 8 and return it immediately to MCCR in New York.

GARY HOSPITAL TO INTEGRATE FOLLOWING JOINT DISCUSSIONS

Methodist Hospital in Gary, Indiana, agreed to end its "separate" policies after discussions with the Gary Civil Rights Committee, which was preparing for a demonstration of 10,000 to protest segregation.

"SORRY, BUT YOU HAVE AN INCURABLE SKIN CONDITION"

Herblock in The Washington Post

NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD – *continued from page 1*

James P. Dixon, Jr., M.D. Yellow Springs, Ohio. President Antioch College, and former Commissioner of Health of Philadelphia.

Carlton Goodlet, M.D., of San Francisco, California. An internist and publisher of the Sun Reporter.

Charles A. Perera, M.D., of New York, N.Y. Associate Professor of Ophthalmology, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons.

Earl B. Smith, M.D., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Chairman of the Committee on Discrimination in Medicine of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

Joseph Stokes, Jr., M.D., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Former Chairman of the Department of Pediatrics, University of Pennsylvania Medical School.

Christopher L. Taylor, D.D.S., of Los Angeles, California. President of the Los Angeles Branch of the NAACP.

Paul Dudley White, M.D., of Boston, Massachusetts. Clinical Professor of Medicine, Harvard Medical School. President, International Cardiology Foundation.

THE CHAIRMAN REPORTS

OFFICERS AND PROJECT CHAIRMEN

Temporary officers and project chairmen who are directing the varied activities of MCCR follow:

Chairman: John L.S. Holloman, Jr., M.D.

Vice Chairmen:

Clinical Medicine: Aaron O. Wells, M.D.
Clinical Psychology: Tom Levin, Ph.D.
Dentistry: Leonard Gorelick, D.D.S.
George A. Lopez, D.D.S.
Health Insurance: William Lievow
Pharmacy: George Glotzer, Ph.G.
Physical Therapy: Ted Childs, R.P.T.
Psychiatric Nursing: Mrs. Rachel Robinson, R.N.
Podiatry: George Rubin, Pod.
Social Work: Mrs. Mary G. Harm, M.S.W.

General Coordinator: Walter J. Lear, M.D.

Coordinator, Appeal to the AMA: George D. Cannon, M.D.

Coordinator, Legislative Affairs: Charles H. Goodrich, M.D.

Coordinator, Medical Services: Howard J. Brown, M.D.

Coordinators, Summer Hospitality: Mrs. Trudy Orris
Mrs. Virginia Wells

Coordinators, Washington March: Paul B. Cornely, M.D.
Arthur C. Logan, M.D.

Editor, Newsletter: Mrs. Frances Frazier

After all the work of the preparation for the Appeal to the AMA; after the excitement of the Day of Appeal, after the recognition that MCCR had made health an inssue in the current civil rights battle; inevitably the question was asked "What did it feel like?" MCCR's Newsletter went to Dr. John L.S. Holloman, chairman to find out. Reserved, yet with great warmth and sincerity, it is clear that Dr. Holloman's unassuming manner cloak determination and resolution in the battle for civil rights. We asked what it was like the night before when all the preparations were complete and the only thing left was action the next day.

"That night as I sat in the hotel room," said Dr. Holloman, "certain of only a few participants, I had reservations about my role and what we in the Committee were planning. I had reservations because doctors had never picketed doctors before. There had never been pickets on the boardwalk of Atlantic City before. How would the public react? What would be the reaction of my colleagues? I was uneasy, but Birmingham was boiling then. Every newspaper I read was filled with stories of heroic people and organizations – Negro and white – seeking justice and reason. Those people decided me. If it meant only a handful of us on that line, I would be one of them."

Dr. Holloman was not alone that day except once, when he came before AMA's House of Delegates to present President Edward R. Annis with MCCR's denunciation of the AMA reply to the Appeal for a stand against discrimination and segregation. Dr. Annis had just finished his inaugural address when Dr. Holloman walked the length of the hall to the dias. What was he thinking at that moment?

"As I walked down the aisle I felt that I was about to present Dr. Annis with an opportunity to be an important person. He could seize this opportunity and show himself a strong, courageous leader keeping pace with the thinking of the times, or he would be revealed as guilty on this issue as is the AMA despite its ethics and traditions."

How was the action received?

Dr Holloman recalled, "We were particularly gratified with the response from doctors attending the Convention. Many stopped to read our signs. Many commented that our cause was a just one. Some even joined the demonstration for a time. And since the Convention, the Committee has received correspondence from hundreds of physicians and health workers offering support for the Committee's work."

We couldn't help commenting on the unusual press MCCR's first activity had received. Major newspapers in major cities carried impressive stories and pictures of the Committee in action.

Said Dr. Holloman, "Since this was an unusual event in the medical community, we expected interest. We didn't quite expect the sympathetic response and the excellent coverage. When we called our press conference we were appalled at the size of the room the hotel provided. Frankly, we tried to get a smaller one. That room looked like a ballroom to us, but we couldn't get another. Yet, when Dr. Lear and I came came into that room to meet the press – early we thought – it was already filled with reporters. We never moved that day without being surrounded by reporters."

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MCCR Testifies For Civil Rights

The impact of racial segregation and discrimination on the health of the Negro community was vividly presented in testimony for the proposed Civil Rights Bill (HR 7152) by Dr. Walter J. Lear, MCCR Coordinator. Speaking before the House Judiciary, Dr. Lear made a strong plea for passage of the Bill. In addition, he proposed amendments to expand the "public accommodations" section of the measure to cover hospitals and other community health services.

Since another section of the bill would eliminate federal aid wherever racial discrimination exists, including all hospital and health services, Dr. Lear made a strong plea for the passage of the measure, pointing out that it would "clearly invalidate the 'separate but equal' clause of the Hill-Burton Act which provides Federal grants for the construction of hospitals and other health facilities."

Negroes can protect their rights through the courts or through direct action, Dr. Lear stated, but he also indicated that legalities were time consuming and direct action to assure care for an emergency accident or heart attack was obviously "absurd." Federal legislation is necessary, he declared, because it "is neither morally nor scientifically proper that the optimal health, and at times even the life, of any Negro patient be dependent on the willingness of the medical profession and the hospitals of his community to offer him voluntarily what is his right."

Reasons for the proposed changes are that "non-profit, non-governmental hospitals, nursing homes, clinics and other health services and facilities provide an essential public service which would otherwise be provided by government agencies. The public service nature of these health services and facilities is recognized by government in many ways including (1) the purchase from them of patient services for which governmental agencies are responsible and (2) special laws and regulations including those authorizing the chartering and licensing of hospitals and other community health services, some of which specify qualifications of governing boards, standards of service, and fiscal policies, all of which are designed to protect the public interest and others of which grant exemptions from taxes on income and real property and other special privileges."

Dr. Lear brought before the Judiciary Committee a series of statistics which revealed the life and death substance of discrimination. Interestingly, the figures seemed to indicate that whether the city was "deep South," or liberal New York, ghetto living produced the same health problems. Separate from the individual tragedies which result from discrimination, segregation in medicine and medical care contribute to the creation of a cycle of deprivation and

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NURSES TAKE STAND

The American Nurses Association, representing about 170,000 registered professional nurses, appeared before the House Judiciary Committee in July to urge passage of HR 7152, the proposed Civil Rights Bill.

The American Nurses Association faced its internal civil rights problem in the middle forties when it started to urge constituent societies to admit Negro graduate nurses. Shortly after, it offered direct membership, and by 1950, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses was absorbed into ANA. Today all state societies admit Negro nurses as regular members.

Mrs. Margaret B. Dolan, ANA's president, told the Committee that ANA was concerned over the fact that the proposed measure as written would not cover hospitals. Mrs. Dolan said, "Yet hospitals are built and operated for the public good. Admission of patients should be based on need. Employment of staff within the hospital should be determined solely on the basis of qualifications. Maintenance of separate facilities within a community seriously dilutes the number of qualified staff available for employment. In nursing, we are especially concerned about the shortage of professional nurses, who are responsible for meeting nursing care needs and for the direction and supervision of less well-prepared personnel in nursing service. At this time, the ratio of professional nurses to population is lowest in those regions which have the largest number of segregated hospitals."

MCCR TESTIFIES FOR CIVIL RIGHTS – *continued from page 5*

marginal health which perpetuates the depressed conditions of Negro living.

Dr. Lear told the Committee: "For those of us who are not statisticians (that is, most of us) the statistics on infants are the simplest to follow and the clearest in their implications. In most communities in the South and in the Northern cities with Negro ghettos, the chances of a Negro baby dying within the first year of life are usually at least twice that of a white baby. Here are the figures for a few cities:

Babies dying with the first year of life (number per 100):

	White	Non-White
Albany, Georgia	3.0	6.3
New Orleans, La.	2.2	5.4
New York, N.Y.	2.2	4.3

"Of course, most Negro babies, like most white babies, do survive but the Negro babies have a greater chance of starting life with a health handicap. A particularly well-documented and significant health handicap is prematurity, best shown by the weight of the baby at birth. In communities where Negroes are subject to major segregation and discrimination, the Negro baby is much more likely to be born prematurely. Here are some figures on prematurity:

Babies weighting $5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds or less at birth (number per 100):

	White	Non-White
Albany, Ga.	7.0	11.1
New Orleans, La.	7.5	16.4
New York, N.Y.	7.9	15.3

"Premature babies may get excellent medical care if they are born in or near a hospital with a modern center for premature infants, but all of them have to struggle with their underdevelopment and the many premature babies who never overcome this handicap are unable, as they grow older, to take full advantage of the opportunities available to them in their homes, schools, churches and communities for development as complete human beings.

"The substantial disadvantage in the health status of the Negro population as compared to the white population is also shown by the figures for life expectancy and death rates. Only one example need be cited – the death rate for tuberculosis. This is a disease well recognized by the medical profession to be associated with deprivation:

Death rate from tuberculosis of the respiratory tract (number per 100,000):

	White	Non-White
United States; males	7.9	17.4
United States; females	2.5	8.3

"No matter which disease or health handicap the social consequences are similar for the afflicted individual and his family.

"Deprivation and poor health become a cycle which is unbreakable by most of those involved. Low income, inadequate education and occupational training, poor housing and environmental sanitation, improper nutrition and health habits, insufficient and often second-class medical care, all produce more and more severe health prob-

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DENTISTS PLAY LEADING ROLE

Dentists in many areas throughout the national have assumed leadership in civil rights battles. In three recent action campaigns, dentists are in the leadership of local NAACP chapters spearheading the drive.

Dr. Jerry D. Jewell, a dentist, is president of the Little Rock NAACP. The New York Times describes him as one of the "new and militant young leadership" in Little Rock, who have "expressed determination to achieve more meaningful integration this year in the courts and, if necessary, on the streets."

Dr. R. B. Hayling is president of the St. Augustine, Florida, branch of NAACP Youth Council. St. Augustine has been the scene of several demonstrations against segregated lunch counters at Woolworth, McCrory's and the Service Drug Store.

Dr. Christopher Taylor is president of the Los Angeles NAACP, where a peaceful two-mile march against discrimination was staged. Dr. Taylor recently joined MCCR's National Advisory Board.

MCCR TESTIFIES FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

– *continued from page 6*

lems. These, in turn, make difficult or impossible improvement of income, education, job capabilities, housing, sanitation, nutrition, health habits and medical care.

"More tragic still, as shown in the first set of figures, is that the deprivation of the parents fosters disease and health handicaps in the children. These usually combine with the forces producing the original deprivation to assure the continuation of this cycle in the children as they grow up. And so deprivation and poor health are 'passed on' from one generation to the next.

"For the Negro, this cycle cannot be broken unless the pattern of racial segregation and discrimination is eliminated. HR 7152 is a necessary part of a program that would break this cycle. Consequently, we as citizens and as professional health workers respectfully urge you and the Congress to approve HR 7152 as quickly as possible."

In direct or indirect fashion, Dr. Lear told the Committee all "sections of HR 7152 would also affect medicine and health services." He pointed particularly to the section on the desegregation of public education. In addition to wiping out the racial exclusion policies of a minority of medical schools and other graduate level schools for professional health workers, the measure would be of greatest significance to medicine and health services if it helped Negroes obtain better education at the lower levels, thus permitting them to enter the graduate schools. As the health needs of the nation grow, all graduate schools report an insufficient number of qualified applicants. "The health professional potential of the Negro population has been largely ignored," Dr. Lear declared. "The Negro population could play a particularly valuable role in the nation's health services by contributing a greatly increased number of qualified students to our medical schools and other graduate level schools for professional health workers."

The Civil Rights Bill was also endorsed by the Physician's Forum and the American Nurses Association.

THE CHAIRMAN REPORTS.

– *continued from page 4*

Since a picket line is a unique event in Atlantic City, we couldn't help asking about police attitudes.

"Police cooperation was excellent," said Dr. Holloman. The captain assigned an integrated detail to police our demonstration. Having worked at the Jersey shore resorts during my early college days, I would say such cooperation is a good example of how times have changed."

"And now?" we asked.

"MCCR is on the map," Dr. Holloman smiled. "Now we've really got a job to do.

KNOXVILLE HOSPITALS INTEGRATE

Three denominational hospitals in Knoxville, Tennessee, have been desegregated smoothly, their administrators reported early this month. Baptist, Presbyterian and St. Mary's (Catholic) Hospitals recently came to an agreement to end discrimination early in August. "It went just like any other day," administrators said after 24 hours of an integrated service.

NEGRO STUDENTS WIN SCHOLARSHIPS FOR MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Two Negro students who have received National Medical-Sloan Foundation Scholarships will be the first of their race to attend the medical schools of Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, and Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia. A third scholarship student will be the first American Negro to attend The Johns Hopkins Medical School.

TO OUR READERS

We invite reports of experiences; information about bias in medical facilities; comments about and suggestions for our Newsletter.

Medical Committee for Civil Rights
P.O. Box 499, Madison Square Station
New York 10, N.Y.

☐ I will participate in the March on Washington, August 28, 1963. I (will) (will not) need financial help.

☐ I am not sure I can participate, but I would like to receive detailed information about the March.

☐ I am enclosing $10.00 ____ to support the work of MCCR.

may
☐ You may not use my name on a public list of supporters.

Comments about the proposed activities and suggestions for additional tasks:

_____

_____

_____

_____ (date) _____ (signature)

Name (please print or type): _____

send mail to ☐ office address: _____ telephone: _____

☐ home address: _____ telephone: _____

If a physician, specify G.P. or Specialty: _____

Principal Hospital used: _____

If not a physician, specify professional degree: _____

Principal professional position: _____

The following physicians, dentists, nurses and other health workers may also be interested in the activities of the Committee:

Name: _____ Name: _____

Address: _____ Address: _____

Name: _____ Name: _____

Address: _____ Address: _____

Name: _____ Name: _____

Address: _____ Address: _____

Med. Care & Welfare

TO ALL CONCERNED AND AFFECTED PROPERTY OWNERS

THERE WILL BE A MEETING AT GUY WEBB SCHOOL ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1963 at 8:00 P.M. THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING IS TO DISCUSS THE PROPOSED MULTI-STORY HOSPITAL IN OUR AREA. IF YOU ARE INTERESTED IN PROTECTING YOUR PROPERTY, BE THERE!!

The enclosed map shows the property selected for a proposed hospital. This hospital is to serve the area bounded by Piedmont Road, Highway 85, and the Chattahoochee River, which has a population of 180,000 by the 1962 census. This site was selected because it is easily accessible and centrally located for all the area to be served.

The hospital will be financed by Hill-Burton Federal Funds and local subscription. Hill-Burton requires the hospital to be located to serve Doraville, Roswell, Alpharetta to river, and down to about Peachtree Creek.

Construction of a hospital on this parcel of land requires no zoning change, only a Special Use Permit. A church or school also requires only a Special Use Permit.

There are to be between 20 and 30 acres in the hospital complex. Within the complex there is planned a 250 bed hospital, clinic, nurses home, and doctor's building. As a size comparison, Piedmont Hospital has approximately 200 beds and covers an area of a little over 9 acres.

This is to be a so-called non-profit hospital with a Board of Trustees consisting of five doctors and ten laymen.

Forty percent of the estimated $6,000,000 cost is to be furnished by Hill-Burton funds. The balance will be by local subscription.

At a meeting October 14th, at which the Hospital Committee presented the above information, a citizens fact-find committee was formed to investigate further into the situation.

TRAFFIC - A hospital located at the junction of the perimeter highway and the North Fulton Expressway would be accessible, but it also would considerably increase traffic on all surrounding streets and roads, including Peachtree-Dunwoody, Glenridge Drive, and Johnson Ferry Road.

HILL-BURTON FUNDS - The doctors and members of the Board of Trustees admit that if Hill-Burton funds are used, which is contemplated, the hospital must be integrated. Some members of the board would like to have "token" integration, but experience has proven that there is no such thing as token integration. Nurses would be integrated, as would their dormitories. This would mean many young negro girls would be living in the area, entertaining their guests, etc. Of the major hospitals in Atlanta, only St. Joseph's is now integrated. Many of us would not even use an integrated hospital when we could use one of the others.

Hospital like Grady or public

LOCATION - Under the Hill-Burton Act, there must be three possible sites selected. If two other locations have been selected, it has not been announced. Many feel that a hospital should be in a commercial or semi-commercial area rather than invading a nice residential section. There are other sites available. There are 30 acres available on the perimeter and Roswell Roads. This would be accessible from both expressways and Roswell Road.

Two sites

Jim Richmond

- More -

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NOISE - The members of the Board of Trustees admit that there will be an around-the-clock emergency ward. This means sirens during the night. Those who moved into this area for quiet country living will find that they will be awakened frequently by sirens and increased traffic.

EFFECTS ON SURROUNDING PROPERTY - It is common knowledge that the area around a hospital rapidly becomes commercial. There will be doctor's buildings, florists, restaurants and tourist courts. There already are options on two pieces of land in the area for motels, provided the hospital site is approved. One is on Glenridge Drive, and the other on Peachtree-Dunwoody. Drug stores, service stations, and other undesirable businesses will surely follow. The promoters talk about controlling the adjacent and surrounding land, but they have nothing to do with it. And they cannot control it, even though they may have the best intentions.

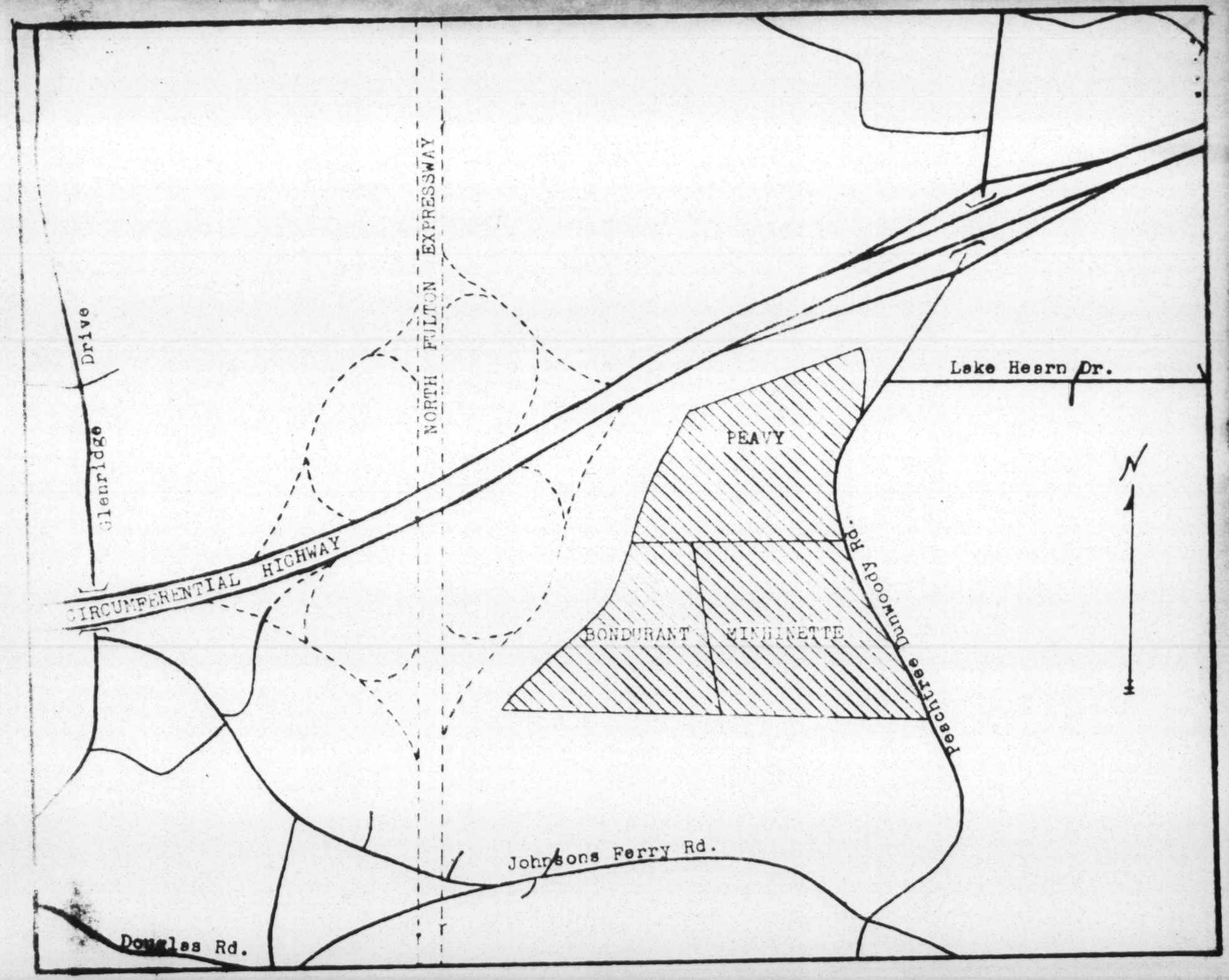
ANNEXATION - A new hospital will bring additional pressure from the city of Atlanta to annex this area.

PROPAGANDA - The promoters have been guilty of using scare tactics. They give us a choice of a hospital or something less desirable, such as a motor court. This is ridiculous. If there is to be a motor court, it will come as a result of the hospital being located here. This land can be used for residential development.

THIS IS AN UNWARRANTED INVASION OF OUR NEIGHBORHOOD WITH A CALLOUSED DISREGARD FOR OUR PROPERTY VALUES.

IT IS VITALLY IMPORTANT THAT YOU COME TO THIS MEETING.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



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Med. Care & Welfare

PUBLIC WELFARE

IN MISSISSIPPI

October
November
December
1963

Give us the faith of innocent children, that we may look forward with hope in our hearts to the dawn of happy tomorrows. Reawaken the thought that our most cherished desires will be realized, the things closest to our hearts — that we may come to an appreciation of the limitless joys and bountiful rewards of Patience, Charity and Sacrifice. Above all, endow us with the spirit of courage, that we may face the perplexities of a troubled world without flinching, imbued with the child-like faith which envisions the beautiful and inspiring things of life . . . and restore the happy hours and experiences so many of us foolishly believe are lost forever. Give us faith in ourselves and faith in our fellow man . . . then, the treasures and beauties of life that make man happy will spring from an inexhaustible source.

And at Christmas, when hearts of the world swell in joyous celebration, let us cast aside the pretense of sturdy men and live, if only for a day, in the hope and joy we knew as children.

A Christmas prayer by an unknown author

PUBLIC WELFARE IN MISSISSIPPI
(Formerly, **The Welfare Brief**)

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12—Statistics — R & S

Public Welfare in Mississippi accepts no responsibility for the opinions expressed by its authors. Some articles are published for information about welfare trends in the nation. Signed articles may not always express the views of the Department.

New Accounting System For Counties

For the fiscal year 1962-63, the Hinds County Welfare Department reported receipts in excess of $71,000 as a result of court action, alone. This represented an increase of approximately $31,000 over the previous year.

Facing the definite prospect of steady increase in the more than 200 active court cases, the problem of bookkeeping time had reached the acute stage. The absolute necessity for rapid-transit handling of court-ordered funds added materially to the dilemma. In order that other essentials might be kept on a current basis, additional accounting hours had become a routine practice.

In the Hinds County office, with a large Child Welfare caseload, the orderly and accurate maintenance of purchase order requirements, the auditing of Forms DPW-411 and related invoices, and the resulting journal entries and ledger postings account for a considerable number of hours, without consideration for recording court funds. From regular Child Welfare funds an average of more than $300 per week is expended for board payments, medical care, clothing, et cetera.

At intervals, for several months, the Director of the Division of Audit, E. C. Sturdivant, had studied various measures designed to modify the difficulties arising from constantly increasing "Support" funds. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1963, it was noted that total receipts from this source were reported as follows: "Parents, Court Order, $260,133.31; Parents, Voluntary, $52,-827.89." Since additional personnel could not be considered, it was obvious that workable alternatives had to be devised.

After several conferences with Miss Nathalie Dunn, Agent, Mrs. Mary Lamoureaux, Accounting Clerk, Mrs. Lucile Martin who helps Mrs. Lamoureaux, and the salesman representing the system under consideration, the Director approved use of the proposed system. Documents were designed to meet local needs and a procedure was adopted.

Court-ordered funds designated as "Support" and requiring no action by the county office other than immediate transmittal to complainants involved, were set up in a special bank account. When funds in this category are received immediate preparation of receipt to defendant and check to complainant produces simultaneous journal entries and ledger postings. This simple system of carbonized lines is adaptable to any accounting wherein funds may be received and transmitted in a single operation. Compared to conventional methods, bookkeeping time saved amounts to more than 50%.

To derive the maximum benefit from the new system, use of Forms DPW-411 for the "Support Fund", only, was discontinued in the Hinds County office. Mrs. Lamoureaux and Mrs. Martin were assigned total responsibility for receiving and disbursing such funds. Since this placed clerks in the position of disbursing funds without the Agent's signature of authority, faithful performance bonds for Mrs. Lamoureaux and Mrs. Martin were fixed at $10,000 each.

Cost to the Hinds County Welfare Department for the system, including a year's supply of printed forms, amounted to slightly more than $600. Yearly supplies of forms thereafter are estimated at approximately the same cost as that of the same forms from any printing company.

By using exactly the same printed forms as those in use in Hinds County, with name changes, only, counties with approximately the same volume of accounts may purchase the same system for about $100 less. Similar systems, available through other office supply houses are priced somewhat lower. Harrison County is considering one. If the Division of Audit finds that it meets all essential requirements, it will be approved.

A Children's Bureau publication entitled ILLNESS AMONG CHILDREN reports that:

- The average American boy or girl has 3 episodes of acute illness a year, and one out of five has at least 1 chronic condition.
- More than 74 out of every 1,000 children have hay fever, asthma or some other allergy, and more than 34 out of every 1,000 are afflicted with chronic sinusitis, bronchitis or some other respiratory ailment. These two groups of conditions account for more than half of the almost 33 million school days lost because of chronic conditions.

What Price Integration?

(Reprint from Charleston News and Courier, Charleston, South Carolina)

For the sake of any who may read what follows, I wish to say in advance that it makes no claim to originality. The views here put forward are a composite of the views of the many informed, thoughtful men and women — with whom I have discussed the matter in question at length — lawyers, doctors, clergymen, professors, teachers, writers, painters, businessmen, labor leaders, office workers — in fact, men and women from almost every calling and walk of life.

That more of them have not put these views in writing, or otherwise committed them to the public, reflects the degree to which a powerful, well-organized and completely unrestrained minority has succeeded, during the last few years in coercing the unorganized majority — as well as a segment of the press — into silence.

Experience has operated to engender in me the friendliest of feeling for the American Negro. I say these things in advance, so that no statement made herein may be properly suspected of accruing of any hostility to the Negro, or even dislike of him.

Goethe, in one of his Conversations with Ackermann, declared that while it might be permissable to equivocate or dissemble concerning trivialities, important matters demanded complete honesty and frankness in their discussion.

Honoring that injunction, let us begin this discussion of integration, which certainly qualifies as an important matter in America today, by honestly and frankly stating that:

(1) Despite Supreme Court ukases, and all that has been done thereunder, we do not have genuine integration of Negroes and white in large areas of this country today in the public schools or elsewhere; and

(2) We are paying — and will continue to pay — a devastatingly high price for the pseudo-integration that has been set up as a sop in its name!

Can any honest person, looking around the nation today, dispute the accuracy of the first statement? Confronting the full meaning of the word, will anyone of sound mind seriously contend that the putting of a handful of Negroes into white schools by force constitutes integration in any honest sense? Can even the Supreme Court seriously maintain that a school in which there is a policeman or his equivalent standing guard to prevent white children from assaulting blacks, or vice versa, and in which the psychological climate is constantly charged with hostility, is really integrated? Or is a suitable place for any child — Negro or white — to acquire education?

No, this is not integration; and no amount of saying so — even when that "saying so" is by august governmental agencies or personages — can make it so. However, the incessant "saying so" — and otherwise pretending so — by those in positions of political power and leadership can do this:

It can deceive a large segment of the citizenry into accepting the false for the true; the disastrous consequences of which need no elaboration. We vehemently denounce Hitler when, as a part of Nazi "weaponry," he murdered truth and iterated and reiterated the Big Lie. Are we now to embrace and applaud the very same evil we so lately decried?

Why do those at the head of the Federal government, as well as the integration leaders, pretend that we have integration when the facts so belie this?

For government officials, it is difficult to find any answer compatible with statesmanship and right reason; but apparently they hope by so doing to: (1) garner the Negro vote for their political party; and (2) save face for the Supreme Court, which, having eagerly and gleefully grabbed a bear by the tail, now may desire something to help it "let go."

It seems almost incredible, but apprently it was possible for the Supreme Court to have been so far removed from reality as to believe that it had only to speak, and customs, conventions, attitudes and accommodations which had been generations in building would vanish as snowflakes before the summer's sun. When they did not, it apparently was quite surprising and disconcerting to the Court.

Why do we not have integration today in large sections of the nation? Why, despite the Supreme Court's decision, and all of the hullaballoo there has been for it, has integration made such little headway in the nine years since the Court attempted to legislate it?

The answer is simple — because most of the people the whole country over do not believe it is desirable and hence do not want it! We found with National Prohibition how difficult to the point of impossibility it was to force something down unwilling people's throats. Now we are trying to do the self-same thing again, and with equal ineffectiveness.

Neither as a statute of sovereign states nor as a part of the Federal Constitution could National Prohibition be enforced. Why? Essentially because, in attempting to do summarily by force majeure what could be done, if at all, only through education, it went solidly against the grain of human nature and was anathema to the vast majority of the American people. They would not countenance it, either as a moral

principle or as a practical instrumentality for the regulation of human conduct; hence would not obey it.

We should thus have learned the lesson that although an enactment of Congress or a state legislature, upheld by the Supreme Court, may be called a law — "the law of the land," if you please — from a practical standpoint it is not one unless and until it has the sanction of the overwhelming majority of those to whom it applies. Unless it has that sanction it will not be respected; unless it is respected it cannot be enforced; and unless it can be enforced it is not, from a practical standpoint, a law — but only congeries of empty words.

By the same token, integration cannot be established throughout this country — no matter what the Supreme Court, the President, and the pontifical New York Times say to the contrary — by judicial fiat.

To be sure, at the cost of millions of dollars of taxpayers' money and of ugly wounds which will never heal, the United States Army — and little less than an army of U. S. marshals — invaded Oxford, Mississippi, and, through brute force and intimidation, deposited the physical body of one James H. Meredith within the halls and lecture-rooms of the University of Mississippi — to the end that James Meredith became, in his own words, "the most segregated man in America." But can any intelligent and reasonable person view this as anything but a horrible caricature of real integration?

Indeed, any sane, intelligent person who contemplates this malodrous affair cannot escape realizing that the employment of thousands of armed soldiers to put one Negro at bayonet's point into a white university was not the result of sincere desire to achieve real integration; but, rather, proceeded entirely out of the belief that this was "good politics" at the time; that it would assure the "Negro vote" being cast at the impending election for the party in power.

Once asked by newspaper reporters if we ever would have fascism in the country, the late Huey Long is said to have instantly replied: "Of course; but we'll call it democracy"! The Kingfish knew with what little compunction high-placed Americans engage in hypocritical euphemism when it suits their purpose. He also knew how easy it is to gain public acceptance of evil when, well-purfled by hyprocrisy, it comes wearing the mantle of good.

Besides not bringing about integration, the forced mixing of Negroes and whites in public schools — or anywhere else — augments and intensifies whatever natural antipathy those of one race feel toward the other; and this applies to children and their elders alike. Human nature being what it is, this follows as the night the day; and every time force is employed in alleged aid of integration, more barriers between the two races are erected.

The advocates of race-mixing repeatedly and vigorously assert that there is no "proof" that this would be injurious to the white race; in short, no proof that the black race is biologically inferior to the white.

They are wrong! There is such proof, as anyone will find who honestly seeks it. To be sure, it was all but buried under a mass of pseudo-scientific flotsam and jetsam emanating from writers who, in their zeal for egalitarianism, suppressed and tortured facts to make them serve their egalitarian idealogy. But the proof still exists; unaffected by the avalanche of "scientific" foal that was dumped on it, in the effort to conceal it from view.

From a purely practical standpoint, whether or not there is "scientific proof" of the inferiority of the black race does not alter the existing situation. For so long as untold millions of white Americans believe their race is superior to the Negro, it is a fact that must be reckoned with. Regardless of the basis of this belief, there it is!

In being unwilling to have my daughter marry a Negro (or a Filipino, Hindu or Indonesian, for that matter), my position might be considered to be scientifically unsound and logically untenable. It might be held to transgress Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence, and to violate all the dogmas of sweet democratic togetherness. No matter; it still would be my position, which I would resolutely maintain and defend regardless!

The comparatively few people who really favor Negro/white race-mixing speak pejoratively of "prejudice," scoffingly asserting that it is prejudice which actuates the vast number of people who are actually opposed to integration. That may well be, for prejudice is the manifestation of deep-rooted feeling which, in turn, is the product of long racial experience. And to say nothing of the fact that life without prejudice is equally impossible and undesirable, that is why real integration cannot summarily be.

The fact that millions of non-Southern Americans do not cry out against integration means not that they favor it; it means only that for one reason or another they are afraid to announce their dissent. Their silence is for self-protection.

Although it is abundantly plain that the violent methods thus far pursued in the abortive attempts to effect integration have deepened and intensified the opposition to it, violence still seems to be the order of the day with its proponents. The professional integrationists and their governmental allies appear to believe that if some violence will not do the trick, more and more violence will.

There seems to be not the first glimmer of realization on their part that this violence is not only seriously impeding the advance of any real integration, but militating against the deserving Negro severely. And violence apart, all of the noisy huckstering and professional integrationists engage in — all of their hullaballooing and breast-beating in behalf of the Supreme Court's legislation — is slowly but surely arousing the ire and therefore the opposition of millions of Americans who have been more or less neutral up to date.

It is doing this because much of it is so repugnant to truth, so offensive to good taste, so far-fetched and absurd, so obviously unfair to the great mass of white citizenry, and so unrepresentative of millions of Negro men and women. Let me cite two examples.

In San Francisco, last spring, students of one of the high

schools wrote and produced a little musical based on Mark Twain's inimitable HUCKLEBERRY FIN. While it was in rehearsal, word got out that a Negro boy was taking the part of "Jim". Immediately a great outcry arose. Officials of NAACP and CORE — and various others who make their living out of being professional race-mixing agitators — made violent protests.

What was the basis of their complaint? Simply that a Negro youth was cast to play the role of the Negro "Jim".

To the enduring credit of the school superintendent, he, like the principal, refused to be intimidated, and the play went on — to the delight of the students, including the Negro lad who played "Jim" and according to all accounts, played him well.

There were many reliable indications that most of the San Francisco and Bay Area Negroes — including "Jim's" parents and friends — were displeased by what their so-called leaders did and said in their name; and they, therefore, were blameless for it. Nevertheless, the damage was done — to them and to the entire Negro population.

Not daunted by this silly fiasco, a few months later the Negro leaders were at it again. This time they breathed wrath and defiance because an elementary San Francisco school was scheduled to open in the Fall with about 60 per cent Negro and 40 per cent white pupils. Since this reflected the racial complexion of the district the school was to serve, what was there wrong about it?

Well, according to the peculiar mental calibrations of CORE and NAACP officials, and other professional integrationists, if there are more Negroes than whites in a school, it is still not integrated. By some sort of outreasoning they came up with the contention that for a school to be integrated, it must have at least 51 per cent whites.

One thing noticeably common to virtually all integrationists "leaders", and other professional race-mixers, is their assumption that they are always 100 per cent right about everything, and that what they choose to demand must be 100 per cent granted, regardless of how much the rights of others may suffer thereby. There must be integration — as they define integration — at once and at all costs; nothing else matters.

In far too many cases this arrogant attitude, and the threats and demands to parents, have paid off; those upon whom the demands were made have capitulated — to avoid trouble. In this instance, this did not happen. The school board simply announced, at the height of the furore, that if this was the way the professional integrationists were going to play the game, all right; the school simply would not open at all!

Genuine evolutionary integration has suffered immeasurably from "remedies which are worse than the disease"; remedies which, for the most part, are the handiwork of the political "liberals". These men not only have a positive mania for what they call "equality", but commit endless mischief through their unwitting efforts to "give" it to all and sundry, everywhere. Intoxicated with the Utopian idealism, they do not realize that: (1) no one, not even a liberal, can give anybody equality; and (2) what they mean by equality is not the equality of Thomas Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence, but the egalitarianism of Saint-Just and the other chief inquisitors of the French Revolution.

The equality of the Declaration of Independence differs as much from the egalitarianism of the liberals as the Mona Lisa differs from a pin-up girlie, or a Shakespearean sonnet from a college yell. Under the equality of the Declaration of Independence, men are created with equal claim to those boons we have specified. Under the egalitarianism of the French Revolutionists and today's ritualistic liberals, man's natural inequality is to be set aside by law. Unequal men are to be made equal — that is, equalized — by governmental action which may take the form of brute force if necessary. Under this, everybody, regardless of individual merit or innate capacity, is going to be equalized with everybody else — in income, opportunity, education, sex appeal, housing, food, clothing, personality and all else any liberal can conceive of. What God or Nature cannot do, government will do — quickly. "All power hereafter resides in the laws", said Saint-Just, "which take the place of God".

To those who are not lost in the miasmatic fog of liberalism, it will be unnecessary to point out that equalizing the Negro by law cannot help — and must seriously hinder — him in the long run. Saying that a purse made out of sow's ears is silk — even though the saying of this is in the devious and involuted prose of a Supreme Court decision — cannot give it the real attributes of silk; cannot make it silk. But saying so can do this: it can, through deceiving purse-buyers by false claims, ultimately ruin the purse market.

By the same token, insisting that through being equalized by, for instance, having one of his race put at bayonet's point into an all-white university, the Negro has attained real equality, cannot really aid or advance him; on the contrary, it must harm and retard him. For the chief long-range effect of such equalizing is to coerce the Negro into striving to be what he is not. When he fails in this and fail in most instances he must, he is left "dangling" between two worlds — the old, familiar one which he has been induced to leave prematurely and which therefore will be difficult for him to reenter; and the strange new world in which, legally equalized though he may be, he does not naturally fit, and is consequently ill at ease and unhappy.

In persuading the Negro to believe that, through being equalized by law, he is entitled to something without having earned it, government officials and integrationist leaders are betraying the Negro! In soliciting the Negro vote through attempts to effectuate integration by force, those so doing are betraying the Republic!

For the present, we can expect to witness continued extension of privileges to him; this because the Liberal Establishment now in power thus bids for his vote; meanwhile, arguing to the public that these are his due — to compensate for the "equality" he was previously "denied".

That argument, however plausible-sounding to the unthinking, is too specious, too tenuous, too devoid, of solid foundation, to gain more than ephemeral acceptance. Even now a great many thoughtful people are asking: "Do two wrongs make a right? If it was wrong to discriminate against

the Negro, is it less wrong to discriminate in his favor, and thus against the vast remainder of the population?"

It is abundantly evident that the current disposition of the average politician to fawn upon the Negro is not born of love, but of fear; the fear that unless he joins in the noisy huckstering for "civil rights", he will lose the "Negro vote".

Those of us with long enough memories will recall that National Prohibition, during most of its life, enjoyed the public support of most of the politicians. Here, again, it was fear that motivated them. With a few exceptions, they did not vote for National Prohibition initially — or later vote for appropriations for its attempted enforcement — because they believed in it. On the contrary, they disbelieved in it, to the point of flagrantly violating it when occasion (and the state of their ulcers) permitted. They voted "dry" simply and solely because they were scared half to death that if they didn't, that old dragon, the Anti-Saloon League, would get them. Believing the League to be as politically powerful and ferocious as it pretended to be, they voted its mandate out of fear that otherwise it would devour them. Only after Franklin Roosevelt, in his 1932 campaign, came out boldly for repeal and, instead of being instantly consumed by fire and brimstone, was elected President, did more than a scant few of the politicians wake up to the fact that (1) the League never had been anything like as powerful as it claimed to be; and (2) for several years past, it had been no more than an empty shell. Only then did they trip over one another's feet in their mad rush to board the repeal band wagon.

The same thing is bound to happen with the politicians vis-a-vis the "Negro vote" which they now so much fear. It will take a little time yet, but most of us now living will see the day when the politicos will discover that their fear of this ogre was as ill-founded and foolish as their predecessor's fear of the Anti-Saloon League. Moreover, one of these not-too-distant days, most of the politicians — Democrats and Republicans alike — will awaken to the fact that it will be to their own distinct advantage — to say nothing of the nation's — to treat the Negro vote the same as any other. To be sure, they probably will not do this out of consideration for the nation's good. Rather, they will do it because they will by then have realized the advantage to themselves of not having to engage in "out-promising" contests with their rivals. And they will be helped to this realization by the Negro himself, who is smart enough to discover the emptiness of promises made under such conditions.

The French Revolution may well be history's most hideous example of the inhuman attempt to do what is humanly impossible. In the name of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and in the fanatical attempt to achieve their absolutes, the most unspeakable crimes were committed. Men crazed by the delusion that absolute equality was humanly attainable and desirable, deified violence; and, as the guillotine operated with the regularity of a metronome, the streets of Paris literally ran with blood of innocent men and women.

God forbid that this, or its like, should be repeated here in America, in our time! God forbid that, today, in the name of integration, men should — by the methods and means they employ in attempting to further it — create such a tidal wave of hostility as will submerge and destroy all that had been gained in more than a century of dedicated, intelligent, patient endeavor to increase understanding and improve human relations between black man and white!

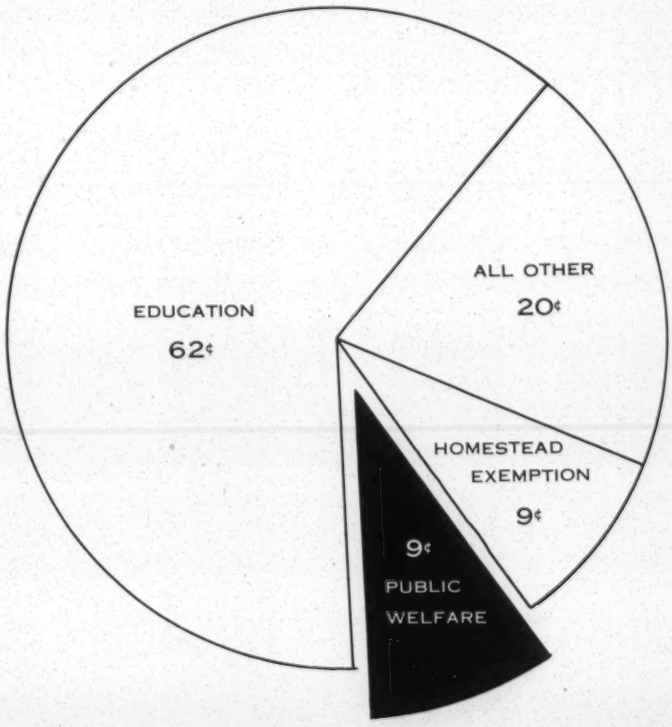
1963 Pre-Legislative Clinics

(Sponsored By Mississippi Press Association and Mississippi Economic Council)

Commissioner Fred A. Ross attended 1963 Pre-Legislative clinics sponsored by the Mississippi Press Association and Mississippi Economic Council on November 11 at Delta State College, Cleveland; November 15 at the University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg; November 18 at the University of Mississippi, Oxford. Morris Priebatsch, assisted by E. D. Cox and J. M. Richardson attended the clinic on November 22 in Jackson because Commissioner Ross had to fill a previous engagement elsewhere on that date.

Mr. Richardson, Mr. Priebatsch and Mr. Cox attended the clinics and assisted Commissioner Ross in answering questions asked on the floor. Commissioner Ross used some of the charts found in the publication, PUBLIC WELFARE IN MISSISSIPPI — PAST AND PRESENT to illustrate the matter under discussion. A summary of his remarks at each of the clinics is as follows:

"This first chart indicates that it costs nine cents out of each general fund dollar for the state to finance the State Department of Public Welfare. Homestead Exemption, likewise, costs nine cents. All other functions of the government cost eighty-two cents."



"The second chart shows that the twenty-five and one-half million dollars currently appropriated by the State Legislature produces each biennium eighty-eight million dollars in federal funds which goes into the channels of trade in this state. The federal contribution each biennium is the same as eighty-eight factory payrolls of one-half million dollars each per year."

"State law limits administrative expense to ten percent. The third chart shows that because of the limitation on administrative expense in 1961 welfare workers in Mississippi carried 398 Old Age Assistance cases compared with the national average of 224, and that welfare workers in Mississippi carried 152 Aid to Dependent Children cases compared with a national average of 85. If the state receives any federal funds during the next two-year period, our present caseload per worker must be reduced so that our workers can render the services required by the congress through amendments to the Social Security Act since your regular session in 1962."

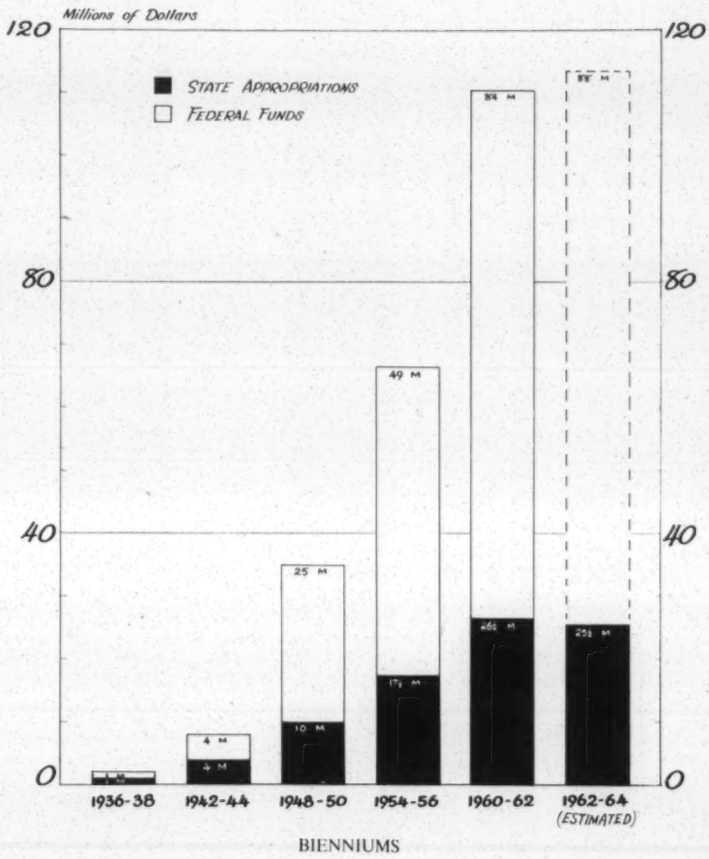
"Like other agencies of government, the department has prepared a budget of funds needed beginning July 1, 1964, to continue the payments to the aged, the blind, the disabled, and dependent children as authorized by the Mississippi Legislature.

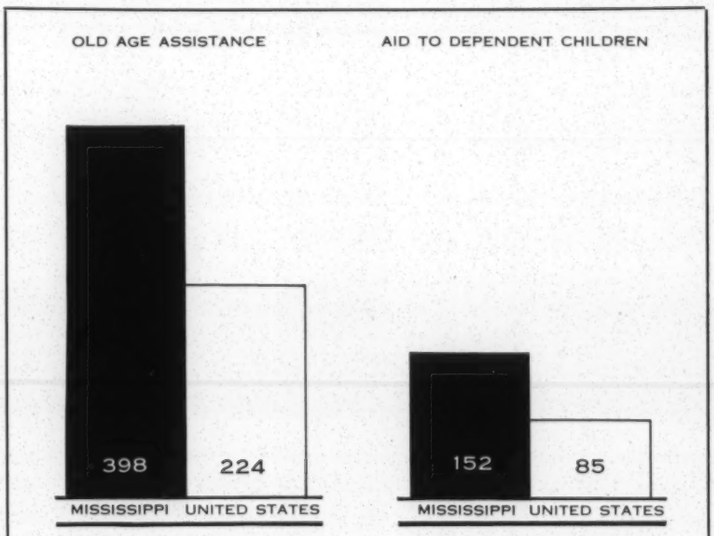
"Funds needed from the legislature beginning July 1, 1964, and continuing through June 30, 1966, amount to $29,821,064. This is an increase of $4,321,064 over the amount appropriated by the legislature for payments being made now and through June of next year. The requested funds will allow the department to pay the aged, the blind, and the disabled up to a maximum of $50 a month. It will also allow the department to provide, if needed, 20 days of hospital care. The aged presently can receive hospital care. The blind and disabled do not receive such care because there are not sufficient funds available. If the funds requested are approved by the legislature, it will also mean that the dependent children who are now receiving an average of $11.21 a month for food, clothing, and shelter will receive on the average $15.32 a month to buy the necessities of life.

"Funds requested also include an amount to take care of administering the programs. Both Federal and State Laws and policies require each case be carefully investigated to determine the need for granting a check. Visits to the homes are required. There are many services which the county departments' staff either provide or help obtain for people receiving a welfare check. There are other people who receive services from the department but do not receive a check.

"Beginning next July, to investigate the financial needs of people and to provide services, it will cost more money than the department is permitted by State Law to spend for administration. Additional administrative costs next year will be due to requirements of the Federal Government. Federal funds will not be available unless the department meets these requirements. This problem can be solved by the legislature by either removing the ten percent limitation regarding administrative cost in Section 7241 of the Mississippi Code, or allowing slightly more than the ten percent of funds received to be spent for administration.

"If the funds requested for the aged, blind, and disabled and for increased administrative costs are not received, then the department will have no choice but to reduce grants to needy people and cut out some of the services now being provided. It is for the people of Mississippi to determine if the funds requested should be provided, or if the welfare program should be reduced beginning next July."





Mississippi has the second highest number of old age assistance cases per worker of any state in the nation and is among the states with the highest number of aid to dependent children cases per worker.

Now And The Future

Jessie Littleton, Director, Joint Field Staff

(Child Welfare Staff Meeting Speech—October 15, 1963)

Mr. Saucier, Child Welfare Staff and others:

Greetings to all of you! It is good to be with you again in our regular, quarterly child welfare staff meeting.

This is the time when we come together from our various assignments to think about what we are doing in child welfare, to find inspiration and new thoughts to help us in our every day jobs.

Your program chairman talked to me about this discussion with you. He suggested that I develop my thoughts around the title, "Now, and the Future," giving you some facts about where we are now in child welfare in Mississippi and what we have in mind for the future.

As we look at such a title we might say our "Now" is the "Future" of our "Yesterday." When I talked with you here last July we reviewed the structure of the agency which had so recently changed. We tried to look at where you were in the staff of the agency and at some plans for the future.

More than a year has passed since that meeting and "Now" is necessarily different to the "Now" we described then. Not in structure of the agency perhaps, but the "Future" of that day has become the "Now" of today, and we look to another future. We are still planning, still assessing and still evaluating, else child welfare as any other area of the program would stagnate.

What is Now"? What is "and the Future"? So far, they are organization and program of services for children. These are necessary but may I suggest that there must be something else. Throughout all of it is a constant which I believe is the heart and soul of any "Now" as well as "Future" in child welfare. This constant, this extra something that must be the Dynamo of organization and program and which gives hope to the child and his parents is you, and you, and you.

This is not just a you, but a particular you, with a particular yen for investing your basic interest in children and their families. Your training and experience, together with all the help the agency has to offer you to help them. To this thought I would like to address most of our thinking today.

Let us think for a few moments about the word "Now" in our title. This thought encompasses where we are now in program, staff, and training — all of which should reflect the "Future" plans of our yesterday. It encompasses, also, all of the adaptations resulting from the actual experience of working through, assessing and evaluating the program in its day by day operation during the past year. I will stay with staffing but I believe a few words here about program and training are pertinent to do so.

You will be discussing this afternoon the new child welfare definition 1/ which I think is one of the basic stepping stones to an opportunity for you to do the quality of work which larger caseloads do not allow. The new defined services program in ADC and closer coordination of the child welfare and ADC programs, holds promise for providing better services to children. The new emphasis on the day care program will provide opportunity, we hope, to develop this resource for children throughout the state.

Emphasis at the state level in the Child Welfare Division on consultation to the county and field staff in the various areas of the child welfare program is not in the future but "Now." Here we have the expert knowledge in each area of the child welfare program where staff is available. I must inject here a hope for the "Future." This knowledge is too valuable to keep it bottled up. We need to utilize it more fully with county and district staff.

May I give you at this point a brief, concise picture of staffing for child welfare as it is now. We have had goals for the next several years outlined by Federal plan in terms of caseloads and supervision. These are long-range goals but I believe we need such a challenge in order to work toward offering a higher quality of services in child welfare. Such long-range goals help us to work hard on immediate goals for Mississippi children.

So, during the past year, we have looked at staffing in terms of both goals. We have recognized as best we could with the staff available the need to assign trained staff in areas where we have the greatest concentration in child welfare cases. We have recognized, also, that supervision by trained staff is necessary in these counties.

Continued recruitment to the social work trainee job of persons with potential for child welfare and who are interested in training is a must. As you know, during one past year permanent training units for social work trainees have been initiated. We could run one or more of these year round if we could get trainees. You can help us with this.

You have a new listing of all child welfare staff so I will not give you a complete breakdown on staff.

It needs to be said that in 22 counties we have one or more child welfare workers with at least a year of graduate training. Several of these persons have Master's Degrees. These will be found in the counties of greatest need of their services. Casework Supervisors and/or Child Welfare Workers III have been assigned in three of the counties with highest child welfare caseloads, and we are looking toward another two or three during this year.

Child welfare visitors in 18 counties, for years in many cases, have been carrying full child welfare caseloads. In addition, we have several social workers in training in child welfare positions.

For the future, we need, as has been said, to recruit from present staff as well as otherwise. We will look toward

(Continued on page 10)

SUMMARY OF APPLICATIONS AND CASES HANDLED FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

DURING QUARTER JULY 1 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 30, 1963

Item	Number by Program				
	Old Age Assistance	Aid to the Blind	Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	Aid to Dependent Children	
				Fam.	Chn.
APPLICATIONS					
Pending at beginning of quarter	1,053	87	1,633	1,217	--
Received during quarter	3,223	188	3,134	3,142	--
Total handled during quarter	4,276	275	4,767	4,359	--
Disposed of by reason:					
Approved for payment	1,981	65	1,458	1,466	--
Rejected or disposed of for other reason	1,158	104	1,594	1,364	--
Pending at end of quarter	1,137	106	1,715	1,529	--
CASES					
Continued from last quarter	76,506	3,154	15,351	20,361	63,910
Approved	1,981	65	1,458	1,466	--
Total handled	78,487	3,219	16,809	21,827	--
Closed for:					
Death	1,348	27	229	2 a/	--
Ineligibility and other reasons	954	106	640	1,416	--
Continued at end of quarter	76,185	3,086	15,940	20,409	64,216

a/ The only ADC cases closed for death are those when the only child in the case dies.

SUMMARY OF NET EXPENDITURES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

SHOWING PURPOSE AND SOURCE OF FUNDS DURING QUARTER

JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER 1963

Program	Source of Funds			
	Total	Local	State	Federal
TOTAL	$15,166,371.84	$92,179.77	$3,375,462.12	$11,698,729.95
Percent	100.0	0.6	22.3	77.1
Assistance				
OAA Money Payments	8,447,073.50	--	1,545,774.62	6,901,298.88
OAA Hospital Vendor Payments	308,909.17	--	62,723.70	246,185.47
AB Money Payments	400,431.00	--	82,322.05	318,108.95
ADC Money Payments	2,145,231.00	--	382,092.42	1,763,138.58
APTD Money Payments	1,956,134.00	--	393,178.08	1,562,955.92
AD (Hinds County) Money Payments	5,700.00	5,700.00		--
Confederate Pensions and Claims	5,652.50	--	5,652.50	--
Blind Services 1/	179,408.07	32.68	69,626.53	109,748.86
Child Welfare Services 2/	282,387.72	17,531.36	175,468.42	89,387.94
Foster Home Care	84,753.10	19,803.02	64,950.08 3/	--
Administration				
OAA	578,364.09	20,257.11	268,924.94	289,182.04
AB	30,041.30	980.43	14,040.22	15,020.65
ADC	462,482.31	15,705.50	169,920.28	276,856.53
APTD	249,967.22	8,386.25	116,597.36	124,983.61
AD (Hinds County)	903.53	76.29	827.24	--
Commodities	12,508.90	3,135.45	9,373.45	
Other Activities 4/	16,424.43	571.68	13,990.23	1,862.52 5/

1/ Includes cost of rehabilitation of the blind, Mississippi Industries for the Blind, sight restoration program, and other special services for the blind.

2/ Includes cost of child welfare services and administration of child welfare and foster home programs.

3/ Includes local tax funds and private funds from families and relatives.

4/ Includes cost of administration for services for Parole Board, Selective Service Boards, Mississippi State Hospital at Whitfield, War Veterans, Civil Defense and Other Services.

5/ Federal matching for Civil Defense (Public Law 85-606).

establishing more supervisory units in counties where there are several workers. We need to try to build or maybe better said, to feed into our child welfare program in some areas, and the foster home program needs continued stimulation in the counties.

May I now get back to the "constant" mentioned earlier, back to you, the person who has the assigned responsibility of working with children and their parents, of bringing into being the various resources of the program to meet the needs of children.

What does working with your client, the child and his family, mean to you? Would it be the opportunity to bring to bear upon his personality your feeling that you have the most important job in the world — that through your understanding of his needs, and of the resources at your command, you help him to be a more adequate person?

Miss Kate Shepherd in her article, "Essentials for Good Family Living" said that she had found no pill to give which would make the essentials of good family life available to our ADC families but that the only answer is "US". She says, "We are the craftsmen who work with the most important material in the world — human personality. We are the only source of getting improved services to these distressed people." 2/ She was talking of ADC families but the same is true in child welfare.

Is your child of such importance to you that you keep his record alive by recording the necessary and important facts about him before you move on to another. There is nothing that will be more important to him than for his worker to recognize the need to put him in his record so that services to him may continue if she leaves, or if he gets another worker, or even as she herself continues to work with him.

Talking of records, they reflect the worker's feelings and attitudes too, as you know, so your interest, your genuine desire to help him is there, too. I read a record one time that aptly illustrates how true this can be.

The first worker recorded the necessary eligibility factors and recommended appropriate action but did little else to help the client, who finally got to another county and went to the welfare office. There she found a worker who saw her as a person. The record showed visit after visit to the home (the home which the visitor helped find for the client) close work with her and interest in her children. The result of the last worker's interest was obvious from the response of the client.

Does your child's worker see him as a person or a figure on the "statistics" report? If she sees him as a person, then the agent or supervisor gets a completed report on time, gets all forms correctly made to substantiate requests for funds, and otherwise provide for his needs. Programs are reflected by reports on services to children. Financial support depends upon them. Your children need the program and need money so this phase of your job might be easier if you can feel his needs even in making reports.

Your client knows you have respect for him as a person, and believe in his ability to change and grow as you visit him regularly, as you talk with him, about himself with the interest in him that he can feel, and that will enable him to do his best with what he has.

There are many other facets of this I am sure but I hope these few statements will help you to understand why I feel that you are the constant, the thread of life between the child and his family and the program. Without you, he would have no way to develop his potential and to discover his own worth as Miss Shepherd has said in the previous mentioned article.

The program is for the child and his family but you should never underestimate the fact that you are the program to him. Also, that the next worker, the researcher, the statistician and finally the Commissioner and the Legislature, see him as you paint his picture for them.

May I say that I read many field reports and reports of conferences with you, and I see that you are busy. I can only hope that you will soon have more reasonable caseloads as a result of the new child welfare definition. Plan well, visit with a purpose, record what you do, use your supervisor, and continue your in-service training with a view to being the best worker your client has ever had. To him you are the constant, you are the agency.

1/ Volume IV, Revised 10-1-63, Section A, pages 1201-1202.

2/ By permission of North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh, North Carolina. This printed in PUBLIC WELFARE NEWS, December 1962, Quarterly Journal, Volume 26, No. 4.

If you employ a babysitter or cleaning woman, you must file an employer's social security report if you paid her $50 or more in cash between July 1 and September 30.

How To "Beat" Social Security

With most of us, our feelings about social security are like those of a woman at a sale: We are happy about the whole thing only if we feel we are getting a bargain.

The way to guarantee a whopping bargain on your social security is to die young and leave a widow with several very young children. If you have been making good money, they may receive better than $50,000 in benefits before they are all through drawing money on your account. Another device that will guarantee substantial benefit payments is to become completely disabled at a young age with two or three children and your wife as dependents. Neither of these techniques for "beating" social security has proved very popular.

Actually, the average person gets back from social security about what he paid in. In general it works out so that the most money is paid out where the most money is needed. The man who does die, leaving a widow and young children, has provided a substantial sum of money for them through his social security tax payments. With the worker in the family gone, they need all the money they can get.

The man who becomes totally and permanently disabled and lives as a semi-invalid for many years will receive a considerable amount of money from social security. He needs every dime of it.

The same is true of the worker who retires. Even if he avoids serious illness he is going to need all that social security can pay to keep meat on the table.

As with any insurance, social security is designed to help out in case the thing happens we don't want to happen. We don't want an automobile accident just so we can collect on our casualty insurance. We would rather our house didn't burn down. And most of us want to live a long time, stay healthy and work for good money at a job we like until the day we die. We won't make money on our social security that way, but we will have had the feeling of security that comes from knowing the protection was there had we needed it.

Jackson Social Security Office
502 North Street
Jackson, Mississippi
John F. Pate, District Manager

"Fear to do ill and you need fear nought else."

Personnel Actions

AUGUST, SEPTEMBER, OCTOBER

APPOINTMENTS

Visitors	County
Mrs. Laverne Barr	Washington
Mrs. Sally Hefner	Copiah
Chester Lee Clark	Jasper
Mrs. Elizabeth Armstrong	Scott
Mrs. Rose D. Harrison	Tippah
Mrs. Mary P. Parker	Jasper
William E. Bibbs	Sunflower
Mrs. Sharon Whitt	Hinds
Mrs. Ella N. White	Pike
Mack Bomer	Warren
Mrs. Grace Voorhees	Carroll

Day Care Workers

Mrs. Carole Henderson	CWD

Commodity Auditor

Jerry Lott	Business Admin.

Clerical

Mrs. Brenda D. Moorman	Coahoma
Mrs. Mildred Horton	Grenada
Mrs. Ruth A. Barron	Montgomery
Mrs. Betty Jo Rogers	Covington
Mrs. Marilyn Bounds	Business Services
Mrs. Nellie McCrory	Lowndes
Mrs. Kathryn G. Floyd	Prentiss
Mrs. Janie Felts	Leflore
Mrs. Joyce E. Triplett	Winston
Mrs. Sandra Y. Hooker	Pontotoc
Mrs. Arline Waits	Holmes

REINSTATEMENTS

Visitors

Mrs. Erma S. Stiles	Adams
Mrs. Lee Ann Germany	Warren

Clerical

Mrs. Carole S. Allen	Harrison
Mrs. Bettye Sue Brunt	Quitman
Mrs. Mildred Fonda	Hinds

RESIGNATIONS

Supervisors

Dr. E. S. Wallace	Merit System
Hugh Vaughn	Child Welfare Div.

Visitors

Joy Ann Howard	Warren
Mrs. Margaret Denman	Pike
Barbara Ann Kron	Hinds
Mrs. Ella N. White	Pike
Mrs. Frances C. Steel	George

Child Welfare Workers

Lydia Sue Hemphill	Warren
Elizabeth A. Hudson	Leflore
Mrs. Christie Dean	Harrison
James Dean	Harrison

Day Care Reviewer

Mrs. Ruth Wilson	CWD

Social Work Trainees

Rebecca Jean Sanders	Sunflower
Carolyn A. Switzer	Winston
Mary Alice Love	Winston

Accountants

Betty Jean Westmoreland	F & A

Clerical

Mrs. Lydia R. Thomas	Grenada
Kathryn Googe	Prentiss
Linda Sue Ladnier	Harrison
Sybil Wright	Leflore
Mrs. Annie McCullough	Div. for Blind
Virginia House	Child Welfare Div.
Mrs. Eileen Cox	Tunica
Mrs. Marjorie Steward	Pontotoc

Homemakers

Willie B. Hamilton	Washington
Mrs. Ruth Phillips	Lafayette

RETIREMENTS

Visitors

Mrs. Rebecca Fullilove	Carroll
Mrs. Carrie Lee Price	Tate
Mrs. Coats Nicholls	Perry

DEATHS

Clerical

Mrs. Rachel Hawkins Finance & Accounts

Mrs. Sara R. Caldwell, Director of Child Welfare, was one of 36 field instructors invited to Nashville for the annual two-day conference held this year on October 3 and 4. The program was devoted almost entirely to a review of the new Curriculum Policy Statement, issued late last year by the Council on Social Work Education and the whole question of individualization of student learning in the field experience.

SERVICE ANNIVERSARIES

October, November, December 1963

25 Years

Claudia P. Wallace, Leake County
Mrs. Mattie H. White, Winston County

20 Years

Laverne Butler, Finance and Accounts
Mrs. Minnie G. Reiss, Washington County

15 Years

Hazel Applewhite, Marion County
Mrs. Ilene H. Backstrom, Greene County
Mrs. Viva L. Davis, Stone County
Mrs. Dorothy G. Fulgham, Choctaw County
Mrs. Ethel R. Graham, Union County
Mrs. Willa M. Lantz, Noxubee County
Dorothy E. Lipsey, Coahoma County
Mrs. Evelyn H. Morris, Division for the Blind
Mrs. Frances B. Stubbs, District XVIII
Cora Jean Tomlinson, Marshall County
Mrs. Thelma Woodruff, District XI

10 Years

Cecile Brennan, Lauderdale County
Martha Jean Goodger, Prentiss County
William R. Hudson, Division for the Blind
Mrs. Olga M. Hughes, Winston County
Mrs. Katherine M. MacNaughton, District III
Mrs. Lenora Redhead, Wilkinson County
Billie I. Shankles, Tippah County

5 Years

Ralph V. Callender, District XV
Mrs. Louise S. Dixon, Yazoo County
Charlotte Helgason, Warren County
Mrs. Wilda S. Jordan, Marion County
Mrs. Burnie D. Knight, Lafayette County
Mrs. Ida Franke Ladnier, Harrison County
Hattie R. Liddell, DeSoto County
George H. McBride, Jones County
Mrs. Martha M. McKenzie, Benton County
Vernon W. Mills, Choctaw County
Mrs. Dinny P. Phillips, Lincoln County
Mrs. Dollye E. Rackley, Pontotoc County
Mary Hazel Ross, Simpson County
Mrs. Ruth C. Roulette, Lafayette County
Mrs. Lucy W. Thompson, Lowndes County
Mrs. Katie Sue Wilson, Yazoo County

Miss Dorothy Hamm

Miss Dorothy Hamm, Welfare Consultant, finished her tour of public welfare service on November 30, after nearly 22 years with the State Department of Public Welfare.

Miss Hamm started her social work career in 1932 with the Works Progress Administration during the reconstruction of the national economy in the depression years. When the WPA program was discontinued, a number of the trained staff members were employed by state agencies.

Always alert to an opportunity for improving her knowledge and skills, she took advantage of the educational leave policy of the department and earned her Master's degree in Social Work (MSW) from Tulane University in 1946. Her Master's thesis was A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION ON THE ALMSHOUSE POPULATION IN MISSISSIPPI.

She worked as a District Supervisor from 1942 to 1953; as administrative reviewer April 1953 to November 1957; and finally as Welfare Consultant from December 1957 to December 1963.

The state office honored Miss Hamm with a 'farewell party' and a gift of silver on her last day of duty. The good, dedicated ones never leave us: they just say "auf Wiedersehen."

If you are receiving social security checks, it is important to notify the Social Security Administration as well as the post office whenever you move. Otherwise your monthly check may be delayed or it may be returned to the Government instead of being forwarded to you.

Public Welfare In Mississippi

RETURN REQUESTED

P. O. BOX 1669

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Speech and Hearing Center of the University of Southern Mississippi announces the expansion of its service program to include complete diagnostic and therapeutic services for children and adults who present problems of speech or hearing.

The following services are provided:

HEARING:

Pure tone Audiametry
Speech Audiometry
PGSR tests
Hearing Aid Evaluations
Lipreading
Auditory Discrimination
Speech for the Hard of Hearing

SPEECH:

Cleft Palate
Stuttering
Laryngectomee
Articulation
Cerebral Palsy
Delayed speech
Voice problems
Foreign dialect
Aphasia (stroke)

School for pre-school deaf and aphasic children.

All staff members are clinically certified by the American Speech and Hearing Association. For further information contact:

Dr. Robert Peters _Director of the Center
Dr. Robert Grange ____Speech Disorders
Dr. Henry Creech ____Hearing Disorders
Miss Etoile DuBard _Language Disorders

Hugh Vaughn left the Department in October to accept an appointment as Assistant Professor at the University of Tennessee School of Social Work, Nashville, Tennessee. He has been assigned to the first-year field instruction program and will carry some class room teaching and thesis advising.

After nearly 14 years service with the Department Herschel H. Saucier resigned on November 4 as Director of Child Welfare Division to accept the position of Assistant Director, Division of Children and Youth, Georgia Department of Family and Children Services, Atlanta, Georgia.

SUMMARY OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES CASES HANDLED DURING QUARTER BEGINNING JULY 1, 1963 AND ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1963

Item	Number of Families	Number of Children
Continued from last quarter	6,550	13,118
Added during quarter	1,476	2,690
Total	8,026	15,808
Closed during quarter	2,315	4,681
Continued at end of quarter	5,711	11,127
Whereabouts at end of quarter		11,127
With own family		8,801
With relatives		1,053
In foster home		888
Free		62
Adoptive		66
Boarding		760
In institution		320
Elsewhere		65

ILO Digest
Spring 1963
M. Care of Welfare

Price of a Civilized Society

When a woman in a mink coat joined thousands of relief clients lined up before a federal surplus food distribution center in New York, two years ago, the press had a heyday. The impression was clearly given that the relief rolls are loaded with chiselers. Later, *New Yorker* magazine writer A. J. Liebling assailed the press for failing to report that the mink was a moth-eaten castoff.

The relief client is much maligned. Being relatively helpless and defenseless, he is a handy scapegoat upon whom to blame local and federal tax burdens. And while chiseling is far more prevalent in the upper reaches of our society, it's much easier and more popular to curb the welfare chiseler.

Newburgh, N. Y., came into national prominence two years ago when Joseph Mitchell, the city manager, branded relief clients chiselers and sought to dispose of them with meat-axe welfare cuts. Mitchell was foiled by the intervention of the State of New York. Last year, the Newburgh official was among those indicted for seeking to defraud the city through land deals.

There are without doubt some frauds on the relief rolls. These always are the excuse to pare relief allowances and to drive from the rolls marginal clients or those whose need is great but who in one way or another have failed to meet the letter of the law.

In San Diego, California, a man and woman were convicted of swindling some $20,000 in aid-to-dependent-children funds and 13 others were charged with receiving $42,000 in relief funds illegally.

Although there is no justification for illegal acceptance of relief funds, the $20,000 swindle wasn't quite as bad as it was made to appear. It took place over 13 years, meaning that the annual illegal take was in the neighborhood of $1,500.

The incident was quickly used as a whip to beat the needy. "Indiscriminate welfare," charged

District Attorney Don Keller, "has encouraged a life of indolence for too many people in this state."

Typically, San Diego County's answer to the relief problem was to crack down on innocent and guilty alike. It expanded its staff of investigators to weed out every possible relief client who failed to meet the letter of the law. County officials have long had a "hard" approach to welfare problems. Attempts to get tough have been fought by the California Welfare Department, which has threatened to cut off state funds.

Case of D. C.

The San Diego County relief fracas is small compared with the storm kicked up in the District of Columbia by Senator Robert C. Byrd (D., W. Va.) last summer. Before the Senator was finished, some 57 percent of the District's relief recipients had been branded "chiseler." The Byrd investigation centered upon the Capital's aid-for-dependent-children program.

Washington, D. C., has the world's most exalted and expensive city council. The city is governed with studied indifference by the Congress of the United States. Since its citizens lack voice and vote in local affairs, Congress has always neglected to vote adequate funds to aid local government. The federal government owns much of the more valuable real estate and is supposed to contribute a fair share of local government costs.

The city has no municipal college except for the run-down plant of D. C. Teachers College. Many school buildings are obsolete and social services are faltering. While Senator Byrd was investigating welfare payments, Congress appropriated $10 million for a gilded aquarium on the banks of the polluted Potomac.

Washington is half-way house between the South and the big cities of the North. Seeking greater economic opportunity, Negroes have been migrating northward. Many have settled in Washington where government jobs — especially in the lower grades—are often available. Today, Negroes outnumber whites, many of whom have fled to Maryland and Virginia suburbs.

The Washington Negro community is one in transition. A large and self-sufficient Negro middle-class has emerged, but others remain totally submerged. Some have yet to make the transition from the depressed rural culture of the Negro South to the urban culture of the District. Discriminated against in jobs and housing and lacking education, Negroes make up a disproportionate majority of those on relief.

Washington, D. C., has a population of almost 800,000. Relief clients of all kinds numbered about 12,000 last summer. City heads—the District Commissioners—have proposed to cut 1,500

from the relief load. At the same time, they plan to spend an additional million dollars annually upon an "investigative unit" to police the rolls.

The District has one of the most strict and inhumane rules covering aid to dependent children. It provides that if any mother receiving such aid has any provable continuing relationship with a man, she and her brood will be kicked off relief rolls no matter how great the need.

This man-in-the-house rule has contributed to desertions. Jobless breadwinners have left home so their families could be eligible for aid. Where such breadwinners have been caught in the home, families have been denied continued assistance.

Mothers found living with men who could, if employed, support the family have also been thrown off the relief rolls. In cases where a man had even a casual relationship with a mother, the mother's children have been denied help.

West Virginia's Senator Byrd has charged that $18 million has been paid out in illegal welfare grants over the last four years by soft-headed District officials and social case workers. The Senator is of the view that payments to a mother having an illicit relationship with a man condones immorality.

The District's relief problem is complicated by the relatively high number of Negro children born out of wedlock who receive aid. In punishing mothers, welfare officials have sometimes forced helpless children to bear the burden of want.

In "proving" that 57 percent of D. C. welfare cases were chiselers, investigators used a random sampling of 280 cases. Inevitably, some of the findings were sensationalized nationally and locally in the press.

The Cases

One case involved a mother with four children who had been receiving payments for four years. A man discovered living in the house claimed to be a brother. On investigation, he turned out to be the father of two of the children. He was then earning $85 weekly.

In another case, a mother of six was living with a "brother-in-law" who turned out to be a husband. The mother received $191 monthly. The husband had a job paying all of $65 weekly with which to support the family of eight after aid payments ceased.

A mother of four had been receiving $109 monthly. Investigators found a man in the bathroom who admitted that he lived in the household. A mother of four was cut off from relief payments of $205 monthly when it was learned that she earned $20 a week and also received $10 weekly from a

"boy friend" for TV set payments.

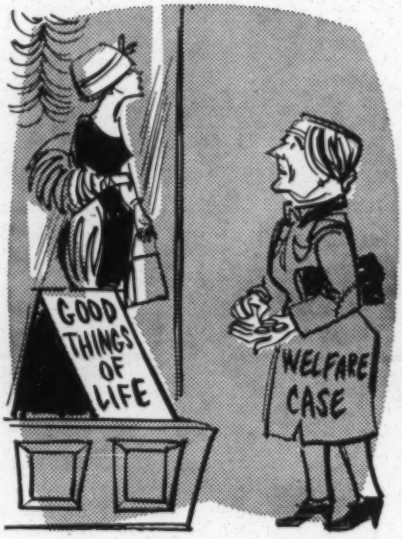
The investigation revealed that relief recipients are human and want some of the good things of our affluent society. Bernard W. Scholz, public assistance chief, protested shock after it was learned that some clients had purchased TV sets and phonographs on time contracts. While the clients were held up as perpetrators of reprehensible acts, the dealers who extended credit contracts at high interest rates were assumed to be conducting perfectly legal business transactions.

The *Washington Post and Times Herald* got the relief clients' side of the story. Told by these unfortunates, the purchases were hardly scandalous. Five of six interviewed said they were not using welfare money to buy appliances but were making payments with cash supplied by working children not dependent upon public assistance, or from other relatives.

"That phonograph keeps my children at home. If they were out, they'd get into trouble. It's all we got," one relief mother said.

"I like to listen to the services," an epileptic woman said, pointing to her clock-radio. "It helps keep down my mind."

As seen by the *Washington Post* reporters, the relief clients in question were hardly living in luxury. One 40-year-old grandmother of two and mother of four



had just returned from the hospital. There was a new bed in the living room and a radio-phono. The woman told the reporters that the radio-phono belonged to a neighbor who had left it after being evicted. She said that the new bed had been bought for her by her 17-year-old son who worked in a restaurant because the old one was too painful for her to sleep in. She added that she shared the bed with two children.

Sad Results

The proof of sour pudding lies in the stomach-ache that usually follows. Within four months after the Byrd investigation, some 2,800 children had been cut off relief. At least 250 had landed at Junior Village, the already fearfully overcrowded city home for homeless children of the nation's

capital. Seven hundred and twelve children were crammed into space intended for 320. While the District was cutting its relief load, it was causing misery and buying future crime.

Junior Village, like most such institutions, has been sadly understaffed. The city has called for 150 volunteers to help out the underpaid, ill-trained, and overworked staff who earn from $3,560 to $4,110 annually.

Live Like Animals

Junior Village has been described by one reporter as "frightening." Children "live crowded like animals in space for half their number; spend their formative years untaught and unloved, suffer from personal and emotional neglect."

Senator Byrd relented slightly last December when he ordered D. C. officials to move children out of the overcrowded jungle into their own or foster homes. The problem was that foster parents weren't readily found because D. C. payments for support were only from $53 to $57 monthly. And in their own homes, there was no longer aid to disqualified parents. At this writing, Junior Village continues to be the same fearful hell-hole for insecure children with no place else to go.

Junior Village kids and other deprived children reveal only a small part of the D. C. relief mess. Social workers for private welfare agencies tell these stories:

"A 17-year-old girl with two children (one legitimate, the other not) has been deserted by her husband. The husband, pursued by charges of nonsupport and a bench warrant, has managed so far to stay ahead of the police in his flight. The Welfare Department refuses to grant any relief to the girl on grounds that it is her responsibility to produce her husband even when the police cannot. Social workers say that this rule is being widely applied against abandoned families.

"A mother of six children was attempting to hold a job, but her youngsters repeatedly got into trouble while she was away. At last the Police Women's Bureau and the Welfare Department advised her to stop working and accept relief. And then on November 1, without warning, her relief checks were stopped.

"When she was unable to elicit the reason from the Department, she turned frantically to a private welfare agency. After much inquiry, the agency learned that a Welfare Department investigator had raised the question whether the father of the children was her husband, who deserted her years ago, or another man, not dead.

"Because the mother could not satisfactorily prove paternity, her relief was cut off. After protests from the private agency, relief was recommended, temporarily, after a hiatus that reduced the family to the edge of starvation.

"A mother of six children was on relief because her husband beat her viciously and she could not live with him. The Department then discovered that she was renting her home, a single room, from a landlord who was a bachelor and who lived in the same building. According to the Department, that constituted a violation of the man-in-the-house rule. Her relief was stopped."

These stories are far different from those told in headlines provided by the Senator from West Virginia. They are reprinted as they appeared inside a *Washington Post* editorial.

Self-fulfilling Estimate

"Here we see what relief eligibility means in actual practice," said the *Post*. "Eligibility for many families is an off-an-on affair. Perhaps a mother was once eligible, but then a man moved in with her and the [Welfare] Department, crying man-in-the-house, stopped her checks. Now the man has moved out, but the Department considers her untrustworthy and will not even discuss reinstating her. Since she cannot find a job, her recourse is to another man. The Department's estimate of her will be, in the end, self-fulfilling."

Relief clients sometimes are considered an inferior breed who merit only contempt. D. C. Public Assistance Chief Bernard Scholz has summed up such an official attitude. He has called for more "snoopers," adding that the "friend at the door" attitude that prevailed in the thirties was fine because in those days "truly nice people" needed help.

President Kennedy's budget message for the District of Columbia reflected White House concern with Washington's welfare problems, overcrowding at Junior Village, and the denial of aid to the children of jobless workers who remain in their homes. The President called upon Congress to grant an additional $1.3 million for relief payments and said the nation's capital should be "a leader" in carrying out reforms approved last year by Congress. Similar proposals for enlarged D. C. relief payments and relief from the onerous "man-in-the-house" rule were rebuffed in Congress last year.

The D. C. welfare probe and its exaggerated findings have been held up to the national mirror as proof that chiseling is widespread and that relief clients live in high style at the expense of hard-working taxpayers. The *Wall Street Journal* used the District as its horrible example in reporting on "welfare chiseling" and the "seemingly endless expense of the nation's depression-nurtured system of federal-state relief." The drive against the nation's most depressed segment is mounting, although, as the *Washington Post* has noted, relief "at best merely supports miserable people in squalor."

The Reverend Thomas J. Reese, a leading Roman Catholic welfare expert, has charged that there seems to be a concerted "drive against the poor and the socially disadvantaged." Father Reese is director of the Catholic Welfare Guild of Wilmington, Delaware. He has asserted that Delaware State Police have indiscriminate access to case records for purposes of discrediting welfare programs.

"We cannot accept," said Father Reese, "the facile solution to a problem of indigence that requires a woman to be sterilized to receive further public assistance for herself and her children."

Poverty's Handmaiden

Relief is the handmaiden of poverty. When U. S. Steel closed down its mill at Donora, Pa., some 80 percent of the work force became unemployed. Desolate Donora soon had 2,500 on relief, and 3,200 receiving government surplus foods. The town's story is repeated monotonously in depressed pockets across the country —in desolated mine communities, former textile towns, and other communities left high and dry by economic forces beyond their control.

Donora is only a small part of the relief story. There is not a major city in the nation without a welfare problem. In some cities, supplementary relief payments must be given to exploited workers unable to earn enough to sustain their families.

New York City approved a $1.50 minimum wage ordinance last fall. The new law required the immediate establishment of a $1.25 wage floor. It was estimated that 180,000 workers earned below that amount. Many had been receiving supplementary relief from the city.

A recent study showed that 49 percent of New York families are poor by modern standards. The study found that over 70 percent of nonwhite New York families fell into the "poor" category. Among these poor are the unemployed, the underemployed, the unskilled, the semiskilled, the aged, the widowed mother, the culturally maladjusted, the sick, the handicapped, and the cast-off of society. From these ranks comes the nation's relief load.

Despite relatively high unemployment and mounting social ills, the U. S. relief load is comparatively small. Only four percent of the nation's 185 million are on relief. Despite complaints about high costs, the nation's relief costs come to less than one percent of its national income—about $4 billion.

Of the seven million receiving welfare assistance, some 2.8 million are children. The total spent for "aid to dependent children" amounts to about $1 billion annually. Despite charges of rewarding illegitimacy, more than 80 percent of children assisted are born in wedlock.

The State of Ohio has termed its ADC program a "challenge to the community." Its Division of Social Administration has reported that ADC payments amounted to $3.8 million in June 1961. Payments were made to children under 18 "who have been deprived of support by death, incapacity of a parent, continued absence of a parent (usually the father), and who are living with a parent or close relative."

Ohio ADC money aided almost 125,000 children—about 2.8 percent of the state's dependent children. Monthly payments amounted to $30.79 per recipient. The federal government paid two-thirds; the state 22.6 percent, and the locality paid the balance.

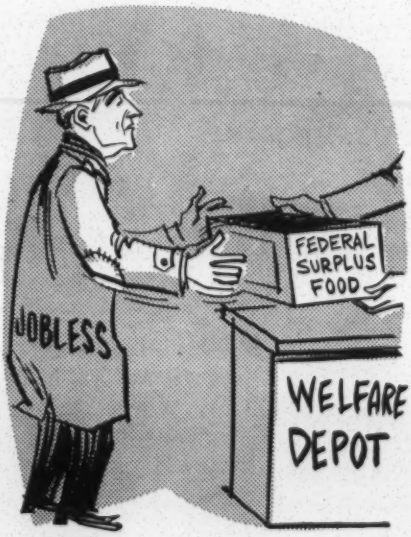
The second largest welfare category is assistance to the aged. Some 2.3 million of the nation's elders receive about $2 billion annually in old age assistance payments.

About 87,000 elders received assistance from the State of Ohio in June 1961. The federal government supplied 56 percent of the funds and the state provided the remainder. Administered by state agencies, the program paid out $5.8 million in direct aid, and $1.1 million more to vendors for health care. Direct aid grants averaged $66.23; health payments averaged $77.37.

About 800,000 mothers receive $300 million annually in welfare grants; 400,000 disabled persons receive $300 million more; 100,000 blind persons get $100 million. Chief support for these programs comes from federal funds, although they are state-administered.

Most sadly misunderstood is the general relief program. Known generally as "home relief," this depression-born program supports indigent families unable to fend for themselves. An unfair press has pilloried general relief recipients as good-for-nothing and loafers.

A million families annually receive home relief, but the total cost is only $300 million. Home relief families subsist on budgets only one-fourth as great as those of nonwelfare families. How they manage is often a mystery, even to serious students of the problem. Applicants must subject



themselves to a means test and thoroughgoing persistent investigations. Children of home relief families sometimes bear a stigma that inhibits normal emotional development.

Ohio reported that 39,000 families received general welfare aid in June 1961. These families included 137,000 persons who received $2.9 million in direct grants. This averaged out to $20.05 per person—less than $5 weekly.

Contrary to misleading press reports, outright fraud and chiseling add only two percent to relief costs. Almost 90 percent of those on relief are too old, too young, or too sick to work, or must care for children too young to care for themselves. Most of those on relief who are able to work would do so if only jobs were available. Relief costs are not rising; they actually declined by 11 percent between 1950 and 1960 despite chronic joblessness and a burgeoning population.

Rehabilitation

The Kennedy Administration has called for programs to help relief recipients become self-supporting. Last year, Congress made changes in the law and provided funds to aid such work. Welfare programs utilizing federal funds have been centralized in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare under a Welfare Administration headed by Mrs. Ellen Winston. Mrs. Winston has long been known as an articulate spokesman for the dispossessed. She has been highly critical of Congress-authorized cuts in relief grants to large D. C. relief families.

Under the new reorganization, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation is being enlarged and reorganized into the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. Efforts will be made to assist cities and counties to train the able-bodied on relief for new jobs.

Rehabilitation is a fine idea and should be an object of welfare programs wherever possible. But in a society which has more manpower than jobs, possibilities for gainful employment are limited.

Even in that best of all possible worlds where there are jobs for all, rehabilitation will answer only a small part of the problem. If all those on general relief who are able to work were provided with jobs, massive relief problems would still be with us.

America will have to face up to welfare programs as long as there are fatherless children, the dependent aged, the sick, and the disabled. Welfare programs for those unable to care for themselves are part of the price that must be paid to sustain a democratic, civilized society. The real tragedy of present welfare programs is their woeful inadequacy and the poor grace with which they are too often administered.

JS

BACKGROUND REPORTS

BACKGROUND REPORTS is published by the National Conference of Christians and Jews project,

Religious Freedom and Public Affairs

Med Care + Welfare

THE FAUQUIER HOSPITAL STERILIZATION STORY

By Gerald Grant

Mrs. S. is 30 years old and married to a Virginia sharecropper who earns about $45 a week. They have four children to care for. Forty-five dollars barely provides the necessities. Mrs. S. felt her children were being cheated in some way she found hard to express. When she became pregnant for the fifth time, she went to a new maternity clinic in her community to have the baby. During her treatment there she was told about family planning and a free sterilization operation. She chose the latter. A year after the operation she said she was glad she had had it performed and that she consequently had more time for her children and was no longer worried about additional pregnancies.

Was the act of sterilizing Mrs. S. "utterly reprehensible," lacking "even the moral judgments which must be weighed in consideration of abortion"?

Was "its obvious and crudely selfish materialistic purpose" the reduction of the community's tax rate?

Or was it "a moral good, for it grants to the poor privileges which they desperately need which are now enjoyed by the prosperous alone"?

These were the comments of a rabbi, an archbishop and a minister, respectively, on a sterilization procedure that made headlines recently. This report attempts to go behind those headlines and trace the course of the debate that was precipitated by a visit of a group of sociologists to the Fauquier Hospital in Warrenton, Va., where Mrs. S.'s operation was performed.

The group of about twenty sociologists had been attending a convention in Washington. They left the city on a muggy September Sunday in three limousines provided by the Human Betterment Association, the organization that sponsored the tour.

In its advance publicity the Association had noted that the Fauquier Hospital provided "the first complete maternity service for medically indigent patients in a rural area."

It also mentioned that services offered by the hospital's maternity clinic included "prenatal care, delivery and guidance in all methods of family planning, including voluntary sterilization."

The Human Betterment Association described itself as an organization promoting voluntary sterilization. One of its purposes in sponsoring the tour was to demonstrate that sterilizations could be and were being lawfully performed. The Association said it aided the Fauquier Hospital "in the development of its surgical birth control program."

The sociologists who toured the hospital in a calm, scientific way little imagined the national discussion their visit would raise.

As a result of their tour the hospital's sterilization procedure, which had been in operation for 33 months (but was relatively unknown outside the county), received nationwide publicity.

In the face of growing concern about ways of dealing with the "population explosion" and increased

Med. Care & Welfare

AIDS TO THOSE IN NEED

FEDERAL

STATE

COUNTY

HELPS -
Compiled by
MRS. M. E. TILLY

Aids To Budgets For Those In Need -

Federal, State and County

Welfare Department -

Old Age Assistance and Medical Care
Aid to the Blind
Aid to Dependent Children
Aid to Permantly and Totally Disabled

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION
Under Public Law 565-1954

Vocational rehabilitation is a service provided jointly by the State and Federal Government to conserve the greatest of all assets--the working usefulness of human beings. This service is comparable to Public Education, Public Health and other activities for the Welfare of the people. Employment is always the aim of Vocational Rehabilitation.

SERVICES PROVIDED TO RESTORE WORK ABILITY

Medical, psychological and vocational diagnosis to determine the extent of the applicant's disability, and his mental and vocational limitations.

Counsel and guidance to help the disabled person attain the right job objective.

Physical restoration, medical, surgical, psychiatric and hospital care, and work therapy, to correct to reduce the disability.

Artificial appliances--limbs, braces, hearing aids, and other devices, to increase work ability.

Training, in schools, colleges, on-the-job, by tutors or correspondence, in preparation for the right job.

Transportation and maintenance during treatment or training, in needed.

Tools and equipment, if needed, to give the disabled person a fair start.

Placement in a suitable job, and follow-up to make sure he is safely and satisfactorily employed.

MENTAL AND EMOTIONAL

Studies show mental illness is the most prevalent disability among our people. The cost of care and treatment of the mentally ill is a heavy drain upon public financial resources, and the families of patients.

MENTALLY RETARDED

With financial assistance provided through a Federal grant, a three-year project was undertaken. The primary objectives were: (1) the development of better techniques for evaluating the vocational potential of mentally retarded persons; (2) the development of facilities for training and job preparation; and (3) the provision of necessary Vocational Rehabilitation services to a larger number of mentally retarded persons.

The Division has cooperated with local communities in establishing workshops for training thse clients in Atlanta and Savannah. It also works with local school systems in programs for "exceptional children."

The number of mentally retarded rehabilitated into jobs increased from 37 in 1958-59 to 83 in 1959-60.

EPILEPTICS TRAINING

In providing training for eligible clients, the Division utilizes the services and facilities of public and private institutions: universities, colleges, trade schools, and commercial schools in the communities.

Last year (1959-60) 867 were enrolled in universities and colleges. At the same time, 1,236 were in training in other educational institutions and establishments. Among those rehabilitated, 884 had their major vocational training as follows:

Colleges and Universities	267
Business and other specialized college or school	192
Trade Schools	265
Sheltered workshops	10
On-the-job	75
Other	75
Total	884

OASI DISABILITY DETERMINATIONS

To qualify for disability insurance benefits, a worker must be so seriously disabled that he is "unable to engage in any substantial gainful activity."

In addition, he must have worked under Social Security for at least five years out of the ten years before he became disabled.

YOUR OPPORTUNITY FOR JOB TRAINING

Who can get training?

Unemployed and underemployed persons who can qualify for training and who cannot expect to get full-time employment without training.

Unemployed youth 16 years of age or older.

What kind of training will be given?

Vocational courses in schools
On-the-job training
A combination of vocational and on-the-job training.

Do trainees pay for training courses?

No.

Will trainees receive any money from the government?

Yes, in certain instances, as follows:

1. Unemployed heads of families or heads of households who have had at least 3 years of gainful employment

2. Unemployed youths over 19 but under 22 years of age who do not qualify for regular training allowances--if allowances are necessary to provide occupational training.

3. To continue to receive allowances, trainees must have a satisfactory attendance records and make satisfactory progress

4. An individual may not receive a training allowance for more than 52 weeks.

How much allowance does a trainee eligible for such benefits receive?

In case of an unemployed youth over 19 but under 22 years of age who does not qualify for a regular training allowance, no more than $20 a week.

For trainees to live away from home, subsistence payments not to exceed $5 a day, and transportation, not more than 10 cents a mile.

It is expected that courses will be given in vocational training facilities already established, in public schools and colleges, and in facilities provided by employers, trade associations, labor organizations, and other industrial and community groups cooperating in the on-the-job training program.

EMPLOYMENT SECURITY LAW

Benefit Eligibility Conditions - Section 4

54-609. An unemployed individual shall be eligible to receive benefits with respect to any week only if the Commissioner finds that:

(a) He has registered for work at and thereafter has continued to report at an employment office in accordance with such regulations as the Commissioner may prescribe, except that the Commissioner may, by regulation, waive or alter either or both the requirements of this subsection as to such types of cases or situations with respect to which he finds that compliance with such requirements would be oppresive or would be inconsistent with the purposes of this Act.

(b) He has, while unemployed or while employed less than full-time during a regular work week if his deductibe earnings (any amount over $8) do not equal or exceed his weekly benefit amount, made a claim for benefits in accordance with the provisions of Section 6 (a) of this Act. (This provision as amended, shall be effective Julyl, 1960.)

(c) He is able to work, and is available for work, and has actively and in good faith sought employment, and is actively and in good faith seeking employment, and is bona fide in the labor market...

EDUCATION

"Future Teacher Scholarships - The best and brightest note in the teacher picture in Georgia is that young Georgians with the finest minds and a talent for teaching may now apply for state future teacher scholarships that can go as high as $5,000 and do not have to be repaid -- not a single dime of it -- by those who will teach in Georgia. This program is putting more and more brains in Georgia classrooms, has given students a new respect for the teaching profession. Future Teacher Scholarship holders are often the outstanding students on Georgia campuses, are graduating with honors, are being chosen campus leaders. We need this kind of mind and personality in Georgia classrooms. No money that the state invests is paying richer dividends than this program. We now have 750 bright young Georgians in college on these scholarships, would like to have 1,000, with 250 going in each September, 250 coming out to teach in Georgia classrooms."

— May,1963, Bulletin of the Department of Education

Both Federal and State unite in providing scholarship funds for the study of medicine and nursing.

II

Labor

Rep

The New REPUBLIC

October 23, 1944

Fall Book Number

Granville Hicks • Nicola Chiaromonte • Conrad Aiken

F. O. Matthiessen • Oscar Williams • Catherine Bauer

Alfred Kazin • Isaac Rosenfeld

Veterans, Unions and Jobs

by J. Donald Kingsley

The Dumbarton Oaks Plan

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THE U.S.A.

Negroes

8.30

The Negro in America

HOW WE TREAT HIM AND HOW WE SHOULD

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

The facts and conclusions presented in the pamphlet, "THE NEGRO IN AMERICA," have been drawn from months of continuous exploration and consultation with individuals of outstanding competence in Negro-white relations, in labor, industry, education and housing.

We have drawn fully on the experience of the Medical Research Division of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Deans of eastern medical schools including Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, Yale and Tufts.

Bankers, housing officials and contract builders, thoroughly experienced in their several fields gave the full benefit of their experience and competence to this study.

Correspondence and inquiry is sincerely invited.

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AMERICAN FAITH

The contending forces of liberty and oppression, tolerance and hate, are joined in titanic battle that will determine the kind of world in which mankind will live for the next century.

In such a conflict America has no choice. All of our history and our traditions bind us to oppose oppression and intolerance, and to defend that ideal of government which has as its end equality of opportunity for all men without regard to race or color or creed. On this principle the American democracy was founded. And it is to preserve this principle as a vital force in the world that the nation has called its sons to arms.

It is a tribute to our democracy that Americans of every national and racial origin and of every religious faith have responded willingly to that call. On the battlefields of this war the sons of black and white, Jew and Gentile have fallen. And in the growing list of heroes, who have performed deeds of valor far beyond the call of duty, are the names of Polish and Italian and Scandinavian boys from all over the nation, of Jewish boys from New York's East Side, of Negro

boys from Texas and Alabama, who had but one loyalty and that was to America and its ideals.

On the all-important homefront, the same high devotion to our country has characterized our people, whatever their race or color or creed. From the earnings of the Negro worker, as well as the white, the income tax is withheld, War Bonds are purchased. There is no restriction to which he is not subject. There is no task that falls to the lot of his fellow citizens which he can escape. Nor has he tried. Of the American Negro, as of Americans of other racial and national origins, this must be said: He has shirked no duty, evaded no responsibility, imposed no condition on his loyalty or service.

Out of the welter of this war we must plan and work for a better America and a happier world, an America which fulfills its ideal of equality of opportunity, an America and a world where no man shall suffer solely because of his race or his color or his creed.

In the period of transition from war to peace, even more than now, we will be called upon to demonstrate our faith in and our willingness to live according to the principles of democracy. The dreadful alternatives to tolerance and

good-will are misunderstanding, distrust and antagonisms, leading to confusion and violence. America has not been free from manifestations of bitter racial antagonisms in the past. But the American people must resolve that these shameful racial outbreaks which have humiliated our government before the world, shall not occur again.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

The Negro in America is struggling to attain first-class citizenship. Great progress has been made in two generations; even more if the history of 75 years is encompassed. Many obstacles remain; some set-backs have occurred, others may be expected.

The degree of attainment and the rapidity of progress vary widely according to the social climate of the particular community and general section of the country. Conditions in the southern states where the issues have been more acute over a longer period of time are being examined and the local issues faced constructively by organized groups of influential white and Negro southerners. What is and is not accomplished there is of profound interest and importance to the rest of the country.

The Council For Democracy believes strongly, however, that this challenge is to be met primarily by southern residents themselves. The Southern Regional Conference, composed of distinguished leaders of both races, has already made significant contributions and is best qualified to carry forward the work

begun there by its joint statements of principles and aims.

The Negro problem in America is not, however, confined to the southern states. The colored population in many northern states, especially in industrial centers, is constantly increasing. The economic and social levels of Negroes in these northern areas is of direct and vital concern to all their inhabitants. These problems break down naturally into three principal inquiries: (1) what kind of jobs do Negroes get and how steady is their employment; (2) what housing facilities are available to them; (3) what educational opportunities do they have and use? These are the foundations of full citizenship, assuming full equality in political and civil rights.

The Council For Democracy has made careful inquiry into these three phases, as found in selected, typical communities of the northeastern states. With due allowance for variations and differences in degree, and disallowing the wholly exceptional, isolated, atypical instances, the Council finds fairly consistent patterns in this particular section of our country which are summarized below. Some of these findings, we believe, will be equally typical of western and northwestern areas.

No attempt has been made to state the elementary moral and political principles of full citizenship; it is assumed that these are known and fully accepted by all responsible white citizens who believe that democracy in America should include blacks as well as whites. The purpose of this statement, largely factual in structure, is to point the way toward further achievements in citizenship by indicating what can next be done, by Negroes themselves, and by whites along with Negroes.

NEGROES IN INDUSTRY

A. *Facts*

1. Negroes' first demand is for steady employment and equal job opportunity with whites in all trades and all levels of skill.

2. Chief bar to equal opportunities in jobs is widespread anti-Negro prejudice among white workers. This takes form of notions such as that:

   Negroes are strike breakers.

   They will become "red-apple" boys for management.

   They are so eager for employment that management can bargain with them and threaten whites with total replacement.

   Plant activities in behalf of workers lead to the question of social association.

   Standards will be lowered because Negroes are easily satisfied.

   The prestige of the white worker will be lowered in the community.

   Organized labor will be under-

mined if dual standards are observed.

Negroes are not adaptable to industrial work.

3. Management on the whole, remains reluctant to offer equal employment opportunities to Negroes. This is due in part to unthinking adherence to past practices of discrimination, in part to overcautious timidity in the face of white worker prejudices.

4. These prejudices and timidities of both labor and management have kept the greater body of Negro workers, where employed, at the lower levels of maintenance workers and common laborers.

5. Organized labor has not, generally speaking, effectively taken up the cause of the Negro in industry. In principle the CIO bars discrimination, but the actual practice differs widely among its constituent unions and even within a single plant. The AFL has 19 member unions which refuse membership to Negroes. Efforts of the government to prevent discrimination in employment against any minority groups by

employers holding war contracts do not have the force of legal sanctions and have often been unsuccessful.

6. White labor's prejudiced notions can be largely dissipated by intelligent leadership in management. There are numerous examples of successful integration of Negroes into levels of skilled labor, by gradual introduction of skilled Negro workers on the initiative of management and by engaging the active cooperation of local white labor leaders in the attempt. Where this process has been carried through, as in many plants, active prejudices and opposition have disappeared, harmonious relations in the work sphere have become established between the two racial groups, and "segregation" lines within the plant have become blurred or dropped.

7. Negro employment, skilled and unskilled, has increased rapidly under pressure of man-power shortages. Proportionate increase in *skilled* employment, however, has lagged; the great majority of 70,000 odd industrial units have not made any pretense of offering

Negroes equal opportunities with whites.

B. *Conclusions*

1. Inability of Negroes to obtain equal industrial opportunity keeps this group at a lower economic level than whites, makes for unrest, and contributes seriously to the present general state of uncertainty and tension among Negroes, and to national disunity.

2. Negroes' fear of widespread postwar unemployment is a further contributing factor to unrest and indifference. The extension to Negroes of the protection of seniority principles should be studied sympathetically by both labor and management. Discrimination in layoffs is as objectionable as discrimination in original employment.

3. Successful integration of Negro workers into the industrial population fabric, where it exists, contributes to mutual understanding in other relationships of Negroes and whites, in addition to placing Negroes on a more solid economic foundation.

4. The active cooperation of organ-

ized labor must be secured to break down existing restrictions. It is not enough to convince labor's high command; lip service is already being paid to the cause of equal opportunity for all. But an educational campaign must be carried on to reach the local leaders in every key community. Techniques similar to those successfully used with foremen and supervisory labor can be adapted to this purpose.

5. The timidity and reluctance of management can be gradually overcome if the way in which resourceful leaders have successfully met the problem is widely publicized, and if community leaders exercise their persuasion on management.

6. An effort must be made to increase community awareness of the Negro's problem. In some cities, groups of leading citizens have formed informal committees to combat discrimination, and these have proved extremely effective. In Detroit such a body has done yeoman service in resolving management-labor disputes which hinge upon discrimination. In

Cleveland, where the Mayor called together a group of distinguished industrialists, a similar group is in process of organization.

7. There is an urgent need for more leadership in Negro labor circles. Negroes are aroused to resentment by cumulative injustice; they are demanding action, and there is need for intelligent, judicious leadership from the Negroes themselves.

8. Continuation and strengthening of present government policy and machinery, such as the Fair Employment Practice Committee (Federal), with judicious handling by officials, will assist in the ultimate break-down of barriers.

9. The progressive opening of equal opportunities in federal, state and municipal government employment and in public services, will contribute materially to the economic security of the Negro and to racial understanding.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES

1. In the northern and western states there is little formal discrimination in public education opportunities. Where discrimination does exist, it consists chiefly of providing and maintaining, for schools where Negroes predominate, facilities—buildings, equipment and services — inferior in quality, location and extent to those offered for whites in the same community. Any such differentiation is both indefensible in principle and unwise in practice; it contributes to a natural and justified resentment and to a feeling of group separatism that breeds disastrous consequences on both sides of the color line. It also contributes to keeping Negroes at a lower level of education and citizenship.

2. In schools of mixed white and Negro attendance, mutual understandings and acceptance depend chiefly upon the leadership and wisdom of the school heads and teachers. It is essential that when

these positions are filled, this problem and this opportunity be recognized as major considerations. Prejudices are more easily eradicated, created, or confirmed in childhood than in later life. The stimulus in the right direction can be given most effectively by school principals to the teachers.

3. No substantial discrimination, or want of opportunity, has been observed in northern colleges maintained by public funds.

4. In northern professional schools, public or private, the only category in which there is any sign of lack of equal opportunity is the medical schools. Even here the evidence is inconclusive. In the schools of high standing, such as Columbia, Harvard, Yale, Cornell and Chicago, the proportion of applicants (white and Negro combined) to those accepted may run as high as 15 to 1. The number of Negro applicants is disproportionately low. The number accepted is still lower and thus presents a question whether selection is influenced by color or is determined solely by merit. We have found no evidence of conscious

bias and the disparity may be in fact due partly to inadequate pre-medical training of the Negro applicants. In some medical schools, the Negro students find it relatively more difficult to obtain necessary specialized obstetrical and surgical training and experience. It is exceedingly difficult for Negro medical graduates to obtain internship appointments in good hospitals. Few are open. The same is true as to Negro nurses, both for training and post-graduate hospital experience. Hospital administrators are reluctant to create situations in the close doctor-patient relationship out of which incidents unpleasant to either and to the staff at large may arise. Progress in the broadening of such opportunities will be slow; it depends upon skillful handling by representatives of both races.

HOUSING FACILITIES FOR NEGROES

A. Facts

1. In many or most Northern industrial centers there has been a marked increase, sometimes very heavy, in Negro residents, owing to the attraction of war work and to higher levels of Negro employment.

2. The greater part of these new urban immigrants are from the southern states and are from relatively low economic and educational levels, less accustomed to city living conditions than older residents.

3. Housing facilities for Negroes have not expanded in proportion to increased demand. This condition is also common among white areas. Negroes are relatively more restricted, however, than whites, due to (a) general desire of white property owners to prevent Negro "encroachment"; (b) the gregarious and protective tendency of Negroes, which is true of any group, particularly new arrivals,

to stick together; (c) general suspension of new building operations during the war; (d) reluctance and timidity of private capital to invest money in housing developments for Negroes. As a result of some or all of these factors, there is heavy overcrowding of Negroes in many cities; this condition ante-dated but is accentuated by the war.

4. Existing housing occupied by Negroes is generally in worse condition at comparable rental levels, as to types of construction and modernity, maintenance, cleanliness, and health. This is due to the fact that, as a group with generally low earning, Negroes have had for a long time to occupy the cheap-level properties of old construction; and to the common belief of white owners or operators that Negroes ruin property, and hence it is useless to spend money to keep it up.

5. Negroes as tenants are no worse —and no better—than whites. Inferior-type property, neglected by owners, will receive indifferent care from low-rental tenants of any group; the opposite is progres-

sively true of better-type property occupied by higher-rental tenants.

6. The Federal Housing Administration does not object to racial restrictive covenants upon the use of land as imposed by private enterprise who apply for mortgage insurance and other assistance.

B. Conclusions

1. The greatest need is for more housing accommodations in urban centers, of modern type, for *all* groups of the population. If there is abundant good housing, many of the disputes which now cause hard inter-racial feeling will tend to solve themselves.

2. There is substantial and persuasive evidence from various centers that Negro tenancy can be and is profitable for private capital venture in modern construction. Private capital, however, will probably not embark widely here until these results are made better known.

3. A lack of cooperative understanding between public housing bodies and private ownership has retarded new facilities open to Negroes. The Federal Public Housing Authority has in many instances pre-

empted or asserted priority rights for building projects previously located and planned for by private builders. Such competition is retarding. Adequate housing for all must be supplied chiefly by private capital; public funds and public enterprises can only supplement, and at times provide the nucleus.

4. The repeated demonstrations in public housing of lower income people—Negroes included—have proved that given adequate housing, tenants exercise a high sense of responsibility for the property. If this becomes better known, it will break down the reluctance of white property owners and of managers of private funds to create equal opportunities to Negroes for good housing.

5. The Federal government should exercise the right of eminent domain where necessary to condemn, remove all racial restrictions from and assemble adequate parcels of land to make possible the development of large-scale coordinated housing programs by public and private enterprise.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES IN EDUCATION, HOUSING, LABOR AND INDUSTRY

MAR 26 1945

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WHAT can the JEW DO?

TODAY AND TOMORROW

A Leaflet Series for

SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS

No. 11 1945

*What Can the Jew Do?**

David L. Cohn

IN SEPTEMBER, 1944, the Washington, D. C., *Star* published the following item:

> The Citizens' Committee on Race Relations plans to meet in the near future with leaders of the National Conference of Christians and Jews as the first step in its move to combat what the committee said was "growing" anti-Semitism in Washington. . . . The chairman declared that "anti-Semitism is definitely bad and apparently growing worse in Washington. It will challenge the very best we can do about it."

From other sections of the country come similar reports of growing anti-Semitism while liberal Gentiles and alarmed Jews seek means to combat this hatred which menaces not only American Jews but the whole American democratic system. The old lies and some new ones are repeated over and over.

Week after week these monstrous charges are refuted by Jewish and non-Jewish authorities, but they continue to be made and apparently gain force with the telling. It seems useless to demonstrate that Jewish wealth is simply in proportion to the number of American Jews; that Jews are an almost negligible influence in banking and in such powerful industries as oil,

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*Reprinted with permission from *The Saturday Review of Literature*, January 27, 1945.

steel, railroads, automobiles, chemicals, meat packing, communications, shipping, coal, aluminum, farm implements, shoe-manufacturing, aviation, lumber; that in Gustavus Myers' *History of the Great American Fortunes* Jews play a trivial role; that perhaps the amassed wealth of all the Jewish millionaires in the country would scarcely equal the two-billion-dollar fortune of only one Gentile—Henry Ford; or that Jewish influence is predominant in only two smaller branches of American industry, the garment trades and the movies, both of which were pioneered by Jews.

Of what benefit is it to show that from the Revolutionary War to this one Jews have fought and died in proportion to their numbers and have often earned awards for gallantry out of proportion to their numbers? It is unhappy enough to be accused of lack of patriotism. But it is a melancholy thing indeed when such accusations sometimes drive Jews to boast of their patriotism so that one cannot even die quietly for one's country; when there is read into the Congressional Record page upon page of the names of American Jews who have died, been wounded, and won medals for bravery in this war. None of this matters. The same old charges are made just the same.

What does it profit Jews to prove the largest press proprietors in the United States are non-Jewish? Or that the Jewish-owned *New York Times* is by universal consent one of the ornaments of world

journalism, if not the world's best newspaper, distinguished for its lack of bias as well as for its news coverage. The futility of such defense is obvious.

We have long had a genteel anti-Semitism here. It is expressed in part by the exclusion of Jews from certain resort areas, hotels, apartment houses, clubs, schools, and college fraternities. More important, Jews are admitted into many privately endowed schools and universities only on a quota basis. The quotas are especially limited in medical schools. It so happens that Jews brought medicine to Europe when they entered Spain with the Moors in the seventh century, but this makes no difference. Similarly, one finds here a marked economic discrimination against Jews on the part of many employers who welcome them as customers but not as employees.

But latent anti-Semitism, even of the genteel High-Church variety practiced by some of the nation's well-bred people, is not necessarily static. It may readily become dynamic in a period such as this of profound unrest, insecurity, and fear. For, it must be remembered, the anti-Semite is generally a man suffering from a sense of inferiority, and few things give rise to a more violent hatred. The combustibles of violent anti-Semitism are present in all anti-Semites whether American or German.

There is now a rising anti-Semitism here. It would be reckless under the circumstances to say it could never assume

a violent form, and no minority with a tragic history such as that of the Jews can go upon such a comfortable assumption. Consequently there are few American Jews who now do not feel insecure to some degree, and their insecurity is shared by all Gentile democrats who know that anti-Semitism is almost invariably the forerunner of tyranny for all. If, however, appeals to reason fail, if Christian charity dies and love is superseded by hate, to what and to whom shall Jews appeal?

In my opinion they should make no appeals at all but conduct themselves as good citizens according to their lights and await the verdict of the majority with calm dignity. Certainly it is intolerable that one should be in a position where one can be constantly called upon by any vulgar passer-by to justify one's right to a decent place in society. I, for one, should prefer extinction under these circumstances, whatever my coreligionists may think, and I, as an American Jew speaking only for myself, think it time to state what seems to me the essential nature of the case. I would be crystal-clear upon one point. I do not imply that Jews are blameless. Their virtues and vices are such indeed that at one stroke they produced Jesus and Judas. "Jews are members of the human race," wrote Mark Twain. "Worse than that I cannot say of them."

If the majority of the American people conclude, for whatever reasons, that they

want to indulge in ruthless anti-Semitism, they have the power to do it. The power of the majority is overwhelming and, as Israel Zangwill said: "The Jews are a frightened people. Nineteen centuries of Christian love have broken down their nerves." But before proceeding the majority must remember one thing. The hallmark of being adult is willingness to pay for what you get. What is part of the price in this case?

First of all, anti-Semites must give up Christianity. Even the Germans realized this and, consequently, with their dreadful logic, they sought to extirpate the religion of love and peace in Germany before embarking upon war, murder, and hate.

Secondly, democracy would have to go and with it the Bill of Rights; the great books would be burned and the universities perverted; the press debauched and truth driven underground.

Thirdly, it would be obligatory again to assassinate Mr. Lincoln. The President of the United States held that a nation could not exist half slave and half free. Since, however, there is no essential difference between three million black slaves in 1861 and five million white slaves in 1944, the memory even of a man who pronounced such a doctrine must be obliterated.

Few Gentiles would willingly pay such a price for indulging in ruthless anti-Semitism, and no Christian would even toy with the notion of making the purchase. Yet even in this nation, Christian, free,

and democratic, in the midst of a great war, and with the ghastly German example before it, how many American Gentiles are there who in their hearts agree fundamentally with the Nazis in their anti-Semitic attitudes but think that they merely went too far? They would like a people held in leash, a controlled hatred, a disciplined humiliation which would maim but not kill. These attitudes are common to a great many "nice people"; men and women who, by way of demonstrating their broadmindedness, say, "Some of my best friends are Jews." Such persons are the breeding ground of violence because in the dangerous times in which we live it may be only a short step from genteel anti-Semitism of nice people to the brutalities of the concentration camp.

Anti-Semitism has not yet become a national menace to the United States. It is only at the stage when it is a personal tragedy that humiliates, frightens, and embitters individuals. The greater part of the task of uprooting anti-Semitism must be done—if at all—by the Gentile majority with the Jewish minority cooperating. If, however, nothing is done and genteel anti-Semitism, fanned to flame by the hatred of our times, becomes a ruthless anti-Semitism, American Jews will die and with them will die the American freedom for which men have been struggling for two thousand years.

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MY COUNTRY RIGHT OR WRONG MY COUNTRY

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

What shall a man desire in exchange for his soul — OR for his country?

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

This booklet is dedicated to WHITE CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AMERICANS, who are the backbone of this nation: the salt of the earth: and the TRUE ISRAELITES of the BIBLE.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Shall Jews dispossess NON-Jews of Free Speech, Free Press, Peaceable Assembly?—It is as simple as that!

Shall Whites marry Blacks? It is as simple as that!

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

A Pro-American Publication

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Copywrighted September, 1946

by
MARILYN R. ALLEN
P. O. Box 2243
Salt Lake City
Utah

RENDEZVOUS

The Infinite has set a lighted taper
Burning at the center of the soul:
A sometimes feeble, but perpetual fire.
Call it conscience, intuition, what
You will, but it's the Kingdom-throne within:—
Light and power to use today for living:
No need to wait on death to give one life.
He that believes HATH eternal life!
He surely dies who lives on bread alone:
The Spirit quickens body, mind and soul.

This day and every day, within my heart,
I have a happy rendezvous with Him.

Keep this vestal altar-light aglow
Within the secret chrysalis of your soul,
So that you may glean a glimpse of glory.

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MY COUNTRY
RIGHT OR WRONG
MY COUNTRY

What shall a man desire in exchange for his soul—
OR for his country?

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

BETRAYED

America today stands betrayed: at the brink of total disaster. Without God's promised help to His chosen nation, I would not give two hoots for her chances of survival as a FREE nation.

Stalin—that inhuman, Oriental pagan killer (leader of all colored races against the white)—stands poised and ready to plunge a dagger into the warm, friendly heart of America: America who so generously gave and is still giving, feeding, and clothing the Russians and their satellites. It will require the intervention of an all-powerful Providence to save us.

And if, through constant aggressive, warlike acts on the part of Russia and her stooges, such as shooting down unarmed American planes in Yugoslavia, war is finally provoked between Russia and the Western Powers, WHO WILL GAIN? Answer: The International Jews: the Rothschilds, the Kuhn Loebs (who financed the Russian Revolution): just as they do in EVERY war, through the sale of munitions, lending of money, etc. We will have more unscrupulous contracts and deals such as those made by Jews, Andrew May and the Garssons—while millions of innocent white boys again die. But they will not retain this ill-gained loot for long: because the present Babylonian money system will soon fall, and be replaced by the more just one of the Bible, and of our own Constitution.

The United States Senate has voted to abdicate part of the SOVEREIGNTY OF THESE GOD-ESTABLISHED UNITED STATES, to the control of heterogeneous foreigners of the United NATIONS: this is treason to God and to the Constitution of the United States: direct defiance of our Constitution and our Christian Bible, which forbids us to align ourselves with heathen totalitarian powers, and to make foreign entanglements. We refuse, at our own peril, to heed God's command, "Come ye out and be ye separate." We are not contented or grateful for our own high scale of living; our own high Christian ideals: no, we must coalesce with, and embrace the very sort of people and ideologies, strife, and dissension which originally caused our Founding Forefathers to establish America as a new kind of government OF the PEOPLE, BY the People, and FOR the People. But we leave our OWN people in the soup: and so we shall reap the whirlwind.

If we, with the most idealistic and Christian background of any nation in the world, cannot make our own decisions and settle our own disputes and problems, either national or international, there is little hope of them being more justly settled by a conglomeration of powers whose ideals, desires and methods are diametrically opposed to ours: ALL OF WHICH IS MADE PERFECTLY OBVIOUS BY THE PARIS

"PEACE FIGHTS." As Mr. Herbert Hoover says, "The U. S. should discontinue its role of Santa Claus, announce to the world that hereafter its economic relations with other nations must be a two-way street with balanced traffic . . . freedom has shrunk rather than expanded in the world as a result of World War II and Russia is the chief obstructionist in the efforts to establish a sound peace."

BUT WE CONTINUE TO PLAY THE ROLE OF SANTA CLAUS: the U. S. taxpayer must support **displaced persons in Europe** to the tune of 80 MILLIONS a year: we are to extend a credit of about 55 MILLIONS to Japan and Korea: some folks would also have us bear the financial burden of transporting Jews from Europe to Palestine (in spite of ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS recently collected by Jews in America, presumably for the relief and help of destitute Jews in Europe): and we must also assist in financing both Jewish and Arab development in the Holy Land. This is illegal, unconstitutional, and further BETRAYAL of the American people and their resources.

A FEW of our Congressmen and Senators have taken a valiant stand for their own country, at personal sacrifice to themselves: but many others work for themselves, and in every possible way AGAINST America's best interests. There is a dearth of great men possessing selfless courage, OF LOVE FOR AMERICA, of vision, integrity; upright CHRISTIAN men to lead us: all is self-seeking, party politics, graft, treacherous double-dealing with our enemies: the while insidious enemies in our midst cry peace, peace, WHEN THERE IS NO PEACE IN THE WHOLE WORLD.

You who betray this nation today, either passively or actively, will not survive in the brighter days just over the horizon. You would be just chaff, deadwood, in the way of progress, because you were too blind to discern the Signs of the Times. The Lord will shortly come: He will point His finger at you and say: "What have YOU done for my chosen nation, America: what did YOU do to defend and uphold the Christian principles of Americanism? Depart from Me: I never knew you. I want no faithless cowardly weaklings in My Kingdom. Be not faithless, but believing."

> "And it shall come to pass, that every soul, which will not hear that prophet, shall be destroyed from among the people." (Acts 4:23)

And so, even though America is saved at the last minute, by Divine intervention, YOU will not be here to enjoy it, if you refused the challenge of the present hour.

> "If the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned: if the sword come, and take any person from among them, he is taken away in his iniquity: but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand." (Ezek. 33:6)

And what of our WATCHMEN IN WASHINGTON: have they been warning the people? And what of our CHURCH LEADERS: have they been true to their trust: have they been telling the people the TRUTH, and warning them of the dangers to come?

In that day of disaster, God will raise up His own **leaders** to take charge of our affairs and our defense. These pseudo-Americans will be destroyed: but our cause will not be lost. All of these things must come to pass in order to cleanse and purge this country, as well as the world, preliminary to the establishment of the literal Kingdom of Righteousness and Justice.

If you would help save your country, your homes, your freedom, your Christian ideals, then PRAY, WORK, BAND TOGETHER in numbers of ten, fifty or a hundred, TO SAVE AMERICA. Organize Pro-American groups to meet in your home, to exchange information: to pray: to strengthen each other. Check on your police force: your public officials in your community to ascertain if they ARE Pro-Americans: form a contact with your local FBI: know who are your enemies and who are your real friends. BE AS WISE AS SERPENTS. When the day of attack comes (which it will) this information and these contacts will be priceless. It will be vitally important to be ORGANIZED for your protection, both from internal and external enemies.

Christianity and America will stand or fall together: there is no middle ground. The main reason our pagan enemies seek to destroy us is because their objective is to root out Christianity and replace it with brute force, materialism, fleshly appetites:—all the while they deceive us by mouthing platitutes about PEACE.—SUPPORT ALL THOSE WHO FIGHT YOUR BATTLES FOR CHRISTIAN-AMERICANISM.

I speak truth to you: I have everything to lose and nothing to gain by so doing. Every Christian Nationalist leader today is POOR, not rich. For the past 13 years at least, our Government has officially made it unpopular to be an AMERICAN: we have lauded and supported, literally, everything and everybody, EXCEPT OUR OWN COUNTRY, our own people, and our own ideals. THIS WRITER PROUDLY CARRIES THE HOLY BANNER OF WHITE CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AMERICANISM, for this REPUBLIC. Every day the grinning MASK of Communism slips lower and lower, revealing unmistakably the utter depravity, beastliness, and revolting horror that is the REALITY (which word the Bolsheviks like so well) of Communism: **Realism** (materialism):—while they hate the word **Idealism** (Americanism), because they know they have none. Line up strongly and staunchly behind everything that is truly AMERICAN.

Mr. Cedric Foster, in his broadcast of 8-6-46, said:

> "There is only ONE question: under whose rule do we wish to live—our own or another? The Left-wingers are playing into the imperalistic ambitions of the Communists. Only he who is a FOOL would deny that the democracy (that word again) of the Western Powers has evolved the most liberal government in the world."

Writing in his column titled, AMERICANS ALL, dated at Berlin, 8-5-46, Dr. Daniel A. Poling said:

> "Communism is a RELIGION. It is a dynamic, passionate, propagating religion, and it brooks no rivals. **THE PARTY CLAUSE SPECIFICALLY BARRING GOD AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF IS STILL THERE** . . . we believe that increasingly Russia will become Christian."

Then he goes on to relate that he knows from first-hand evidence how religious leaders behind the iron curtain are TORTURED, who do not go along with the Communists.

What double talk: a veritable jewel for inconsistency! How anyone can make a RELIGION out of a pagan materialistic totalitarian political cult and instrument —which is what the Third International is—which cult says that "religion is the opium of the people" and which cult, as Wm. Z. Foster himself has testified be-

fore our Congress, brooks NO RELIGIOUS BELIEF WHATEVER, is something escaping my comprehension. All through their literature, the Communists deny God and religion. Dr. Poling is correct when he says in his own statement: "THE PARTY CLAUSE SPECIFICALLY BARRING GOD AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF IS STILL THERE"—so then why pretend that the totalitarian regime of Communism has anything to do with religion, or that Russia CAN "increasingly become Christian" so long as such a regime holds sway?

Communism is on the same par with ZIONISM, which also is not a religion, but a deliberate plan, working hand in glove with Communism, for the Internationalization of the World for JEWRY: for racial domination: for a national STATE for the JEWS in Palestine, from which they hope to control the GOLD, the PRESS, the LIVES of all peoples of the world. This plan is boldly set forth in their Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

The same thing was true of the so-called "religion" of Shintoism: which was merely a false political front and ruse used by Japan's war lords to hold the people in slavery and submission. NO REAL RELIGION EVER ENSLAVES A MAN: RATHER IT SETS HIM FREE. "Ye shall know the TRUTH, and the TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE."

All of the foregoing dovetails into the action of Freedom House Board of Directors (in New York) in naming Bernard M. Baruch as winner of the 1946 FREEDOM AWARD for performing an "outstanding service to the cause of freedom: for serving with vision and statesmanship in the world's quest for peace." **Why not wait a little longer and see how Baruch's plan for FREEDOM and for PEACE works out?** It is a travesty that Americans should present an award of this nature to a man who is linked with the Zionists and their plot and program: a man who played ball with the un-American NEW DEAL and also plays ball with the Internationalists: a man who has boasted of his POWER OVER THE AMERICAN PEOPLE: a man who said, "I believe national pride a lot of nonsense." Certainly, this organization might easily have found someone else who TRULY WORKS FOR AMERICAN FREEDOM AND ITS IDEALS; rather than this Internationalist Jew. This is only another evidence of BETRAYAL of the American people, by this pretended "Freedom House," who would thus help to deliver us up to International slavery.

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Westbrook Pegler

MY medal of merit for "performing outstanding service to the cause of freedom" and Americanism would go to Mr. Westbrook Pegler.

Day after day, year after year, he has factually set forth the shameful truth about the labor union racket in this country: of the abuses practised by labor unions and their leaders: such abuses as undoubtedly would not be tolerated by the supposed forces of law and order in ANY OTHER GROUP. Many of the union members themselves cringe with shame and embrassment over what the unions are getting away with.

It would be difficult to name another Upstanding, OUTstanding American who has more intelligently, courageously, and consistently worked and fought for the best interests of EVERY American, including the rights of organized labor itself, than Mr. Pegler.

Here is MY idea of a MAN: an AmerICAN: not a weak-livered internationalist. His honesty, sincerity, and the authenticity of his information are unquestioned. His style of concise English is inimitable. He has not failed to call a spade a spade: he has upheld the honor and dignity of the American heritage and of our Constitution. He has performed a frequently unpleasant and thankless task, with great credit to himself, and has been instrumental in exposing many abuses and nefarious practices by union labor bosses: many of whom are Communist enemies of the United States. Mr. Pegler has done a magnificent job of fearlessly educating the public along these lines: as well as dispelling much of the Rooseveltian myth.

If any man today is entitled to a medal for genuine AMERICANISM and for distinguished service to his country, it is WESTBROOK PEGLER. This writer offers sincere admiration and thanks: and the earnest recommendation that some PRO-American organization pin a well-won medal on **him!**

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We are being betrayed by our so-called educators: from the highest to the lowest, who preach, teach, talk, and write socialist, collectivist, marxist, fabian doctrines: the vast majority of which educators are, or have been, connected with atheistic, marxist, modernist, communist movements, groups and individuals. Not having enough of these perverters in our midst, led by Henry Wallace and Eleanor Roosevelt, we import such communist radicals as Harold J. Laski, who is permitted to tour the U. S. and lecture to our University students, in order to swing their immature minds over to socialism and collectivism. Then the so-called LIBERALS, like Ellis Arnall of Georgia, have introduced a law making it legal for 18-year-olds to vote. Instead of being "Hitler's Children," or OUR children, many of our young people now are "STALIN'S Children," having been indoctrinated with false foreign ideologies, which make them willing tools of the communist P. A. C.

Send 15c to Charlotte Wettrick, 1519—26th Ave. N., Seattle 2, Washington, for copy of her paper, "WHY THE AGE FOR VOTING SHOULD NOT BE LOWERED," in which she discusses this whole subject, and gives names of so-called "Intellectuals," groups, and individuals who are thus making a business of corrupting our youth: turning them from the fundamental ideals which made America the greatest country on earth: making them into dupes to be used by those who control the Soviet Union: teaching them both heresy and disloyalty to their own Christian government and country.

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Signs of these Apostate Times

Some items illustrating what is wrong with our supposedly Christian REPUBLIC today:

1. The President of the United States joins forces with the corrupt Pendergast political machine, **and** with the anti-American CIO-PAC (which is strongly commended by Russian trade newspapers), to PURGE a political candidate because that candidate does not go along 100% with the President. It is BECAUSE an elected representative of the people HAS the right to his own views and convictions, as well as the right

to differ with the Chief Executive, THAT AMERICA IS A REPUBLIC, with a representative government. It is in RUSSIA that the PURGE is an accepted weapon for destroying all opposition. And so, even though Mr. Axtell is elected, MR. TRUMAN IS STILL WRONG—just as Mr. Roosevelt was wrong in forcing Montgomery-Ward to sign a CLOSED SHOP CONTRACT against its wishes, and even forbidding it the right to protest.

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2. Then we have the FARCE TRIAL of the Russian spy, Nicolai Redin, at Seattle, who was plainly GUILTY of treasonable activities against the Government of the United States. Our splendid F. B. I. had the goods on him.

According to the newspapers, Judge Lloyd L. Black said this case had no "international" meaning or implications: and that he, the Judge, had no authority to invoke the death penalty. One wonders what constitutes HIS idea of treason or betrayal of this country.

I agree with Mr. Upton Close, who says in his newsletter of August 5th, 1946, that Congress should appoint a committee to investigate the Department of Justice's failure to prosecute, or perhaps its deliberate throwing of the Redin trial. In this same newsletter, Mr. Close quotes from a letter written to him by an American woman—a political worker—who attended the trial daily:

> "I have never seen such a hoax perpetrated in a Federal Court. The judge allowed defense lawyers to refuse anyone on the jury who had read the following books: Out of the Night, by Jan Valtin: Approach to the Soviet Union by former Ambassador Bullitt; I Chose Freedom by Kravchenko; or other books and columns not utterly pro-Russian.
>
> "Imagine the mental calibre of a jury passed through such a screen! Imagine the bias of the judge who permitted such a screen, to say nothing of his abrupt and surprise rulings on evidence. But, above all, what was wrong with the Department of Justice prosecution lawyers? Twelve or more FBI men were in constant attendance, but were NEVER GIVEN A CHANCE TO TELL WHAT THEY KNEW, and were sorely persecuted by defense lawyers. Many Russians were in daily attendance. **One woman flourished Communist newspapers and periodicals with Stalin's picture in the courtroom during recess.** I reported her to the bailiffs. There was a feeling of so much pressure at the trial that some Americans really began to fear . . . The prosecution was viciously attacked for not being able to produce the original papers delivered to Redin. If Redin was worth his salt, those papers are, of course, in Moscow."

Yet, in spite of such treasonable goings-on in a supposed American court of justice (sounds more like a Moscow-staged play), our dull or indifferent public refuse to see that we already HAVE a Red Revolution in our midst.

3. In order to appease the strong Jewish forces, individuals and groups who surround and beseige him (a nation within a nation), who constantly press their OWN interests upon him, President Truman has publicly announced that he will recommend to Congress that the United States lower our immigration bars, exceed its quota again, and admit 50,000 MORE

EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS to this country: most of whom would probably be trained Jewish revolutionaries, who would play the same kind of tricks here that are being played in Haifa. The President says this would also appease the Arabs and set a good example to them, so that they would be willing to accept more thousands of this same kind of people in Palestine. WHY ARE WE ALWAYS DOING SOMETHING DETRIMENTAL (if not actually unlawful) TO OUR OWN INTERESTS IN ORDER TO PLEASE OR PLACATE SOMEBODY ELSE? Especially since this policy of APPEASEMENT HAS NEVER YET PROVEN SUCCESSFUL.

This Jewish proposal immediately meets with the warm approbation of the so-called Liberals, including Senator Thomas (Utah), Chavez (N. Mex.), and Taylor (Idaho) who applaud President Truman's "humanitarian" (TREASONABLE) suggestion to still further wreck the economy and stability of these United States by importing 50,000 European undesirables. These Senators are being paid, incidentally, to PROTECT the interests and citizens of the United States. However, Senator Thomas says, "An invitation to outsiders to come in would precipitate an outburst of "CHAUVINISM": this is a favorite word of the Communists, which they scoffingly direct toward anyone having decent and commendable love and pride in his country or his own race.

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4. We have Attorney General Tom C. Clark going ABROAD to look for evidence of TREASON: while the whole United States reeks with it: and thousands of Russian spies infest our Government and roam our country at will: while armed, organized Communists hold seditious meetings here at will: while strikers, pickets, Jew-Communists mutiny against law and order, and the latter break up otherwise peaceable meetings of Christian Pro-Americans.

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5. Now we have an announcement in the Salt Lake paper of a Communist Party rally to be **held on City and County Bldg. grounds**, September 23d, **by permission of the City Commission, under police supervision!** Isn't that something? Every **informed** person today **knows** the treasonable nature of the Communist party and that it is dedicated to the destruction of our Constitution and Government: it is SUBVERSIVE: it has been denounced by the First Presidency of the Mormon Church. **Yet the City Commission grants them permission to meet, under police protection, on City grounds!** What is the matter with the taxpayers of Utah? Don't we have any **American** spirit or spunk any more? Aren't there enough public-spirited citizens in Salt Lake City to rise up and ban this subversive meeting? What KIND of a City Commission is this? Will they openly make the SAME OFFER TO THAT CHRISTIAN AMERICA FIRSTER, GERALD L. K. SMITH??? I am waiting to hear it.

6. We still have much careless or ignorant use of the word "democracy" in connection with our REPUBLIC. Even such men as Senator Arthur Vandenburg and Dr. Daniel Poling still harp on "democracy" (which is only another word for Communism or MOB rule): when what they actually mean to say is **Americanism**: or a Republican form of government, by duly constituted and elected representatives of the people: government by

law and order, PRESUMABLY BY PREEMINENT MEN, chosen for their high qualities and fitness for the job. So why don't we QUIT talking about **"democracy"**, and thus confusing a confused world still further. This is playing into the hands of our enemies.

The Jews, both in Palestine and America, are the best examples of "democracy" because they constantly defy the forces of law and order: they take the law into their own hands, and practise terrorism, coercion and violence —MOB RULE—in an attempt to get their own way, whether right or wrong. **This sort of conduct is "democracy in action"** (which phrase Drew Pearson loves so well).—On Monday, August 19th, 1946, the British Embassy in Washington reported receipt of a telephone threat: "This is the voice of the Jewish protest. Between now and noon, your embassy is going to be blown up. You had better get out."—In Palestine, they have attempted to blow up ships and bombed the King David Hotel, killing nearly a hundred innocent people.

Mr. Paul Mallon analyzed the situation pretty accurately in his column of 8-20-46, when he told how people who insist upon going WHERE THEY ARE NOT WANTED are sure to get into trouble. But, of course, the Jew has never been known to be sensitive on this score. Mr. Mallon went on to show how these ships loaded with ILLEGAL JEWISH IMMIGRANTS were largely from RUSSIAN ports and territory, and were sent to Haifa to complicate the problems of the British and EMBARRASS THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Communist-dominated labor unions also practise democracy (Communist MOBOCRACY) in the same way, with their strikes, picketing and continual riots and fights: they are constantly at work breaking down the established forms of law and order. THEY ALL SEEK GOVERNMENT BY BULLETS, NOT BY BALLOT! **THIS** IS DEMOCRACY!

According to the dictionary "democracy is government directly by the people COLLECTIVELY: the mass of the people." THESE HATE-INSPIRED MOBS SEEK TO ENFORCE THEIR WILL ON THE PEOPLE. Has anyone ever seen or known of true justice being administered in an orderly fashion BY A MOB? Rather mobocracy practices hate, vengeance and revenge: they take the law into their own hands.

This murderous hate-passion is what animates the Jew-Communist mobs who invariably heckle, disrupt, and practise mob violence upon Gerald L. K. Smith and his adherents and audiences, whenever these people attempt to exercise their rights of free speech and peaceable assembly. After the usual disgraceful riots of Jew-Communists which broke up and prevented Mr. Smith from holding a meeting in Minneapolis (Aug. 21st, 1946), a Justice of the Peace wrote me from there: "IT'S A HELL OF A COUNTRY WHERE THE MAYOR ENTERTAINS THE MOB AFTER A DECENT CHRISTIAN MEETING WAS CLOSED." Yes, it's getting to be just that! Stupid Americans close their eyes or even CONDONE the actions of these bloodthirsty packs of Jew MOBOCRATS in America: little realizing what it is all leading up to, and how soon this same lawless element will enter their own homes, and render THEIR lives and their property unsafe and insecure. Such are the fruits of "democracy" (MOBOCRACY). And then the IRONY of it is that we have HR Bill 6897 introduced into Congress to PROTECT THESE RIOTING JEW-COMMUNISTS FROM "ANTI-

SEMITISM" on the part of Christian Americans, who are themselves persecuted by the JEWS and unable to get proper protection of THEIR RIGHTS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY!

With the speed of a whirlwind, the JUDGMENT-DESOLATION (of which William Lay Jr. writes in August 1946 DESTINY) approaches America: the brave will stand and fight for all they hold dear: the cowardly ones who have betrayed these United States (God's battle-axe) will skulk and run and hide for fear of what will come upon them: both God and man will punish them.

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7. Our own people are betrayed by having to do without cars, lumber to build much-needed homes; food; and many other things: while we send these cars and material ABROAD, and while we GIVE BILLIONS away to foreign governments, which will be used against this Republic: continual dipping into the pockets of the American taxpayers: taxation without representation.

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8. Hose are practically unobtainable without forced charge accounts. No matter if one has the MONEY and offers it for a pair of hose, the stores will not sell the hose unless one has a charge account. This is a vicious UnAmerican subterfuge. The writer has gone hoseless practically all summer, rather than cater to this illegal custom.

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9. The effect of the Un-American (pro-Communist) OPA is to REGIMENT a free people: cause planned SCARCITY: PREVENT PRODUCTION: RAISE PRICES TO THE CONSUMER: encourage all sorts of subterfuge and trickery.

In a recent speech, Representative John S. Wood (Chairman of House UnAmerican Activities Committee) said:

> "There is a planned effort to keep price controls in violation of the American system of free enterprise, and they are determined to see that commodities REMAIN SCARCE . . . Communists have invaded every bureau and practically every office of the National Government. So irrefutable was the evidence that Civil Service rules were waived by Congress to permit a purge of known party members from the State and other departments. Communism is standing across the threshold of world peace, barring the way to a just and lasting peace."

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10. Yugoslavs shooting down with malice aforethought friendly American planes when driven off their course by weather conditions, and then interning the survivors and holding them incommunicado. Thus do these pro-Russian Slavs (slaves) repay evil for good. Thus do the "Peace at any price" adherents in the U.S.A. begin to reap their reward.

An immediate ultimatum should have been issued to these Communist stooges, to return our men to their own lines within 48 hours, and to cease FUTURE "UNFORTUNATE ACCIDENTS" of this kind, or atom bombs would fall on Belgrade. Thus, in one fell swoop, we would have regained our lost prestige in Europe: and we would save the lives of other American boys in

the future, because this is the only sort of ACTION these people understand. They can no more be "appeased" with words than Hitler was. Especially since Russia is now manufacturing 300 jet-propelled rocket planes a MONTH, in Russian-occupied GERMANY. Against whom do you think she will use them???

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11. The vicious tirade of Salt Lake Tribune (8-30-46) titled "While Hate is Fostered, Treason Will Grow" is one of many directed against the AMERICA FIRST leader, Gerald L. K. Smith.

When he gave a private talk here on 8-28-46, Mr. Smith entered into no villainous, vicious tirades of intolerance or untruths such as the Tribune has printed under the above title. He merely stated calmly, dispassionately and truthfully that about nine-tenths of the rioting mobs who attack him in various cities are Jews: many of them foreign Jews who have illegally entered this country: who can scarcely speak a word of our language and know or care nothing about our institutions, WHO HAVE NO BUSINESS HERE, depriving American veterans of opportunities to make a living.

The major part of Mr. Smith's address was taken up with a defense of genuine Constitutional Christian Americanism: of how both it and he are on the firing line today, and are constantly being smeared and attacked. Mr. Smith asks nothing more than that we RETURN TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND OUR BIBLE.

At the recent riots in two well-known Chicago hotels, where these rioting Jew-Communist mobsters prevented Mr. Smith from exercising his RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH AND PEACEABLE ASSEMBLY, Mr. Jeremiah Stokes, prominent Salt Lake Attorney, Crusader for Christian Americanism, was present:—he came very near having HIS head bashed in; and he being right close to the Jewish leaders of the riot, heard them say they were "out to get Smith."—Mr. Stokes is one of those real Americans smeared in Under Cover by Red Armenian spy, John Roy Carlson: the same small fry who smeared so many Pro-American Pro-Christian groups and individuals in August 17-46 "Liberty?" sheet. This man Carlson (of many aliases) is a dangerous alien subverter: in everything HE writes, read from RIGHT to LEFT: know that the people he endeavors to damage are usually top-ranking Pro-Americans.

Going back to Mr. Smith: he has made no such threats, nor has he in any way practised personal violence against his enemies: he never interferes with Jew-Communist meetings in an attempt to deprive them of meeting: yet ALL of these things THEY practise against him. Immediately after Mr. Smith spoke in Denver, he was followed there by the notorious seditionist, Wm. Z. Foster (head of Communists in U.S.A.) who rented an auditorium, publicly advertised the meeting and SOLD TICKETS to gullible Americans—which would be an impossible feat for Mr. Smith!! SO WHOSE IS THE INTOLERANCE AND WHOSE THE LIES AND WHO IS FOSTERING HATRED AND MOB RULE???

Further PROOF of this wicked persecution is exemplified by the Pro-Jew Anti-Christian HR Bill 6897 (discussed herein) recently introduced into Congress by Patterson of California.

Furthermore, it WAS a "selected" group of Christian Americans who heard Mr. Smith speak in Salt Lake: fine upright Mormon leaders, and other Christian group leaders: the cream of the crop: alert, freedom-loving Americans who know the dangers that threaten us today. If you were not so hate-blinded yourself, Mr. Salt Lake Tribune Editor, you would be able to get some truth into your head once in a while.

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12. We have a fine young ex-service man, Del Hardy Zesiger (of Bountiful, Utah) pummeled to death in the prize ring, by repeated savage blows on the head. The equally savage audience greatly enjoyed this "fine fight" and the **courage of the boy** who was killed: this boy who had survived war in the Aleutians, only to be killed in "peace!" Yes, this is what we call "Christion civilization." No wonder we have wars when so many people get pleasure out of so bestial a sport.—This is not the first time that young men have been killed in the prize ring.

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13. In the Salt Lake Tribune we have the brazen announcement that "$12 MILLION Liquor Sales Net Utah $2,797,257 in Year" . . . "Utah's liquor business made $2,797,257.60 in PROFITS in the past 12 months, setting a new all-time record and eclipsing the 1944-45 mark by $424,834.19." Now, isn't that just dandy? I wonder if these were all PROFITS? Elsewhere in the paper, you read about all the FATAL AUTOMOBILE ACCIDENTS, as well as murders, and other crimes. You don't suppose there is any connection, do you?

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14. We have depraved fiendish perverts and murderers like William Heirens, and soft-headed attorneys and judges who make "deals" to save the life of such enemies of civilization. Of what value is his life to himself or anyone else? And why should taxpayers support, indefinitely, this sadistic murderer? The law exists for the purpose of protecting the innocent living. If ever anyone should die for his crimes and for the PROTECTION OF THE PUBLIC, then Heirens should die immediately. Otherwise, he will be let out of prison in a few years to perpetrate more such heinous crimes against women and children. An American JURY is supposed to try this criminal, and decide FROM THE EVIDENCE whether he is worthy of death: it is not for the lawyers to decide IN ADVANCE what his punishment should be.

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15. In his able letter of August 1st, 1946, entitled, GOODBYE—FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, Mr. Merwyn K. Hart, President of NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL Inc. (sponsor of Upton Close on the air), says truly:

> "What these people do not realize, those who are alive to what is going on, is that many people have got to get hurt—mortally hurt—if this land of liberty is to be saved. If they are not willing to risk getting hurt, THEN OUR LIBERTY IS GONE."

The proposed wicked unconstitutional HR Bill 6897 aims to destroy that very liberty. No doubt, both Mr.

Hart and this writer would be imprisoned for upholding true Christian Constitutional Americanism. This writer is a native-born white American, whose forbears were among the original settlers of Cincinnati, Ohio, (formerly known as Losantiville). The day that law is passed, making it a crime to boldly proclaim truth: that day America dies as a free independent nation, and joins the satellite nations of Russia. If you do not fight, fellow-American: if you are not willing to pledge your life, your fortune, and your sacred honor to the cause of American LIBERTY, then you deserve to come under the heel of the oppressor.

The writer thoroughly agrees with what Mr. Thurman Arnold said in his review of THE FIRST FREEDOM, by Morris L. Ernest, i. e.

> . . . "The press, the movies and the radio have become highways over which STANDARDIZED intellectual commodities and opinions can be poured into the public mind . . . as to overwhelm any unorganized individual efforts . . . The sources for competitive ideas in America are unprotected. They are drying up."—Mr. Ernest himself says: "Our press is fast evaporating . . . The backbone of local **democracy** (here he means free Americanism—mra) has disappeared."

And so it is proposed to pass HR Bill 6897 in order to still further cause our freedom of the press to evaporate!—The author knows from her own experience that the foregoing quotations speak truth. Only the standardized "smooth" line of peace, tolerance, equality, blah, blah, blah, is acceptable to publishers today. They betray their country by barring out most original thinking as "controversial," when as a matter of fact, EVERYTHING WHICH IS OF VITAL INTEREST TO AMERICANS TODAY IS CONTROVERSIAL. The people must have only "standardized pap" and the vast bulk of that pap is anything BUT virile AMERICANISM. Let's quit being made into dolts, simpletons, saps, by all this international UN-Americanism, and show greater appreciation for our own country, our own heritage, our own Constitution, our own ideals.

> We read in the newspapers August 13th, 1946, that "The flow of news messages to and from the United States was seriously disrupted by an American Communications Assn., **C.I.O. (that** tells the story—mra) embargo against eight cable and wireless companies in sympathy with 300 strikers at Press Wireless Inc. Joseph Kehoe, national director of the 2500-member union, said the embargo was 'extremely effective'."

"The embargo will last until the strike is settled" said Lawrence Kammet, A C A publicity director. BOTH of these names sound Jewish to me.—So here is more evidence of LACK OF FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, which can be tied up at the whim of selfish sectional unions and their pro-Communist bosses.

And now our biased, weak-kneed **judges** are ruling that FOREMEN and SUPERVISORY EMPLOYEES OF MANAGEMENT MAY JOIN UNIONS and BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY WITH EMPLOYERS, whose employees and agents they are supposed to be! Again I say, we have no men of vision, of integrity, of character, of patriotism, to see where all this is leading us, and that we place the welfare and security of this Republic in jeopardy by PUTTING IT IN THE HANDS OF PRO-COMMUNIST LABOR LEADERS, who will wreck anything and everything in order to serve their

own selfish interests—NOT THE WELFARE OF AMERICA. If unions were as ready to guard the rights of non-union citizens as they are their own, we could believe in them, but they are not, and thereby they prove their true nature. The labor unions today are doing everything in their power to destroy truth, justice, tolerance, freedom: **they are murdering the soul of America**: at the same time siphoning off huge sums from the workingman, who needs his money for his family. How many **honest** workingmen today feel that they receive great benefit from their union membership? ? ?—Unless "Adventuring Freedom" is restored to labor and business, America cannot survive as a great industrial nation.

now known as Buckley Bill 2848

79th Congress 2d Session H. R. 6897

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 27, 1946

Mr. Patterson introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To suppress the evil of anti-Semitism and hatred of members of any race or religion because of race, creed, or color.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

Section 1. (a) Congress hereby finds that anti-Semitism is a potent weapon in the hands of the enemies of this country and of its institutions, and that the enemies of this country and of its institutions, have been, and are, using the United States mails and the channels of interstate and foreign commerce to spread the doctrines and foster the feelings of anti-Semitism and of racial and religious hatred because of race, creed, or color thereby tending to destroy the unity of this Nation, creating discord among our people, disrupting the normal channels of trade and commerce, and interfering with and dislocating the economic life of the country.

(b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act, through the exercise by Congress of its powers to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations and the other powers granted to it by the Constitution of the United States, to prevent the spread of anti-Semitism and racial and religious hatred because of race, creed, or color, through the use of the mails and the channels of interstate and foreign commerce.

IMPORTATION, MAILING, AND SHIPMENT

Sec. 2. It shall be unlawful for any person to bring, or cause to be brought, into the United States, or any place subject to the jurisdiction thereof, or to deposit, or cause to be deposited, with any express company, or other common carrier, for carriage, or to send or carry from one State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia, to any other State or Territory of the United States, or the District of Columbia,

any book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, writing, print, or other publication which exposes the Jews as a nation, people, or religious group, or any substantial portion of them, to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy, or which causes or tends to cause them to be shunned or avoided, or which has a tendency to injure them in their occupations, employment, or other economic activities, or exposes any race or religion because of race, creed, or color to hatred, contempt, ridicule, or obloquy, or which causes or tends to cause the members of such race or religion to be shunned or avoided, or which has a tendency to injure the members of such race or religion in their occupations, employment, or other economic activities.

RECEIPT AND DISTRIBUTION

Sec. 3. It shall be unlawful for any person to take or receive from the mails, or any express company or other common carrier, with intent to sell, distribute, circulate, or exhibit the same, or to read the same to others, any matter or thing forbidden by section 2 of this Act to be imported into the United States, or to be deposited for mailing, delivery, or carriage in interstate commerce; or to sell, distribute, circulate, or exhibit, or to read to others, any such matter or thing, knowing the same to have been imported into the United States or carried in the mails or interstate commerce in violation of the provisions of section 2 of this Act.

PUNISHMENT

Sec. 4. Any person violating any of the provisions of section 2 or 3 of tis Act, or who conspires or acts in concert with any other person or persons to violate any of the provisions of section 2 or 3 of this Act shall, for each such offense, upon conviction thereof, be fined not more than $5,000, or sentenced to imprisonment (at hard labor) for not more than five years, or both, at the discretion of the Court.

JURISDICTION

Sec. 5. Any person charged with violating the provisions of this Act may be prosecuted in any district in which any part of the offense has been committed by him or by his actual associates participating with him in the offense or by his fellow conspirators.

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Shall Jews dispossess NON-Jews of Free Speech, Free Press, Peaceable Assembly?

The Jewish Communist mouthpiece, Patterson of California, introduced this bill, giving PREFERRED STATUS and RIGHTS to JEW-ZIONIST and other minorities over the majority of CHRISTIAN WHITE AMERICANS, IN DIRECT CONTRAVENTION of the CONSTITUTION of these UNITED STATES and its Bill of Rights, Article I—which says:

> "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or ABRIDGING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, OR OF THE PRESS, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble" etc.

Although Congress has made no law respecting establishment of religion, our Supreme Court has ruled

that THIS IS A CHRISTIAN NATION, founded upon the precepts of Christianity. Try to imagine an America in which all the Christian virtues and precepts were left out!

The Supreme Court has also ruled that "The Constitution was adopted to PRESERVE OUR GOVERNMENT, NOT TO SERVE AS A PROTECTING SCREEN FOR THOSE WHO, while claiming its privileges, SEEK TO DESTROY IT."

By the mere introduction of this unconstitutional bill, Patterson and all those who are behind him in this effort, ARE VIOLATING THE CONSTITUTION and using it as a protecting screen, while seeking to destroy the fundamental rights of Americans. Patterson himself should be impeached for treason. Let every AMERICAN, who still has the fire of freedom in his veins, make it his business to inform his legislators what he thinks of this bill. Even if it is never passed in the United States, it shows how far we have gone down the wrong path, that an un-American, unconstitutional bill of this nature should be considered or introduced.

These minority groups have all the protection and redress they need, under our Constitution. IF they are conducting themselves as genuine Americans, WHY should they have, or need, any MORE protection than any other citizen?

If this bill were sincere and truly prpposed to "prevent the spread of racial and religious hatred because of race, creed, or color" then why doesn't it go ALL the way and expose and penalize the **Jewish** practice (by its B'nai B'rith, and Anti-Defamation League, which operate to persecute Christians, and its hundreds of Pro-Jewish anti-Christian publications) of spreading ANTI-CHRISTIAN INTOLERANCE in these Christian United States; of legislating our Bible out of our public schools; of endeavoring to discredit our Christian holidays and observances; of endeavoring to change certain wording of the BIBLE ITSELF wherever it appears to be unfavorable to the JEWS?

But section 2 of this Bill tells the story: it is mainly intended to prevent "exposure of the **JEWS as a nation,** people, or religious group . . . to hatred, contempt, ridicule . . . which has a tendency to injure them in their occupations" etc. Here this bill admits the Jews ARE A NATION WITHIN A NATION (NOT AMERICANS FIRST). It is also silly to **pretend** that they are being INJURED in their occupations, because, as this writer has shown in booklet, GOD MADE ME FREE, as well as in THE JEWISH PROTOCOLS and Their Application to Present Times, the JEWS have been in CONTROL OF OUR GOVERNMENT and have held practically ALL the high posts in it for many years past: to a large extent, they control our banking interests; our press; our movies; and they own much of our real estate.

Recently, some friends were attending a movie in Los Angeles. When the picture was finished, Jew Eddie Cantor said to the audience: "I would like for the JEWISH ladies to remain after the performance: I have something important to say to them." Although non-Jewish, these friends remained to listen to the announcement. Then Eddie Cantor advised the Jewish women to BUY UP ALL THE REAL ESTATE THEY COULD GET. He said he had $35,000.00 in cash there with him, which he would be glad to lend them for that purpose, and he had a list of friends who would HELP THEM FIND REAL ESTATE TO BUY. So,

multiply this sort of activity by groups and individuals, by hundreds and thousands, and you will see what is happening in this country today. This same sort of buying up real estate is going on in Utah too. The Jews largely control the wealth of this country as well as of England, Russia, and other countries. So the reasons assigned for the passage of this bill are sheer hypocrisy: it is merely intended to GIVE THEM OUTRIGHT CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY.

If their activities as a nation, people, or religious group were strictly on the "UP AND UP," why should they FEAR EXPOSURE? In other words, the JEWS must be sheltered and protected from criticism, or anything that displeases THEM; while every other citizen, from the President on down, is a target for bitter attack, criticism, abuse, by the Jews, Zionists, Communists, et al. These very people are always most vociferous and abusive in THEIR criticism. Getting to be a funny country, isn't it?

This Pro-JEW, un-American, unconstitutional bill would deprive the white Christian American of a voice in his own country and affairs: he would stand stripped of his birthright. It would make us virtual slaves to the GOLD and POWER of the Jews: such as was experienced in Germany, and is now experienced in Russia. We would experience slavery right in our own country, and the same sort of persecution as Christ Himself suffered at the hands of these same people. Every non-Jew would be at the mercy of a minority race or nation of JEWS: "HUMBLE SLAVES" just as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion said they would make of us. This is ONE MORE EVIDENCE OF THE CARRYING OUT OF THESE PROTOCOLS. (See THE JEWISH PROTOCOLS And Their Application to Present Times, by this writer.)

Quoting from Protocol No. 9 (page 7 of this booklet):

"IT IS FROM US THAT THE ALL-ENGULFING TERROR PROCEEDS. We have in our service persons of all opinions . . . we have harnessed them all to the task: each of them . . . is striving to OVERTHROW ALL ESTABLISHED FORMS OF ORDER."

From Protocol No. 12 (page 9 of booklet):

"What is the part played by the Press today? It serves to EXCITE AND INFLAME THOSE PASSIONS NEEDED FOR OUR PURPOSE, or else serves selfish ends of parties. WE SHALL SADDLE AND BRIDLE IT WITH A TIGHT CURB" (this is the aim and object of H. R. 6897 —mra); . . . NOT A SINGLE ANNOUNCEMENT WILL REACH THE PUBLIC WITHOUT OUR CONTROL: EVEN NOW THIS IS ALREADY BEING ATTAINED BY US."

So THIS is the kind of people who would thus be given ABSOLUTE CONTROL over our PRESS and our very lives: because, as the Jews themselves have said, who controls the Press practically controls a country. We have observed, both in this country and abroad, and we have been told by the Jews themselves in their Protocols, HOW THEY CONDUCT THEMSELVES WHEN IN POWER.

These people openly admit they are not for AMERICA FIRST: nor for CHRISTIANITY: but for Zionism, Judaism, a foreign state within a state: for an International State in Palestine which shall rule the world. These people, many of whom are foreign revo-

lutionists, aliens partaking of America's gracious hospitality: who collect MILLIONS and BILLIONS from kind-hearted non-Jewish Americans, to SEND OUT OF THIS COUNTRY: these people who have large richly-financed organizations, secret societies, literally THOUSANDS of publications to PROMOTE THEIR OWN NARROW PARTICULAR JEWISH INTERESTS: these people who NEVER WORK FOR THE BEST INTERESTS OF CHISTIAN AMERICANS or AMERICA-AT-LARGE, but constantly play upon the sympathy, the fair-mindedness, the square-shooting instincts of our people in order to BETRAY them: these are the people who would force upon us this treasonable law in order to protect their own nefarious seditious activities, and bind and gag NATIVE WHITE CHRISTIAN AMERICANS SO THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE FREE TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AND THEIR COUNTRY FROM THIS "FOREIGN" FOE THAT LIVES AMONG US. THEY would make it a law, as in Russia, that no criticism be permitted, in any shape or form, of JEWS or ZIONISTS—no matter how inimical or treasonable their activities might be to the United States. The introduction of such a bill plainly shows us WHO OUR ENEMIES ARE.

This bill H. R. 6897 even proposes to CENSOR OUR MAIL, and would subject us to a "Secret Police" spy system similar to the NKVD in Russia. We would have the spectacle of AMERICANS in prison, at hard labor, for daring to exercise their Constitutional right of FREE SPEECH OR FREE PRESS! And soon the next step would be to have people put to death (as in Russia) for venturing to criticize their MASTERS, who would have complete control. So it is probably a very good thing that this bill has been introduced; because it may awaken some well-meaning persons who hurl all sorts of unjustifiable names and criticism at us WHO ARE ALERT AND INFORMED AS TO THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE JEWS. Surely even they could not construe this Bill as being well-intentioned toward PRO-AMERICANS.

I say with Patrick Henry: "GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH:" and so does every TRUE American. I WILL NOT BOW DOWN to these un-American seditionists in our midst, who would dispossess us of our most precious heritage: FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

Get a copy of book on the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, by Thomas James Norton, ($1.00) from Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42nd St., New York, N. Y. KNOW YOUR RIGHTS AS AN AMERICAN, AND STAND ON THEM. Passionate patriotism is needed today: the pink tea kind won't survive. Or, if you prefer, you may obtain small tracts (excellent for mailing to friends) entitled, **"The American Constitution and its significance in these Critical Times,"** by Frank Gannett, from Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 205 East 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y. Six copies FREE: quantities of 100, 1¢ each.

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Shall Whites Marry Blacks?

We have had many ignorant, or vicious, people who have told us, "Oh no, THAT isn't the issue at all: Social Equality of Whites and Negroes doesn't mean that the two races will **intermarry.**" Does any sane, reasonable person really BELIEVE such twaddle?

As if to thoroughly prove the falsity of their position, we now read in the newspapers of the MARRIAGE of "Father Divine," Negro preacher, and the depraved white girl. Thereupon, Father Divine's secretary issues the asinine statement that "This marriage is to propagate virtue . . . and to give the whole nation a new political and religious birth of freedom." One does not propagate virtue by disobeying God's strict command, "YE SHALL NOT COMMIT ADULTERY" (or FORNICATION): meaning THOU SHALT NOT MIX THE SEED OF THE RACES.

God's law is that "EVERYTHING SHALL PRODUCE AFTER ITS KIND": there is no law more strictly emphasized in the Bible than this, and no more severe penalties inflicted than for its violation. In olden times, everyone who thus defiled himself and his race, and broke God's commandment, was STONED TO DEATH. The punishment was swift, drastic, and certain.

Since Mr. Divine's secretary talks of "political and religious birth of freedom," it is obvious that this girl (Divine's wife) is probably a Communist stooge put up for the purpose of trying to corrupt the morals of our national life. A true Negro respects a white person who keeps HIS rightful place, just as the reverse is true. Our Negro people deserve better treatment than to be used as tools and dupes by unscrupulous selfish Jews and Communists; and it is the job of genuine White Americans to help protect them from this exploitation.

"Even as Sodom and Gomorrha, and the cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to fornication, and GOING AFTER STRANGE FLESH, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. Likewise, also these FILTHY DREAMERS DEFILE THE FLESH, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities." (Jude 1: 7, 8.)

"Ye shall keep my statutes. Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind: thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed: neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woolen come upon thee." (Levit. 19:19.)

"Again, thou shalt say to the children of Israel, whosoever he be of the children of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his seed unto Molech: he shall surely be put to death: the people of the land shall STONE HIM WITH STONES." (Levit. 20:2.)

"And ye shall be holy unto me: for I the Lord am holy, and have SEVERED YOU FROM OTHER PEOPLE, that ye should be mine." (Levit. 20:26.)

"Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness?" (II Cor. 6:14.)

"Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together." (Deut. 21:10.)

"And God said, Let the earth bring forth the living creatures AFTER HIS KIND, cattle, and creeping thing, and beast of the earth AFTER HIS KIND: and it was so. And God made the beast of the earth AFTER HIS KIND, and cattle AFTER THEIR KIND, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth AFTER HIS KIND: and GOD SAW THAT IT WAS GOOD." (Genesis 1: 24, 25.)

"Now it came to pass, when they had HEARD THE LAW, that they separated from Israel ALL THE MIXED MULTITUDE." (Nehemiah 13:3.)

Ask any horticulturist or stock breeder of what value is a hybrid or a mongrel, i. e. a mixed breed. Christ thought the same thing, because he said to the Canaanite woman (of mixed breed) who came crying unto Him: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel" (that is, to those of pure lineage): she cried unto him the more, saying, "Lord, help me." He said: "It is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to **dogs.**" But because of her great faith in Him, He healed her daughter. (Matthew 15:24, 25.)

Then in Daniel 2:38 we read of the status given by God to the White man:

"And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of the heaven hath He given into thine hand, and hath made thee RULER OVER THEM ALL. Thou are that head of gold."

In Psalms 8:3-8 his status is unmistakably set forth:

"When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars, which thou hast ordained;

"What is man, that thou art mindful of him? And the son of man that thou visitest him?

"For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor.

"THOU MADEST HIM TO HAVE DOMINION OVER THE WORKS OF THY HANDS: THOU HAST PUT ALL THINGS UNDER HIS FEET:

"All sheep and oxen, yea, and the beasts of the field; The fowls of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the seas."

"And now have I given all these lands into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, **my servant**: and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him." (Jeremiah 27:6.)

So you see, there is not all this "equality" in the Creator's plan: and if we were observing God's law regarding FORNICATION today, Father Divine and his white girl would both be put to death. God does NOT say that everybody, every race, is created free and EQUAL: He says to his own particular selected servants—the white seed of Adam, Seth and Jacob—Israel:—"Come ye out and be ye separate from the world." The White race, "Sons of God," made in His image, have time and time again been commanded and warned to keep themselves pure and separate.

God's plan for the White Race was that it should serve HIM: His plan for the Negro, according to the Bible, is that he should serve the White man, helping him till the field, and performing similar useful services. The Negro does not have the organizing genius; the creative ability; the inventiveness; the sense of responsibility of the White man. He is particularly lacking in sense of responsibility as well as of gratitude. It is only occasionally that one of his race shows forth one or more of these qualities: due no doubt to admixture with the White man. He is by nature a follower

and an imitator. He enjoys a civilization and high standard of living created by the White man.

We are today encouraging the mixing of the races: social equality and fraternization: by our false maudlin un-Scriptural teaching, we are encouraging sex crimes, the ultimate entire destruction and mongrelizing of the pure White race. This would mean the end of America. All this skullduggery about equality of the races, especially SOCIAL EQUALITY (advocated and promoted by Communists, and demanded by the Negro) is absolute wickedness and will not succeed, because it is DIVINELY FORBIDDEN AND ACCURSED. If you think any man-made dictum will succeed, when it runs counter to a fundamental law of God, you only betray your ignorance or wickedness, or both.

"Separateness," as God well knew, is best for both races, and this does not mean that the Negro is not entitled to his civil and educational rights: this writer believes in justice and kindness to the Negro: but it is suggested that the Negro "EARN" his way as he goes, and not be beguiled by the Jew-Communists into demanding things which are not rightfuily his, by any law of God or man.

The Jew-Communists (led and inspired by Eleanor Roosevelt) work fevorishly in this country to put across this wicked idea of SOCIAL EQUALITY: well knowing the harm they are doing BOTH races, and the country-at-large. A woman in Eleanor Roosevelt's position would not constantly seek the companionship of Negroes, if she did not have much in common with them. "Water seeks its own level." Even those people who work for the welfare of the Negro race, do not ordinarily make of them intimate social companions. All through Nature, each seeks the company of ITS OWN KIND.

Mr. Abraham Lincoln (though he freed the slaves) was in full accord with this idea of "separateness". Listen to a portion of his speech before a group of freed Negroes in Washington:

> "Why should not the people of your race be colonized? Why should they not leave this country . . . You and we are of a different race: we have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. . . . I think your race suffers greatly, many of them by living with us, while ours suffers from your presence . . . You are free men, I suppose, but when you cease to be slaves you are yet FAR REMOVED FROM BEING PLACED ON AN EQUALITY WITH THE WHITE RACE. You are still cut off from many of the advantages which are enjoyed by the other race . . . But for your race among us there could not be a War, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other . . . It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated."

More and more Negro entertainers appear on radio programs, such as Kate Smith's, with White performers. Why do not the Negroes have their own programs, such as Wings over Jordan? I like to listen to Negro spirituals: there is no reason why they should not have their own bands of entertainers. Write to these programs and tell them you prefer not to have MIXED ENTERTAINERS. And the same thing applies to sports: let each race have its own contenders, and let them not fight with each other, either in the ring or out of it.

There was a nauseating article in Liberty magazine recently about a colored doctor in Beaufort, N. C., who delivers white babies and takes care of white people, who, he says, think no more of it than he does. One can scarcely blame the Negro for stepping out of his province when we have Whites of this type. A real true Negro would not go outside of his own class in this manner: and high-type white people would not so lower their own standards.

Today there are many vociferous NEGRO FIRST organizations, just as there are hundreds of JEW FIRST organizations, who work **exclusively** for what they consider **their own best interests.** It is only INTOLERANCE and BIGOTRY WHEN THE PURE WHITE AMERICANS WANT SOMETHING FOR THEMSELVES! But watch the bigotry, intolerance, violence, anti-Americanism practiced by these two minority groups toward the K K K, or toward the AMERICA FIRST party of Gerald L. K. Smith: and for that matter, toward White Christians in general. No smear artistry and no violence is too low for them to use. IT IS TIME WHITE CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AMERICANS DID ORGANIZE TO PROTECT THEMSELVES AND THEIR RIGHTS!

In Utah we have a fellow named Sol J. Selvin (get the name) who is Chairman of a special committee to investigate racial discrimination and "determine if corrective legislation is needed." Now WHY would anybody appoint a pre-prejudiced person like him on such a committee: that's just like the Kangaroo courts of the Russians, who convict and torture a man first, and then try him afterward, and arrive at a pre-determined verdict.

This vicious trouble-maker concludes that there now exists in the State a "sizeable body of discriminatory practices which serves to bar equal opportunity and treatment . . . to colored citizens," and he thinks the legislature should enact legislation and PROVIDE ENFORCEMENT MACHINERY. This means trying to force through an F. E. P. C. law here, such as now exists in California and New York. The Communists care nothing about the best interests of the Negro: they merely use him and laws of this sort to STIR UP TROUBLE, cause racial riots, and help the cause of the Communist Revolution.

The Coloreds and Whites of Utah have been, and are, getting along VERY PEACEABLY: without noticeable complaint on either side. NOW, this fellow proposes to stir up animosity and hard feeling by forcing the Negro into an unpalatable and unjustifiable position. If the people of Utah have any wisdom at all, they will quickly see that this fellow and his proposed law are properly squelched.

The ONLY way the Negro and the White man CAN get along peaceably is to observe each other's rights and privacy: the right to be separate and to go with one's own kind, as God's law provides. The Negro is entitled to his rights as a human being: other than that, NO MAN HAS THE RIGHT TO LEGISLATE THE TWO DISTINCT RACES INTO SOCIAL EQUALITY AND CLOSE JUXTAPOSITION. The rights, privileges, dignity of the White man are being destroyed!

Believing the Bible to be the perfect and final authority as to the laws which should govern mankind on earth, this writer must accept the Bible version of the subject being discussed. Here are to be found the only

just and perfect laws, given by God to Moses at Mt. Sinai, which still hold good today. (Some of these laws are briefly enumerated in THE ONLY WAY OUT, by this author.) The reason America and the whole world is in a mess today is because we refuse to heed and obey these laws. Christ said He came not to abrogate these laws, but to fulfill them, and that not one jot nor one tittle of them should pass away. Therefore, to the Christian, whatever the commands and laws laid down in the Bible, they are the final word. They are not based on hate, prejudice, or passion, and cannot be so construed just because they run counter to the false teaching of certain minority groups, or individuals, who want, demand and advocate something unlawful for themselves: or because they are exactly opposite to the pagan, materialistic teaching of Communism, Modernism, Zionism, or any other cult. These laws in the Bible are the BASIC FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THE UNIVERSE.

Let each race walk proudly, fulfilling its OWN destiny. It is not the destiny of the Colored man to be a White man: nor of the White man to be a Colored man. God has set metes and bounds for botn.

There is ONLY ONE WAY TO RESTORE PERMANENT PEACE on earth: that is by knowing and doing the laws of God: not by breaking them.

And now when our nation is in utmost peril, from within and without, we have radio announcers still further betraying us by blabbering about religious and racial freedom, advocating TOLERANCE toward the **minority organized groups** who do most to DESTROY THE VERY CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS MOST PRIZED BY EVERY GENUINE AMERICAN: the people who **are** the MOST INTOLERANT IN THIS COUNTRY ARE THE COMMUNISTS, JEW-ZIONISTS, NEGROES.

No one is being persecuted, actually, on the basis of either his religion or his race: but some of us ARE objecting to these people on the basis of TREASONABLE ACTIVITIES to the GOVERNMENT, WELFARE, and ESTABLISHED CHRISTIAN RELIGION OF THESE UNITED STATES. Traitors, or ignoramuses in our midst, want all of us to stick our heads in the sand, and remain quiescent and quiet NO MATTER WHAT DIRE DANGER THREATENS OUR INSTITUTIONS AND OUR COUNTRY. Rather, we need virile, vigilant PAUL REVERES today to tell our people the TRUTH, and WARN them of imminent peril to this REPUBLIC.

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SELF-PRESERVATION IS THE FIRST LAW OF NATURE AND ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

(There is no use to lock the barndoor after the horse is out.)

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Our former Supreme European Commander, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, said universal peacetime military training is necessary for the sake of the nation and of the individual who must fight. He believes in "Peace with **Strength.**" His ample experience has proven the superior quality of the VETERAN fighter, as well as the better chance the thoroughly-trained man has of living. Admirals Wm. F. Halsey and Chester Nimitz

say that peacetime training is imperative: General Jonathan M. Wainwright said recently in Salt Lake City that we must be ready for ANY emergency.—On America's preparedness may depend the fate of civilization itself.

We previously refused to fortify Guam and take other necessary precautionary measures, due to the timidity of our legislators who feared to OFFEND JAPAN, and LOOK WHAT HAPPENED! On their heads is the blood of thousands of our finest youth.—And all present indications are that we will do a 'retake' with RUSSIA.

Our youth will profit in many ways from peacetime military training and discipline: (many of them do not give evidence of having received much disciplinary training elsewhere): they will gain a better idea of their duties and obligations to their country: EVERY American owes something to his country besides merely taxes. And included in this training should be a thorough course in CONSTITUTIONAL AMERICANISM—which is long overdue. Many of our Armed Forces had no clear idea of the PRINCIPLES for which they were fighting in World War II. Such training and discipline might be one panacea for the juvenile delinquency problem, and should be made a countermeasure to all the poisonous Communistic propaganda which floods our land.

Mr. F. L. Schlagle, of the National Education Association, says: "In the future, if nations are willing to sacrifice part of national sovereignty for the good of the world, the teaching of the INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION (as drawn at San Francisco) WILL BE A MORE IMPORTANT SUBJECT IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS THAN INSTRUCTION IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES." This is a sample of the kind of sloppy thinking many of our so-called educators are doing these days.

In the first place, a vast number of our selfish citizens are not willing to sacrifice anything for their OWN country's welfare. In the second place, there has never been devised a finer or more idealistic instrument for the protection of human rights and welfare, than the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, and there has NOT BEEN A CONCERTED, CONSISTENT AND THOROUGH PROGRAM OF EDUCATION IN CONSTITUTIONAL AMERICANISM — at least, not recently. If there had been, this country would not today be on the verge of Red Revolution, and there would not be the present dearth of high moral AMERICAN leadership.—Furthermore, the ideals incorporated into the international charter were largely lifted from the American Constitution.

The Russian newspaper, Izvestia, says that Soviet youth, during the war and after the war—regardless of war—undergoes military training as preparation for future service to his country. In fact, their training starts at the tender age of EIGHT and continues for many years. Russia is the largest land-mass in the world (and gradually getting larger too): with a vastly greater population than ours: she is rich in almost untouched natural resources, as well as resources which she grabs from other nations (while we constantly DEPLETE OURS and send them abroad): yet she finds continuous military training a necessity, and is even so concerned about her security that she insists upon 'friendly' or communist regimes in bordering states, and also in those which do NOT border her country. She has already announced her intention of building the greatest navy in the world. Further, it is common knowledge that Russian communists have 'infiltrated' not only into this

country, but China, Italy, France, Germany, Mexico, South America, and other countries, with the intent of "world-revolution" and the establishment of communism as a way of life, with the communists being the ABSOLUTE RULERS.

At the time of the trial of the alien communist, Harry Bridges, our Attorney General Biddle said the communist party "advocated violent overthrow of the United States Government" (WHICH IT STILL DOES). Now, after a seven-year fight to deport said Bridges as an undesirable alien, the (packed) Supreme Court rules invalid the deportation order, and he has the EFFRONTERY TO APPLY FOR U. S. CITIZENSHIP! And he uses that citizenship to foment strikes, tie up our shipping, and help deliver us into the hands of the Communists. HOW WE DO LOVE TO WASTE THE TAXPAYERS' MONEY, and how we bend over backward to favor the ENEMIES of our country and its institutions! As Jerry Colonna says: "Are we crazy, or sumthin?"—Did you ever read OUT OF THE NIGHT, by Jan Valtin, in which are exposed the terrorist practices of the Communist underground?

It is this same RUSSIA and her satellites which put on a campaign against the nations, especially little Greeee, which stand between her and access to the Mediterranean: while at the same time she puts on a similar campaign against Turkey for military control of the Dardanelles.

There is an article in September 1946 READER'S DIGEST by Joseph and Stewart Alsop concerning the much-discussed atomic bomb, and their final conclusion: "The only sure defense of this country is POLITICAL DEFENSE." When I first read that sentence, I had hoped that they meant CLEANING UP AND PURGING AMERICA OF COMMUNIST TRAITORS AND SPIES, so that we might present a united ALL-AMERICAN front to our enemies, within and without. But on reading further I found that what they meant by this phrase was that, "We shall **insist**, with all our power and all our AUTHORITY, upon INTERNATIONALIZATION of atomic-energy control . . . We shall **insist** . . . upon making the United Nations a working world organization, capable of settling world problems by peaceful means." But right there, without in the least showing us how this is to be done AGAINST THE DETERMINED WARLIKE OPPOSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION, the writers stopped: just as all of them do. They put ALL the onus upon **America**, for setting up a workable peaceful world machinery: when **we** are doing our very best, and Russia does her very worst. They do not tell us HOW to INSIST SUCCESSFULLY on establishing peace against an imperialist, warlike, totalitarian power whose ONE announced purpose is to DOMINATE AND CONTROL THE WORLD, UNDER THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL. Will not somebody come across with an explanation as to HOW THIS INSISTENCE IS TO BE ACHIEVED? Such a person should be made Chief Adviser to Mr. James Byrnes, at Paris, who would unquestionably welcome this much-needed advice and information. The advocate of this kind of INSISTENCE could no doubt have prevented war with Hitler.

Have the Messrs. Alsop READ THEIR BIBLE RECENTLY? This is the book upon which our nation was founded: It says WAR BETWEEN THE PAGAN HEATHEN NATIONS, LED BY GOG (Russia, King of the North), AND ISRAEL (God's white Christian people) IS INEVITABLE: it describes the battle: how God will intervene on behalf of His people: and HOW

WE SHALL BE SAVED, in spite of atomic bombs: or perhaps BECAUSE of them, because God will rain FIRE on our enemies!

These people who protest so loudly against universal military training and preparedness, and other measures designed to safeguard America: do they complain about the intense nationalism and PREPAREDNESS OF THE RUSSIANS?? Most realistic thinkers admit that the world is still very unsafe for innocence and weakness, and it will be dangerous for a long time to come for the lamb to lie down with the BEAR. There is even enough rampant selfishness and evil right in our own country to convince us of that: laws do not make people perfect, nor do laws MAKE PEACE. We have far too many laws in the United States: yet they do not prevent the committing of many crimes, as well as an INCREASE in crime of over 13% in the past year, according to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's recent announcement.

Instead of quite so much emphasis on man-made law, international or otherwise, why not more emphasis on the PEOPLE who make and enforce and live by those laws? Why do we never hear anything about the Sermon on the Mount as a code of conduct? It is not "merely" Christianity: it is the ONLY common sense, as well as Divine, philosophy that will ever GUARANTEE permanent peace on earth. Why do we never hear the word CHARACTER stressed as a necessity for world peace? Everything boils down in the last analysis to CHARACTER: the sort of personal code that individuals believe in and live by. To repeat: laws on the statute books do not make people good nor do they prevent wars or make peace. Until a man's word is his bond, and until we rate CHARACTER higher than DOLLARS, we wil not be able to enjoy the full fruits of Christian Americanism in America.

This very LACK OF CHARACTER is exemplified in the lawless, rioting MOBS, who take the law into their own hands, and FORBID the holding of peaceable Christian meetings: they race through the lobbies of our best hotels, destroying property, causing violence and bloodshed, depriving American citizens of their right of free speech and peaceable assembly. THIS is the result of Russian-Communist indoctrination: these mobs of CIO-PAC Communists, Negroes, Jews, order peaceable assemblies to "Get out or we'll put you out" and the supposed forces of law and order connive with them—as was done in Minneapolis, Minn. on August 21st, 1946.—Why don't Messrs. Alsop INSIST that people of this caliber be subject to the LAWS and CONSTITUTION OF AMERICA? How can we control powerful nations abroad if we do not maintain law and order in our own country?

A mature person disciplines and governs himself, needing few outward restraints to prevent him from being a menace or hindrance to his neighbor. There is a saying: he that governs himself is greater than he that taketh a city. Until we have a preponderance of emotionally and spiritually mature and stable individuals in the various countries of the world (including our own) and they have demonstrated some ability to manage themselves and their own countries successfully, without being a menace to their neighbors, we cannot expect them to qualify as world-citizens and world-policemen.

Until both leaders and peoples of the world get back to the fundamentals of honesty, integrity, unselfishness. at least a degree of self-discipline, and at least a

modicum of the exercise of the GOLDEN RULE, no national or international laws or regulations will stand up against the wolfish tendencies exhibited by people and nations. Two cases in point are Germany's and Japan's total disregard of international law in World War II. Until the "masses" as well as many leaders show more moral character and high integrity, it is FATAL FOLLY to yield up any American sovereignty to ANY outside power, who would use it against us. Why do not the leaders in the various countries try educating their people to a higher standard of thinking, of conduct, and living, so that they will be FIT to become world-citizens?

There are entirely too many people who are not even genuine, loyal American citizens: they do not show the first principles of cooperation in their own Republic, so how should they be fit to take on still greater duties and obligations, as altruistic, broad-minded world-citizens? It is like saying, we are all going to Heaven, when we have none of the prerequisites to entitle us to Divine companionship. A STRUCTURE THAT IS NOT BUILT ON A FIRM FOUNDATION CANNOT STAND. We are straining at gnats and endeavoring to swallow a camel, which will give us worse indigestion than we already have. We need military training and preparedness, as well as moral and spiritual education, FOR A STRONG, UNITED IMPREGNABLE AMERICA.

The important thing is that we must not only preserve this AMERICAN REPUBLIC, as established by our Constitution, for ourselves—but also for the benefit of the world, because there WILL come a time when the hands on the cosmic clock will point to a World Federation of Republics, patterned voluntarily after the United States model.

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PRO-AMERICANS MUST WORK TOGETHER IN ORDER TO SURVIVE

Never mind the tiresome reiteration on choosing life or death, peace or annihilation, etc. in the atomic age: the time has now come when we must have INTELLIGENT COOPERATION IN AMERICA, BETWEEN AMERICANS, IN ORDER TO SURVIVE. Today all the accent seems to be on discord, dissension, opposition, politics first and America last. This must be replaced by unity, working for a common goal—the WELFARE OF AMERICA—and the maintaining of America's place in the sun. AMERICANS MUST WORK TOGETHER IN ORDER TO SURVIVE.

Everything is PLANNED in Russia under a one-party system, which has no opposition whatever: everyone bends their efforts toward the good of the state as a whole. In America we have many selfish politicians, as well as individuals, pulling in every direction: frequently devoting most of their thought and attention to their own selfish interests and ambitions. Business initiative, freedom, and enterprise—which built this country—have been stifled and handicapped to a very dangerous degree: Labor has been given plenty of rope, with which it proceeds to hang the rest of the country: while it constantly demands more for less, and has fully demonstrated its own selfish interest and lack of any sort of consideration for the NATIONAL welfare or for the public. If that sort of thing continues to hold sway, how does any reasonable person expect that America can continue to exist and prosper?

National selfishness is our cardinal sin: likewise national cowardice in refusing to face facts and critical issues, and DO SOMETHING ABOUT THEM. No nation exists for long as a great power under the loose and lax morals and standards that are so prevalent today: it goes down into decay. To speak frankly many of our people are going to reap, in the time which is now upon us, just what they have sown, by their selfish indifference and neglect of America's interests.

Mr. David L. Cohn had a very pertinent article in January, 1946 issue of The Atlantic, entitled FIRST IN WAR—LAST IN PEACE, in which he lays bare the weakness, and childish adolescence which so often afflicts the American character. We refuse to face responsibility: we dislike discipline and any sort of hardship. No wonder our young people expect life to be always just a "bowl of cherries", when one considers the example set by so many of their elders. When ARE we going to grow up?

In his book PEOPLE ON OUR SIDE, Mr. Edgar Snow says "these Russian youths **cry for responsibility:"** they are eager to assume it, and to learn new skills. They have a keen sense of responsibility as well as love for, and gratitude to, their country: all of which is necessary for ANY country to be a going concern.

The Russian people have energy, ambition, a definite goal: all the verve, energy, enthusiasm, national spirit that we Americans USED to have B. S. (before strikes) and before so many people began talking about the folly of being truly American: before we were fed so much seditious smooth anti-American propaganda by so many pro-Communist writers and commentators. Now our national spirit is so watered down, we aren't sure just what we are. WE SHALL HAVE TO REGAIN THAT COMPELLING AMERICAN SPIRIT: that WILL to do and dare: if we are to hold our own at home and abroad in the tough days ahead. We are going to have to face keen competition. In Mr. Edgar Snow's book, he makes it quite clear that Russia intends to outstrip America in every possible way (by 1960) and prove that her way of life is better than ours.

The theory behind Article 12 of the Soviet Constitution: "In the USSR **work is an obligation** and a matter of honor of every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle, **'He who does not work, neither shall he eat'** " is basic, in Russia, America, or any other country. No one who can work, but refuses to work, **is entitled to be paid.** (You don't hear the pro-Soviets in America stressing THIS provision, though, do you?)—A further provision in the Soviet Constitution: "FROM each according to his ability, TO each according to the work performed" is also fundamentally sound in principle: the application of this principle would eliminate so much of the foolish contention of labor unions in THIS country for "equal pay" for all —which is utterly unjust and unfair.

Article 4 of the Soviet Constitution aims to "abolish the exploitation of man by man", and no one can quarrel with that ideal: only we differ in the manner by which it should be attained. The Bolsheviks strive to attain it by force and regimentation to such an extreme that they accomplish the very thing they are supposed to be "abolishing:" by depriving the citizens of their freedom: by maintaining a minority one-party dictatorship, and by putting the interests of the State above that of the individual citizen. OUR method in

the United States is the opposite: i. e., to allow our individual citizens the fullest possible liberty and freedom: to subordinate the government and the state to the uses and benefit of the individual citizen: and to permit the individual to succeed financially or otherwise to the extent of **his ability.**

However, one freely grants that the possibility of exploitation of man by man: **abuse** of freedom is much more a possibility under OUR system than under the Russian:—just as we see freedom today abused and exploited by the labor unions, who refuse to work to the best of their ability, and demand equal pay for all members regardless of individual worth, skill, and productivity.

Under our system, it is the more necessary that moral and spiritual law, principle, self-discipline, shall be observed and practiced: in other words, it is necessary for us to be VOLUNTARILY governed by the Golden Rule: t o do good to our fellowman, thereby increasing the good of all: in order to preserve our system of free enterprise and at the same time protect the best interests of the nation as well as of our fellow-citizens. And this form of volutary observance of the rights and interests of our fellowman, along with individual freedom, is the HIGHEST SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT THAT CAN BE DEVISED: but its success depends upon this observance of moral and spiritual precepts.

In the chapter of his book (above referred to), which is entitled, "Is Russia Abandoning Communism," Mr. Edgar Snow deals gently and tenderly with the Communist system of "purging." He says:

> "Some people jump to wrong conclusions because of external resemblances between Soviet Communism and Nazi methods, or because **they employ similar tools.** In both cases there were one-party rule, secret police, 'liquidation' of opposition elements, and **strict control of the press.** But although surgery and murder both employ a knife, society does not regard them as synonomous. Under the Soviet system the **victim was held to be a privileged class, which had to be liquidated in so far as it obstructed realization of socialist society in the USSR** and the elimination of 'exploitation of man by man through private ownership of the means of production.'"

It is noteworthy that Mr. Snow objects most strenuously, (and inconsistently) when the Kuomintang in China has the same idea toward the Chinese Communists, who the Nationalist Government thinks are obstructing realization of a united China.

Continuing with Mr. Snow's argument:

> "Under the Nazi system, the victims were frankly said to be whole peoples, not only the Jews and the Slavs, but ultimately all who opposed 'Aryan' mastery of the earth . . . The simple truth seems to be that the USSR is unique."

Does anyone understand this peculiar uniqueness of the USSR, and from whence it derives its authority and sanction to PURGE ALL THOSE WHO INTERFERE WITH ITS MASTERY? Is murder to be condoned as "liquidation" by the Communist Party whenever and wherever it suits their own particular purposes, merely because, as Mr. Snow assumes, they have,

or will, kill FEWER people in the long run than the Nazis did? Who knows accurately how many people the Communists have, and will "liquidate" before they have finally attained their announced objective of WORLD-WIDE COMMUNISM? Has the Sovereign Ruler of the universe placed his stamp of approval on the Communist Party of Russia and informed them that it is quite O. K. to slaughter anyone else in the wide world who refuses to bow to one-party Communist rule, and has HE said that THEY are the ONE PEOPLE destined to rule the world, instead of the Nazis? That isn't likely, since the Communists themselves have repudiated God and religion. What is the difference in principle between mass murder, as herein stated by Mr. Snow, whether practiced by the Nazis or by the Communists? We fought to destroy the "Divine right to rule by force" obsession of the Nazis: why embrace it under the label of Communism?

This issue was much more truthfully and ably stated by Mr. Sumner Welles in his article "The Bomb and World Government" in January, 1946 issue of the Atlantic:—

> "If I understand his (Prof. Einstein's) thesis correctly, and I think I do, minority rule should be regarded as iniquitous in every nation of the world EXCEPT THE SOVIET UNION . . . This view, of course, approximates the classic thesis of the Third International that **minorities are entitled to exercise control when they are of the Communist Faith.** Examples are not wanting that the logical outgrowth of this philosophy is the assertion of the **right of Communist minorities by liquidations and terror to dominate opposing majorities until those majorities have been forced into the Communist line.** The issue raises one of the gravest problems with which freedom-loving peoples are today faced."

Mr. Snow contradicts himself when he says, in the Chapter entitled, "What Russians Think of Us"—

> "But no one now dreams of overthrowing the American system by force. (Oh NO??? —mra) Russian Communists are satisfied with the Stalinist principle that the best way to prove the superiority of socialism over capitalism is by making a triumphant success of it **within the borders of the Soviet Union.**"

by his statement in the following chapter, "What Russia WANTS"—

> "It is obvious that the dissolution of the Comintern DID NOT ABOLISH THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, nor its adherence to doctrines enunciated at Moscow. Despite the absence of any central authority over other parties*, the prestige of the Russian Communist Party and the Red Army is now so immense, and the associations of many years exercise such a powerful centrifugal pull, that Soviet policy as expressed through its public press, in effect still serves as an INTERNATIONAL DIRECTIVE. It would be naive to suppose that all diplomats are not aware of this."

(*N. B. This allegation is disproved by the facts, since all Communist leaders in every country receive their directives from Moscow.)

In the chapter, "What Russians Think of Us", Mr. Snow refers to a "general book on America" called the

"United States of America:" (he does not give the author's name:)—

> "At the Sixteenth Party Congress, (says this book), Stalin characterized America as 'the main capitalist country.' "

Throughout, it speaks of the world as divided between capitalism and the USSR.—That being the case, since the Communists admittedly are still bent on World-Communization, it is entirely obvious that they are bound to propagate Communism in the United States, and to attempt to overthrow what they regard as their chief rival in the world. Mr. Snow's book itself is pretty good propaganda for THEM: it is highly recommended by the Communist book-stores.

N. B. Do not confuse EDGAR Snow with the pro-American writer, JOHN HOWLAND Snow, author of **America, Which Way?**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

DO WE TRUST IN GOD — OR MONEY?

OUR money is different just as is our destiny from any other. It carries on its face a set of spiritual symbols, which marks it as God's money as well as ours: at the same time the symbols signify our national destiny.

Every day we use money to buy our "daily bread"—but do we heed its spiritual message, with which to feed our souls? Never were these two basic needs so beautifully combined and symbolized, as in our money: and probably never so universally used, yet ignored. Our Founding Fathers were undoubtedly inspired when they placed the mottoes and symbols on our money.

For instance, on the face of our silver dollar is the head of a woman (who in Bible symbology represents the soul): over her head is the word LIBERTY: beneath, the legend, IN GOD WE TRUST. Do you know any better motto for America to adopt in these days? This would solve all her woes and problems IF SHE TRULY TRUSTED IN GOD.

On the reverse side of the dollar (or quarter) is the uncrowned BALD-headed eagle: an occult symbol of deep significance. This eagle is the national emblem of the United States, and any other use is expressly forbidden by Congress. In occult practice, the top of the head is used to signify the faculty of direct contact with God, as distinct from approach through any intermediate channel. Among ancient Priesthoods, the top of the candidate's head was shaved to symbolize this. Hence the BALD-headed eagle—telling us that it is the destiny of America to LEAD mankind into personal freedom and true self-realization, which will give him direct contact with God. The eagle clutches an olive branch (symbol of peace and good-will) in his right claw, while underneath him is the word PEACE—all of which tells us we cannot fulfill our destiny in the world UNLESS we are at peace, with ourselves and other nations. We cannot be involved in entangling alliances and wars (by which we try to FORCE our ideals on others), and which clip the eagle's wings, power and influence. Our job is to LEAD other nations and peoples by the EXAMPLE which we ourselves set. (He who is convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still.) Likewise, a household divided against itself or constantly waging war with its neighbors, can

accomplish little that is constructive. But this does not mean that we should be unprepared to **defend** our country.

Over the eagle's head are the words, E PLURIBUS UNUM: many but one: ultimately to be the credo of the world. The eagle, of course, is the symbol of Victory. He it is, also, who neither fights a storm nor runs away from it. He SOARS ABOVE IT, into higher, calmer regions: and this signifies taking refuge in the realm of Spirit.

Again, the symbols of the Great Seal of the United States, which appear on our "greenbacks", are profoundly significant and inspiring, chosen by men wiser than we know. The front of the Seal shows the "heraldic" eagle, with 13 stars over his head, announcing the birth of the spiritual idea in the United States, and holding an olive branch in his right claw and 13 arrows in his left: again denoting that peace and good will should be our first consideration, and active warfare only a means of defense, or last resort.

On the reverse side of the Seal is an unfinished Pyramid, and above it a triangle containing the "all-seeing eye"—symbolizing the Single Eye of which Christ spoke, and meaning that when an individual or nation puts God FIRST, then he or it will prosper. It is this ideal which we must incorporate into our national life.

The motto ANNUIT COEPTIS (Meaning He, God, has favored our undertakings) appears over the Pyramid: and beneath it the words, NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM, meaning a "new series of ages", or a new order of things has commenced:—all beautiful symbols packed with meaning as to America's destiny.

America has NO ENEMY TO FEAR, save that of not living up to her own intended destiny:—which is to establish in the world Liberty, based upon true freedom of mind and spirit: tolerance: equal opportunity: reverence for things of the Spirit: the "I CAN" philosophy contained in the word AMERICAN. If this be "nationalism", amen: make the most of it. I am an ardent believer in American nationalism, because, if we live up to our heritage, our God-given Constitution, and follow the star of our inspired symbolism, we will truly be not ONLY Americans, but WORLD-CITIZENS —both mundane and celestial.

Acknowledgment is made to Dr. Emmet Fox for use of material in his "Historical Destiny of the United States".

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ON THE MOUNTAIN TOP

The swirling drifting snows,
The whistling flying winds
Are crashing round the crags
With pelting, primal force.

The heights, the depths of space
Are conscious of a Presence:
Vast solitude of sound
That hurts the heart with joy.

The harmony of noise
Is like celestial song:
It blots out lesser things:
Unveils the naked soul.

The measured rhythmic beat
In Nature's high retreat
Inspires the jaded heart
To climb to heights undreamed.

Beneath, above, all round,
The pulse of God resounds;
And one is lifted far
Beyond the sense of self.

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Psalm 46

God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.

Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea:

Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.

There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High.

God is in the midst of her: she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early.

The heathen raged, the kingdoms were moved: he uttered his voice, the earth melted.

The lord of hosts is with us: the God of Jacob is our refuge.

Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations he hath made in the earth.

He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire.

Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.

The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

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List of publications by Miss Marilyn R. Allen:

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One way you can help your country is to buy and distribute this Pro-American literature to your friends.

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Books of the Times

"EVERYTHING AFTER ITS KIND," by Dr. Keen Polk (noted Salt Lake City Bible authority, and Aryan Anglo-Israel leader), 930 S. 11th East, Salt Lake City, Utah.—A discussion of the origin and the Divine plan for the Negro ..... 50¢

THE CRISIS, by John R. Irwin, P. O. Box 132, Sandersville, Ga.—An able discussion of the Negro problem ..... 50¢

QUO VADIS, AMERICA, VOL. II: When Will Bolshevism Take Over? By Frederick Chas. F. Weiss, published by F. C. F. LeBlanc, Box 155, 208 East 68th St., N. Y.—An intellectual discussion of the Colored Races vs. the White Race. Price unknown.

ONLY BLONDES ARE ANGELS, by Ira Calvin White, Counway-White Publications, Brookline, Mass.—The same subject, presented from still a different viewpoint $1.00

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CHILDREN OF YESTERDAY, by Jan Valtin, who wrote OUT OF THE NIGHT, a tale of Communist terrorist practices. Price unknown.

HYPNOTISM FOR SABOTAGE, by Damon Clowne, P. O. Box 650, Berkeley, Calif. A study in Psychiatry, with particular reference to Veterans. Nazis, Communists, and others, use "mass hysteria," character assassination, etc., to achieve SABOTAGE of an individual or a nation. ..... 50¢

A TRIAL ON TRIAL, by Maximilian St. George and Lawrence Dennis. A discussion of so-called "sedition" trial of Pro-Americans. Address 10 S. LaSalle St., Chicago. $5.00

THE CROSS OF GOLD, VOL. III: (The Hidden Hand Behind the Assassination of Abraham Lincoln), by Frank Lowson, Huber, Ga.—How the Power of GOLD is used by our enemies to destroy this Repubilc. $1.10

LABOR MONOPOLIES OR FREEDOM: "You can't have both:" by John W. Scoville. Obtainable from Committee for Constitutional Govt., 205 E. 42nd St., New York 17, N. Y. $1.00

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Publications

AMERICA IN DANGER, by Chas. B. Hudson, who is an authority on exposing America's real enemies; P. O. Box 1764 Benson Sta., Omaha, Nebr. A weekly paper, 8 issues for $1.00

ANTI-GENTILISM: A Partial Revelation of the Plot and Plotters. Published by WOMEN'S VOICE, 537 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. ..... 15¢

CLOSER-UPS—weekly Nationalist newsletter by Upton Close. Write him at Penobscot Bldg., Detroit 26, Mich.

THE CROSS AND THE FLAG—monthly Christian Nationalist paper by Gerald L. K. Smith, P. O. Box 459, Detroit 31, Mich. Annually $2.00

GENTILE NEWS, by Eugene Flitcraft, P. O. Box 288, Oak Park, Ill. Monthly paper devoted to interests of NON-Jews in the U. S. Annually $3.00

ARYAN ANGLO-ISRAEL Bible classes for literal Restoration of God's Kingdom on earth, conducted by mail by Rev. Wm. L. Blessing, P. O. Box 802, Denver 1, Colo. Write him for information and copy of SHOWERS OF BLESSING.

"The Columbians, Inc." publishers, The Thunderbolt, 82 Bartow St., Atlanta, Ga., have just been incorporated for the purpose of "reviving the true American spirit of this nation" and their paper, The Thunderbolt, will present "The WHITE Man's Viewpoint." Subscription price, $2.00 annually.

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Return to reading your Bible, Americans, to become familiar with the laws which God set up for the governing of His people.

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Join the Crusaders

FOR GOD AND AMERICA

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

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Up and atom!

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Daniel Webster has said: **"But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall rear AGAIN the well-proportioned columns of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY? No, if these columns fall, they will not be raised again."**

WHITE HORSE

Volume [illegible] COLLEGE PARK, MD., OCTOBER [illegible] Number [illegible]

"ROMAN CATHOLIC MORALS IN ACTION"

The Roman Catholic Theological Society of America, the union [illegible] Rome and [illegible] recently [illegible] a great "Problem." Namely, [illegible] A policeman is offered a share in protection [illegible] money paid by an superior by a house of [illegible]. The policeman himself has [illegible] part in the protection, but he cannot stop the practice [illegible] he refuses the money he will lose [illegible] anything, does he participate [illegible]. The Catholic Priests gave the answer, [illegible] to Catholic Dogma. Their answer was "He may [illegible] Hebrews [illegible] Priest will [illegible] that the money be given to a "Pious Cause" A CHARITY. Of course [illegible] to give to the Catholic Church, or work. By the same method a Catholic could murder, lie, commit fornication Etc. But did you know that a "Roman Catholic Priest" is allowed to commit fornication, provided he pays money to his church or superiors. He cannot have a good sweet wife for companion but he must take a whore to satisfy his [illegible]

[illegible] may remember will say [illegible] the Catholic guide have [illegible] A Catholic can lie, steal, [illegible] murder, [illegible] and [illegible] where Hypocrisy kill [illegible] says [illegible] worship Idols and still [illegible] a good Catholic. Yes, he may do [illegible] daily [illegible] contrary [illegible] Pope. Will [illegible] a thousand [illegible] [illegible] Catholic Priests say the [illegible] are "Angels [illegible]" They can forgive sins. They are [illegible] The Bible says "There is one Mediator between God and man, [illegible] He says, I am Father. The [illegible] said [illegible] Father" [illegible] lived and died a good Catholic. The Pope [illegible] a "[illegible]" [illegible] a good Catholic. [illegible] was his partner [illegible] "[illegible]" with [illegible] said "A [illegible] from God" [illegible] died a good Catholic [illegible] was a Good Catholic [illegible]

[illegible] Catholic.

Yes, Roman Catholic Morals [illegible]

America Forever

Whose Country Is This?

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A Pro-American Pro-Christian Publication

by

MARILYN R. ALLEN

P. O. Box 2243

Salt Lake City, Utah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

October, 1947, issue.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

This leaflet 25¢ each; 5 for $1.00

Send for free list of other publications by this author, and enclose 3¢ stamp.

Whose Country Is This?

Does It Belong to Europe?

("SNAFU In Your Land and Mine")

In the new Fourth International COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, ALL the stress is placed on NATIONALISM and SOVEREIGNTY of separate States, with a revolutionary plea to the Fifth Columns in EVERY country to rise up and TAKE POSSESSION of those Governments in the name of the Kremlin-dominated COMMUNIST PARTY.

At the same time, Russia, and those 'Internationalists' in **this** country, who are so easily led by the nose, do everything they can to BREAK DOWN **American** sovereignty via the U.N. Anyone reading my dated booklets will observe that I said over a year and a half ago, that Russia would "scuttle the United NATIONS." Her ultimate objective is to SCUTTLE the United STATES. **That** is why she has re-formed her Communist Comintern, for World Revolution, and especially to align the world AGAINST its **benefactor**, the United STATES. She is now putting on an **ideological** warfare to the death, which must eventually develop into a **shooting** warfare to the death.

Our own investigators returning from Europe say that, despite all the blood and treasure WE have spent in Europe, **it could now be taken over by Stalin IN A WEEK:** so what price suckers, and why keep on keeping on? These investigators flay the openly immoral conditions that PREVAIL among our occupation troops: who have become diseased degenerates in many cases, officers and men alike. EVERYTHING WE DO, and HAVE DONE, in violation of our own Constitution, our own Monroe Doctrine, the precepts laid down by the illustrious Father of our Country, Washington, HAS LED US DEEPER AND DEEPER INTO THE QUICKSANDS OF DISASTER, from which it becomes increasingly impossible to disentangle ourselves. The Christian Bible tells us to WITHDRAW INTO OUR OWN BORDERS and mind our own business (just as does our Constitution:)—

> "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast.
>
> For, behold, the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity: the earth also shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain." (Isa. 26:20)

And yet, in face of all the lessons of experience, there are those FALSE leaders who advocate that the administration again put our people under RATIONING, so that it can the more readily conscript or CONFISCATE our cattle and the American people's FOOD, to GIVE TO FOREIGN NATIONS. The absolute UNCONSTITUTIONALITY and ILLEGALITY of such brazen STEALING of this people's resources is appalling: yet many people are so bemused and DUMB that they are content it should be so. It only goes to show that our people have so long been regimented and pushed around: told what we can have: what we can make: what we can eat: what we must do for FOREIGN nations, until they no longer understand their own rights in their own coun-

try. Instead of upstanding **Americans**, they have become a spineless species of hybrid Internationalist. Soon, they will arrive at that 'faceless' stage, where they can readily be taken over by some anti-Christ "World Ruler" who has only to make them all sorts of specious promises of 'security' and 'peace,' and they will bend their necks, as sheep to the slaughter.

In the FIRST place, CHARITY begins at HOME: in the SECOND place, charity is an INDIVIDUAL matter, NOT a NATIONAL matter, to be doled out by our Government. Private individuals and organizations could handle this matter in a much more efficient and less wasteful manner. BUT LET ME WARN YOU: if we whittle down the health and strength of our OWN people, especially our young people, by food of INSUFFICIENT QUALITY and QUANTITY, then we will not, one day, be able to meet the awesome challenge which even now stares us in the face. WE SHOULD BE STOCKPILING OUR FOOD FOR OUR OWN USE!

The Administration wastes and squanders our money and resources, and refuses to cut down its overstaffed bureaucracy: it throws away MILLIONS of dollars, as was done in the Howard Hughes airplane fiasco, and many similar "extravaganzas." It is THIS type of Administration which DEMANDS that our people 'pull in their belts' so that IT can play politics abroad with OUR food. Today, America truly STANDS at the CROSSROADS: It is up to US who love HER (not the cesspool of Europe) to see to it that SHE survives. Our scientists have said that we cannot possibly produce enough food in this country to feed the world.—Reason and good sense and concern for our OWN country, should precede emotionalism and altruism. We cannot permit America to be denuded of her rights and resources.

If Europe is going to 'collapse' unless we **continue** to wet-nurse her and if we are to live under the constant threat of what **Russia** is going to do in the event we do NOT continue stripping ourselves of our resources for foreign nations, then I say the SOONER THE COLLAPSE COMES, THE BETTER. Let's get it over with. There is no possibility of us **preventing** such a collapse, actually, if it IS in the cards. And WHOM are we going to hold responsible, IF ALL OUR SACRIFICE IS IN VAIN: if we strip and weaken ourselves, and STILL cannot prevent the Communist steamroller from going over Europe? Let's be realistic, as the Russians would say. There IS a strong probability of our OWN collapse by our playing into Russia's hands—which is what we do when we further strip our already bankrupt (to the tune of nearly 300 BILLION DOLLARS) nation. It is disgusting for OUR nation to be always 'pushed around' and told what to do by OTHERS who care nothing for OUR welfare. Sure, I believe in CHARITY: but NOT by wrecking the headstone of the corner, which is America. America has never yet been given either proper credit OR gratitude for all the tons upon tons of material we have ALREADY sent to Europe: MUCH of OUR material was actually used to promote COMMUNISM, and probably will be again.

The Jew, Henry Morgenthau, as Secretary of the Treasury, **illegally gave the United States' MINT to Russia**, who has printed untold HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS; used to aid Communism in Europe, and to aid in bankrupting the USA. He was aided and abetted in this treason by the then Chief of Staff, George Marshall, who personally conveyed these printing plates to the Russian Occupation Forces. Does anybody know whether these plates have YET been returned? **Are we ever going to try traitors in America, instead of in Germany?** BILLIONS of dollars are still owing this Country from World War I loans: which will never be collected.

Anybody who advocates continued draining of our resources, for foreign countries, is NOT a GOOD AMERICAN!

Henry J. Taylor is MY idea of a REAL American commentator: he is always working and pulling FOR AMERICA, God Bless him. He is sympathetic toward Europe's problems, but he has the HONEST, TRUTHFUL COURAGE to come right out and say that the reason they cannot help themselves more is due to the terrific oppression and CONFUSION (Snafu, he calls it) caused by their Socialist (Communist) governmental bureaucracy. After an extended trip through Europe, he reports that these people need help now, **NOT so much as the result and aftermath of war,** but because they cannot live and PRODUCE under the smothering inefficiency of swarms of SOCIALIST bureaucrats, their ignorance and inability. Britain, France, Italy, are slowly stifling and strangling under what amounts to Communist-dictated socialization: and WE are expected to step in and contribute OUR money and resources to maintain in power a system which is INIMICAL and DIAMETRICALLY OPPOSED TO OUR OWN. **The results, to us, of this kind of suicidal action will no doubt be far worse than if we let Europe either sink or swim by its own efforts, under its own power.** NECESSITY is said to be the MOTHER OF INVENTION.—We have a sufficient plethora of Governmental bureaucrats to support here at home, without taking on all of Europe's.

As Mr. Taylor says, the Russians have TROOPS in ratio of 2 to 1 to ALL the other occupation troops in Germany. Our boys over there aren't actually stopping the Russians from doing anything they want to do. When the Bolsheviks get ready, they will swarm over those boys like a steamroller or a plague of locusts. Then we will have lost a great deal MORE of our money and spilled MORE of our own blood. Even now, a "shooting" war is going on: with the Russians almost daily FIRING ON THE SENTRIES AND OUTPOSTS OF OUR OCCUPATION FORCES. This comes direct from a Colonel in our occupation forces, who has just returned to Salt Lake, bringing his family with him. He says that WAR WITH RUSSIA IS INEVITABLE. Why? Peace-mongers take note: BECAUSE RUSSIA INSISTS UPON HAVING IT SO. While our betrayers (including our 'Internationalist' senators) cry peace, peace: ATTACK against us is being readied. Watch for ANOTHER Pearl Harbor which will come via the North Pole. Yet we STILL have REDS in our Administration who continue to betray us.

Britain's papers are now predicting war between Russia and the U. S. A., in which war **she** proposes to stay on the sidelines. In other words, despite all the extraordinary help and assistance of every kind that we have always poured out to Britain, if we are attacked by the most powerful coalition the world has ever known, SHE intends to "sit this one out." Or, perhaps she will condescend to "become the arsenal of democracy" for us. Well, if we have to depend on the pro-Russian-Communist striking labor unions in Britain to furnish us with the sinews of war, we will be licked BEFORE we start. I merely mention this instance to show how much gratitude and cooperation we are likely to receive from any of these parasite nations, when WE really need help. Ingratitude is the basest SIN! Again I say, we had better make **America** strong and be prepared to stand, alone with God, against the anti-Christ forces of darkness which are now gathering against America.

ALL THAT WE HAVE DONE, ALL THAT WE SHALL DO, in violation of our Christian precepts and our Christian CONSTITUTION, SHALL COME TO NAUGHT.

We shall reap the whirlwind of destruction, ON OUR OWN SOIL, for our disobedience.

If you will re-read the writer's booklet, AMERICA AT THE CROSSROADS, (25¢), in the light of the new Communist International pronouncement of WAR against us, you will see that it discusses and predicts this VERY situation, almost as if written yesterday, instead of early in 1946. Every word fits into today's picture. Also, on page 23 of same booklet, under title, IT MUST BE OF THE SPIRIT, you will find this endorsement of that brilliant military commander and statesman, General Douglas MacArthur:

> "Here is the kind of timber we need for our next President: a man of high spiritual, moral, and physical COURAGE: a man of integrity and stirling character: a MAN OF SPIRIT."

The writer favors General MacArthur for our next President: but it is my understanding (which comes straight from the General's headquarters) that he does not desire to be President. He feels he has done his job in Japan (and HOW!) and wants to return home to REST: not to take over the superhuman task of pulling our people out of the appalling MESS into which we have gotten ourselves. Whether he would serve if DRAFTED by the people, I do not know. Perhaps he would.

The writer is not and never has been a politician, and is not in position to tell the people of this nation for whom to vote (as Stalin told our people to vote for Roosevelt). But just this very serious suggestion: REAL Americans had better discard EVERY consideration except the WELFARE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, if they have the slightest desire to see this nation survive the perilous days ahead. The next election may be our last opportunity to bring this nation BACK TO OUR CONSTITUTION and to our own American principles.

ALL of the so-called Liberals, Progressives, Parlor Pinks, are absolutely OUT, unless you wish this nation to **continue** to pursue the path to UTTER and TOTAL DISASTER, which it has been following for the past 15 years. It will require the honest vote of every sincere American to defeat this radical element.

Personally, I do NOT favor Wallace, Stassen, Vandenburg, Eisenhower, Jew-Internationalist FEPC Dewey. Further, Dewey favors the vicious Stratton Bill to admit more hundreds of thousands of refugees: when this country is already glutted with them, to OUR great detriment. Eisenhower wasn't even a brilliant military commander: he has no capacity and no experience fitting him to be President of the USA. The mere fact that he was called, and accepted, the Presidency of Left-wing Columbia University, would DISqualify him in MY eyes. Birds of a feather flock together.

Any of the following are more **genuine Americans**, in the writer's opinion: Senators Robert A. Taft; John Bricker; Kenneth Wherry; Styles Bridges; ~~Congressman~~ Hugh Butler; Alvin O'Konski.
Sen.

Let us pray that God Himself will raise up a MAN, a **Christian** AMERICAN, to be our next President!

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IN CHRIST'S NAME, LET'S HAVE FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA!

In October 3d, 1947 issue of Bnai Brith Messenger, there appears an article by Rabbi Milton Steinberg, WHAT DO

JEWS THINK OF JESUS, in which he arrogantly criticises the CHRISTIAN MESSIAH — the Founder of our Faith—to his heart's content, and makes unflattering as well as untrue statements and comparisons.

He says Christ Jesus "propounded no ethical doctrine in which Jewish Tradition had not anticipated Him. What He taught was the Jewish Tradition as He received it from Scripture and the sages." This is bald-faced UNTRUTH. Christ was NOT a Jew: He came to ABOLISH the Jewish Tradition of Mammon and love of SELF: His teachings were in direct opposition to the narrow sectarian doctrine of Jewish love of themselves, and HATRED OF EVERYBODY ELSE. He upset their Tradition and "made it of no effect." He came to tell them that the "Kingdom has been taken from you and given to those who shall do the Works."

If He did not teach a new faith and doctrine, then **why** did the Jews so violently oppose Him: seek and secure His death? Merely because, as Rabbi Steinberg says, "He was INTEMPERATE in his condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees?" Of COURSE He was: He was the leading anti-Jew of His day. He thoroughly understood and exposed the nature and character of the Jew: which was one of the main reasons they hated Him.—Here is our Example and Pattern: but, instead, most modern-day Clergy —like the Politicians—HANG ON TO THE JEWS' COATTAILS and follow THEM, instead of our Lord.

This Rabbi lowers **himself** by accusing the Messiah, in the language of COMMUNISM, of having "at least traces of CHAUVINISM in Him," because the Christ believed in PURITY OF RACE. Jewish organizations and publications have made common cause with Negroes and Communists in their fight AGAINST White Christian Americans. And here is PROOF of it, out of the mouth of this Jewish Rabbi. Jews encourage and promote fraternization, SOCIAL EQUALITY, between Whites and Negroes: with the idea of mongrelizing and degrading the White Race. But they themselves OSTRACISE ANY JEW who goes outside of HIS OWN RACE. They bitterly denounce one of their clan who would even 'lower' himself by marrying a White Christian. In other words, they stress continuously THEIR OWN RACE, THEIR OWN JEWISHNESS, THEIR OWN NATIONALISM, and certainly NO JEW would even remotely THINK of accepting the **Negroes** on an equal social basis.

It would seem that SOME day, our people would become fed up with this one-sided bald-faced hypocrisy and DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WHITE CHRISTIAN AMERICANS.

This Rabbi goes on to say that "the condition of the world since His advent has never impressed Jews as justifying such an appraisal of Him"—that is, that He came to inaugurate God's Kingdom on earth. Yet, in the preceding paragraph, the Rabbi says Christ "ONLY TAUGHT THE JEWISH TRADITION." One will certainly AGREE that the Jewish Tradition WILL NEVER PROMOTE GOD'S KINGDOM ON EARTH. According to their own testimony about THEMSELES, THEY have promoted ALL the Revolutions and wars of earth. The present situation in Palestine is an accurate picture of "incitement to murder" by Jews. The record of the Jews, in EVERY country, PROVES how little Judaism has done to ESTABLISH THE KINGDOM OF GOD ON EARTH.

Again, the Rabbi construes ISRAEL as meaning only Jews. This is a FALSE interpretation. The Bible ALWAYS refers to the "House of ISRAEL," (meaning White Anglo-Saxon people), and to the "House of Judah," of which the Jews were a part. Jews are never even men-

tioned in the Pentateuch (first five books of the Bible, and the Old Testament IS NOT A JEWISH BOOK) and Jews did not exist as such when the Pentateuch was written. Nor are Jews ever mentioned or named in the COVENANTS which God made with the HOUSE OF ISRAEL (who were Anglo-Saxons). Jews are only a REMNANT (the bad figs) of the HOUSE of JUDAH.

Christ did not come to set up a purely materialistic, pleasure-loving creature-comfort, mammon-worshipping religion, such as the Jews believe in. He said His Kingdom was NOT of this world: it is a SPIRITUAL KINGDOM IN THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF HIS PEOPLE: one which places the SPIRITUAL CONCEPT ahead of ANY materialistic concept. It is a Kingdom in which He DOES reign supreme, and ultimately it IS the sort of Kingdom of Righteousness which He WILL establish on EARTH. It is to block and prevent the setting up of such a Kingdom on Earth, that all the FORCES OF EVIL are fighting so desperately today.

Rabbi Steinberg says, "Judaism is jarred by the world-weariness Jesus displayed, His indifference to social affairs and day-by-day living, His absorption in life after death and in the Messianic Era." This statement contains untruth and MISrepresentation. Christ, by the record, was NOT indifferent to weddings, social affairs, to friendly gatherings: in fact, the opposite was true, because his ENEMIES (then, as now) falsely accused Him.

> "The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a man gluttonous, and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." (St. Matt. 11:19)

He enjoyed life, and He wanted His followers to do likewise. His enemies were DISpleased because He DID seem to enjoy life and simple pleasures. Christ said: "I AM COME THAT YE MIGHT HAVE LIFE, AND HAVE IT MORE ABUNDANTLY. "I AM COME THAT YOUR JOY MIGHT BE MADE FULL. "BE OF GOOD CHEER, FOR I HAVE OVERCOME THE WORLD. "MY PEACE I GIVE UNTO YOU." The Apostle Peter said: "Thou hast made known to me the ways of LIFE: thou shalt make me FULL OF JOY with thy countenance." — So, He doesn't sound like a gloomy character, does He? Further, He was a LOVER OF NATURE, and spent much time in the open, by the sea, in the mountains.—And NEVER has a spiritual leader stressed more the necessity of incorporating one's beliefs INTO THE DAILY LIFE. "By their fruits, he shall know them." "Faith without works is dead."

So far as "world weariness" is concerned, what is the situation today? And what true disciple of Christ does not yearn for His just and righteous reign to be established on earth? WHO, today, (as in His time) is not utterly weary of the machinations of EVIL FORCES and EVIL MEN in the world, who seek to enslave the people and deprive them of everything which WOULD make life joyful and happy and free? WHO today is not utterly weary of the continued clamor of the JEWS for strictly selfish JEWISH desires and objectives? WHO is not weary of the strife and agitation which THEY stir up in ALL parts of the world, including America? WHO is not weary of their incessant emphasis on JEWISH rights and tender feelings, etc? As Prime Minister Attlee has said; when he grew weary of their clamor: "Are the JEWS the ONLY ones in the world who suffer hardship and vicissitudes?" One would think so: they turn the world upside down so that they might have that to which they have no rightful claim: Palestine.

In this connection, EVERY American who values life and liberty, should have a copy of THE PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION, and refer to it frequently for a clear understanding of the world program which is today being carried out. The JEWISH plot and plan of world domination (INTERNATIONALISM) is clearly set forth in all its details. For instance, in their Protocol No. 7, they state: "We must create ferments and hostility throughout Europe, and in other continents also." THIS THEY ARE DOING. You may obtain this book for 50¢ from WOMEN'S VOICE, 537 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.—Read also this author's, THE JEWISH PROTOCOLS and Their Application to Present Times (50¢): and JUDAIC-COMMUNISM versus CHRISTIAN-AMERICANISM ($1.00).

The Jew, Steinberg, accuses Jesus of ill-temper "when He denounced a fig tree for not yielding fruit to appease His hunger" . . . This ignorant Rabbi fails completely to understand the SYMBOLISM of Christ's curse, which He pronounced upon the fig tree, which is symbolical of JUDAH (Jews), BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT BRINGING FORTH FRUIT—meaning good works.

The Rabbi says Jesus instructed the Apostles not to give His message to NON-Jews. How inconsistent this Rabbi is. He says Jesus taught only the same sort of thing as the Jewish Tradition: nothing new or original. YET the Jews rejected Him AND his message and had Him crucified: while it is the Anglo-Saxon (Aryan) race—NON-Jews—who HAVE accepted His message, His sacrifice, and His Messiah-ship! Further, it is the White Anglo-Saxons who HAVE DONE THE WORKS: not the Jews.

The Rabbi goes on to say: "The very phrases of the Sermon on the Mount can be paralleled one by one from the Jewish devotional literature of His time." IF it is true that Jews believe in the PRINCIPLES laid down in the Sermon on the Mount, WHY THEN IS IT THAT THEY NEVER PRACTICE THEM? Why is THEIR doctrine (which includes that of COMMUNISM, by the Jew, Karl Marx) founded on HATE, VENGEANCE, VIOLENCE, ARMED RESISTANCE TO LAW AND ORDER, as exemplified by the REVOLUTIONS which they claim to have sponsored? And as carried out even now by their Underground organizations in Palestine, and unlawfully backed and promoted by JEWS and even some non-Jews, in America? Why does this Rabbi blame Christ for present world-conditions IF JEWRY CLAIMS TO HAVE BEEN TEACHING HIS SAME PHILOSOPHY (of LOVE) ALL THESE YEARS? Why does their Anti-Defamation League gestapo work incessantly and UNCONSTITUTIONALLY to put down and silence everyone who criticises or opposes them in any way? Are these actions Christ-like?

The TRUTH of the matter is that they OPPOSE and FIGHT His Gospel NOW as THEN: that is why they work so ardently to set up school after school in this country; organization after organization, and publication after publication, to SUBVERT Christian Americans to JUDAISM. Judaism is the antithesis of CHRISTIANITY and of AMERICANISM, as set up by our Founding Fathers.

The pro-Jew pro-Negro Cincinnati Post announces that an Institute on JUDAISM, of Christian Church Women, designed to 'interpret JUDAISM to NON-Jews' will be held beginning October 1st at Rockdale Avenue Temple (Jewish) under auspices of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods. The beliefs, ritual and traditions of JUDAISM will be explained by three rabbis. WHY is it necessary or desirable for these supposed CHRISTIAN women to be instructed in JUDAISM? Why aren't the words, lives, and actions of JEWS sufficient to "interpret" their

religion to the world: just as should also be true of the Christians?—This movement, which is nothing less than part of the nation-wide intensive campaign by JEWS to JUDAIZE America, is endorsed by Charles P. Taft, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ. This is about the sort of action one would expect from the president of that hybrid organization.—As stated and proved by this writer in many articles, JUDAISM is NOT AMERICANISM. All the emphasis is placed on JUDAIC education of our people, by these collaborators with JUDAISM, such as Dr. Everett R. Clinchy, president of National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The legally-discredited pro-Communist L. M. Birkhead and his Friends of Democracy (who sponsored smear-boy John Roy Carlson) work hand-in-glove with this phase of Jewish anti-Americanism. The Cincinnati Post of September 23d, 1947, states that Birkhead is to speak in this same Rockdale Temple, under auspices of Bnai Brith, and probably his subject will be: "Shall we jail the propagandists" who don't agree with the Jew-Communists? An affirmative answer would be in strict accord with the desire of Jew-Communists who sponsor Buckley Bill 2848 to FORBID anti-semitism, i. e., any criticism of Jews.

If this Buckley Bill had been law then, they would have imprisoned Christ, Paul, Peter, and ALL the apostles: and of course some of them DID suffer imprisonment for their outspokenness in proclaiming TRUTH. But Christ Himself was DESTROYED. "Then the Pharisees went out, and held a council AGAINST Him, how they might DESTROY Him." (St. Matthew 12:14).

Yet this Jewish Rabbi says Christ was "intemperate in his condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees:" just as there are those today who accuse me of the same thing, for the same reason. How do you suppose YOU would feel if someone wanted to imprison you or put you to death for expressing your inmost CONVICTIONS, in this supposedly FREE country? Would YOU think THEY were "intemperate?"

Christ, The MESSIAH, believed pre-eminently in FREEDOM of the INDIVIDUAL, under law and order. He CAME to FREE men from tyranny and oppression. He came to teach them the TRUTH that WOULD free them. Without freedom, life means nothing.

Was it any wonder that Christ was weary UNTO DEATH, with a RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION, because of the Jews' HYPOCRISY, and their wickedness? He who is never able to work up a lather over EVIL, injustice, and hypocrisy, is UNWORTHY to BE a follower of the Christ. The Bible says, "Because ye are neither hot nor cold, I will spew you out."

And now, AGAIN, I want my readers to see the on-congruous, inconsistent, hypocritical attitude and actions of the Jews in this very same issue of Bnai Brith Messenger of October 3d, 1947. Here we have the arrogant Jewish Rabbi, Steinberg, giving his opinion—the JEWISH opinion —of the CHRISTIAN CHRIST, that Exalted Being whom America worships. He feels entirely FREE to express his own uncomplimentary opinion in uncensored language. BUT in that SAME issue of the SAME magazine, we have a picture of JEWISH leaders in Los Angeles exhibiting a petition containing the first 10,000 signatures, to PASS THE BUCKLEY BILL 2848, which would outlaw anti-semitism, and prevent ANY criticism of JEWS. These pictured persons represent the JEWISH People's Fraternal Order: the Emma Lazarus Division, AND the American Jewish LABOR Council. Passage of this Buckley Bill would make it IMPOSSIBLE for this writer to answer

Steinberg's article or to DEFEND THE CHRIST WHOM I FOLLOW.

While the FREEDOM TRAIN (about which the Jews yammer continually, so that THEY may have all the freedom THEY want) rolls across America, the JEWS work arduously to secure the passage of bills which would DESTROY OUR BILL OF RIGHTS: which would PREVENT and SILENCE FREE SPEECH AND FREE PRESS BY CHRISTIAN AMERICANS! They would go still further: they would IMPRISON and FINE Christian Americans who DO exercise their God-given RIGHTS of free speech and free press. Why don't those alleged CHRISTIANS, who are so interested in JUDAISM, get busy and organize to FIGHT the betrayal of **their** RIGHTS BY JEWS? These same Jews who **pretend** to be their **friends!**

Certainly, I regard as **my** enemy, anybody who attempts to deprive me of my fundamental **American** RIGHTS of free speech and free press. This is especially true when these very same people make use of these rights for the nefarious purpose of deriding the claims and attributes of the Founder of the CHRISTIAN religion.

Furthermore, I do not want people of this type and calibre of mind, to do MY thinking for me, and to decide what I can think and what I can say. THIS WRITER IS FIGHTING THAT TRUE FREEDOM MAY NOT PERISH FROM THE EARTH!

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"INCITING TO MURDER"

Comes now Robert Young, who plays in the pro-Jewish anti-Christian moving picture, CROSSFIRE, and gives forth in it with a five-minute speech against anti-semitism: which speech has been made into a record, to be used to promote the same objective as this biased picture itself. This Robert Young is warmly endorsed in People's Daily World (Communist rag) dated September 24th, 1947, because of his desire to play in this type of pro-Jew pro-Negro picture. In other words, the sentiments which Young expresses and the side on which he has aligned himself, ARE THOSE ENDORSED BY THE JEW-COMMUNIST publications. And the Jew-Communist organizations and publications ALL endorse and promote "EQUALITY" (of the White and Colored races) and mongrelization.

Well, here is at least ONE fan that Robert Young has lost: anybody who is warmly endorsed by the subversive sheets, is not MY kind of American. Along this same line, in Bnai Brith Messenger of October 3, 1947, is a squib to the effect that "Charlie Chaplin is in a fighting mood . . . Intimates predict that at the hearing in Washington, D. C., he'll do to the Committee on UnAmerican Activities what Howard Hughes did to the Brewster Committee." This is only one of MANY complimentary references to Chaplin by means of which Jewish papers back HIM.

This writer seldom condescends to call **any** human being a LOUSE, but if that word were ever justified, it is in Chaplin's case. Who is this common ALIEN male street-walker, this pariah, this abetter and hobnobber with Communists, that HE dares to boast of discomfitting an authorized, duly-appointed committee of our Congress—whose business it is to protect decent American **citizens** against such as he? Long ago, he SHOULD have been deported from this too hospitable country, as an UNDESIRABLE ALIEN: and no doubt WOULD have been, if there were not those higher-ups who are in his same class.—The

JEWISH papers only tip their hand when they come to the defense of such as he.

Robert Young is expansive and big-hearted: he says, "Get all his HATRED and BIGOTRY out in the open: let's TALK about it: that's the only way to lick it. We'll never get anywhere by **whispering** about race HATRED. Take the furor everybody raises when they found out CROSS-FIRE had the word 'Jew' in it. That's as taboo on the screen as "syphilis' was in the newspapers ten years ago."

In the first place, this writer is definitely fed up on the continual **emotional** Jew-Communist-inspired use of the words, "HATRED and BIGOTRY" as applied to all those who, WITHOUT RANCOR OR HATRED IN THEIR HEARTS, but only love for Christian America, DISCUSS THE JEWISH AND NEGRO QUESTIONS. All we are doing is telling the TRUTH about Jewish activities, and their own openly announced connection with America's deadly enemy, **Communism**, and we have just as much right to present OUR viewpoint as they have to present THEIRS.

We are fed up, too, on being accused of RACE HATRED —which is a lie—just because we uphold the Bible plan of separation of the Races. We are very tired of the vociferous Negro's claim that SEPARATION and SEGREGATION of the Negro is DISCRIMINATION and INJUSTICE against him: and that he is fully the equal of the WHITE in every way. This is NOT true: the NEGRO has in no way evolved to the status of the WHITE man, and all his claims to that effect will not make it so. HE should go back to his country of origin, and PROVE to the world that the Negro, left to his OWN resources, can build anything like a comparable civilization to that of the White man. He has never shown any such ability yet. In the meantime, we will stand on the Bible plan of separation and segregation of the White and Colored Races in America: we will stand for just treatment of the Negro, but NOT FOR THE FALSE CLAIM THAT HE IS THE EQUAL OF THE WHITE, nor entitled to FORCE himself upon, and into, all gatherings and activities of the Whites. —Is it better to STAND upon the DIVINE Laws of God: or to heed the raucous selfish unscientific and un-Scriptural DEMANDS and propaganda of these Minorities?

This propaganda is based upon a LIE. If it were not, there would not be so great and venomous HATRED toward us who expose the fallacy of this propaganda. Robert Young says to "get this whole subject OUT IN THE OPEN: and not **whisper** about it" etc. THAT is exactly what this writer, as well as some others, has been attempting to do: BUT THIS IS THE ONE THING MOST VIOLENTLY AND BITTERLY OPPOSED BY ORGANIZED JEWRY, and its gestapo, the Anti-Defamation League. It has the largest, most efficient, most highly-financed SECRET POLICE FORCE in the world (with possible exception of the Russian NKVD), for **putting down** ALL THOSE who attempt to discuss these controversial subjects openly and freely. Young is correct when he says that the word 'Jew' has been as taboo, for a subject of discussion, as 'syphilis' used to be. WHY? Because, as the Jews themselves have admitted in their Year Book of 1943-44, they made SECRET agreements with newspapers, film producers, and others, by means of which the latter were high-pressured, NEVER TO MENTION THE WORD 'JEW,' and most especially never to discuss anything which might be construed as derogatory to Jews.—So there is your answer, Mr. Young! It is only when, or because, they are able to get something on the screen which is entirely flattering to THEM, and derogatory to CHRISTIANS, that they graciously permit a pro-Jew picture to be made.

In the 50th Anniversary (very extravagant) number of Bnai Brith Messenger, Donald Oberdorfer, of Atlanta, Ga., had a long article extolling the multiple and varied activities of the Anti-Defamation League gestapo, in which he openly boasted of how this gestapo has succeeded in PUTTING DOWN ANY AND ALL DISCUSSION OR CRITICISM OF JEWS and their activities.—CHRISTIANS have NO organizations, no funds, no subsidized publications, to properly combat this UNAMERICAN pro-Jew anti-Christian activity on the part of the Jew HATE-mongers.

There is a humorous little squib in David Weissman's column, "Here's the Point" in Bnai Brith Messenger of September 26th, 1947. Writing about the FREEDOM TRAIN, he says, "That's one train that should not be single-tracked, BECAUSE FREEDOM IS A TWO-WAY PROPOSITION." Freedom for WHOM? Only Jews and Negroes? What about the rights of free speech, free thought, and free press for WHITE CHRISTIAN AMERICANS? This one-track train of JEWISH thought becomes very monotonous from OUR standpoint.

And so, right along this same one-track biased BIGOTED Jewish viewpoint, there is a venomous completely unfair article in The California JEWISH Voice, of September 26th, 1947, titled, WHAT MILITANT MEANS, by Benjamin R. Epstein, who is Acting National Director of the Jewish gestapo, Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith. "What does it mean to be militant? The Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith has its own interpretation." You bet your sweet life it has its own interpretation: which is that ALL methods, underhanded or otherwise, which the JEWS use, are O. K. The end justifies the means: which is also the slogan of Communism.

This article tells of the League's methods in 'silencing' the anti-semitic activity of Mr. Hunt Dietrich, of New York, who was merely distributing literature that told the TRUTH about Jewish activities. So the ADL accumulated 'documented' evidence against him, month after month: they got him fired from the National Institute of Arts and Letters, even though this man is an internationally-known sculptor of high repute. Then the League had him hailed into court on a charge of having disseminated defamatory material through the mail. When you tell the truth about Jewish activities, it is just naturally defamatory, scurrilous, and libelous. And so they use every avenue of approach to PREVENT CHRISTIAN AMERICANS FROM ENJOYING OUR "UNALIENABLE RIGHTS" under our Constitution—about which the Jews blabber so much. They are even demanding that, by legislative action, we be denied "second class mailing privileges: that the publishers of such material be required to print their names and designations."

So, in his article, Mr. Epstein says, "his release by a federal judge did NOT vindicate him one whit. The public, now aware of his true stature, SCORNS him." Epstein here reveals the TRUE Jewish nature. The Judge could not convict Mr. Dietrich of any crime, because he did not commit one: he was merely exercising his "unalienable rights:" but Epstein repudiates this vindication by a federal judge, and holds this innocent man up to public SCORN and VILLIFICATION.—What did you say about bringing this whole matter OUT INTO THE OPEN, Mr. Young? Would YOU be courageous enough to fight so deadly an enemy as the Jew, Mr. Young?

Mr. Epstein then goes on, in the same article, to similarly villify Mr. J. B. Stoner Jr., of Chattanooga, Tenn., who also has exposed certain facts regarding Jewish nature and activities. Epstein calls this young man "unstable,

vicious, a crackpot, without stature." He criticises him because of his "lack of subtlety" which Epstein says induced the Christian-American anti-Jew Klu Klux Klan to repudiate Stone. BUT, as usual, the Jews are a bit inconsistent: they themselves are the most SUBTLE, DEVIOUS, UNDERHANDED of ALL people: and they will just as bitterly attack any one of us who do NOT hide behind anonymity: those of us who are bold and forthright. There is just no pleasing them, except one plays THEIR game, just as Robert Young and Robert Ryan are doing.—For instance, Jew-Communist John Roy Carlson, in his smear book, The Plotters, devotes three pages to me, and accuses me of being "one of the most outspoken Nationalists"—for which compliment I thank him. Certainly, nobody can accuse me of doing any WHISPERING about the beliefs which I hold.

How do these men reconcile the Jews' **pretended** championship of AMERICANISM and "unalienable rights" and "freedom as a two-way street" with the vicious attacks by such as Mr. Epstein and Rabbi Steinberg, as well as the unConstitutional FEPC laws originated, promulgated and sponsored by Jew-Communists: and with the absolutely UNCONSTITUTIONAL Federal gags on FREE Americans, introduced into Congress, such as Buckley Bill 2848? America today is largely a Country **of** the Jews, **by** the Jews, and FOR the Jews: and this is the basis on which they want to run the world.

Reverting to Mr. Epstein and his article as to what MILITANT means: he thoroughly discredits the word MILITANT as applied to **Christian** Americans, such as J. B. Stoner Jr. But who has ever known of a more MILITANT people than the JEWS, who themselves staunchly affirm that THEY are the greatest REVOLUTIONISTS of ALL time? For many quotations to this effect, from the writings of JEWS themselves, read my booklet, GOD MADE ME FREE (25¢). Here is just one, by Samuel Roth: "We come to the nations pretending to escape persecution: WE, the MOST DEADLY PERSECUTORS IN ALL THE WRETCHED ANNALS OF MAN . . . If you are in doubt, take a look at any Jew-ridden country in Europe." etc.

OR, take a look at Palestine. The Jews there do not "**incite** to murder" (as Epstein accuses Stoner): their Underground organizations actually COMMIT MURDER CONTINUOUSLY, killing many innocent people: all in the name of Race, religion, or their own nationalism. In other words, ANYTHING THEY DO IS ALRIGHT: but it is WICKED for anyone else to be "militant" on behalf of their own race, or their own country, or religion.

Epstein castigates Stoner because he says that Stoner advocates that Jews be eliminated from America by whatever means are available. "In other words, he was inciting to murder." Well, believe me, I've read PLENTY of inflammatory JEWISH literature (including their TALMUD) which incites to murder, of Christians. I recently received, through the mail, a Jewish HATE sheet, called The Shield, edited by a Samuel Esptein, in New York. It is strictly a REVOLUTIONARY propaganda sheet, on behalf of JEWS. It says that Jews should be ARMED and trained to use those arms. It quotes from sayings of the Jewish Underground organizations in Palestine — which frankly advocate MURDER of the BRITISH, or anyone else who opposes their taking over Palestine. I have never read more 'INCITING' literature, which was sent through the mails. So WHY should the ADL cite Mr. J. B. Stoner Jr. to the Department of Justice, for summary action against HIM; when THEY do exactly the IDENTICAL THING THEMSELVES? BUT the trouble is, the so-called Department of Justice is largely composed of Jews,

and is biased in favor of Jews. It has never yet investigated or indicted a SINGLE JEW (citizens of this country) for unAmerican subversive activities: it probably never will.

This sheet, "The Shield," also contained propaganda by the Jewish-Palestine Underground organizations INCITING the purposeful propagation of Jew babies: which is being deliberately carried out by Jewish refugees, and is creating acute problems for those who have to care for and feed these people.

How CAN you swallow all this inconsistency, this BIAS, HATE and BIGOTRY, on the part of Jews, Messrs. Ryan and Young? I used to believe in the American sense of justice and FAIR PLAY: but if our people can swallow this kind of biased propaganda and action on the part of JEWS, and STILL pretend it is the JEWS who are getting a raw deal, then I must admit their thinking is too WARPED for me to follow.

Going back to the RACE question, here is what God has to say, in Deuteronomy 7: 6, 7—

> "For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto Himself, ABOVE ALL PEOPLE THAT ARE UPON THE FACE OF THE EARTH. The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people: for ye were the fewest of all people."

THIS HOLY PEOPLE OF GOD IS THE ANGLO-SAXON-CELTIC (White Christian) RACE, who form only about 10% of all the peoples of the world. It is NOT the Jewish race. Jews are not mentioned in this book of the Bible: nor are they "ISRAEL," as they falsely claim.—What is the matter with White Christian Americans, that they do not proudly CLAIM THEIR GOD-APPOINTED HERITAGE?

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Russians are Coming!
Are you ready for them?

Extension Division Bulletin

NEW DOMINION SERIES

No. 92 Charlottesville, Virginia November, 1947

FOUND: A HOME

Rural Families Pool Their Resources and Build a Community Center

Published monthly October through June
Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1941, at the post office at Charlottesville, Virginia, under the Act of August 24, 1912

A CALL TO ACTION!

We Have Got To Clean House NOW.

AMERICA FOR AMERICANS,
IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Every newspaper, every patriotic organization, every legislator, every loyal American, should take up this cry. Every hour and every minute of every day, these TERMITES, boring from within, are working to betray us and to SCUTTLE AMERICA. We need less talk: MORE ACTION. "Should a man full of TALK be justified?" (Job 11:2) "Should he reason with unprofitable TALK? Or with speeches wherewith he can do no good?" (Job 15:3). We are a TALKING nation: when what we need now is ACTION. Tomorrow may be forever too late.

TIME GROWS VERY SHORT. Our Bible says, "No man knoweth the day nor the hour: but when everyone is crying PEACE, PEACE (as is Henry Wallace), THEN COMETH SUDDEN DESTRUCTION!" It will be more sudden and devastating than Pearl Harbor. Catastrophe stands knocking at the door.

We MUST rid America and our Administration of traitors, communists—ALIENS: both native-born and foreign-born traitors, whether they are Jew, Gentile, or Negro. **They should be impeached, hung, or deported.** All who are not for AMERICA FIRST, are **against** us. WE NEED ACTION NOW! Every other country has waited until it was TOO LATE. Every day, some treasonable traitorous act is being committed **against our security**, by those in position to do so. WHAT TRAITORS IN THE ADMINISTRATION ARE STILL SENDING OIL, WHEAT, STEEL, AUTOMOTIVE AND FARM MACHINERY TO OUR SELF-CONFESSED ENEMY — RUSSIA?? Not long ago, Mr. Truman said he "saw no harm" in sending heavy locomotives, and other machinery to Russia. (Remember the scrap iron for Japan?) Now, the Administration is GIVING AWAY OUR SHIPS. Yet high Army officials say our DEFENSE IS A HOLLOW SHELL! Many Russian divisions are massed just across narrow Bering Strait from ALASKA.

Alert war veterans in New Jersey are picketing and protesting the loading of ships for Russia with our vital materiel. This **treason** should be stopped by FORCE. These veterans **rightly** scorn the President's call for UMT and drafting them, under such conditions. Mothers of Sons, how do you sleep nights, with this sort of betrayal going on continually? Shall more Christian American boys perish—while traitors wax rich and fat, in our midst? Cowardice and indifference will not save these boys: only quick drastic ACTION can stave off utter ruin.

Mr. Truman's rubber-stamp (for Bernard M. Baruch) Administration has **furnished no leadership for WHITE CHRISTIAN AMERICANS: his objectives have been those endorsed by Jew-Communist-Negro minorities: such as his "Civil Rights" program (drawn up by a hand-picked bunch of pro-Communists), which advocates invasion and abrogation of States' and individuals' rights. His Communistic F.E.P.C. program means a spy-ridden Police State.**

Let's put ALL WHO WORK FOR RUSSIA'S INTERESTS ON A SHIP, AND SEND THEM THERE IMMEDIATELY, so they can work for PEACE in RUSSIA! Let's load THEM on Russian-bound ships instead of OUR RESOURCES. This includes Henry Wallace and his fellow-workers: as well as scientists such as Harlow Shapley, of Harvard University Observatory, who backs the ten convicted Hollywood subversives and who works to abolish the blessed Committee on UnAmerican Activities. I'd put unfrocked Leon Birkhead and his 'Friends of Democracy' on this same ship, together with European Alien, Kurt Singer: convicted Edward Barsky and his joint anti-fascist refugee committee: likewise Jas. H. Sheldon, of the New York sectarian spy league: as well as all of its officials and those active in the Jewish gestapo in the U.S.A.—the Anti-Defamation League. Probably our first export to Russia should be John L. Lewis.—And instead of hypocritically endeavoring to BAN the Klu Klux Klan—which stands bravely on the **American Constitution**, the **Christian Bible**, and **White Christian Supremacy**, I'd ask this fine organization to RIDE IN EVERY CITY AND EVERY HAMLET, UNTIL WE HAVE CLEANSED THIS COUNTRY OF SUBVERSIVE TRAITORS, native and alien.

When war comes (as it soon will), it will **mean all the difference to us** whether we have traitors and saboteurs in our midst, free to blow up vital plants and servives. WHY is the convicted Edward Barskey and his anti-fascist refugee committee STILL FREE TO CARRY ON THEIR SUBVERSION? WHY are Harry Bridges, the Alexander Bittelmans, and others of their ilk, who have been ordered deported, STILL IN OUR MIDST, and not even in jail?? After long delay, we are finally rid of the malefic Gerhardt Eislers.

From now on, we will have ONLY TWO CLASSES OF PEOPLE IN AMERICA: those who work to SAVE this Christian Republic: and those who work to SCUTTLE AMERICA. "The night cometh when no man can work." Let us deal with our enemies quickly. Even now, we will have to pay a heavy price for having tolerated EVIL in our midst for so long. WORK, while there is yet a little time. SHOW some love, zeal, and enthusiasm for our beloved country! The Christian Christ has said that these TARES (traitors, "children of the wicked one") shall be gathered together and burned in the fire in the last days." (St. Matt. 13: 30). These ARE the last days: they may be **your** last days unless you get busy.

Will you **continue** as 'sitting ducks' waiting to be sold into SLAVERY? Let's take into protective custody NOW such ALIEN REDS as Madame Joliet-Curie and other "scientists" who come to spy and betray. Let's place ALL doubtful, suspicious characters, as well as **known**, REDS in restricted areas, under guard, NOW, for our own protection. The FBI knows who these people are.

Every loyal citizen of this REPUBLIC has a solemn obligation to put aside ALL ELSE, and work for his Country. Only thus can he SAVE HIMSELF and his loved ones from deep misery and possible SLAVERY. You will never be able to carry out any of your life plans if this Country goes under Communistic totalitarian tyranny. IT IS TIME TO SHOW YOUR COLORS! **A people without national spirit is dead and should be buried!**

DON'T FORGET TO PRAY FOR AMERICA. The prayer of a righteous man availeth much.

AMERICA FOR AMERICANS, IN SPIRIT AND IN TRUTH!

O. K. the foregoing by signing your name and address, and forward to your legislators, newspaper editors, radio commentators, ministers, educators, and other leaders, before it is too late.

Name .....

Address .....

BY

MARILYN R. ALLEN

P. O. Box 2243

Salt Lake City

Utah

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

WANTED: Aerial Paul Reveres to drop this CALL TO ACTION from the skies: instead of bombs.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

"SENATORS FOR EUROPE"

If, or when, BREAD LINES (such as they now have in Russia) form in the U.S.A. as a result of ERP (the Red alien-spawned 'Marshall Plan' for the benefit of FOREIGNERS, especially Communists: which will probably be administered by the same kind of people as was UNRRA), I hope that Arthur Vandenberg, "Senator for Europe," will be in that line.

I suggest that every poor, struggling family and bread-winner in America promptly appeal NOW to Senator Vandenberg **personally** for aid and for funds for their OWN families, so that they can meet the ever-rising cost of living. Senator Vandenberg is paid by **American** taxpayers: he has sworn a solemn oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the USA and the welfare of the **American** people. I am not kidding when I say that every American family and every child in this country, should hold **him** personally responsible for throwing away BILLIONS of this Country's resources. ERP is HIS European baby and he has fought for it with the ferocity of a tiger. When ERP becomes only a maudlin BERP, and when the American people finally wake up to the enormity of how they have been SCUTTLED, let's remember Arthur Vandenberg—as well as Henry Morgenthau Jr., who gave our money plates to RUSSIA.—Very hard times are ahead for Americans (thanks to these two gentlemen, especially): and they had better 'trim their sails' accordingly.

Let's remember, too, that Utah's Senators, Arthur V. Watkins and Elbert D. Thomas (also "Senators for Europe") voted for this monstrous foreign "experiment" with American taxpayers' money. Of course, it was to be expected of Internationalist Elbert D. Thomas: but one did hope for more stamina and patriotism from Arthur V. Watkins.

PUSSYFOOTING PREACHERS

Why is it that most present-day **alleged** Christians (most especially ministers) have NO ZEAL, NO ENTHUSIASM, for the Cause of Christ, for FREEDOM, or for Christian America? Our Supreme Court and State Courts have ruled that this IS a Christian Republic.

We are living today in similar times as when the prophets of old thundered their bold courageous warnings to the people, who were about to be destroyed, because of their wickedness. These PROPHETS and APOSTLES, after that they had received the Holy Spirit from on high, were ENDUED with POWER, COURAGE, BOLDNESS. They were not timid, fearful, cowardly, soft-pedalers—like so many today, who have neither power nor courage: who have forgotten the Master's saying: "He that loseth his life for MY sake, shall find it." These MEN of old times were willing to LOSE their lives, or to be imprisoned, FOR HIS NAME'S SAKE. No man or woman CAN fight boldly who is continually worrying about what is going to happen to him or her, or who is afraid of what his neighbor will say. You have got to put your life in GOD'S hands, and THEN FIGHT FOR ALL YOU ARE WORTH, WITH BOLDNESS AND ENTHUSIASM, letting the chips fall where they may.

Would that Rev. Chas. E. Fuller, of Long Beach, Calif. (and many other preachers like him) would correct his own Biblical ignorance on the subject of Jews and Palestine. He says, "Christians should not hate Iraelites." Of COURSE, they shouldn't: White **Christions** ARE the TRUE Israelites: Jews are the "bad figs." Jews themselves, in all their literature, especially the Jewish TALMUD, proclaim their hatred for Christians. The Jewish TALMUD is the most anti-CHRISTIAN book in the world: just as the Christian Bible is the most anti-JEW.

Unfortunately, many of our ministers, like our Congressmen and politicians, **are deadly afraid of the Jewish power of purse and persecution**: so they keep silent on important truths. They, like the Disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane, sleep, while this Christian nation is betrayed. (Every minister and every **American** should read "OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS" listed herein.) Right now, Radio Station KMPC, Hollywood, is being persecuted by the JEWISH Congress, who has appealed to Federal Communications Commission to revoke its license, because everything over this station is not slanted to JEWISH interests. Long ago, actual FREE SPEECH vanished in America: today only the most hardy dare exercise it.

After that America shall have been purged and cleansed of evil — evil people and evil ideologies — through sorrow, suffering, sacrifice—then "HE WHOSE RIGHT IT IS, SHALL RULE WITH A ROD OF IRON." The glory that WAS America's shall be re-established. Her light shall again shine forth. Old Glory will proudly wave over a people who are PROUD OF HER and her tradition. The most glorious possession of any FREE nation — the Divinely-inspired AMERICAN CONSTITUTION—will regain its rightful place in the minds and hearts of her people, who will truly evaluate its worth. The CHRISTIAN ideal—the Kingdom on Earth—will flower (as by first intent) in AMERICA.

THIS IS MY OWN, MY DEAR, AND NATIVE LAND

This is my own, my dear, and native Land.
This is the Promised Land of long ago,
To call the mystic Kingdom from the sky:
Establish it on this God-blessed Strand.

This is my own, my dear, and native Land,
Ordained to set a pattern in the world.
No foreign history or heritage
Can stir my soul as does American.

Betrayed ideals stab my heart with pain!
Her honor, glory, welfare, are my own.
She lives in me and I in her: each makes
The other what it has become: no gain

Except for both, in all sincerity.
Each answers for the vital part he plays:
For weal or woe, his fate is bound with hers,
Not only now, but through eternity!

In face of man-made menace: Nature's gales,
That seek to sink our Ship of State, let's pray
His Star may guide and guard America,
Until His Day of Righteousness prevails.

This is my own, my dear, and native Land:
Through life, or death, I'll wear no other Brand!

by Marilyn R. Allen

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

HAIL to the RED, WHITE and BLUE

Hail to the Red, White and Blue,
Mystic emblem of the true:
Symbol of our liberty,
Holy banner of the FREE!

Rally quickly round our flag;
Never for a moment lag.
Now's no time to doubt or falter,
Lest we too should wear a halter.

Hail to the Red, White and Blue!
How long she waves depends on YOU.
Will you write in scrolls of glory
All the worth of Freedom's story?

Now's no time to doubt or falter,
Lest we too should wear a halter.
FREE men always walk upright,
Facing ever toward the LIGHT.

by Marilyn R. Allen

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Beathes there an American with soul so dead, he is not inspired by the symbolic beauty of his Flag?

List of Christian-American Publications by

Miss Marilyn R. Allen, P. O. Box 2243,

Salt Lake City, Utah.

AMERICA at the CROSSROADS ..... $ .25

GOD MADE ME FREE ..... .25

THE ONLY WAY OUT ..... .25

SENATOR THOMAS OF UTAH AND THE LIBERALS ..... .20

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MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG, MY COUNTRY ..... .25
(This booklet discusses infamous Bill 6897, now known as Buckley Bill 2848, which would turn you from a free citizen into a Jewish slave.)

JUDAIC-COMMUNISM versus CHRISTIAN-AMERICANISM 1.00

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CHALLENGE to the REPUBLICANS in 1948 20 for 1.00

A CALL TO ACTION, 20 for 1.00

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THE NEGRO and the CONSTITUTION, by Dr. Keen Polk, 920 South Eleventh East St., Salt Lake City, Utah ..... .50

AMERICAN COMMENTATOR, THE: hard-hitting Christian-American newspaper, P. O. Box 1979, Denver 1, Colo. By mail, per year .. 4.00

OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS: (re Underworld Secret-Police Terror in U. S.) by Jos. P. Kemp, 342 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y., each .. .50

PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION (Marsden translation) ..... .50

WORLD EMPIRE—SUPPLEMENT: by Judge Geo. Armstrong, Ft. Worth 9, Texas ..... .25

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Send your dollars to fight with us who are in the front line trenches.

April, 1948, Issue.

Loyalty Investigation

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1948.

DUE PROCESS IN WASHINGTON

If there is one thing above all others in our American way of life in which most thoughtful citizens take pride and in which they firmly believe, it is in the principles of civil rights enunciated in the first ten amendments to our Constitution. They were attached to the Constitution on the demand of the people of the thirteen colonies before they would accept the Constitution itself. They make up what is popularly called our Bill of Rights. Among these are a guarantee against being called to answer for an infamous crime except upon Grand Jury indictment, a promise of open trial by a jury of one's peers, the right to confront one's accusers in open court after having been previously informed of the nature and the cause of the accusations. We do not believe these fundamental rights are being observed today in Washington by the Congressional Committees investigating communism in the United States. Let us look at the record.

Two former high officials of the Government, and others, have been accused by Miss Elizabeth T. Bentley, herself a confessed former spy for the Communists, with having engaged in espionage during the war, with having violated their oaths of office, with having acted as unregistered agents of a foreign government. Did they learn of these charges of commission of infamous crimes through official channels, or on being called to answer an indictment? They did not. At least one first learned of Miss Bentley's testimony through a call from a newspaper reporter. They already had been broadcast to the world. How substantial are these charges?

Before appearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities Miss Bentley testified before a Federal Grand Jury in New York City that was investigating wartime espionage activities. Presumably she gave the same testimony there that she did in Washington. Did the Grand Jury indict the men against whom she made the charges? It did not. Before appearing before the House Committee Miss Bentley also gave the same testimony before an executive session of the Senate sub-committee headed by Senator Ferguson that is conducting a parallel inquiry. Did they make public her testimony or allow her to give it in open hearing? They did not. Yet a day later Chairman Thomas of the House Committee calls her to the witness stand and lets her make the charges openly.

To grant Mr. Remington, Mr. Currie, Mr. White and others named by Miss Bentley an opportunity later to confront her in the Committee room and answer her charges does not rectify the basic wrong that has been done. Many will read, and perhaps believe, the charges but not the rebuttal. There is even no guarantee that these accused will ever have their day in court. Dr. Edward U. Condon was accused a year ago by the Thomas Committee of being "the weakest link in our atomic energy set-up" and he has yet to be given an opportunity to answer before the Committee.

There undoubtedly were, and still are, agents of the Soviet Government, and of other governments, in this country seeking information on military matters that is not available to them through official channels. They should be sought out, brought to trial and punished, if they are found guilty. There are legal ways of doing that, such as the Royal Commission used in Canada in investigating the leakage of information on atomic research. It conducted its hearings in private, weighed the evidence and only then made public the charges.

We have a precious heritage in this country of protection of the innocent against false accusation, of a fair trial even for the guilty. What price a few headlines if those rights are compromised or violated? A dubious security purchased by those means would be bought far too high.

COMMITTEE OF *One Thousand*
37 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

CHALLENGE TO THE REPUBLICANS IN 1948

If the Republican Party had the courage and the patriotism to come out flatfootedly for an AMERICA FIRST program: leave all the radicals, communists and left-wingers to their "low-vaulted past:" nominate a genuine Christian AMERICAN — an **honest**, decent America-loving PATRIOT—who believes in the platform and the policies of our Founding Fathers, **then the people of this Country would flock to its banner.**

The hearts of our decent genuine American citizens are yearning, burning, for COURAGEOUS AMERICAN LEADERSHIP: not this cowardly "me-too" echo: they are tired of being pushed around in their own country by all sorts of isms and ALIENS: they are sick and tired of the shenanigans, hypocrisy, waste, and TREASON in Washington: **they are plenty fed up with always being a tail to somebody else's kite.**

What we MUST have in the White House during the next four critical years is CONCERN and ACTION, FOR AMERICA—FIRST, LAST and ALWAYS: else this country isn't going to survive as a FREE nation. We must have as President—for a change—a man of PRINCIPLE, moral courage, political cleanness: who stands up straight for America: who will not sell his soul in order to buy votes from the **minorities.** True **Americans** want some attention and interest devoted to THEIR welfare and that of their OWN country. We are fed up on being a catspaw for strictly JEWISH interests, either in Palestine OR America. We are definitely ANGRY over the HUGE amounts of the American taxpayers' money that is continually siphoned off to FOREIGN nations, for this, that and the other: with no adequate accounting or recompense to the **American** people.

We, the People, want to go back on the GOLD standard, and **we want to have in OUR possession some GOLD pieces**—not scraps of paper and promises—we are not interested in having ALL the gold buried in the ground at Fort Knox, or mortgaged to the House of Rothchild.

We, the People, want our kids taught to love and respect AMERICA, American ideals and institutions, (NOT UNESCO), and taught that this is the greatest and grandest country in ALL the world: that (up until lately) it has done more for its people than any other Government ever established on earth: as well as doing more for all other nations of earth.

We, the People, want the SKIDS PUT UNDER COMMUNISTS and the ALIEN philosophy of COMMUNISM, both in high and low places: and under all the subversive ALIEN isms being taught everywhere in this land today. We are tired of ALIEN Communists having the plums in our Administration.

WE WANT A REVIVAL OF AMERICANISM, **Christian** Americanism, and some REAL leaders who aren't afraid to BE Americans and to love their OWN

Country. Unless we do have this enthusiastic revival of Americanism, of deep love and concern for the best country in all the earth, then we may as well hand it over to our enemies: in that case, they will TAKE it anyway. Half-hearted allegiance is NO ALLEGIANCE at all: the Lord said He will spew out the lukewarm. No "American" is worth his salt who doesn't love his country with a deep, heartwarming love.

Let "Harried Harry" Truman and 'Harry' A. Wallace (two peas in the same pod) represent organized minorities of Negroes, Jews, Communists, hybrids and malcontents: the REPUBLICANS should represent the UNorganized MAJORITY WHITE CHRISTIAN AMERICANS! It is time to call a halt on this "minority rule." It is always the militant MINORITY in Russia and Europe that destroys, divides, conquers, and rules. **By this minority rule, every country inexorably disappears into the quicksands of Communism.** Will America LEARN anything by observing this process in Europe? When OUR minorities succeed in passing laws to silence all criticism of their own subversive activities, then FREE America is dead.

It is the purpose of Buckley Bill 2848 (formerly Patterson 6897): of all State or Federal Fair Employment Practice (FEPC) laws: of the 'Civil Rights' program, to SILENCE CRITICISM and to set up a Federal nationwide bureaucratic snooping gestapo (just as exists in Russia) to SPY UPON THE PEOPLE, and to ENFORCE these discriminatory proposed laws AGAINST White Christian Americans, in **favor of minorities.** In every country, as is today being openly done in Czechoslavakia, the FIRST thing the Communists do is to LIQUIDATE White Christians. Christianity is their FIRST and greatest HATE.

The REPUBLICANS have the greatest opportunity of the ages to prove whether they are men or mice. If they **too** are MICE, then GOD SAVE US!

In a folder dated October 10th, 1946, titled, "AS ONE CHRISTIAN CONSTITUTIONAL AMERICAN TO MANY OTHERS," the writer said: "Only by **returning** to a representative Republican form of government: only by reverting to OUR Constitution and the Monroe Doctrine, to America for **Americans**, can we save this Republic! We **repudiate** 'liberal internationalism' (as advocated by Sen. Elbert D. Thomas, Harold Stassen, Arthur Vandenberg, Me-too Dewey), which drags us deeper into European and Asian troubles."—If this was prophetically true a year and a half ago, HOW MUCH MORE SO TODAY! **This writer has steadfastly maintained that it is the INTERNATIONALIST who drags America down into WAR, DEBT, and CHAOS!**

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

You **Americans** who believe in the above principles, please sign your name and address hereto, as an indication of your approval, and forward to YOUR legislators, no matter of what party.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

By MARILYN R. ALLEN, P. O. Box 2243, Salt Lake City, Utah. Feb. 22, 1948.

On Feb. 28th, 1948, at 6:30 p. m., Mrs. Martha (Robt. A.) Taft appeared on Albert L. Warner's MEET THE PRESS. In reply to a direct question on that subject, Mrs. Taft assented to the fact that she and her husband are Pro-Zionist: she believes that the displaced European Jews should be given a home in Palestine: that we should help the Jews: that since the U. N. voted for partition, WE should support that decision.—Probably the Tafts are ignorant of the very fine autonomous JEWISH Homeland already established solely for them, in Birobidjan, Russia.

Therefore, this writer will not vote for, nor back, Robt. A. Taft, nor anyone who definitely aligns himself with the ZIONIST Jews: with the unconstitutional U. N. or who is in favor of involving this nation in WAR to implement the unrighteous, illegal decision of the U. N. to take the ARABS' homeland away from them. Americans are tired of Jewism in the White House. The U. N., the ZIONISTS, and President Truman are responsible for the violent civil war raging in Palestine today: as well as for the present UNTENABLE position of the U. S. A. in this matter.

We must have as President a man whose Americanism is UNdiluted with political ZIONISM: such a man, for instance, as Sen. Harry F. Byrd, of Virginia: General Douglas MacArthur: or the very fine commentator, Henry J. Taylor, who exhibits more economic sense and pure Americanism in one of his 15-minute broadcasts than many of our Congressmen do in a lifetime.

Robert A. Taft's brother, Charles P. Taft, is President of the Federal Council of Churches in Cincinnati, Ohio: Chas. P. Taft, is one of the leading Jew-Negro MONGRELIZERS and collaborators in that city. Both brothers are close friends of the notorious ZIONIST, Rabbi Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, O. Rabbi Silver was one of those who exerted such great pressure to FORCE through the partition of Palestine.

I have copy of a religious pamphlet, THE MESSENGER, January 1948, which boasts of the fact that, "Our own Mrs. Chas. P. Taft, hearing that INDONESIA needed bicycles, bought ten of them, had them all repaired and delivered at the Dayton warehouse, from where they will be shipped." With all the crying, desperate need of many of our own people here at home, this sending of bicycles to INDONESIA only proves the silliness of this hysteria for FOREIGN nations, and ignores the fact that "Charity begins at home."

We cannot 'save Europe' with dollars or words: instead of actually saving the White Christian people of Europe, we have done nothing but betray them, beginning with the Jewish Rosenfelt regime. The day of saving freedom-loving White Christians in Europe has long gone by: millions of them are already dead. We fought Germany to rescue the JEWS: we have done NOTHING to rescue millions of White Christians, who have been mercilessly starved, raped and exterminated. The cruel pagan Bolshevik regime of the Kremlin recognizes and fears only power and force. They laugh gleefully as America is SCUTTLED, her military strength is NIL, her defences practically nil: and subversive minorities rule today in America. WE are rapidly being readied for the "take-over": it is not in the dim future.

If our people think their taxes are high NOW, let them wait until they begin to dig down into their jeans to pay for the Marshall Plan—**which guarantees nothing except the SCUTTLING OF THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER!** They are going to find out what genuine hardship and poverty are.

RAPE of FREEDOM
(Lidice — June 10, 1942)

In Memoriam

Helpless Nazi scapegoat—Lidice:
You represented Freedom at its best.
Peaceful, happy, free, your people lived:
Work and love and play your daily lot.

Trusted friends betrayed your country's trust:
Time was needed for their own defense.
Marching heinous hordes of bestial men
Blotted and effaced as best they could

Every trace of life and loveliness.
Pillage, razed, machine-gunned, murdered,
Lidice became a ghosted town:
Stamped indelibly on history's page.

Were it not for Hitler's vengeful hordes,
You would be a name upon a map:
Rather than a flaming torch to warn
Those who cherish Freedom's living breath.

Even if whole town's wiped out by those
Who lust to rape man of his dearest prize:
Smug complacency too oft persists—
Long possession dulls appreciation.

Rise up, free men, everywhere:
Take your stand for God and man!
Freedom is for him who dares:
Not for cowards nor for sluggards.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

February 25th, 1948. The AFTERMATH: "Free men everywhere" did NOT rise up, either in America or elsewhere. Now the Russian Bolshevik Bear rapes not just one town, but the WHOLE STATE of little helpless Czechoslavakia. Next, Finland falls. LAST, and greatest prize of all—rich, indifferent, slothful AMERICA is on the agenda! She is too **dumb** to learn from history.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

This leaflet—20 for $1.00

Send 3¢ stamp for list of Christian-American publications by

MARILYN R. ALLEN

P. O. Box 2243
Salt Lake City
Utah

Memorial Day
1949

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A Talk by

Ernest L. Wright
President Darlington School
Rome, Georgia

Delivered To

Kiwanis Club of Rome

May 30, 1949

NY Times Book Section 9-4-49

28-Prejudice Racial & Religious

How to Fight Discrimination

PUNISHMENT WITHOUT CRIME: What You Can Do About Prejudice. By S. Andhil Fineberg. New York: Doubleday & Co. 352 pp. $3.50.

By R. L. DUFFUS

ANY number of writers have argued that discrimination on racial or religious grounds is a bad thing. Dr. Fineberg agrees, but mere agreement would not justify another book. What does justify his book is his successful attempt to establish a technique for fighting discrimination. Good intentions are not enough and enthusiasm is not enough. We have to have, as he makes clear, common sense and skill. He wished to write, as he says, "a book which would discuss in detail the intricacies and perplexities of racial and religious prejudice * * * about the futility of easy generalizations and about the constant need to take concrete, practical steps on the way toward ultimate goals." Dr. Fineberg is the Community Service Director of the American Jewish Committee.

Prejudice, as anyone who gives the matter much thought must realize, is ignorance's big brother. It rests on defective information and faulty reasoning. Suppose, as Dr. Fineberg does, that a given person has a prejudice against a group. If "something praiseworthy" is done by a member of that group this person will consider it "the act of that individual." If a member of the group does something "objectionable" then "the prejudiced person extends the blame to all members of that group and becomes the more intolerant." To say that this doesn't make sense is no real answer. The real answer is to remove the ignorance on which the prejudice is founded. And this can't be done overnight.

We have to face facts. We cannot rely, Dr. Fineberg thinks, on a high-minded "public" that has no prejudices. There are "many publics." Practically all of them "believe that prejudice against their own group is utterly wrongful, but as yet only a small segment of humanity understands that *all* racial and religious prejudice is bad." The unprejudiced, found in all walks of life and all groups, must join hands. And they must be patient.

Naturally Dr. Fineberg supports the principles of the Fair Employment Practices Act. Yet he sees that the FEPC had to be preceded by an educational process and that education must continue. He reminds us that victims of discrimination must not make the same mistake that their opponents do and lump all members of other groups together. He believes that often the best treatment to give a rabble-rouser or preacher of hate is to ignore him.

Prejudice

IT is not surprising that racial and religious prejudice has been termed America's Number-One problem * * * In a very real sense the struggle for inter-group harmony and for better human relationships is the struggle to defend the American way of life. It is not the fate of someone else that is at stake here. It is our very own fates that are being decided.—*S. Andhil Fineberg, in "Punishment Without Crime."*

When discrimination leads to lawbreaking, Dr. Fineberg would treat it as such, punishing the offender as other lawbreakers are punished but not playing up the motive. For him the important fact is not that a member of some group has been abused but that a human being has been abused. When intolerance takes the form of statements made publicly or in a company of people Dr. Fineberg would use his judgment as to what to do. A person who is not incurably prejudiced may be influenced by a courteous remonstrance made in private, whereas a rebuke in the presence of others would anger him and strengthen his prejudice. Moreover, we must recognize that frustrations of various sorts sometimes drive people to "dangerous and destructive actions," and that this energy can perhaps be diverted into other channels. People working together in a common cause learn to respect each other.

Victims of prejudice can further their own cause, Dr. Fineberg believes, if they control their emotions and study how to influence others. In trying situations each one "has a splendid chance to demonstrate stability, character or poise on the part of at least one member of the disparaged group." "No minority group," the argument goes on, "can establish itself properly in a community if it creates the impression that it is a belligerent, unfriendly lot of self-seekers." Such a group, the author is convinced, must be concerned about the welfare of others. It must be a part of the whole community.

DR. FINEBERG devotes the latter part of his book to an examination of the techniques of cooperation — a far better word than tolerance, one would say. Schools, churches, government agencies, labor unions, employers, parents, writers—all have a part to play. The police can prevent violence before it ripens. Researchers can help us perfect community institutions, in which people meeting, working and talking together can forget their differences and emphasize what they have in common. These experiments have been tried, with success.

The whole drive of this excellent book is toward a more intelligent approach to democracy. As the author says, "In a very real sense the struggle [is one] to defend the American way of life." The emphasis is positive. The technique is more difficult than that of sitting in a chair and exercising "tolerance," but it is more rewarding.

Dr. Fineberg writes earnestly and interestingly. His case illustrations are good. One wishes he could have found some less clumsy word than "Victimian" for a person who is an object of unmerited discrimination. But he is possibly influenced by a minority group known as sociologists, who frequently think up clumsy words for familiar facts.

"People Working Together Learn to Respect Each Other."

28 - Prejudice, Racial + Religious

The American Legion's Exposure of Hate Groups

Extension of Remarks of

Hon. Sidney R. Yates

of Illinois

in the

House of Representatives

Thursday, October 6, 1949

Not printed at Government expense

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1949

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SIDNEY R. YATES

OF ILLINOIS

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report entitled "Subversive Activities of Hate Groups" of the Americanism commission, Department of Illinois of the American Legion:

The American public is becoming increasingly aware that there exist organizations which, under the guise of spreading the principles of Americanism, create discord and misunderstandings among all races, creeds, and colors, contrary to our basic democratic concepts. The American Legion membership has fought for a long time the dangerous and totalitarian precepts of the Communists and Communist front groups. During recent years, it has become aware of other types of anti-Democratic organizations. The Legion's exposure of these organizations has been a great factor in curbing the growth and, indeed, in some cases, putting out of business these potentially un-American organizations in the United States. It is our view that communism, fascism, socialism or any other form of totalitarianism cannot be countenanced by our membership which must fight these un-American activities.

At the Miami 1948 National Convention of the American Legion, two resolutions, in particular, were passed that form the basis and motivation of this report. These resolutions are quoted below:

"Resolution 264

"Whereas, for God and country, we have again assembled to renew our pledge of allegiance to the principles upon which the American Legion was founded, to consolidate the victories already won and to organize our resources for the battles still ahead; and

"Whereas, the events of the passing year have emphasized more than ever before those dangers to our liberty which spring to life during the slightest relaxation of that eternal and self-sacrificing vigilance which keeps men free: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the American Legion in national convention, assembled in Miami, Fla., October 18–21, 1948,* That we again declare our undying allegiance to the faith of our fathers, the faith that founded a nation of free individuals creating and employing the powers of government only to make their freedom the more secure and their liberty the more desirable, a nation in legend and in fact the last great hope of a theretofore bewildered and enslaved humanity; be it further

"*Resolved,* That we propose to see to it that this last great hope of man be not lost either to enemies invading from without, or traitors corrupting from within; that this government of free men, by free men, and for the freedom of men shall not be lost either to those who would become tyrants for their own selfish interests or to those whose vulnerability to the songs of Utopia make them the easy prey of fascistic and communistic totalitarianisms; be it further

"*Resolved,* That we go forth from this convention to warn all those who believe in Americanism that in this hour of national peril, the time is later than we think; that their defense of the life they love must be prompt, thorough, united, and militant; that they and we, defending our Nation in its maturity, are not worthy of the trust given us if we do not pledge to the cause, as did those defending it in its infancy, our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor; be it further here and now highly

"*Resolved,* That we recognize the time of the battle as now, the place of the battle as here, and that we enter the fray in the firm determination that our zeal for Americanism shall be unmatched in degree by the fanaticism of its worst enemies, and that the ultimate victory shall certainly be ours, for God and country."

"Resolution 621

"Whereas it has been the policy of the American Legion, as part of its Americanism program, to condemn and oppose all forms of subversive activities, whether they be manifested by an appeal to racial hatreds and prejudices or by attempts to divide this Nation into industrial strife by agitating and fomenting trouble between capital and labor, and economic group against economic group; and

"Whereas communism is an ideology, a state of mind, a bundle of emotion, which has skillfully organized and developed, with many secret and conspiratorial aspects, to serve where required as a fifth column for the Government of Soviet Russia; and

"Whereas many Communists, Communist sympathizers, and their fellow travelers are reliably reported to have secured employment in confidential and key positions in public office, political and labor organizations, and particularly in the teaching profession in our schools and colleges; and

"Whereas subversive organizations and individuals are continuing their vicious campaigns of propaganda to disunite and divide the American people, setting class against class, race against race, and creed against creed; and

"Whereas these un-American forces are disrupting national unity in these critical postwar years, when victory on the home front and peace in the world are as important as was victory on the battle front; and

"Whereas some form of legitimate democratic action is necessary as a defense against Communist betrayal of our form of government and to insure the safety and security of our Nation: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled,* That we call upon the people of our Nation to oppose this threat to American unity and urge our fellow citizens of all races, colors, and creeds to demonstrate that same spirit of cooperation that was evidenced by our armed forces on the battlefronts in our fight against aggression, bigotry, and intolerance, and fight every attempt of these un-American forces to destroy the fundamental principles of life, liberty, justice, and freedom guaranteed by our Constitution."

The American Legion has always stood for an Americanism based on the dignity and equality of all human beings and has been sternly vocal against false Americanism doctrines that attempt to foster religious, racial, or class hatred among the American people. The American Legion firmly believes that it has helped and can help further in the eradication of religious and racial strife in the United States by exposing to its membership and their families those organizations, groups, individuals, sometimes through publications, radio, and on public platforms, who seek to destroy a harmonious and democratic America.

Therefore, in this new 1949 report of the Americanism Commission Department of Illinois of the American Legion, we shall list and discuss many of the existing organizations whose purposes and techniques are contrary to the basic moral and legal values of American citizenship. We do this, strongly believing, that when the entire membership of the American Legion knows fully about these organizations, and individuals, it will not only not fall victim to them, but it will continue to expose the true character of these organizations and individuals to the entire American populations and individuals that foster racial and religious hatreds. The Department of Illinois, American Legion, has in other exposures emphasized and reiterated its opposition to the equally dangerous Communist groups in the United States. The same is true of the national organization.

After a careful study of the activities of many organizations, we have reached the conclusion that those listed below are inimical to the best interests of American democracy. These organizations are anti-American since they pit class against class, race against race, and creed against creed, and make appeals with varying degrees of emphasis—all with the purpose of creating chaos and disunity among our people.

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Anglo-Saxon Federation, Haverhill, Mass., Howard Rand, leader.

The Anglo-Saxon Federation is a group which preaches the theory that they are the true descendants of Israel. They resort to anti-Catholicism and anti-Semitism. Operating under various names, the group has its counterpart in all of the English speaking countries. In the United States, it has chapters in Chicago, Dayton, Portland, Los Angeles, and Boston. The official publication of the Anglo-Saxon Federation is a monthly magazine called Destiny.

Christian Nationalist Crusade, Christian Nationalist Party, Patriotic Tract Society, St. Louis, Mo., Gerald L. K. Smith, leader.

Gerald L. K. Smith is probably the most vicious of the rabble-rousing and sensational hatemongers operating today. He has followers throughout the country, and his literature distribution has reached large proportions.

The Patriotic Tract Society is a paper organization that is used as a front for the distribution of this literature. The official publication of Smith's outfits is the Cross and the Flag. Typical of the false and dangerous doctrines that have appeared in this publication are the following excerpts from the May 1949, issue.

"We believe in the complete social and political segregation of the black and white races in America. * * *

"The danger to the white race comes from the aspirations of the Jewish race to dominate the world."

Citizens Protective League, New York, N. Y., Kurt Mertig, leader.

The Citizens Protective League has been a rallying point for Bund elements and native Fascists. On January 10, 1946, Mertig was arrested for unlawful assembly, and drew a sentence of 6 months in the workhouse and served his time. The Citizens Protective League was branded "subversive" by Attorney General Tom Clark in May 1948.

Constitutional Educational League, New York, N. Y., Joseph P. Kamp, leader.

The Constitutional Educational League's main activity is pamphleteering. Pamphlets issued by the group try to create religious hostility. In its accusations of "Communist infiltration," it makes malicious and irresponsible charges against responsible and respected groups and individuals who are working to strengthen and improve our democracy. The league is a personal vehicle of Kamp's which sells its pamphlets at profiteering prices in order to insure a good living for him.

Great Pyramid Club, Los Angeles, Calif., Ray and Sam Capt, leaders.

Among the leadership of this group are a number of former klansmen. Rev. Wesley Swift has been a regular speaker before this organization. Swift is a former klansman and a known rabble rouser. He has a reputation of being the west coast's most vicious hatemonger.

House of Prayer for All People, Denver, Colo., Rev. William L. Blessing, leader.

Blessing preaches the Anglo-Saxon Federation's type of religion, although he is not directly connected with the group. He is not only anti-Semitic, but frequently makes vitriolic attacks upon the Catholic Church. Blessing's official publication is called Showers of Blessing. A typical quote from his publication is the following taken from the May 13, 1949, issue:

"How much better off would we in this country be if Roman Catholicism were completely defeated—not a Roman Catholic left in the country?"

Judge Armstrong Foundation, Fort Worth, Tex., George W. Armstrong, leader.

The Judge Armstrong Foundation was set up to support financially those divisionist "nationalist" groups in which Armstrong was interested. Armstrong is an independently wealthy man, and has written several anti-Democratic pamphlets. In one of his pamphlets Armstrong urged the repeal of sections of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution "thereby limiting the franchise to the Nation's white Americans," another aspect of the "white supremacy" doctrine.

Ku Klux Klan (Association of Georgia Klans), Atlanta, Ga., Dr. Samuel Green, leader.

We have before us again the hooded secret order and its fiery cross. Its methods of intimidation and terrorism have long been the disgust and disdain of law-abiding citizens. Antimask laws have been passed in a number of southern States, in an attempt to curb the order. The Klan is, of course, not only anti-Negro, anti-Jewish, and anti-Catholic, but extends its cruel and inhuman activities against veterans. Recent indictments and resultant convictions of those guilty of these illegal acts are eagerly expected by all law-abiding and law-observing citizens.

Loyal American Group, Union, N. J., Conde McGinley, leader.

This organization was set up by McGinley for the purpose of promoting his hatemongering paper Common Sense. Numerous meetings have been held in New Jersey, at which some of the most poisonous literature published has been offered for sale. The Loyal American Group and Common Sense have been denounced by patriotic organizations and by official Catholic bodies. The official publication of this group is called Common Sense.

Lutheran Research Society, Detroit, Mich., Lawrence Reilly, leader.

The Lutheran Research Society is an independent venture and has no connection with the official Lutheran Synod, a respected organization. This society does not hold regular meetings but it has sponsored the appearance in Detroit of Don Lohbeck and Kenneth Goff, representatives of Gerald L. K. Smith. The official publication of this group is called Eleventh Hour.

National Blue Star Mothers, Philadelphia, Pa., Catherine V. Brown, leader.

A violently hatemongering group. It labels its critics as either "Jews" or "Reds." This group distributed masses of hate literature at the Democratic and Republican conventions held in Philadelphia in 1948. They tried to cause disturbances to focus attention on their activities. This group has recently been cited by the Attorney General's office as being subversive.

National Economic Council, New York, N. Y., Merwin K. Hart, leader.

Merwin K. Hart operates his National Economic Council with an aura of respectability. Recently, Hart abandoned his subtle innuendoes and showed his true character by resorting to anti-Semitic items in his publications and speeches. The official publication of this group is the Economic Council Letter.

National Renaissance Party, Beacon, N. Y., James H. Madole, leader.

The National Renaissance Party is a one-man paper antidemocratic organization. Madole is given to one-man crusades which have fancy titles, such as "The Animist Party," "National Renaissance Party," etc. He has made several attempts to unify the nationalist movement in the United States. The following are two of the published aims of this group:

1. "Nationalization of our people through an educational campaign among college, church, and labor groups."

2. "Termination of political bureaucracy and establishment of rule by the intellectual elite."

Nationalist Action League, Philadelphia, Pa., W. Henry MacFarland, Jr., leader.

The Nationalist Action League was recently set up by MacFarland, a Philadelphia extremist. It is a political action group, aimed at influencing voters and legislation. MacFarland works closely with such known rabble-rousers as Catherine V. Brown, of the National Blue Star Mothers, Gerald L. K. Smith, etc. The official publication of this group, National Progress, has, as of June 1, 1949, been consolidated with Common Sense, the official publication of the Loyal American group.

Organized Americans of German Ancestry, Chicago, Ill., Leonard Enders, leader.

A number of leaders of this group were former Bund members and key figures in the old pro-Nazi Einheitsfront. The ostensible purpose of the group is to weld all Ger-

man-Americans together in order to form a powerful political bloc.

Original Southern Klans, Inc., Columbus, Ga., Alton E. Pate, leader.

A splinter Klan group which is openly anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, and anti-Catholic, and whose aim is the defense of white Protestant America. The official publication of this group is called the Klansman.

Pro-American Information Bureau, Hinckley, Ill., Andrew B. McAllister, leader.

The Pro-American Information Bureau is a clearing house for hate literature. McAllister has made several unsuccessful attempts to coordinate the hate groups and has held several conferences in Hinckley, attended by representatives of a number of these groups.

Protestant War Veterans of the United States, New York, N. Y., Edward James Smythe, leader.

A one-man paper organization, which publishes anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic leaflets and pamphlets. Apparently the funds solicited by Smythe through his organization are his sole source of income. He is a habitual drunkard with no ostensible means of support. In a recent brochure, published by this group, the following slogan was printed in bold type: "We stand opposed to racial and social equality."

Public Affairs Forum, Los Angeles, Calif., Earl Craig, leader.

A hate organization, which holds regular meetings. The gatherings of the forum are the rendezvous of a number of other notorious rabble-rousers and a distributing point for a great deal of hate literature.

Not only are there organizations which by their policies and techniques attempt to further disunity among the American people, but there are a number of publications that have no organizational affiliations which try to contribute to the same pernicious goal. Below are listed some of the more important of these publications (name, address, and editor):

American Digest, Americus, Ga., Dewey Taft.

Beacon Light Herald, Atascadero, Calif., William Kullgren.

Bible News Flashes, Faribault, Minn., William D. Herrstrom.

Boise Valley Herald, Middleton, Idaho, A. Boyd and I. W. Cornell.

Broom, San Diego, Calif., C. Leon DeAryan.

Christian Veterans Political Counsel, Chicago, Ill., Frederick Kister.

Dayton Independent, Dayton, Ohio, A. G. Silvey.

Defender, Wichita, Kans., Gerald B. Winrod.

Free Press, Redmond, Oreg., Syd D. Pierce.

Georgia Tribune, Columbus, Ga., "Parson" Jack Johnston.

Guildsman, Germantown, Ill., Edward A. Koch.

Kingdom Digest, Fort Worth, Tex., J. A. Lovell.

Malist, Meriden, Conn., Henry S. Sattler.

Methodist Challenge, Los Angeles, Calif., Robert P. Shuler.

Ohio Pioneer, Dayton, Ohio, Ohio Pioneer, Inc.

Prayer Circle Letter, Wichita, Kans., publisher, Gerald B. Winrod.

Truth and Liberty, Minneapolis, Minn., C. O. Stadaklev.

Williams' Intelligence Summary, Hollywood, Calif., Robert H. Williams.

The American Legion has on many occasions warned its membership of activities of some of the groups and publications listed above. Ever since the end of World War II the American Legion, Department of Illinois, has energetically gone on record every year in condemning all those organizations and publications which try to foster disunity in our country. Other sections of the Legion have opposed those groups similarly. For example, in January of 1949 the Legionnaire, official publication of the American Legion, Department of New York, warned its membership not to have anything to do with the publication Common Sense, the Union, N. J., paper published by Conde McGinley. The Legion publication referred to Common Sense as "a hate sheet," and said that Common

Sense is "violently anti-Semitic and in direct conflict with the principles of the American Legion." In a recent issue, April-May 1949, of the Summary of Trends and Developments Exposing the Communist Conspiracy, published by the national Americanism commission, subcommittee on subversive activities, of the American Legion, a number of the organizations listed above were classified by this publication as subversive; for example, the National Blue Star Mothers of America and Original Southern Klans, Inc.

The chairman of Americanism commission of the American Legion, Department of Illinois, believes that it is the duty of every Americanism chairman of every post and that o. each liberty-loving American not only to familiarize himself with the contents of this report but to be responsible for the creation of positive Americanism programs on this subject throughout the year. This department invites post Americanism chairmen and other citizens to make use of its services in the creation of affirmative and effective Americanism programs in local communities. It is hoped that these programs will carry into effect American Legion mandates against those fostering religious hatreds, hate mongering, and rabble rousing as well as other mandates against those isms which place in peril our established institutions.

ELLIODOR M. LIBONATI,
Chairman, Americanism Commission, Department of Illinois, American Legion.

860767—31973

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Public Accommodations

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 Fifth Avenue — Suite 601
New York 10, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices

From: Arnold Forster

Date: February 27, 1950

Subject: Civil Rights Ordinance - Portland, Oregon

This is to advise you that, on February 21, 1950, the City of Portland, Oregon, adopted a Civil Rights ordinance. It is noteworthy that most of the Negroes residing in the State of Oregon live in Portland.

David Robinson, who took a leading role in obtaining the enactment of the ordinance, reports that the ordinance is the result of the cumulative effect of the distribution of large quantities of ADL literature over the years, the constant hammering away of the ADL program, the work of kindred organizations similarly motivated, such as the Urban League and the NAACP, and the work of the fine leadership of both men and women.

Attached hereto is the text of the ordinance which is based upon the model originally prepared by our Law Department.

Before the voting on the ordinance, the City Council of Portland, Oregon held a hearing on it which lasted for several hours. After those opposed to the ordinance, representing restaurants and hotel associations, had argued against it at some length, the Council listened for over two hours to a succession of representatives of every shade of political, religious, and social opinion, all supporting the ordinance. Thereafter, the mayor and all four commissioners joined in unanimously approving the ordinance.

A. F.

AF:hn
att.

JUSTICE MEIER STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
Executive Vice-Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

ORDINANCE NO.

An Ordinance amending the Police Code by adding a new section relating to discrimination in certain places and by certain types of business on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

The City of Portland does ordain as follows:

Section 1. The Council finds that to further the objectives contained in the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Oregon, and as an exercise of the police power of the City of Portland, provision should be made against discrimination on account of race, color or religion in public or quasi-public places; that in the interest of public health and as an exercise of the police power of the City such regulations should also extend to hospitals, ambulances, mortuaries, funeral conveyances and cemeteries; that civil rights of all persons within the police jurisdiction of the City should be safeguarded as provided herein; now, therefore, Article 27 of Ordinance No. 76339 (Police Code) hereby is amended by adding thereto a new section to be numbered, entitled and to read as follows:

Section 16-2703. PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION SHALL BE OPENED TO ALL PERSONS WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, ANCESTRY OR NATIONAL ORIGIN. All persons within the police jurisdiction of the City of Portland shall be entitled to full and equal accommodation, advantages, facilities, and privileges in all places or businesses offering or holding out services or facilities to the general public, including but not limited to hotels, lodging houses and rooming houses as defined in the License and Business Code of the City of Portland, restaurants or other places where food or drink are offered to the public generally for consumption upon the premises, theaters or other places of amusement, public transportation carriers, public facilities in office buildings or other places open to the general public, retail stores, hospitals, ambulances, mortuaries, funeral conveyances and cemeteries. It shall be unlawful for the owner, lessee, manager, or proprietor of a place of business within the City offering or holding itself out as affording services or facilities to the general public including but not limited to the businesses mentioned in this section to discriminate against any person in such service or sale of privilege, facility or commodity on account of race, color, religion, ancestry or national origin.

Passed by the Council

Mayor of the City of Portland

Attest

Auditor of the City of Portland

Mayor Lee
1-23-50
MCR gm/y

Sthn Soc Soc Soc

Atlanta Meeting
Southern Sociological Society

Howard W. Odum
April 27, 1951

THE MID-CENTURY SOUTH: LOOKING BOTH WAYS

Charles Horton Cooley, you remember, wrote a little classic called Life and the Student, which I have sometimes thought symbolized "Life and the Student at their Best." Tonight it seems likely that you may have "Life and the Professor at their best and their Worst" or words to that effect, in so far as the professor tries to be both dreamer and realist; tries to present current facts and normative perspective for the future; tries to liquidate prevailing pessimism with social morale for sure success; tries to combat sterile intellectualism with folk dynamics; tries to be more afraid of wrong judgments than of being labeled a liberal or non-liberal; envisages a peace where there is no peace, unity where there is no union; and posits a social relativity of time, region and process as unerring as ever was Einstein's relativity of time, place and motion.

Not long ago I heard of a little three year old boy, all mixed up in his play, and throwing his blocks all over the place. When his mother scolded him a little, he replied, "But, Mommie, I was angry." Then he threw his head back in a fine gesture of a great big belly laugh. Then I heard of another three year old who responded, "Watch out, I'm beginnin' to get mad." Well, if some of the things I put down in this "Looking Both Ways At The Mid-Century South" may give the impression that somebody is "angry" or may make everybody "mad", I am afraid there isn't very much we can laugh about except perhaps some of the things homo Americanus does, in the polarity of unreasonable extremes, but still characteristic of good old American human nature forever

violently articulate in its tropism toward self-expression, freedom of speech, and challenge for every premise presented in every facet of our complex dilemma at this mid-century point.

And challenge is what we need for every assertion and every premise made in this discourse. Is it true? Is it all of the truth in realistic perspective to other truths? And is it nothing but the truth? If true, what of it? And if not true, what else is true? Are our implications and interpretations of current situations powerfully valid enough to form the basis of solid achievment? If so, how can we move on in unity and singleness of purpose and without over-weening fear? If not, what else if better?

My father, William P. Odum, who is still a good American in Georgia in his ninety-first year, reflecting something of his Irish and religious traits, has often been pretty positive in many of his assertions. For instance, he would say, "Any man who says he loves the Lord and hates the Negro is a liar and I'll tell him so." Then he would smile blandly and say, "At least, that's the say it seems to me;" now, what I am trying to say here, is presented as positively as I know how, but in the sense of "That's the way it seems to me" and how does it seem to you? And all along, we will keep asking whether what we say is seemly and true. And you will keep checking up to see if it is so. If our language is couched perhaps more in terms of "approach" than finality, remember that this is an academic gathering; that we do not know the answers; and that we must be willing to look at multiple and hidden meanings, through the liberalism of total perspectives, before we can arrive at enduring procedures. If someone says: if you mean if, why don't you say it; my answer is, "I do and I do, if you know what I mean."

There was another thing that my father said that seems relevant and symbolic of the folk-strength that we must continue to conserve on this earth. On his ninetieth birthday, with nearly all of the children and grandchildren gathered for the birthday dinner, I think some of us might have been afraid his dinner blessing would be a too long prayer, too full of feeling. But what he said was, in substance, " O Lord, we thank Thee for this country of ours with its freedom and opportunity and its Christian democracy. Help us to keep America so. Give us enough of Thy strength to guide us to the last day." And that was enough, but not too much, to be appropriate for all of us here and now, in the special decisions we must make in the widening and deepening dilemmas which come from within and without our own regional domain.

For it must be clear to all that the crises and problems of the South that are extra and distinctive from those of the other regions of the nation are not the figments of our imaginations nor primarily the fabric of our weaving. For even now there come requests for counsel and for judgment from national associations of American Universities; from State Departments of Education; from City Departments of Education; from universities, asking how shall we do this thing that is required of us? In addition to our consciousness of what must be done, and our conscience about what is not being done, the South is called upon day in and day out, year in and year out, to make new and important decisions; to abide by decisions made by others, to show cause why we should not adjust our bi-racial culture to the projected norms of the changing structure of a one-world society in conflict and travail. And besides, the impatient demands are for the present Southern generation to bear the burden, to pay the costs for past deficiencies, and show deeds meet for repentance for the sins of the fathers of all America unto the third and fourth generation of

them that have gone before us. But let us not forget that it takes a stronger people to meet a greater crisis and that some have always had to carry the burden of what others have done and left undone. It is, then, wisdom and strength that we want more than bitterness and defeatism.

Now the "last day" reference to the need for strength for the profound tasks to which we must set our hands and seals at mid-century, would be the last long mile of 1999, from which vantage point, the end of the second half-century we need to ask: how will that which we are saying today and covenanting together to do tomorrow, look then? And can we afford a shorter time period or lesser maturity through which to envisage our prospects than so short a span as the second half of this century? But even that brief span is too long for a restless intellectual, and scientific leadership, endowing mass man with the vibrant tools of impatience, conflict and power. So, in the meantime, how do our beginnings in the first decade of the new half century look? And the second decade? And the third? And the fourth? And next steps, preview to still other next steps, how will they look? And how will some of the things we now say and do look in the light of what must be?

For we speak not just for today but for tomorrow and, fully understanding the total complex situation and its hazards, I propose that we underwrite and covenant together, in unity and integrity, with courage and faith, and without fear or favor to insure the accommodation and conversion of our Southern bi-racial civilization into a integrated multiple-cultured American democracy at its advanced best, providing for the integrity, rights, participation, opportunity, and cultural autonomy, of both the white and Negro people in the framework of the American Dream and in the regional setting of a Southern people more prosperous and happy, better integrated into the National fabric and contributing more to a greater America than we have ever done before.

And I propose that we shall achieve these ends adequately and more quickly than has ever been recorded in the annals of human society, provided we can attain Southern awakening and unity and can succeed in working out agenda for national and interregional cooperation and collective diplomacy, according to the rules of administrative and representative democracy, intercultural relationships, balance and equilibrium between voluntaristic and coercive pressures, according to the universal laws of cooperative and competitive processes of growth and stable progress.

Our appeal for unity is of several sorts; unity of the South and of the nation; unity of the white South; unity of the white and Negro South; and unity among the Negroes themselves - all in the search for working specifications more than for mere ideologies. And with unity we plead for understanding and sympathy - each unite of people trying to put itself in the place of the other. To this end we want the South to listen before protesting; we want the Nation to listen before attacking; we want the world to listen before generalizing. But we want us all to look more than listen, because our premises are more basic to achievement than to propaganda. And we want to look at the total conditions and specifications rather than to rationalize from a partial perspecitve. And we want to see the whole picture before we get too excited about a part of it.

But we shall not make the mistake of assuming the specifications are not difficult or that conditions are not extremely critical; for we know that our current dilemmas are such that, without wisdom, devotion, cooperation, compromise, and courage, we might lose this America of ours. And we know that such a loss would not come from any one-way hazard but from several. We must therefore comprehend our dilemmas and work out our specifications in relation to at least three main levels. First, what are the conditions and the situations inherent in a convulsively changing world

society and America's role of leadership in it? Second, what are the conditions and the situatuions inherent in the changing South and its role in the new society? And, third, what are the conditions and the situations inherent in the changing national attitude toward the South's bi-racial culture and the federal government's coercive pressures? Within these three inseparable situations we find both the processes and products of our delemmas and the foundations of the future structure which we must build.

II.

First, then, how new and how different is the world at the mid-century and what has that got to do with the South's next fifty years of unprecedented growth and enrichment of its culture and integration into the national and world picture? Can we make the identification of the character of the new mores, and the answering of emergency questions about it, help us to insure adequate diagnosis and direction of the South's promise and prospect. For, from the East and West, from the North and South, and from all the hinterlands of this America; and from all the way-places of the earth where folk are articulate, men and women, elders and youth, mass and class come asking for answers to their troubled questionings about the complexity and dilemmas of this contemporary world of ours. And they want answers that satisfy. They not only want to know what we are and how we have come to be as we are, but they want to know what we may become tomorrow and how we shall go on from today. And they want somehow to understand the long succession of human strivings and achievements in some continuum which explains not only the ways in which we have come to now but in which also there is consistency enough to guide them well into the paths of the future.

In their searchings for truth and ways the people ask many specific questions. Why is it that there is so much doubt about survival? What is all this talk about fear and terror? Why do they tell us that the future of the human race will be decided in our life time or that we now live on borrowed time? Or that human society is well on the way to commit suicide? Why, in the most enlightened era of all mankind, is there so much darkness over the face of the earth? Why can't men learn to live together and resolve their differences? Why is it that in the most civilized communities on earth, men have the most jitters? Why are men in the upper brackets of culture and leadership so tired and discouraged? Why is it that often the profoundest expression of discouragement is found among the highest educated of the people?

More specifically, they ask why the dilemmas of race relations and the conflict of great moral ideologies cloud horizons and why the articulate aspirations of men exceed the capacity of any culture-economy yet devised to meet the needs. Why is it that science wants to substitute machines for men or study interplanetary life instead of human life on this earth? Why is it that the most intelligent and skilled men in the world devote their highest energies and abilities to means for destroying man? Why do men kill each other in multiplied ratios and why has the cost of killing a fighting man risen from seventy-five cents in Casear's day to $50,000 in western civilization? Why is it that production, the civilized index of rich living, is channelled into tragic dying? Why is it that men with the highest moral codes and ideology consent to the wholesome slaughter of masses of people in rationalized peace crusade? Why have the most "Christain" and humane people in the world sponsored "operation killer"? And why, just as man has achieved the miraculous and civilization has flowered into beauty and abundance, have men lost their faith or placed such low evaluation upon the spirit of man and his divine destiny?

Many writers have tried to answer these and many other questions. From among the historians, natural scientists, philosophers, and other scholars and writers, who have tried to diagnose contemporary civilization, the most common efforts have apparently been directed toward the understanding of society in terms of some continuum reflected in the rise and fall of civilizations. From among the social scientists and scholars who have sought the answers in terms of collective behaviour, the prevailing diagnosis seems to be in terms of the impact of science and technology upon culture and the resulting frustration and conflict arising from mass civilization sweeping away the moorings of tradition and norms of value and the lessening role of primary institutions. From among those who have preached from pulpit and press, the prevailing diagnosis has apparently been in terms of moral decay and the dulling of human aspiration and spititual faith.

Our first task, therefore, in the diagnosis of our own problem is to sense the nature and meaning of our current discontents and dilemmas in which science, technology and other forces have made our contemporary world so complex that it is hard to understand. In many ways it is a different and a new world with vast distance between the swift moving drama of current divilization and the slow journeyings of mankind in all earlier cultures and even in our own recent past. Yet, our world is still changing so rapidly that speed, bigness, technology, complexity and change appear to be the new masters, dominating the scene as they have never done before. There is, therefore, apparently a greater chasm of distance between the technological order of contemporary civilization and the folk-culture and capcaity of the people and their institutions than has hitherto been recorded. Yet, in spite of this unprecedented distance between technology and the folk, the restlessness and power of all the peoples, made articulate

through science, communications, and intercultural ideologies, constitute perhaps the chief social dynamics of the time. Our world appears also to be a confused world lacking in focus of faith and purpose, bordering on despair and hysteria, in which doubts and fears for the total future and destiny of mankind appear as a central theme, perhaps for the first time. Our world, therefore, is fabricated of so many different levels and complexities of structure and function that it is not only difficult for the scientist to analyze and diagnose, but it is hard for the average individual to live in and for leadership to plan the way on.

This complex society of the world we live in may best be characterized by the term state civilization, as comprehending the total traits of the most advanced technological and organizational society in a continuum which has its genesis and constant growth and survival processes in the contrasting folk culture, symbol also of the close knit societal integration of all growing civilizations. The state civilization, symbolizing the secularization of the folk culture, is fabricated of five main threads so thoroughly interwoven in warp and woof as to make a clearly defined and powerful pattern of human relationships. The first is science, invention, and technology. The second is industrialization and urbanization. The third is intellectualism and cultural specialization. The fourth is centralization and power. The fifth is totalitarianism and the super-state society. Each of these is fabricated of still other weavings of multiple minor designs.

Interwoven with science, invention and technology are unprecedented achievement, with speed, technics, standardization. Interwoven with industry and urbanism are the machine economy, stratification, a new way of community living, an extraordinarily high standard of living, and great concentrations of art, drama, and wealth. Interwoven with intellectualism and cultural specialization are scientific humanism, the concept that the

intellect is the supreme guide for living, the standard of living as a chief index of social values, and undreamed of contributions in creative art and literature, science for science's sake. Interwoven with centralization and power are bigness, concentration, corpocracy, organization, limitless production, efficiency like a miracle. Interwoven with totalitarianism and the super-state are coercion, regulation and secularization with power more relevant than liberty and with force as a living ideal. Needless to say, all these are inseparably related in an indescribably rich fabric of human achievement and constituting a continuum of interaction processes in the loom of societal development.

The state civilization is sequel to and an extension of the universal folk culture, the two constituting the main currents and levels of cultural development in the universal societal continuum from early folk society to late state society. The folk culture is also fabricated of a number of threads with their multiple qualities of interaction between the folk and nature, between the folk and their own cultural environment, and between the folk of one culture and of other cultures. First, the folk culture is identified with nature with reference to natural laws, time, climate, geographic environment, close to the soil. Folk culture is further characterized by primary relationships and institutions, kith and kin in ethnic relationships, and primary occupations. The folk culture conforms essentially to rural and religious institutional character reflecting primarily the solidarity of a moral order. It is essentially institutional, deriving its social character from societies that are small, isolated, reflecting love of liberty, locyalties, homogeneities of structure. The folk culture is closely knit, cohesive, non-organizational, with behaviour primarily spontaneous, personal, traditional, yet strongly integrated through its community of growth and moral order. The folk society is thus essentially

in contrast to the state society, the one geared to nature and to ethnic and moral structure and the other to technology and to civil organization and specialized structure.

In contrast to the folk culture, where behaviour is characterized primarily by the folkways and mores, and by the solidarity of institutional character and sacred traditions, the state civilization is characterized primarily by the stateways and technicways and the consequent secularization of culture. In the folk culture there is gradualness of change with the usual corollary of culture lag, in which material progress seems to exceed cultural change, while in the state society ideological conceptualizations greatly accelerate change which then is followed by achievement lag in which the cultural and ideological specifications are in advance of material ways of achieving the specified ends.

Now, it is in the understanding and measurements of the processes of social change through the folkways and mores on the one hand, and the stateways and technicways on the other that the scientific study of contemporary society becomes realistic rather than through the mere cataloguing of the products of change brought about by such inventions and technological tools as the automobile, radio, television, other communication techniques and the revolutionary achievements of science, invention and technology. By the same token it will be through the utilization of the social technicways of social planning comprehending the organic survival values of the folk culture and matching the material technicways which evolve from technology, that the new directions of society may be effected, through balance and equilibrium between the folk culture and state civilization, rather than through mere moral imperatives or a moratorium on science, on the one hand, or through totalitarian directives, on the other.

Keeping in mind that both folk culture and state civilization are "ideal types" or mental constructs of which no known pure examples can be cited, and both of which occur in the social character of every society, we note that society changes from the folk culture to the state civilization when quick moving technological innovations exceed the slow developing traditional culture patterns and when the mode of mass behaviour is reflected in the secularization of culture within the framework of stateways and technicways which are in conflict with and subversive to the folkways and mores. Such a state civilization, flowering into its complex attainment of technology, industrialization, urbanization, intellectualism, cultural specialization, organization, centralization and power, tends to assume the nature of a technological order rather than a human society or a moral order the universal constant in all growing human societies. Inherent in such a technological order could be not only complexity as to accelerate antagonisms, conflict, derangement, breakdown and disintegration, but the capacity to weaken or destroy human society, through decay from non-use of cultural processes, from the exhausting and destructive power of science and technology, and from the assumption by the totalitarian state of the functions of all the other institutions which are the creators and creatures of the total healthy societal system. The decay of civilization, therefore, could reflect primarily, not cyclical inevitability but, on the one hand, the failure to conserve the growth and survival values of the folk culture, and on the other hand, the burden of demands of supertechnology and artificial society which exceed the capacity of the people and their resources and institutions. The crisis of contemporary society is reflected in two ways: on the one hand in continuing and accelerated trends now universally characterized as hazardous; and on the other in an apparent possibility of an alternative future direction in societal evolution which would achieve

balance and equilibrium between the folk culture and the state civilization through the maturing services of science and social science in the framework of sound social planning. Inherent in such societal planning, in addition to the time quality and long time priority schedules; skills and expertness, specifications and integration, are research and the discovery, through comparative folk sociology, of the folk culture to be recaptured and reintroduced into the streamflow of civilization.

III.

Now the South, rich in its folk potentials, finds itself in fullfledged participation in contemporary state civilization with the same hazards of adjustment that all peoples have but with many special facets different from the other regions of the United States; and, due to its organic membership in the union of states, its problems are technically different from those of separate nationals or independent peoples' cultures; and due to the long and complex heritage of bi-racial culture, its conflicts and tensions are somewhat different from the conflicting ideologies of many world cultures, the resolving of which Northrop has estimated to be the crucial problem of this age. But there is one over-all way in which the South's situation is not different and that is in the fact that the sweep of time and technology has so made a new world that the radically different bases and directions of human behaviour require radical new adjustments and outmode isolationism and secession from the rest of the world. The South has little choice in determining the nature and tempo of pressures, communications, and impacts made upon it.

It comes to pass, therefore, that the social technicways of societal planning are powerfully relevant to the ongoings of our cultural and economic development, American style. Debate and argument, satire and caricature on the folkways and mores, or on superior and inferior races must be

transcended by dynamics of arrangement and program. In particular, the South has a double portion of what we have identified as "achievement lag", due to the over-reach of ideologies and the consequent moral directives and coercive pressures often projected in the framework of vested frustration. For no culture economy or organization control has yet been devised capable of containing the ideological floodwaters of Winter downpour and Spring cloudbursts following in the wake of cold fronts and high pressure areas of irresponsible agitation for the quick equalization of all differentials of time, place, and process, with no retaining dykes of classification structures nor reservoirs of cumulative standards, covenants and agreements, comprehensive knowledge and administrative guaranties and integrity. The South might be likened to the Oklahoma of an old timer who, when asked if the wind blew like this all the time, replied, "Oh no, sometimes it blows from the North."

But the South, even at its stormiest periods of throwing up sandbags for temporary defense, is not altogether different from the rest of the country in its manifestation of excessive zeal whether in the orgies of seven league boots hot headed talkers or seven million mass man concentrate in New York shouting hosannas to an old man returning from the wars of "Operation Killer." All these, including the Rankins and McCarthys, are normal part and parcel of the powerful adjustment process as well as the hazards of survival and we take them in our democratic stride as we always have in America.

Now, since the South's adjustment to the industrial and technological demands of the new age tend to be equal or above the rate of the rest of the nation, as is the case with general overall advancement, it must be clear that our chief concern is in the mastery of our bi-racial culture, made imperative (1) because it is right; (2) because it is inevitable if we are to make history and meet destiny as a strong young people; and (3) because the nation and the courts, of which we are a democratic part, require it.

It is in the nature of our mastery, the specifications of our achievement, the tempo of our process and the soundness of our structure that the South and the Nation are to be tested in the crucibles of that destiny and the perpetuation and expansion of what this America has gained for the world.

Here are some of the facets of the Southern situation which are fundamental to the new history and destiny which we make, geared to a titanic struggle for balance and equilibrium and for the resolving of powerful and sacred differences for which the whole world works and prays. And here is laboratory for peace and permanence as concrete and critical as ever were Palestine and Pakistan, Arabia and Asia, Kremlin and Korea.

First in the southern situation is the cumulative racial and conflict heritage that has gone into the architecture of all cultures, whether in the bi-racial South or in India, in Pakistan, in China, in all the way-places of Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and in uncounted little culture islands of the Pacific; and in counted big nations and little democracies of the western world. This heritage, which is basic to conflict and war, is also the very heart of group loyalities, patriotism and institutional solidarity, symbolic of the universal formula by which men covenant "for God, for country and for home." The Southern culture structure rates the same diagnosis as any other.

In the Southern situation is the same cumulative heritage which leads India's powerful Nehru, as late as yesterday and in tomorrow's news, to beg for the preservation of world peace and world order with hope and faith, but with an appeal for character and patience. But he adds, "Anyway we can't have it suddenly or by decree. One has to grow up to it;"and again, in what he terms "an unbelievable varied world", he protests the quick "imposition of any form of foreign domination against the will of the people", on

the structural grounds that "no solution which is not accepted by large masses of the people can have any possible enduring quality." Nor would Nehru relish the stereotype designation of being caricatured as a "gradualist", outmoded echo of superficial rationalization.

But the Southern heritage is more specific with reference to the main conflicts involved in the issues of equality and segregation; and this heritage is different from that of autonomous nations in two main ways. In the first place, in the South the heritage of slavery set the incidence for the patterns of caste and white supremacy. Slavery, however, was later abolished in a conflict of brothers stranger than fiction in which the South lost once and for all the physical and political foundations for its exclusive bi-racial structure. By the same token, then, remaining as a major region in a powerful democratic federation of states, the South is not free to decide those aspects of its bi-racial structure primarily bounded by constitutional guaranties and supported by public funds in the framework of free institutions. Agenda for collective negotiations between the nation and the South as a major region, therefore, must be projected on the informal voluntaristic levels such as those of arbitration procedures in other domestic disputes, rather than on formal diplomatic levels.

From the cumulative heritage of the South there has grown up a powerful backlog of both liabilities and hazards and of limited assets. The liabilities are primarily of five sorts. One is the unenviable record of injustice, inequalities, and brutality. Another is the collective mental and moral concept of the Negro as rating something less than human parity in Southern culture, a powerful construct that not only colors and explains nearly all of the South's deviate behaviour in inter-racial relationships but sometimes appears as well nigh indestructible. A third, following as a sort of corollary, assumes that "The South" is the "White South", a usage

that ignores the Negro both by default and by intent. Still a fourth follows logically and that is the white South's lack of understanding and sympathy with the achievements of the Negro and their reasonable expectations and demands. Finally, the South's sensitiveness to outside criticism and its resistance to Federal direction and moral directives has continuously been revivified by pressures and propaganda.

The South's heritage also includes an extraordinary record of change and of advancement in nearly all of the facets of modern civilization. The fact that we are concerned in this discourse primarily with those aspects of change that have to do with our bi-racial civilization does not mean that this is the whole structural problem but it does imply that we have to master this situation before we can go on to any satisfacotry achievements in the quality and integration of the Southern and the National culture at their best. Yet, in this area of inter-racial relations we have achieved both absolute and relative change beyond the highest expectations of such saints as Mary White Ovington and Oswald Garrison Villard in the sense of going further and sooner in many aspects of life than they anticipated. I might illustrate in a personal instance. In the early part of this first half of the century which we celebrate, I had written Social and Mental Traits of the Negro. Professor E.R.A.Seligman, notable economist and philanthropist, and leader in inter-cultural relations, was Chairman of a committee which awarded this manuscript the Grant Squires prize as the best published sociological treatise in the five year period. Yet no University Press, not even in the South, would publish this book today because of its assumptions of segragation as a permanent pattern of social structure. This might well reflect the fact that in education, in politics, in transportation, in ideologies and other aspects of regional culture, measured by both quantity and quality indices, the societal profile is scarcely recognizable as compared

with the beginning of the Century.

In particular, I suppose there would be no contesting the verdict that the Negro in the South has achieved the greatest progress in the shortest span of years that has ever been recorded in the history of cultures. And still more particularly the spectacle of many Southern Negro leaders achieving distinction, influence, character, and role, equal and often superior to many of their white contemporaries, reflects an epoch which history and biography must surely record as phenomenal. And still more particularly, the number and records of Negro educators and scientists in the fields of the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences, adds up to an extraordianry total providing not only actual contributions of note but leverage for greater future achievements. In the total fabric of Southern bi-racial culture the Negro's weaving of warp and woof shows a distinctive pattern of patience, persistence, plodding, alongside the more colorful exploits of exceptional individuals. Finally, the Negro's total culture operating as a folk society within the state society of the white South has insured a continuum of stable and advanced cultural evolution that reflects both powerful survival values and societal process.

Now, to return to our heritage of liabilities, and with special reference to brutalities and gross injustices, there can be no possible justification of any of it and nothing can prevent those communities that encourage such practices from suffering the consequences in spiritual and business bankruptcy in the long run. The appeal is for every community to see that a minority of its members are neither encouraged nor allowed to assess such penalties upon them, for our record of brutality is a disgrace to any culture anywhere, any time.

There are several ways in which such community penalties are incurred. One is, of course, the mob and mob spirit - something that the South is

rapidly liquidating as a main trait of its collective behaviour and something that the South has learned the hard way is costly beyond reason. Another is the brutality and treatment which a minority of police forces accord the Negro. Besides being inexcusable, this especially undermines the integrity of the South both because most people are not aware of it and because all over the South the movement for a fine police service is reaping substantial results. But even so there is no justification for the extent of such brutality either because of lack of community conscience or community action. This is a big job to be done with relatively little cost as compared with the phenomenal results to be achieved.

Another area is that of injustices and exploitation in the community, too often reflected in the minor courts and civil rulings with reference to the Negro. In community life this is reflected in discrimination and exploitation in prices and wages, in housing and community services and in lack of respect for personality.

Now turning again to the more constructive side and to the urgency of making the right decisions and undertaking the right actions immediately, in so far as the total situation may be characterized in terms of tasks to be undertaken there appear to be four main segments or levels calling for mature and quick action on a statesmanlike bases.

The first is to remedy the inexcusable situation with reference to brutalities, injustices, inequalities, and discrimination to which we have referred.

The second is to set up what would currently be designated as "Operation Equal Opportunity" to comprehend all phases of public education.

The third is to provide immediately for non-segregation in all university education on the graduate and professional level.

The fourth is to move judiciously but speedily toward agenda for negotiations and specifications for future achievement on the total front.

With reference to the monumental task of equalizing facilities for education, this is a big job challenging not only the will, strength and capacity of a strong people but the cooperation, judicial interpretation, and constitutional structure of the nation. The reconstruction of our educational facilities, including buildings, equipment, salaries, and administrative features, involves an extraordinary multibillion dollar industry, which, operated at its best, will enrich the South, develop its resources, raise its standards of work, income, and living. This done adequately will not only make the South prosperous beyond previous measure but will enable it through its increased prosperity to pay for its new investments and contribute powerfully in turn to the national wealth. But in turn there can be no doubt of the nation's obligation to share this investment both because of the Federal strategy of equalization of funds and reciprocal cooperation with states and regions but because of the Federal ruling which makes mandatory the South's rebuilding of its educational structure.

Now the South's part of the initial added increment for the reconstruction of its educational facilities, in terms of what specifications can be made available and of authorizations and priorities, would be no more than the first expenditure for the first atomic bomb and a small ratio of subsequent such expenditures. The South would surely ridicule the challenge that it could not appropriate two billion dollars for an investment which would net many billions of dollars in the future and contribute powerfully to conservation and development of its human and institutional resources, as well.

For there is here a tremendous difference between the two types of investment in that these new expenditures will be powerfully productive and constructively geared to the developement and wise use of resources in the

increase of wealth and prosperity and the enrichment of people and institutions as opposed to the negative or destructive nature of atomic warfare. Instead, therefore, of doubts and fears, so far as fiscal capacities go, the "Operation Equal Opportunity" is something to challenge not only capacities but enthusiasm for the future. Such a raising of standards and doubling of facilities in a brilliant transitional period of our own reconstruction, will provide the structure and facilities, equitably distributed according to local geographic areas and administered through procedures consistent with educational standards, through which the problems of segregation may ultimately be adjusted in the American way of balance and equilibrium between voluntaristic effort and coercive decree; between compromise and inflexibility, as has been the prevailing mode of American democracy from the first.

The above agenda for equalizing educational opportunities applies to all levels of schooling and assumes the normal status and processes of segregation and non segregation consistent with the development and administration of educational systems everywhere. It assumes a certain inevitable continuity of the sub system featuring primarily segragation in the public schools but with both non segragation and segregation modes and privileges in institutions of higher learning. This is necessary to insure equality of opportunity for the extraordinary Negro institutions, teachers, students, and administrative officers in ways which will give maximum recognition and opportunity for Negro professional folk and students.

Now in the case of graduate and professional education the situation is both practically and judiciously relatively clear. In the first place the court rulings are increasingly unanimous and the South not only has no intention of not abiding by the equitable laws of the land but will take pride in achieving the best possible accommodation in conforming with the best

traditions of fairness and sympathy. It must be clear, as I have often pointed out, that up to now the South has had no American universities but Southern universities in so far as the color of a man's skin would preclude him from receiving either instruction in the highest brackets of graduate and professional work or an honorary degree for cause of notable achievement or service. And it is not only from the Supreme Court but from the American associations of professional schools and universities that requirements are being imposed for validating the highest standards of graduates and professional instruction. That this is a structurally different situation from elementary and secondary schools, in the framework of America's private, religious, and public school system will be as manifest to the courts as it is to the executive and legislative units of government and to the practical administrative constituency of American education.

IV.

Now we come to our most definitive and difficult task, namely, the problem of providing agenda basic to the statesmanlike collective diplomacy through which region and nation may work together for the desired ends. I think Mr. Justice Brandis back in the 1930's had in mind this task of the integration and enrichment of the Negroes in the national fabric and the resolving of primary conflicts when, upon receiving an early copy of Southern Regions, he wrote offering his congratulations and best wishes, for what he designated "The first step in grappling with our most serious problem." Here again, we must keep asking the question whether what we are saying is true and is so what of it: and what else, besides is true, and how from the interrelations and perspectives of these truths, we may come to matured conclusions and right actions. For then it must be clear that we must be vigorously critical and honest in facing facts, raising questions, urging integrity and trying new ways geared more to enduring strategies of

cultural excellence and democratic structure than to excessive zeal and unbalanced directives.

To begin, three major crucial points of emphasis loom large. First is the importance to the United States of not allowing world crisis and war scare either to obscure our obligations or warp our strategy to work harder than ever on our demestic situations, basic both to advancement and survival, or to reconstruction in case of catastrophe.

The second point of view is the importance, in the processes of resolving our bitterest conflicts, or utilizing peaceful methods of negotiation and understanding rather than challenge to conflict and the teaching of hate. Threats, name calling, hate mongering, inflexible dogmas and the imposition of coercive decrees, are no more defensible nor less disastrous in America than in the world of international tensions. It is true that any record of undemocratic practices will affect our influence abroad; but it is equally true that whether we achieve our advances by peaceful means of by violence and bloodshed, is equally important in a world-leading nation urging universal peace.

The third point of emphasis is that we are assuming not only that this accommodation and conversion of bi-racial civilization to a richer, integrated American culture can be done and that people everywhere want to know the best way to do it. This does not mean that we are so simple minded as not to understand the hazards involved. Stuart Chase in his forthcoming volume, Roads to Agreement, which I have reviewed for the Saturday Review of Literature for May 12, catalogues eighteen levels of conflict and firm principles of agreement for the resolving of differences. Yet few, if any of the experimental techniques recommended are utilized in the current conflict of ideologies and policies with reference to segregation which has become the sine qua non of all negotiations. And yet the United States, of all peoples,

has built its democratic structure on the foundations of voluntaristic negotiations and freedom of discussions in the framework of administrative, legislative, and judicial procedures. What then, in addition to the heritage of liabilities which we have catalogued for the South, are obstacles and hazards in the way?

Our first and major task is a neglected one, namely the working out of agenda for programs of agreement and action on the part of the South and of the nation. These agenda are of two sorts, conforming to the American principles of balance and equilibrium between the voluntaristic effort and coercive mandates. One is on the level of negotiation between regional and national voluntary agencies, and their deputies, functioning in the field of interracial policies and practices. The other is on the level of official governmental commissions for research and negotiations between regional and federal agencies looking toward the achievement of equality of opportunity and fair practices. Here the assumption seems reasonable that our domestic conflicts merit the same sort of mature and extended peaceful negotiations that are accorded problems of international tensions and differences.

Our covenanting together to face facts, perspective, and responsibilities, challenges scrutiny of our total situation and dilemmas in the national picture. A little while ago we gave a typical American dinner honoring the Nobel Peace Prize winner with nearly 2000 guests from all regions of the nation and from many hinterlands of the mores. And from the mementum of this occasion emerged contributions of approximately a quarter million dollars as pace maker for a much larger sum, a part of which is to be devoted to procedures which will make the bitterness and conflict between Palestine and Arabia look like yesterday. Is the bitter drive for Federal coercive measures to eliminate segregation in the most difficult situations,

say, in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, really worthy of American standards of peace negotiations? Is it expecting too much for a really great leader like Ralph Bunche, to experiment with the same sort of diplomacy which justly earned his acclaim in the area of regional national conflict instead of name calling, bigotry accusing, guilt by association techniques now so conventional in America. On the other hand, is it expecting too much of Jimmy Byrnes, rich in years and experience and in opportunity and influence to utilize the best that he gleaned from his international diplomacy rather than to project threats and fan the flames of bitterness, in a surrender of the cause of millions of our children's children who have the right to expect opportunity commensurate with their heritage and capacities.

In the pressure propaganda for achieving the desired ends of societal conversion there are dangers inherent in the lack of integrity of purpose and method, in the partisan political balance of power, and in the advocacy to endanger the organic vitality of the nation through major operations for temporary eruptions. If there are those who hold that the South, having too many people of both races anyway, would profit by a certain amount of violent revolution, and slaughter of the people, as I have heard prominent metropolitan leaders say, that might be a democratic prerequisite; but to urge the Supreme Court to set the incidence of such a conflict is something else. To boast that one is not interested in the millions of Negroes as persons or in their present welfare but only in winning a cause; or, around cocktails to chuckle over the panic of the folk in Southern dilemma is still again the privilege of American democracy, but reflects little of the excellence and integrity of American statesmanship. Partisan "vested frustration," often in the past approaching dangerously near subversive activities, is not a satisfactory substitute for American fellowship and national counsels.

Now, manifestly, part and parcel of our diagnosis and direction must inhere in the comprehensive understanding of what this American democracy is in its total structure and changing profile. What is meant when we guarantee the conversion of the Southern compound bi-racial culture to an American complex integrated multicultured society? It must be clear that we mean exactly that: the moving of the South from isolation and separatism, from conflict and organic structures which prevent large segments of the people from having equal access to opportunity, resources, work, personality recognition, into cultural arrangements which permit free movement toward all opportunities. This means not only in the South but all over the nation. It means freedom for the Negro to take his place as an integer of cultural structure exactly as does the Jewish, the European Nationals, the Oriental peoples, as well as the many strands of a world society inevitable in the total fabric of America now the cultural as well as economic and political capital of the world. Such a conversion brings with it no more compulsion or specifications for negating the facets of race and ethnic minorities, supreme in whatever personality and cultural loyalties they may wish. Such a conversion automatically, as in any organic structure or process, carries with it the inevitable continuity of separateness, autonomy, and segregation inherent in not only the American ideal but in all the newer reaches of social science, philosophy, freedom for all the differential-groups to have a say in how they shall integrate themselves into the new world society.

One illustration of the limitations and difficulties of our problem of negotiation may be seen in the suggestion made by the Southern Regional Council a few years ago that President Franklin D. Roosevelt appoint a National advisory commission to work with Southern leaders on interracial relations. Yet at the national level, pressures were so varied and

insistent about who should or should not be appointed on the Commission that, of course, the project was abandoned. But this is more than equalled in the South in the spectacle of a Southern Regional Council not being able to attract as president, or as prominent members of its board, or financial backers, the most prominent and influential leaders, exclusive of leaders in the fields of religion and sometimes education. It must be clear that their fear of assuming such responsibility is not always due to being afraid of criticism but it is also a fear of not being able to succeed and of being involved in issues and policies over which they have no control. As yet, from the present vantage point, the greatest opportunity in the whole nation might well be hidden in a million dollar contribution to the successful ordering of that Council and what it might mean to the South and the Nation. And it might well be that no federal commission of authorized deputies for discussion and agenda would be more significant than one appointed by the president of the United States to confer with governmental and administrative officers of Southern states.

There are several other aspects of the situation with reference to segregation in education that carry a heavy load of responsibility. One is the continuity of the remarkable record of self development, distinguished achievement and high morale of Negro schools and colleges. For those who know the high motivations, the effective work, the institutional loyalties, the student bodies, the professors - it is no easy decision to recommend anything but an increase of support and appreciation of both what they are doing and of the opportunity for students and faculty to work together without frustration and agression.

Another aspect of the situation is found in the terrible responsibility of those who teach hate and discouragement to Negro children and youth, millions of the finest youth of any race. For here the frame of referenc

is bitterness and pessimism during the years which every one knows are years of transition, and at the particular time when impressionistic youth need high motivation and support. Anyone who is not naive enough to try to repeal the laws of individuation, of personality, of freedom, of opportunity, of classification, knows that the major construct is not segregation or non-segregation but non-segregation and segregation, developed through total processes of interaction and of growth, of means and ends, of moral imperatives and administrative reality.

One of the startling paradoxes of this era is found in the seeming inconsistencies of social scientists and philosophers, especially of anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists, and moralists. That is, in a notable era of increased emphasis upon the individual, personality, the autonomy of peoples and culture groups, and upon provisions for differentiation in education and schooling, directives are prepared and recommendations made for enforcing, in cultures throughout the world, conformity to standardized specifications of American urban and intellectual regimentation. Millions of dollars from private foundations, besides billions for governmental finances, are allocated to the acceleration of uniformities in the wake of the impact of technology upon the solidarity and cohesiveness of simpler folk and simpler cultures. The degree of resentment which thousands of folk cultures feel toward the luxurious living of American representatives, often assigned to make over old cultures, would appear astronomical if it could be measured. Yet measures are abundant in individual cases, whether in Japan of today, or China of yesterday, or in Africa, or Pakistan or India. At a time when the United States bemoans its past policy and treatment of the American Indian or the old patterns of imperialism in other lands, similar types of policies and standards set the incidence for the assumptions of the same old dominance over subject cultures.

A second paradox is almost equally startling. At a time when communications technique, and the highly motivated urge for freedom of speech dominates our ideology, the clearly dominant power is often that of minority potential control especially in the areas of economical commericalism, such that pressures from a few may overpower the facilities of the many. All this is powerfully evident in the pressures of the communications power structure and of political balance of power in urban national control, as they are structured in the national approach to the bi-racial situation of the Southern United States. Here again, and again, but finally, we must ask: Is it true? And what else is true? And what are the interrelations between these truths, in the projection of a cultural statesmanship which will integrate our regional cultures into an America at her best rather than to divide and conquer in another primary conflict that is inconsistent with all of the highest ideals of that America which presumes to lead the world.

Among the other contradictions so prevalent in the Southern picture is what might be termed the negation of all excellence in southern civilization in the verdicts of a majority whose judgments are based upon inflexible measures of non-segregation. This is nothing short of tragic. For nothing in the traditions of rich living, in the stability of institutions and the achievements of industry, agriculture, public works, and in the creative work of the South, receives more than a third or fourth rate appraisal so long as the South's culture balance remains in the red with reference to the Negro. Everywhere, here is a region which geographers have ranked near the top in all those resources and physiographic situations which make for greatness. Here is a region of beauty and abundance, with millions of people happy in the prospect of future prosperity - that is, happy until always and ever, the shadow of a tragic people, of two tragic peoples, falls

athwart the path of progress and peace. It is not so in other regions where no single phase of culture and economy is allowed to determine the final verdict about the total. In no other region, again, are the achievements of a dynamic minority group, such as the Negro, rich in romance and realism, marked down with a price tag of "slightly blemished" or imperfect finish, as is the case in the South. It is a strange situation ripe for first hand observation and research by outside appraisers, the results of which might well provide the basis for intergroup and interregional accommodation; instead of which vast ignorance prevails about most of the structure and functioning of the Southern culture. A few million dollars from endowed funds, or from government appropriations, for full and normal inquiry and planning might well go a long way toward resolving conflicts and reducing the power structure of propaganda and threats if operations were pursued with the same impartiality as other research and negotiations. Instead, minds and doors appear closed on both fronts of the bitter-enders.

Just twenty years ago I wrote about the South in An American Epoch "So came an American Epoch that was the South. An era had ended. An era had begun. Old golden pages of history, shining parchment records of culture, then yellow and faded, scorched and seared with years of embattled conflict, and epic struggle . . . Gallant figures on black horses and white . . . and crude, simple folk, sore with the footfall of time, passing across an epoch which was to be destroyed by physical and cultural conflagration and to rise up again in another American Epoch strangely different and vivid and powerful. Cultures in the making, social processes at work, portraiture descriptive of how civilizations grow. All the South's yesterdays, with their brilliant episodes and with their sordid pictures receding, giving way to the South's tomorrows, through a sweeping American development reminiscent of universal culture."

I submit this anew feeling sure it is a fair appraisal. But we have not gone as far by 1950 as I had anticipated in another verdict at the same time, when I wrote "The picture of the South realizing its possibilities in the New American Epoch was therefore a colorful picture of an achieving region rather than a pale print of the sensitive South. It was a South thinking less highly of the past than of the future; a South seeking to do all things well rather than merely a few things big; a South which appraised work higher than talk, truth more than dogma, integrity more than acclaim. It was a South unafraid; not afraid of Sinaic thunders echoed by false prophets; not afraid to do its own thinking nor to create in pioneer fields; not afraid of the truth and the freedom which truth reveals; not afraid of the past, the present, or the future. It was a South devout with religio poetoe, with the humility of the scientist and seeking to conserve its fighting energies through eminence in achievement rather than in wasteful conflict. It was a South set to the task of conserving and developing its limitless resources in materials and men and to stopping its vast leakage from economic and social waste. It was a South seeking to extend the bounds of its work to the whole range of human endeavor; to measure its efforts only by the highest standards of excellence, and to appraise its contributions in terms of broader national and international application and of permanent values. It was, in fine, an American South of continuing and new achievements, transforming its deficits to a balance of gain, and becoming representative of the best that America could produce."

Now, finally, out of appreciation for this opportunity to address this notable assembly, representative of the best that sociology affords in the southern region in all its states, I have tried to envisage the next half century from the viewpoint of a science of society, looking at the continuities of growth, development, survival and in the framework of the changing structures of all society. Next I have tried to envisage this South and

its dilemmas in the framework of what must be understood in any logical brief that should be studied by those who render judgments from the courts of this nation. For surely, there are judicial aspects of far reaching significance.

But, thirdly, I should like for a moment to forget all of us as social scientists or as educational leaders, or as colleagues striving to be critical of our theories and structures. I should like for a moment to look at you as a testing ground of communications and exhortations. And I should like to revert to our old time Southern custom of quoting Scriptures and giving affectionate saluation. I should like to ask you to say for us to all the Southern people:

Listen, Honey, let's make this the era of the Great Initiative, in which we achieve something better voluntaristically than something worse coercively. And we think we love the South more than all the fighters, and do-gooders, and publicity seekers, and those full of complexes, on the one hand of "vested frustration" from abroad, and of guilt and inferiority frustration from within our borders.

And listen, Honey, the saddest words of tongue or pen are not "It might have been," but "How oft would I and ye would not."

And, listen, Honey, destiny doesn't ask why we didn't do it, but did we?

28 - Prejudice

NORTHERN NEGROES HATE SOUTHERN NEGROES; LIGHT ONES SHUN DARK ONES

STORY ON PAGE 3

NATIONAL EDITION

TELEGRAM

INDEPENDENT - IMPARTIAL

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VOL. 8 — No. 5 NEWARK, N. J., SUNDAY, AUGUST 26, 1951 PRICE TEN CENTS

THE NEGRO NEEDS SYMPATHETIC FRIENDSHIP NOT USELESS LAWS

STORY ON PAGE 4

NOT USELESS LAWS

STORY ON PAGE 4

PROMOTING GOOD WILL

HORACE GILLISON of Richmond, Virginia, president of Quality Service, Inc., who is doing more to help the needy of his race, and to promote racial good will than any other Negro in the nation. He feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, and is at present caring for six families who were evicted.

HEAD N. Y. ELKS—Harvey L. Harris, above of 131 South 7th Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y., was elected president of the New York State IBPOEW at the annual convention held last week in Rochester, N. Y. Mr. Harris is past exalted ruler of Blossom Heath Lodge 348 and, IBPOEW and is currently grand commissioner of the shrine. He has been a member of the local lodge for about 20 years. He also a member of Progressive Lodge 64, F. and A. M.

TEACHERS MAP BIAS FIGHT AT HAMPTON MEET

STORY ON PAGE 7

America Heads Towards Communism; Intolerance, Race Bias; Joblessness and Inflation Will Destroy Democracy

Published in The Telegram Nov. 1949, and Reprinted by Request.

By DAVIS LEE, Publisher

Our nation today faces the greatest crisis in its history, with intolerance, race prejudice, unemployment and inflation providing fertile loam for the dissemination of the destructive seeds of communism.

Communism is easily spawned where there is poverty, unrest and mass discontent and unemployment; where the rich is getting richer and the poor is getting poorer.

Fear, madness and dissension seems to be sweeping our nation. Race prejudice is on the increase; intolerance and religious hate is in evidence everywhere.

15 million Negroes in America are aroused. Their smoldering embers of discontent over segregation, discrimination, the denial of first class citizenship, and many other rights and privileges, have been fanned into a dangerous prairie blaze by communistic agitation that threatens to create a racial gulf which it will take centuries to unite.

Black people the world over are chanting in unison a new song of freedom, of civil rights, and they will hitch their dream star to any vehicle that promises a lift in the direction in which they are headed.

In Africa a few days ago dissatisfied natives went on a hate rampage and killed two or three hundred of their supposed oppressors and exploiters. In China the little people became fed up with Chiang's regime and joined in the fight with Mas Tse-Tung for a new way of life. The dark races of the entire world are on the march.

The allies and loyal supporters of communism are unemployment, high prices, oppresion, exploitation and the denial of basic human rights.

The enemies of our way of life are on the alert for the slightest infringement of the rights of any minority. The lynching of Mallard at Lyons, Georgia, the killing of a Negro who sought to vote; the arrest of a Negro woman who was taken ff a Greyhund bus in Gergia last week; all of this adds to the propaganda material used by the commun-

of our friends, nor can we afford to set one friend against the other.

Let every Negro be an embassador to tolerance and a builder of racial good will. There is an old saying we should put into daily use, "you can catch more flies with molasses than you can with vinegar."

Our Government has grown into a gigantic, involved machine, that will contribute to its own destruction if we are not careful. We cannot afford now to indulge in experiments, we cannot afford now to increase taxes ad further depress and impoverish our people. We must use the old reliable and trusted method to get back on a solid foundation —cut down on our overhead.

The heads of our Government need to return to the course charted by our founding fathers. Let's return and adopt once and for all the principles upon which this great nation was launched. Let's try to catch the spirit of that freedom that impelled, motivated and drove them to found this great nation.

Let's launch a national movement to unite all of uor people. We need to sell America and all she stands for to Americans. We Negroes need to learn and realize now that in an effort to right her he is accepting the views and exhor-tations of the left wing boys whose knowledge of national, econmic, plitical and industrial navigatin is il.

Champ Walcott Garners $1,500 For Sandlotters

Some 2,000 underprivileged young New York baseball fans are assured of $1,500 worth of free seats at the Polo Grounds for the annual Sandlot Classic on Wednesday, Aug 8, thanks to World Heavy Weight Champion Joe Walcott's appearance as a "Helping Hand" guest contestant on "Strike It Rich" — CBS radio and television program (CBS Radio, 4:00-4:30 P.M. EDT. CBS-TV, 11:30 a.m.-12.00 noon. EDT. Both Mon thru Fri. And CBS, Wednesdays, 9:00-9:30 p.m. EDT.)

Jersey Joe, famous as a parent as well as for his boxing career, volunteered to appear on the program because "I'm interested in everything connected with juvenile welfare."

He won $500 the program's maximum award by correct answers to emcee Warren Hull's round of five qquestions, but before he could complete his perfect score there was a telephone call to the studio from Phil Rizzuto, Yankee shortstop, offering to match Joe's winnings. Immediately after the broadcast, a baseball and boxing fan, who courts anonymity, phoned to say he had put a $500 check in the mail to swell Joe Walcott's fund.

ALL NEGRO EMPLOYEES QUIT CAFE OVER BIAS

The allies and loyal supporters of communism are unemployment, high prices, oppresion, exploitation and the denial of basic human rights.

The enemies of our way of life are on the alert for the slightest infringement of the rights of any minority. The lynching of Mallard at Lyons, Georgia, the killing of a Negro who sought to vote; the arrest of a Negro woman who was taken ff a Greyhund bus in Gergia last week; all of this adds to the propaganda material used by the communists to further arouse and embitter the Negro masses.

These violations of whites against Negroes are magnified and played up, yet a Negro kills two young white people in Maryland, a Negro rapes and kills a 16 year old white girl in South Jersey; Negroes commit the most atrocious crimes against white people throughout the nation, and it is played down, unless the agitators can find a reason to charge that the accused was framed.

While one group of our enemies are busy stirring up race hatred, another group is busy engendering religious and political intolerance. Several Catholic priests at Danbury, Conn. opposed the appearance of a national political figure at the local Lion's club last week.

These same priests condemned in no uncertain terms the action of the Government of Hungary i the arrest and conviction of Joseph Cardinal Mendszenty.

All of us want our individual rights protected to the ninth degree, but none of us have sufficient respect and regard for the rights of others.

Big business throughout our nation is contributing to the chaotic economic plight of the little people by dropping 2,000,000 from the payrolls in one mnth. A hungry man with no job and a wife and kiddies to feed will embrace communism and its glowing promises of everything for nothing, much quicker than a happy, contented man with a job.

The captain of our great ship of state is confused and is in a quandry. His ship has struck an economic reef, and even with its Jim Crowism and all of its faults, the United States is the greatest country in the world, and has given us our greatest opportunity in every sphere. We have made more progress in 83 years of freedom in this country than the natives in Africa.

The Negroes who set up the Government in Liberia where they are completely in control, have not made the progress we have made. In Haiti, Ethiopia and in Africa the Negro Governments are corupt, inefficient, and the Negro rulers treat their own much worse than any white man would dare to treat us in this country.

We need to shun all agitators and all isms, and let's solve our problems and difficulties around the conference table with the white leaders of this nation who have demonstrated a thousand times that they are interested in our welfare and our progress. We are a minoriy and we are not in a position where we can afford to make enemies out

ALL NEGRO EMPLOYEES QUIT CAFE OVER BIAS

SARATOGA, N. Y. — The entire crew of the Dog House Restaurant here quit cold late last week because they would not work in a place which discriminated brazenly against their own kind.

The four top employes in Mre. Margar et Vromon's swank eatery walked out without warning when her manager, Robert Luff, ordered a pair of Negro diners out of the place Thursday.

Chef George Mitchum, his wife, headwaiter John Bryant, sidewaiter William Gamble, a dishwasher and a busboy agreed between themselves that it was better to quit a $100 a week job rather than sacrifice self respect.

The incident developed, Gamble said, a few weeks ago when Luff reprimanded him for serving a Negro couple. Gamble discussed the matter with other employes and they decided they would not stand for a repetition of such an attitude.

ALL QUIT

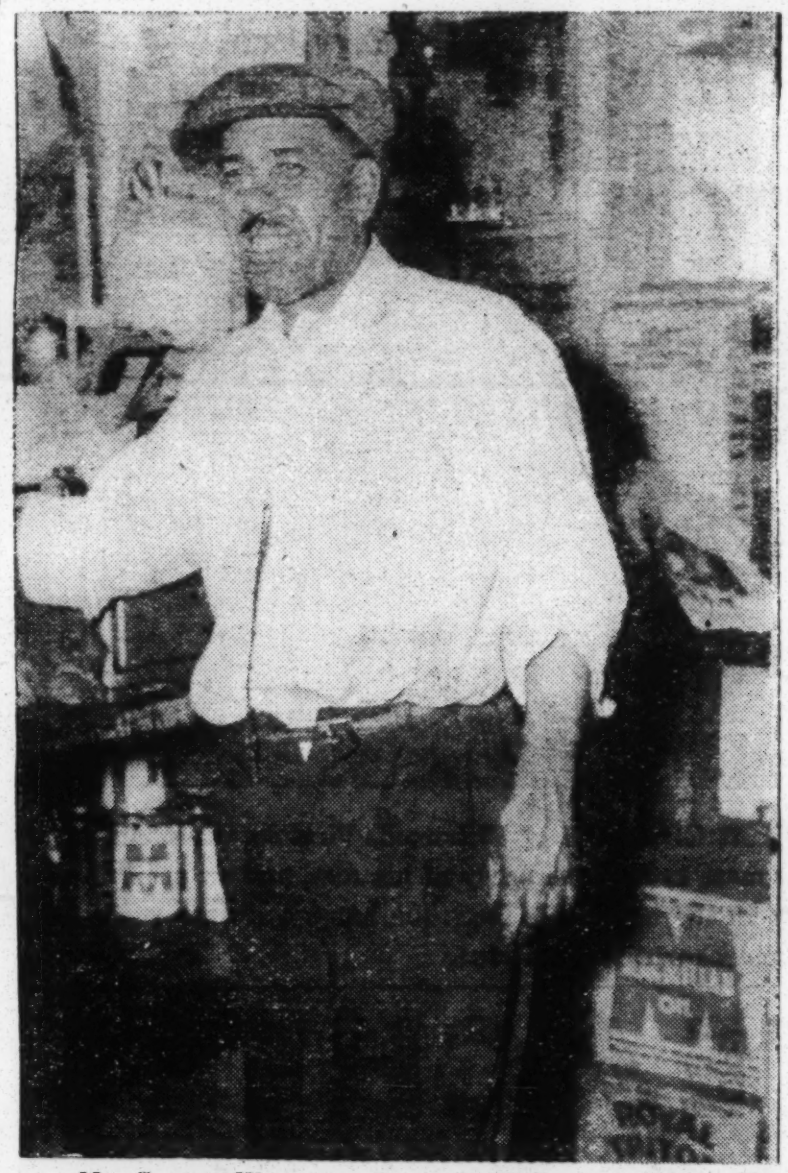
Thursday another Negro couple came in to dine. In the middle of their meal Mrs. Vromon entered the restaurant and ordered that the coulpe be put out of the place. The staff held an emergency meeting and quit cold.

"I don't care," Gamble saild, "about the job. We all felt that we couldn't stand being kicked around like that. I'm buying a home myself, but I'd rather lose it than work in a place with attitudes like those shown toward my people. He had been employed at the Dog House fo rmore than a year and added that his salary often ran to $115 per week.

Headwaiter Bryant was a six-year employe.

Garages in Apartment

Underground garages double as fenced-in-play areas in a new garden type apartment project. Roofs are covered with asphalt paving and playground equipment has been ordered for early installation. One of the areas is 140 by 326 feet; the other is 70 by 272 feet.



Mr. George Ware, operator of a filling station on Hartford, Conn's main street, is one of New England's most successful business men. He is a native of Petersburg, Va. Moved to Hartford in 1919 — is married and has two children.

NORTHERN NEGROES HATE SOUTHERN NEGROES; LIGHT ONES SHUN DARK ONES

By DAVIS LEE, PUBLISHER
(An Editorial Reprinted By Request)

The attitude and antics of Northern Negroes toward their Southern brothers would be most amusing if it were not for the fact that the progress of our race has been retarded and we suffer as the result.

Can you imagine one Negro hating another because of his birth?

Can you imagine one Negro setting up barrier against another because of his color or complexion? Well, whether you imagine it or not, it is true. Northern Negroes not only hate Negroes who come from the south but they shun them as if they had small pox. And the irony of it is the fact that many of the so-called northern Negroes were themselves born in Georgia, Mississippi or some other Southern state. If the individuals guilty of this attitude were not themselves born in the south, their parents were.

I have met many so-called northerners who claimed Michigan or New York as their nativity, but investigation revealed that they were born in the deep south. This adopted northerner accuses the recent southern arrival of making things bad for him, and for the race. He claims that this northern freedom intoxicates the southerner when he arrives and that his conduct not only reflects detrimentally upon the race, but many places of recreation and amusement bar all Negroes to keep out trouble making Southerners who feel that a switch blade is a passport to the enjoyment of this new found freedom.

In Winston-Salem and other North Carolina citieis the natives hate the Negroes from nearby South Carolina, and the brothers of sable hue in Virginia and Maryland hate Negroes from North Carolina.

This strange attitude on the past of one Negro towards another has created a division within the race that keeps us from getting together for the future protection and advancement of the race.

CUT OUT AGITATION

Sometime ago we printed an editorial in which we urged our people to cut out agitation as a means to advance our cause, but to adopt methods employed by Gandhi, the great Indian leader.

It was indeed refreshing to read news releases on a speech made in New York last week by Dr. Rammonohar Lohia, Indian Social leader, in which he told Negroes that they were going about the serious business of winning their civil rights the wrong way."

T eherudite leadeer told his listeners that legislation and pressure tactics are wrong; that the Gandhi method would win friends for our cause.

While we are running the story in this issue, we just wanted to mention our previous editorial views along this line.

Blast N. C. Jury Clearing White Man of Assault

Winston, N. C. — The jury which acquitted a New York white man of raping a 15-year-old Negro girl here "is a disgrace to the White raec, a disgrace to this

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN SEGREGATION?

By DAVIS LEE

Last week a group of Northern educators met at the Hotel Commodore in New ork and voted to bar Negroes from membership in The National Inter-Fraternity.

David A. Embury, Wall street lawyer, led the panel discussion and asked the following questions: "Should we favor and promote the organization of raternities that have no discrimination whatever regarding color — keeping in mind that whenever you get close social contact, marriage unvariably results — Negroes dancing with your sisters and sweethearts?"

Eugene McNally of Renesselaer Polytechnic Institute, declared "you join a fraternity because you want to know the people. If you don't care to have a Catholic or Jew as your brother, that's your privilege."

This discussion was carried on in New York City by Northerners who are suppose to not consider one on the basis of race or religion. These are the same people who condemn the racial customs of the South. If that discussion last week had been carried on by Southern whites in Atlanta or Birmingham, every Northern daily would have headlined it.

What happened and what was said in New York by those educators merely substantiates my previous editorial claims that there is just as much bigotry, intolerance and race prejudice in New York as there is in Georgia. Race prejudice is not a Southern product — it is a racial disease whose germs are universal.

If every Negro felt as I do about white people, North as well as South, there would be no racial friction in this nation. I have no de-

In Winston-Salem and other North Carolina cities the natives hate the Negroes from nearby South Carolina, and the brothers of sable hue in Virginia and Maryland hate Negroes from North Carolina.

This strange attitude on the past of one Negro towards another has created a division within the race that keeps us from getting together for the future protection and advancement of the race.

While the Southern Negro has may more fine colleges and universities than the Northerners, white or black, want to admit, if the Northern Negro feels that Southerners are so ignorant and he really wants his race to get ahead he should organize reception committees in every city and state in the East and North to meet all new southerners and aid them in getting adjusted in the new community of their choice.

The committee should aid the new arrivals in getting located in the right environment; he should be informed of his rights and privileges. A book of do's and don'ts should be placed in his possession. The committee should keep in constant contact with the new arrival until he has become completely orientated.

This would do much to keep down crime and the new arrivals would become useful citizens immediately. This kind of race solidarity and cooperation would contribute more than anything else to the real progress of the race.

Again, these committees would also be Ambassadors of tolerance and good will. We would sympathize with our brother from the south because he had been denied many of the rights and privileges which we enjoy. We would be taught to love every member of our race no matter where he arrives from or whether he is jet black or near white.

To reach our place in the world; to be respected by others, we must love and respect ourselves. Let's not condemn another or hate him because of his complexion or birth place. Lets' judge him for what's in his heart.

Mrs. Napper To Work For NAACP In North Carolina

NEW YORK — Mrs. Berenice N. Napper, assistant field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, will spend the remainder of this month and all of August in North Carolina organizing membership drives, Gloster B. Current, director of branches, announced recently.

Starting in Durham, Mrs. Napper will also visit and assist branches of the Association in Raleigh, Fayetteville, Hamlet, Scotland County, Wilmington, Onslow County, New Bern, Lenoir County, Goldsboro, Edgecombe County and Washington County.

THE TELEGRAM

Published at Newark, N. J., P.O. Box 690
DAVIS LEE, Editor and Publisher

Clearing White Man of Assault

Winston, N. C. — The jury which acquitted a New York white man of raping a 15-year-old Negro girl here "is a disgrace to the White raec, a disgrace to this country . . . and an outrage based solely on the fact that the defendant was a white man and the state's witness a colored girl," Superior Court Judge Henry A. Grady said angrily last week.

An all white, all male jury let Frank Newsome, 45, off scot free even though Judge Grady declared "the evidence was overwhelmingly in favor of the state."

Not to be outdone, Judge Grady issued a bench warrant for Newsome's arrest and had him rejailed pending presentation of the case to another Grand Jury in October.

A Grand Jury broke the first precedent by reducing the indictment from rape (which carried the death sentence) to carnal knowledge. The latter charge permits jail terms up to 30 years.

But the judge suggested to his prosecutor that the case be moved to another county, "to a jury with sense enough and character enough to do the right thing." He said, "I am ashamed of my state."

Newsome allegedly raped the girl after luring her to his brother's home on the promise of a baby-sitting job. She is Hattie Louise Hoggard. The incident occurred last June 30.

7-Year Terms For 4 GI's Who Bombed Police

COLUMBUS, Ga., — Four Fort Benning soldiers were found guilty last week of throwing grenades at a Columbus police car and sentenced to dishonorable discharges and seven years at hard labor.

Army officials at Benning identified the sentenced men as Pfc. Luther Smith, 21, of Columbus, Miss.; Pvts. David L. Freeman, 19, and Paul Newman, 25 both of Chicago; and Eddie Johnson, 19, of St. Louis.

Their sentences grew out of charges they hurled two grenades at a Columbus patrol car May 20, that came to a cafe in the City's Negro district to answer a disturbance call.

would have headlined it.

What happened and what was said in New York by those educators merely substantiates my previous editorial claims that there is just as much bigotry, intolerance and race prejudice in New York as there is in Georgia. Race prejudice is not a Southern product — it is a racial disease whose germs are universal.

If every Negro felt as I do about white people, North as well as South, there would be no racial friction in this nation. I have no desire to dance with a white woman or to marry one and I am bitterly opposed to white men dancing and marrying the women of my race.

I am not prejudiced. I like all races and nationalities and I limit my contact and cultivation of white people unless otherwise expressed by them. The rights and privileges I grant others I reserve for myself.

This whole race issue, North as well as South, is based on the belief by white people that Negroes want to intermarry, that Negroes want to associate with them as a social equal.

The Negro is regarded as an inferior being who is forever striving to be recognized and accepted by supposedly superior people. Of course Negroes themselves in many instances lend support to this illusion, by yelling to the house tops about a member of the race being the first Negro to do this or that, or by trying to break down this barrier or that one. Many whit e folk, who are actually not prejudiced, resent these gate crashing tactics.

I must agree that many supposedly intelligent Negroes by their own acts have created the impression that our race as a whole does desire intermarriage. Some outstanding Negroes like George Schuyler, Associate Editor of The Pittsburgh Courier, Richard Wright, the famous author, and many others have white wives.

But the majority of Negroes in this nation are as much opposed to intermarriage and race mixing as I am. Southerners, both white and black, are opposed to it from bitter experience. During slavery and directly thereafter there was so much mixing, illegally and illegitimately, until today it is hard to tell who is white and who is black.

We are living now in a more enlightened era in which both races desire to retain their own racial identity and integrity.

What we must do is conduct ourselves in such a manner that the entire world might understand that we are as proud of our heritage, of our race, as any other man, and that our pride will not permit us to want to go where we are not wanted.

We are Americans, and we believe in our country and its Constitution. That Constitution guarantees to us as loyal Americans certain rights which we claim and which we want respected and protected.

We want to enjoy every economic advantage and every opportunity accorded other Americans. We are 15,000,000 strong in this nation, and we desire proportionate representation in the direction of this nation's future and its welfare; because our future and our welfare is securely bound to that of our nation.

We are not interested in dancing with the women of other races, or in marrying them. We are interested in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and in the engagement of all rights and privileges enjoyed by other good citizens.

The Negro Needs Sympathetic Friendship, Not Useless Laws

By DAVIS LEE, PUBLISHER

(Published in The Telegram, Feb. 1950 and Reprinted by Request)

Because of the renewed efforts of the Truman Administration to force a legislative show down on the Civil Rights issue, and because of the evident increase in racial unrest and antagonism, I decided to return south and go into every phase of the race question.

For several weeks now I have been touring these southern States. It is becoming convincingly more evident to me each day that the south does not only offer the Negro his greatest opportunity, but that the Negroe's only hope of achieving economic, industrial, agricultural, political and educational freedom, is in the south.

No other section of this nation understands him and his problems so well, and no other section is as sympathetic and willing to help him. And if the American Negro needs anything, it is sympathy, understanding; the right and privilege to engage in business and all other legitimate pursuits to advance himself and his race without restriction.

The Negro in the south now enjoys this. Then why all this national agitation?

I spent last week interviewing the white industrial leaders of Alabama. In Birmingham I met the heads of Connor Steel Company, Continental Cotton Gin, McWane Steel Company and many others. They employ thousands of Negroes

At the Crosby Hodges Flour Mill, Mr. Hodges spoke very highly of his Negro employees. One Negro has been with the firm 46 years. He owns property, has educated his children and has a son who is dean of a college.

While I was at the Western Feed Company an injured Negro employee limped into Mr. Jockson's office where we were in conference. The employer pulled up the man's trouser leg, anointed the wound, bandaged it up, and sent him home.

Mr. Jackson said that their three hundred Negro em-

Beauty Shop Licenses Extended To Aug. 31

TRENTON — The expiration date of beauty shop licenses has been extended to August 31 under the provisions of Chapter 144, P.L. 1951, effective May 31, 1951, according to an announcement of the State Board of Beauty Culture Conrtol. Stephen J. Bator, of Maplewood, is chairman of the Board. The Board functions under the Bureau on Examination and Licensing of the State Department of Health.

The new law further requires that all licenses must be renewed each year. Previously, only shop and school licenses had to be renewed each year. Other licenses had to be renewed within a two-year period.

Expiration dates for the various licenses issued are as follows:

Shop—August 31; Operator—September 30; — Manicurist — September 30.

Persons holding any of the above licenses are urged to renew same on or before the above expiration dates.

Save Violets

African violet growers can multiply their plants by snipping off a leaf and inserting it in Terra-Lite vermiculite. This is a sterile propagating medium which produces big, healthy roots in six to eight weeks with little or no loss.

EVERYTHING HAS CHANGED IN BIRTH, EXCEPT SUPERSTITIONS

So someone in your family is going to have a baby.

If it is born in North Jersey, the chances this year are 52 to 1 that it will be born in a hospital against an almost even bet that its mother was born at home. The chances are 425 to 1 that it will be delivered by a doctor, against one to four odds that mother was delivered by a mid-wife. And its chances of being a healthy, bouncing youngster are three times as good in 1951 as the chances were when its parents were born.

Everything has changed since mother was born, except the superstitions. Believe it or not, superstitions and deep-seated family convictions still determine such things as what mama should eat before the child is born and who will wash the diapers.

Does the baby down the street wear a black or red ribbon around its wrist?

There's an old superstition that such a ribbon will keep away the evil spirits.

Here are some more prevalent New Jersey superstitions reported by doctors, nurses and public health officials.

The belief still exists in this area that if an expectant mother has an overwhelming desire for certain foods, such as strawberries, the child will bear a tell-tale birthmark.

An expectant mother should never look at ugly pictures. But if she concentrates on beautiful pictures, she will have a beautiful baby.

An infant's fingernails should not be cut unless there is money in the palm of its hands, otherwise it will grow up to be a thief. Baby's nails are frequently bitten off by grandmother or aunty.

Of course, none of these is true, but all are deep-rooted in some cultural groups.

And the cultural group to which the parents belong will determine to a large extent many elements of the baby's birth.

For instance, there are so many poor mothers giving birth in hospitals today as there are mothers of moderate or bountiful means. Every New Jersey community budgets large sums of public money each year for the state's most valuable product, the children of tommorw.

Here are some of the big changes in maternity patterns in the last generation.

The number of midwives has decreased drastically.

Most children are born in hos-

firm 46 years. He owns property, has educated his children and has a son who is dean of a college.

While I was at the Western Feed Company an injured Negro employee limped into Mr. Jockson's office where we were in conference. The employer pulled up the man's trouser leg, anointed the wound, bandaged it up, and sent him home.

Mr. Jackson said that their three hundred Negro employees are among their most loyal. He explained that recently the city engaged in a Zoning fight as the result of two Negro ministers moving into a nexclusive white neighborhood. It so happens, he pointed out, that one of their Negro employees owns a house not far from the section involved in the dispute. That emplyee had lived there fr years and that the Company was ready to protect him, if necessary.

Not only do Southern whites employ Negroes, but they take a personal interest in them and their problems. I went into a plant and asked to see the president. When I met him he turned out to be a Northerner. He told me that he didn't know too much about his colored employees. And what he said is true of most Northerners.

It is difficult to find a business of any size in Alabama that does not empoly Negroes. This is generally true throughout the south. And it did not require FEPC law to force these white people to give Negroes jobs.

One can find plenty of plants and businesses in the Northern and Eastern States that do not, and never have, employed Negroes. A FEPC law could help the Negroes in the North, but it is not needed down here. The Administration in Washington should seek to influenec the Democratic leaders in the Northern Statees to enact Fair Employment legislation.

It is becoming more apparent to me each day as I go through the South that someone has sold the Administration a bill of goods on this race issue.

Of course conditions are not completely ideal everywhere in the south, but progress has been made and every day finds the southern Negro closer to his goal.

What the Negro masses need more than anything else is intelligent leadership. Leaders who are not agitators for selfish, personal gain; leaders who will teach the masses how to be thirfty, and how to get the most out of available opportunities. Leaders who will strive to build good will and understanding.

In one city I found a Negro bank and eight of its officers with new Cadillacs. You would not find eight officers in the largest white bank in the South, each with a new Cadillac. I drove by a Negro high school, the principal had a new Cadillac, and lined up around the school were new Fords, Chevys and other makes. Just a few blocks away was a white high school. I saw no new Cadillac and most of the cars were old models.

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African violet growers can multiply their plants by snipping off a leaf and inserting it in Terra-Lite vermiculite. This is a sterile propagating medium which produces big, healthy roots in six to eight weeks with little or no loss.

evil spirits.

Here are some more prevalent New Jersey superstitions reported by doctors, nurses and public health officials.

The belief still exists in this area that if an expectant mother has an overwhelming desire for certain foods, such as strawber-

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Negroes need to be taught to buy what they need; to not buy what they want and cannot afford. They need to be taught to support their own hospitals and other charities, and stop begging whit people for money to support institutions which they themselves should support.

The Negores in America and in the south have no problems which cannot be solved by intelligent leadership.

The South has done a good job with most difficult and perplexing problem. The current census will no doubt show the Negro population in the nation to be between eighteen and twenty million. Over two thirds of these people live in the south.

The South not only has to find a solution to the new problems of poor, ignorant Negroes, but it has plenty of poor, ignorant whites. However, when one takes an inventory of the Negroe's progress in every sphere, he has to admit that a good job is being done.

But despite the achievements which we now enjoy, the Negro is still an infant, and he still needs the strong hand of someone to steady him until he is able to walk financially, economically, industrially and in education. This is true in the south despite the fact that our people down here own several solvent banks, million dollar insurance companies, other creditable businesses, and that Negroes own more real estate, finer homes, than you will find anywhere else in the nation.

He needs economic guidance badly so that he will not put his pennies in needless and profitless toys — like Cadillacs. Legislation cannot offer a solutilon to his many problems, but sympathetic friendship and understanding can.

An abrupt end to all of this race agitation would result if the southern senators and congressmen would persuade their Northern, Eastern and Western colleagues to spend one month in the south. After that the Southern Negroes and whites would be let alone to work out their own destiny.

The best operated city in the nation for Negroes is Montgomery, Alabama, and the most democratic city is Johnson City, Tenn. where Negroes live on practically every Street, and you cant' tell a Negro home from a white one by appear ance.

All of us, black and white, should realize that we are all Americans, and that race hatred in ont American. Let us all work and live together as friends, and you dont' need legislation to do that.

money each year for the state's most valuable product, the children of tommorw.

Here are some of the big changes in maternity patterns in the last generation.

The number of midwives has decreased drastically.

Most children are born in hospitals.

Mothers are usually up and about in five to seven days unless there are complicating factors.

An fathers as well as mothers are receiving pre-natal training.

For instance, if a visiting nurse is called in by the doctor, the chances are that she will make her first call on the expectant mother on a Saturday so she can talk to the father, too.

One of the big facts that hasn't changed is that poor people live in the cities and have the most children. Newark's 1950 birthrate was 29.7 babies per 1,000 estimated population, against 19.3 for Essex county as a whole. Nearby counties, Hudson, Union, Bergen, Middlesex and Monmouth, averaged 20.4 births per 1,000.

Of Newark's 13,174 new babies last year, only 252 were delivered at home. Of these, 31 were delivered by mid-wives, according to city records.

One of the big factors in the trend toward hospital births in the last generation, health authorities said, is the maternity benefits in many general coverage insurance policies purchased by workers.

Although the mid-wife is disappearing rapidly in New Jersey, the trend in some other parts of the country is toward more midwife deliveries. For instance, New York now licenses midwives. But the 1951 midwife in the progressive community which issues licenses is a graduate nurse who has taken a lengthy course in child delivery.

Medical authorities attribute this trend to experiments in some hospitals in keeping the baby in the same room as the mother. Some believe that this trend points to more home deliveries in the future with licensed, well-trained midwives cooperating with doctors.

Indian Has Plan To Fight Bias

HIS IDEA: RESISTANCE BE PASSIVE

American Negroes may be going about the serious business of winnig their civil rights the wrong way, Indian Socialist leader Dr. Rammonohar Lohia suggested last week.

Dr. Lohia is leader of the party which opposes the Nehru government in India, and was a close friend and follower of the late Gandhi. He is in New York this summer at the invitation of the Foundation for World Government.

The enegertic, scholarly Lohia said that where legislative action and pressure tactics for equality of opportunity have been inadequate, a vigorous policy of civil disobedience and passive resistance might well be the Negro's most potent weapon. He hastened to assure a gathering of Harlem leaders at the Urban League Thursday, however, that the plan must proceed by scrupulously means.

The Indian leader proposed that Negroes move up the social and economic scale by staging mass marches, picketing, sit-in and sit-out strikes, boycott and other such measures.

"By careful organization and planning of peaceful demonstrations, the minority group can attime committee be set up "to explore instances of discrimination and segregation, and work out the best plan to use in each case." From this point, the Indian political spokesman said, the masses of Negroes and whites can participate, and make their collective voice heard. The public temper, he said, cannot escape being affected by the attitudes of thousands upon thousands of determined people.

WOULD BE FOUR-FOLD

He said the benefits of the civil disobedience plan would be fourfold:

1. To restore the health of the American system.
2. Make the Negro community equal to any other in the world.
3. Reinforce the world attitude toward a change for the better by peaceful means.
4. Prove the civil disobedience technique 100 percent more effective than any other means yet devised.

Dr. Lohia foresaw no great difficulty in a changeover from the traditionally American "fight for what you want" ideal to a peaceful resistance plan. He said there is no fundamental difference in the cultural patterns between American Negroes and Indians.

"There is no reason why civil disobedience as Gandhi exploited it cannot be effective to improve the lot of Negroes," Lohia said. He also said the struggle of Indian and Negroe peoples was the same, with the dissimilarity only in the stage of progress.

At the Urban League conference were Garry Davis of world

Mrs. Christine Brewer, left, wife of oneof Newark's most successful grocermen, Carlton Brewer, back in good health from recent operation. Mrs. Brewer is all set for an active fall and winter social season. She is shown here with her sister.

S.C. CASE IN NEW PHASE AS NAACP FILES APPEAL

CHARLESTON, S. C. — With the filling of a petition of appeal in the United States District Court here today, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People entered the second stage of the fight to abolish segregation in the public elementary and

The Indian leader proposed that Negroes move up the social and economic scale by staging mass marches, picketing, sit-in and sit-out strikes, boycott and other such measures.

"By careful organization and planning of peaceful demonstrations, the minority group can attract liberal sympathizers from the mapjority group and thereby make itself the majority," declared Lohia. He said the segregation pattern could be wiped out by the majority.

"Passive resistance could have been used in the Cicero, Illinois, riots," said Lohia. "If a dozen Negroes and whites pledged to occupy the building, come what may, they could have drawn the support of influential persons who otherwise would remain silent," he explained. This has been done in India for many years.

"Constructive legal action is not enough," Dr. Lohia declared. He said the civil disobedience policy made popular by Gandhi can wrok to the advantage of minorities.

He suggested a permanent, full-disobedience as Gandhi exploited it cannot be effective to improve the lot of Negroes," Lohia said. He also said the struggle of Indian and Negroe peoples was the same, with the dissimilarity only in the stage of progress.

At the Urban League conference were Garry Davis of world citizenship fame, Harriet Pickens, Theodore E. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. Peter Davis, Man Mohan, Steven Scheur, Palmer Webber, Robert Jones, Edward Lewis, Harris Wofford, Hilda Fortune and William Simms.

Silicones Are Up-Coming

The use of silicone-base finishes has greatly increased during the last year. Since first marketed about five years ago, silicone finishes have been discovered to have extreme heat and weather-resistance. They are especially suited to space heaters, furnaces, steam generators mufflers and processing equipment. They make extremely weather resistent enamels for advertising and highway signs, street signs, metal awnings and siding.

S.C. CASE IN NEW PHASE AS NAACP FILES APPEAL

CHARLESTON, S. C. — With the filling of a petition of appeal in the United States District Court here today, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People entered the second stage of the fight to abolish segregation in the public elementary and secondary schools in nearby Clarendon County and thereby to set a precedent for the total abolition of segregation in public education.

The petition, filed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, appeals from the majority opinion handed down on June 21 by a three-judge federal court, upholding a provision of the South Carolina Constitution requiring the separation of the races in public schools. The NAACP suit, brought in behalf of Negro school-age children and their parents residing in School District No. 22 of Clarendon County and tried before the court on May 28-29, challenged the validity of the state's constitutional provision and sought a decision declaring it in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. With Judge J. Waties Waring Dissenting, Judges John J. Parker and George Bell Timmerman concurred in sustaining the right of the states to impose segration of the races in public education.

The petition filed today is a vital step in an effort to place squarely before the United States Supreme Court the issue of the validity of states' constitutions and statutes requiring segregation. Recent decisions, as in the Sweatt case, the petition points out, tend to undermine the doctrine of "separate but equal" formulated in the famous **Plessy v. Ferguson** case. The NAACP notes that these decisions, together with current social trends, have created "serious and widespread question as to the legality and the duration of segrated public elementary and high schools." Such doubts, the petition asserts, "the Suprme Court should settle by a definite decision as to whether racial separation in public elementary and secondary schools is a constitutionally possible pattern which may serve to giude the future endeavors of scholars and school officials."

RACIAL LAWS ILLEGAL

The appeal is based upon the contention that statutory classifications based soley upon race or color violate the federal Constitution. Citing legal precedents, the petition asserts that "race or color can not be made the basis of a statutory classification." It further contends that there is no reasonable basis for allocating educational facilities on the basis of race, and also denies that segregation laws can be upheld on the basis that they are necessary to preserve public peace and order. Moreover, the NAACP asserts, the majority of the lower court erred in refusing to follow the applicable decisions of the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, the petition says, "has always recognized the importance of segregation in public education. Although the Supreme Court has clarified the issue as to graduate an dproefessional schools, the Court has never had the opportunity to consider the question as to elementary and high schools on the basis of a full and complete record with the issue clearly drawn and with competent expert testimony as appears in the record in this case. A clear cut decision on this issue will remove all doubts in the field of public education."

Majority Opinion Challenged

Challenging the majority opinion in the Clarendon County case, the NAACP brief charges that that decision "subordinated the individual rights of the plaintiffs to the state's segregation policy" and ignored the psychological injury to the segragated pupils. The individual's rights cannot be sustained nor his psychic injury repaired through the provision of physical plants substantially equal to the facilities available to white pupils, the NAACP contends.

Ample opportunity has been given the southern states to provide equal facilities under the decision in **Plessy v. Ferguson.** However, the petition points out, "after more than three-quarters of a century of judicial effort to attain equality of educational opportunity within the framework of racial segration, the widespread inequalities and discriminations yet existent demonstrate the futility of such acourse."

While the South has been blindly adhering to the separate but equal doctrine, the NAACP concludes, inequalities within the segragated system have increased. It further notes that none of the harmful effects predicted have materialized with the breakdown of segregration in southern graduate and professional schools. Because racial segregation in elementary and secondary schools "exerts a far greater effect on a far larger number of persons at a for more important stage of the person's life," the need for eliminating it is certainly no less urgent than at the graduate and professional levels, the petition maintains.

Associated with Mr. Marshall as counsel for the plaintiffs—appellants are Robert L. Carter, NAACP assistant special counsel of New York; Harold R. Boulware of Columbia, S.C.: and Spottswood W. Robinson, III, of Richmond, Va. Other counsel are Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham and A. T. Walden of Atlanta.

SAVE FOR THE FUTURE
BUY U.S. SAVINGS BONDS

Brighter Future Ahead For Negro Entertainers

NEW YORK — Josephine Baker's reception in America may mean a brighter future for all Negro show people, declares the August 13 issue of Quick magazine, which features Miss Baker on the cover.

In a penetrating article titled "The Negro in Entertainment," Quick points out that when Miss Baker broke the color line in Miami's strict Copa City, another Florida Cafe owner, noting her success, said: "I don't care if people are green — if they can pay their check."

But things are still difficult. Says Tallulah Bankhead: "The Negro actor, no matter how great, is Broadway's stepchild."

But her success led Jo Baker to say: "I haven't changed, so it must be the people here that have."

Juano Hernandez, Quick points out, has made four films in one year — and all his roles "have been dignified, intelligent." Advances have been made in television, too, "where appearances by Negro greats are bringing all Negroes new respect."

The recent uproar concerning the TV "Amos 'n' Andy" is discussed in the article, and it reports the approval of this show by the Coordinating Council for Negro Performers. This show points up two difficulties for Negro entertainers (1) finding work, (2), finding roles that do not slur their people. Both of these pribblems are gradually being met.

As Bing Crosby sums up in Quick: "Show business will be forever indebted to the Negro . . . Surely what they have contributed gives them the right to expect nothing but the best from the industry in return."

Besides Josephine Baker's photo on the cover, Quick features pictures of Hazel Scott, Louis Armstrong, Lena Horne, Ethel Waters, Billy Eckstine, Josh White, Eddie "Rochester" Anderson, and Marian Anderson.

Video Demands Comfort

Since the advent of television, the sales of slipcovered matresses and spring-on-legs for living room use have increased. It seems that people enjoy the programs much more while comfortably stretched out on a good bed.

Scottsboro Boy Faces Trial

ALBANY — Jawn A. Sandifer, chairman of the New York State NAACP Legal Redress Committee, charged here Thursday that the Albany Grand Jury is trying "Scottsboro Boy," James Andy Wright, indicted here last week on a first-degree rape charge of a 13-year-old Negro girl, for the crime he was convicted of committing 19 years ago and not for the alleged current crime.

Mr. Sandifer made this charge after the 39-year-old Wright, refusing bail, pleaded innocent to the indictment which charged him with first degree rape allegedly committed on July 3.

NAVY RESERVE MEN ELIGIBLE FOR ACADEMY

At the Tuesday night meeting of the 10th Battalion, USNR in the Naval Reserve Training Center, Jersey City, Lt. Cdr. Frank C. Siedenburg, Commanding Officer, read a directive from the (Third Naval District, to his Division Officers, this Directive specified) that the Commandant desired that the Commanding Officers, and Officers-in-Charge of New York, for a physical examination. Every effort is made to have this appointment on the date requested by the applicant.

Lt. Cdr. Sidenburg directed his division officers; Lt. Raymond F. Peeney, Commanding Officer, twenty-first division; Lt. M. T. Corti, Acting-Commanding Officer, thirty-third division; and Lt.

Today's Fashions
by Betty Rose

PARIS-INSPIRED STYLES AND COLORS DRAMATIC IN NEW FALL COATS AND SUITS

The three-piece suit, the pencil slim suit skirt with a torso jacket and the pyramid coat, such as these styled by Betty Rose, will dominate Milady's wardrobe this fall. More vivid colors than usual for fall will be seen in both coats and suits. It will be the pyramid for fashion in coats again. The pyramid is modified, with the fullness coming from the sides, rather than from the back, and the hemline sweep is lessened. But the basic silhouette is that of a long, full coat, slimmed at the shoulders rather than at the hemline. Shoulders are a real style story this year, sloping, raglan, saddle. Sleeves of all types combine with collar, pocket and button interest to give coats a new look. A sprinkling of novelties, such as the three-piece suit shown here, will brighten the style picture, and the short coat will be more popular than ever this fall and winter. It is liked for its contrast, effectiveness in textured fabrics and because it is less expensive. The suit silhouette is slim, high-lighted by interest in detail, such as insets of fabric, novelty buttons and jewel trim. The average length of the torso or sheath jacket is 26 inches.

crime he was convicted of committing 19 years ago and not for the alleged current crime.

Mr. Sandifer made this charge after the 39-year-old Wright, refusing bail, pleaded innocent to the indictment which charged him with first degree rape allegedly committed on July 3.

Claiming that the Grand Jury's action was biased the NAACP official said that he would ask for a change of venue and an inspection of the Grand Jury minutes before the trial begins in September. Mr. Sandifer said that the publicity given the case in that area would make it impossible for any jury to decide the case in a fair mind.

Wright, freed on parole some 15 months ago after having served 19 years of a 99-year sentence for alleged rape of two white girls, had been working in Albany as a mill hand before his arrest. He is currently in the county jail awaiting trial. If convicted, he faces return to Alabama as a parole violator, and must serve the remaining years of his term.

the Naval Reserve Training Center, Jersey City, Lt. Cdr. Frank C. Siedenburg, Commanding Officer, read a directive from the (Third Naval District, to his Division Officers, this Directive specified) that the Commandant desired that the Commanding Officers, and Officers-in-Charge of the various reserve units extend every effort to obtain well qualified applicants for appointment to the Naval Academy as Midshipmen both from the ranks of the Organized Reserve and the Volunteer Reserves. The directive specific that applications may be submitted at any time throughout the year, however, all applications must be made prior to September 30 of the year preceding appointment. These applications are forwarded to the Third Naval District where the Commandant then issues a letter of authority to the applicant to report to the "Board for Preliminary Physical Examination for Candidates for Naval Academy" at the U.S. ....aval Hospital, St. Albans, Long Island, [illegible] Every effort is made to have this appointment on the date requested by the applicant.

Lt. Cdr. Sidenburg directed his division officers; Lt. Raymond F. Peeney, Commanding Officer, twenty-first division: Lt. M. T. Corti, Acting-Commanding Officer, thirty-third division; and Lt. John P. Quinlan, Commanding Officer, thirty-fifth division; to comply with this letter from the Commandant and go over the records of each man for possible qualified applicants and discuss this wonderful opportunity with each eligible man.

Lt. Cdr. Fred E. Webster, Hillsdale, N.J. joined the 10th Battalion at Tuesday night's meeting. New recruits included Philip Bell, 561 Ocean Avenue, Henry Schumann, 101 Beacon Avenue, Vincent Giblin, 53 Bostwick Avenue, of Jersey City, Daniel Ward, 7 E. 16th Street, Bayonne, N.J., William Moore, 235 75th Street, North Bergen, N.J., and Fred Schneider of 470 Grand Avenue, Leonia, N.J.

types combine with collar, pocket and button interest to give coats a new look. A sprinkling of novelties, such as the three-piece suit shown here, will brighten the style picture, and the short coat will be more popular than ever this fall and winter. It is liked for its contrast, effectiveness in textured fabrics and because it is less expensive. The suit silhouette is slim, high-lighted by interest in detail, such as insets of fabric, novelty buttons and jewel trim. The average length of the torso or sheath jacket is 26 inches.

Civic Clubs Send Cards On Hoover Report

An estimated 100,000 penny postcards urging immediate action on Hoover Report economy legislation have been sent to congressmen by New Jersey service clubs and civic organizations in the past two months, Donald V. Lowe of Ridgefield, chairman of the New Jersey Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report declared today.

An average of slightly under 60 postcards was supplied by the Committee to each of more than 200 organizations and, Mr. Lowe said, over 90 per cent of them have informed Committee headquarters that they participated in the mail campaign. In each case, every member got a card and filled it out with his own views on government economy, based on statistics furnished by the Citizens Committee.

One service club objected to the idea on the grounds that it was constituted as a "non-political" organization. But when Mr. Lowe explained that the Report is based on the findings of a bi-partisan committee formed on orders of President Truman with Former President Hoover as chairman, and that legislation embodying its recommendations has been introduced under joint sponsorship of both parties, the objection was withdrawn.

NEW CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS

The United States Civil Service Commission today announced examinations for Meteorologist $3,100 and $3,825 a year, and Research and Development Meteorologist, $4,600 to $6,400 a year. The positions are located in Washington, D. C., and throughout the United States, including the Territories. A few positions may also be filled in U. S. possessions and in foreign countries.

To qualify for both types of meteorologist positions, applicants must have had appropriate education or experience or a combination of education and experience. No written test is required. The age limits, waived for persons entitled to veteran preference, are from 18 to 35 years for the $3,100 jobs and 18 to 62 for the others.

Applications should be sent to the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C. They will be accepted until further notice.

Further information and application forms may be obtained from the Commission's Local Secretary, Mr. James J. Capone, located at Westfield, New Jersey Post Office from Civil Service regional offices, or from the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D. C.

Hoyaetz Investigation

NEWS RELEASE

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, 170 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

ROGER N. BALDWIN
Chmn., Natl Comm.

ERNEST ANGELL
Chmn., B'd of Directors

ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS
MORRIS L. ERNST
Counsel

PATRICK MURPHY MALIN
Executive Director

ORegon 5-5990

Alan Reitman, *Public Relations Director*

November 29, 1951

FOR RELEASE: MONDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1951

The American Civil Liberties Union called upon the Board of Higher Education today to suspend a set of rules in force at Brooklyn College for "judging Communist and Communist-related student groups". The standards for judging left-wing student groups, adopted last June for use by the Faculty-Student Committee on Student Activities, are patterned after those in the McCarran Act, passed by Congress in 1950.

Vigorously protesting the stringent regulations as a "fatal blow to freedom of the mind", the Union declared:

"A democratic educational experience cannot be achieved in merely theoretical terms; if we are to train our students in the fundamentals of American citizenship, their education must be conducted within the framework of a democratic campus governance."

In a letter to Dr. Ordway Tead, chairman of the Board of Higher Education, the ACLU urged also that the board order the Brooklyn College faculty and administration to reconsider their action in setting up the criteria.

"To apply a law designed for the protection of the nation in times of crisis against criticism which a group of students may, wisely or unwisely, direct against the administration of a college, is close to the realization of the police state on an American campus," said the letter. It was signed by Ruth Gillette Hardy, vice chairman of the ACLU Academic Freedom Committee, and by the Rev. John Paul Jones, chairman of the New York Civil Liberties Union, the ACLU's local organization.

The Union's letter pointed out further:

"The McCarran Act as Federal law will be administered by officers of the executive branch of our government and ultimate appeal will lie to the courts. To provide that similar rulings and appeals be within the authority of a joint faculty-student committee is unreasonable and unwise; a committee of teachers of chemistry and English and college students is not expert or mature enough for such responsibility.

"The McCarran Act is intended to safeguard the security of the United States. This college legislation provides for protection against subversion of 'the national welfare'. National welfare is a much more general term than national security, and its meaning in this situation will be extremely vague and broad. In effect, sub-

(more)

version of the national welfare will be determinable by the mere opinion of the committee concerned."

The set of regulations defines methods for judging "Communist and Communist-related groups", "groups subversive of the College", and "groups subversive of the national welfare".

The Union, which has just received a copy of the rules, told Dr. Tead it assumed the criteria was based on faculty action and subsequent administrative approval.

NOTE TO EDITORS: A copy of the regulations is attached for your information.

--*--

Criteria Employed by the Faculty-Student Committee on Student Activites in Judging Communist and Communist-related Student Groups.

(Adopted on June 10, 1951)

A. Definitions:

Subversive - militating strongly against something specified; destructive.

Subvert - to overthrow from or as from the very foundation; utterly destroy; bring to ruin: now generally figuratively as of moral or political ruin, but formerly also of physical overthrow.

B. Communist and communist-related groups shall be judged by the following criteria:

1. The extent to which members of officers of the group are

   a. Members of the Communist Party who have openly avowed their affiliation.

   b. Members of the Communist Party, not openly avowed, but shown to be such on the basis of documentary or other proof.

   c. Persons who accept Communist Party discipline as exemplified by the regularity with which they follow or have followed the line of the Communist Party and the number of different unrepudiated affiliations with communist or communist front groups.

2. The extent to which meetings of the group are addressed by Communists or those who regularly or have regularly followed the Communist Party line.

3. The extent to which publications of the group follow the Communist Party line or advertise communist activities.

4. The extent to which the group cooperates with campaigns and activities of the Communist Party or communist front organizations.

5. The extent to which articles written by members of the group are published by communist or communist front organizations.

6. The extent to which films, plays, musicals and entertainers are made use of by the group for subversive propaganda.

7. The extent to which the group is given favorable reports in the communist press.

8. The extent to which the cause of Soviet Russia is espoused by the group as against that of the United States.

9. The extent to which financial aid is received by the group from a person or organization sympathetic to the Communist Party.

C. Groups subversive of the College shall be judged by the following criteria:

1. The extent to which the group considers matters not directly related to

its avowed purposes and objectives as defined by its constitution.

2. The extent to which the group flagrantly and deliberately violates the rules of the College set up by the Faculty Council or its agents, or by the officers of the administration for the control of student activities.

3. The extent to which the group or the officials thereof publish or officially present false statements.

4. The extent to which the actions of the group exhibit as its main activity the subversion of the objectives of the College.

D. Groups subversive of the national welfare shall be judged by the following criteria:

1. The extent to which the policies of the group are formulated to effectuate the policies of a foreign government that is an enemy of the United States.

2. The extent to which the group has leaders who consider the allegiance they owe to the United States as subordinate to their obligations to a foreign government that is an enemy of the Unted States or seeks to subvert the Government of the United States.

3. The extent to which the group has leaders who advocate, abet, teach the duty, necessity or desirability, or propriety of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force or violence or by assassination, or has leaders about whom there is reasonable doubt as to their loyalty to the Government of the Unted States.

4. The extent to which the group gives reports, information, aid, or comfort to a person or group of persons who seek to violate the laws of the state or nation, or to use unlawful means to change such laws.

In all cases it is understood that members of the Committee are to use their judgment as to whether or not words or actions are subversive.

Terms are used as defined for the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Public Accom

From: Charles Posner, Director
Community Relations Committee
Cincinnati Jewish Community Council
Suite 500, 906 Main Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

RECEIVED
MAY 1 1952
Southern Regional Council

Cincinnati Call Post
April 5, 1952

INVOKES CIVIL RIGHTS LAW:
CINCY JUDGE STYMIES CAFE DISCRIMINATION

By - Al Roman

Cincinnati - History was made last week in Hamilton County when John Held, counter man at the Hub Cafe, 42 East Fifth Street was convicted in Municipal Court for violation of the Ohio Civil Rights Code, and fined $50 and costs.

The complainant was Cyril Michael, Jr., 28, 947 Armory Ave., a designer for the Tag Designer, Main Street, who arrived in Cincinnati from New York on March 6.

Michael told the Call and Post that he didn't make a habit of eating in the same place every day and that he had eaten at the Hub Cafe on two other occasions. Both times he had been served without any trouble.

On March 15 however when he stopped in to eat lunch, he was ignored by the counter man John Held. Finally a Miss Inez Jett, a waitress there, took his order and gave it to the counterman, Michael said he waited another ten minutes and when Miss Jett came to receive the order she was told that it wasn't fixed yet and that he'd do it when he got around to it.

Michael then went to the Manager, who came to the counter and told Held to serve the order for Mr. Michael. After another wait the manager was again called, and this time Held started cleaning the grill, saying he'd fix it "as soon as I'm through cleaning the grill."

Michael had to leave, without eating, because his lunch period was up, but he went to the city hall and swore out a warrant, after first consulting an attorney, William A. Banks.

At the hearing both the judge and prosecutor, former grill-men, said that the grill is never cleaned at noon time. Held was fined $50 and costs, the first person in Hamilton County, reliable sources say, to be convicted of violating Section 12940 of Ohio's General Code.

Michael, a citizen of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, has been in this country for ten years. He pointed out the difference of the Virgin Island, about 13 miles long and six or seven miles across, and this country about the lack of discrimination because of color. In the Islands, a person is classified according to the money or income he has.

Cincinnati Call Post
April 5, 1952

Ninety-nine per-cent of the population, Michael said, is of the colored race. No business can survive if they attempt to discriminate, citing the example of a New York businessman who opened a cafe, denying service to Negroes and that night he was forced to close his doors.

Michael, a former service man suffered a scalp wound and has a plate in his head. A member of the family, who refused to identify herself, gave food for thought when she told the writer: "It took a foreigner to get a conviction of your civil rights law."

Michael, through his attorney William A. Banks, is filing suit against John Held and the Hub Cafe in civil court as a follow-up of the initial victory. He expects to be awarded the maximum sum of $500.

Atl World
4/10/52

Virginia Gov. Signs Anti-Ku Klux Klan Law

By CARTER JEWEL

RICHMOND, Va.—(ANP)— Gov. John S. Battle last week signed in to law a measure forbidding public masking by the Ku Klux Klan or similar organizations. The measure also makes unlawful the burning of crosses in public places or on private land without the consent of the owner.

The aim of the law, which was recommended by the governor, is to put a curb on the Ku Klux Klan and similar terroristic organizations It was adopted by state senate as Klan leaders announced their intention of reviving the organization throughout Virginia.

Though crosses have been burned in several communities in the eastern part of Virginia within the past few years, Klan activities have been limited almost entirely to routine programs, initiations, ritual ceremonies and parades. On the contrary in North Carolina Klan members and their sympathizers have figured in several floggings and beating in which both Negroes and whites have been the victims.

In Florida, Illinois, California, Alabama and a few communities in other southern cities Klan members or similar groups have bombed Negro homes and other places in an effort to stem the trend of Negro settlement in good neighborhoods heretofore considered for white families only.

Meawhile, only Virginia and North Carolina and Georgia have taken strong steps to curb the activities of the Klan. The other southern states seem little concerned with Klan terrorism.

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

Department of Conservation

HENRY WARD, COMMISSIONER

FRANKFORT, KY.

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1952
Southern

November 26, 1952

Miss Anna Holden
Research Assistant
Southern RegionalCouncil, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Holden:

Your letter of November 19th addressed to Mrs. Lucy Smith, Director of theDivision of Parks, has been referred to me.

I am very happy to give you a review of the situation in Kentucky about which you inquired. Kentucky is one of those states where a separation of races in public schools, theatres, and any other public place has been an accepted policy for so many years that a reversal of that policy can not be expected to be accomplished over night. However, I believe we are making progress toward recognition of the right of all of our citizens regardless of color.

In a great number of Kentucky Shrines and Museums, which are administered by this department, the general public is invited and no restrictions are imposed. This is true of My Old Kentucky Home, Bardstown; Jefferson Davis Monument, Fairview; Audubon Museum, Henderson; Blue Lick Museum, near Mt. Olivet; Isaac Shelby Memorial, near Danville; Wilderness Road Museum, London; Lincoln Homestead, Springfield; Old Mulkey Meeting House, Tompkinsville; Perryville Battlefield, Perryville; Pioneer Memorial, Harrodsburg; Dr. Thomas Walker Museum, near Barbourville; William Whitley House, near Stanford; and Constitution Square, Danville.

There are a number of other scenic points of interest such as Cumberland Falls, Natural Bridge and Carter Caves which have never been regarded as anything other than belonging to all the people and are for their enjoyment. The accepted custom of separate lodging and eating establishments and recreational areas such as those for picnicking and swimming has been followed.

Kentucky has only one state park set aside exclusively for the colored people. This is Cherokee State Park an area of about 500 acres on Kentucky Lake in Western Kentucky. This park has been under construction for the past two years but a bathhouse, picnic area and boat dock have been operated. We have just completed two cottages and have eight more cottages and a dining room under construction which we expect will be completed by next June 1st. All of these facilities we consider to be comparable to what are provided in parks set aside exclusively for white people, for which similar charges are made. I would like to elaborate on this point. When we began planning for the vacation facilities at Cherokee State Park I had a meeting with a committee of representative colored citizens of Western Kentucky, I raised the question with this committee whether we should build exactly the same type of cottages at Cherokee as those which had been constructed for white people at nearby Kentucky Lake State Park. I explained that we were perfectly willing to build the same type with the understanding that we would have to charge the same rate. The minimum rate for two people in a cottage at Kentucky Lake State Park is $42.00 per week. Members of the committee advised me that they felt that the majority of colored people who would like to take a vacation could not afford to pay such rates and that they felt it would be better to build facilities which could be rented at a more moderate rate. Accordingly, in our plans we have been trying to follow this policy; however, you may find on investigation that the facilities we have built are very fine and are wholly acceptable by those who have been interested in this development.

I do not know of any recent legislation in Kentucky related to amusement and recreational facilities available to white and colored people and do not know of any proposed legislation in this connection.

I believe we can make good progress in Kentucky in developing improved relations between the races if we do not go too fast in trying to impose a pattern on people reluctant because of the background of prejudice and tradition. My personal belief has been that the colored people are entitled to recreational opportunities of their own which they can enjoy until the day arrives that there will not be any restrictions on use of facilities. I have discussed this matter with representative colored citizens and find that there are many who prefer to take this course rather than wait until the day when this problem will not exist.

If I can give you any additional information please call on me.

Yours very truly,

Henry Ward

Henry Ward
Commissioner of Conservation

Newspapers of Deep South Liberalize Negro Policies

Survey Shows Significant Change In News Style, Pictures, Personnel

By Robert W. Brown
Editor, Columbus (Ga.) Ledger

MORE than one-half of 34 Deep South daily newspapers responding to a survey are using the titles "Miss" and "Mrs." in referring to Negroes, and some of them are using the title "Mr."

Eleven of the 34 have a daily or weekly column of Negro news, six have a daily or weekly page devoted to the Negro community, and all but four use pictures of Negroes to illustrate news or features.

These facts disclose a significant change in attitudes of the press toward the Negro in the last decade. They also indicate that a new field for Negro professionals is opening in the Deep South—that of journalism.

10 Have Negro Reporters

Ten of the 34 newspapers have Negro reporters on their staffs. Four are contemplating adding a Negro. One editor complained that he has not been able to find a Negro "qualified" for the work.

The survey questionnaire was in five parts designed to develop social and economic, as well as journalistic, factors in the new trend toward a more liberal treatment of the colored community.

Socially, it was developed that those newspapers inaugurating "liberal" Negro news policies have had few or no protests from white subscribers. (One newspaper reported that all of its complaints had originated in the composing room.)

And economically, there was a close and not unexpected correlation between a progressive Negro news policy and the number of Negro subscribers. In one instance, however, a newspaper reported objections from advertisers who did not want their ads appearing on pages carrying columns of Negro news.

Considering a Change

Some of the comments accompanying the survey were interesting and revealing of the new thought in the Deep South. "Frankly," wrote Publisher H. M. Ayers, *Anniston* (Ala.) *Star*, "I think it is rather stupid for us not to use the word 'Mr.' or 'Mrs.' in all cases, as it is difficult fully to identify a person when this is not done." (The Star carries a Sunday Negro news column, edited by a Negro with "full free rein," and runs "pictures of prominent Negroes occasionally.")

The *Clarksdale* (Miss.) *Press Register*, serving a population approximately 50-50 white and colored, has six Negro correspondents on a string basis. Managing Editor Harry B. Abernethy wrote that while the newspaper has not been using the courtesy titles, he is finding the policy "increasingly difficult to follow, and we are considering a change. (The Press Register "integrates" Negro news, instead of separating it in a special column or on a page designated for the purpose.)

Editor Marian D. Gaines, *Pensacola* (Fla.) *News-Journal*, argues for "integration" as against "segregation" of Negro news. The News-Journal uses the titles, and also stresses Negro pictures when they can be published in a "constructive" sense. The use of photos showing Negroes in constructive activities, by the way, has become something of a fetish among a preponderant majority of Deep South editors, the survey indicates.

"We refuse to print special columns or pages on the ground that Negro news should stand on its own, according to merit," Mr. Gaines wrote. "Most newspapers with special pages do not go to white subscribers. Thus whites do not know of the good activities of Negro citizens."

Policies Detailed

State-by-state, here are some of the findings (reporting, of course, only on those newspapers which responded to the questionnaire):

ALABAMA

Anniston Star — Publishes Sunday Negro news column, using titles, publishes photos of Negroes in constructive activities; employs Negro to run Sunday column.

Birmingham News—Carries daily Negro news column, using titles; publishes constructive photos; employs Negro to handle (straight salary), and provides him with Negro news service.

Dothan Eagle — Runs weekly Negro news column, uses titles both in column and ROP, publishes constructive photos, and employs Negro (space rate) to handle column.

Montgomery Advertiser — Carries daily-weekly Negro news page which goes to Negro subscribers only, with titles used on this page. News of "sufficient interest" is picked up for white edition. Negro photos used in white edition only in exceptional cases. Employs Negro to handle page (salary).

Selma Times-Journal—Publishes daily Negro news column, using titles in column only, uses photos ROP on features or constructive news, employs Negro for column (salary).

Tuscaloosa News — Uses titles ROP, with no daily or weekly column or page, uses photos, particularly of Stillman college activities, no Negro employed, none contemplated.

ARKANSAS

El Dorado News—Has no Negro news column or page, does not use titles, but "encourages Negroes to give us news of their activities and occasionally used pictures, has no Negro on staff, does not contemplate adding one.

Little Rock Gazette—No column or page, uses "Mrs." and "Mr." in obits; handles pictures "without discrimination" ROP, has no Negro on staff, but contemplates employing one.

Texarkana Gazette—Uses titles ROP, has no special column or page, uses constructive art, employs no Negro and doesn't plan to.

GEORGIA

Augusta Chronicle — Dropped daily page which went to Negroes only in favor of Sunday page to all subscribers, titles used on page only, employs Negro news editor and assistant, with office maintained in Negro district. Also publishes daily obit column for Negroes, using titles therein.

Negro Page for 30 Years

Gainesville Times — Uses titles ROP, no special column or page, publishes constructive art, and has "tried to obtain a Negro correspondent to cover community and do weekly personal column, but never found a "capable person."

Macon Telegraph — Has carried a Negro news page for 30 years, going to Negro subscribers only, publishes constructive art in both editions, but uses titles only on Negro page. Employs Negro editor for stipulated fee.

Columbus Ledger — Uses titles ROP, publishes constructive art, employs no Negro but contemplates doing so.

Thomasville Times-Enterprise—Uses titles ROP, publishes constructive art, employs no Negro, no plans for one.

LOUISIANA

Alexandria Town Talk — Does not use titles, has no column or page, submits photos to "ordinary test of newsworthiness," employs no Negro, contemplates none.

Baton Rouge Advocate and State Times—Uses titles ROP, uses constructive art, employs no Negro, contemplates none.

MISSISSIPPI

Clarksdale Press Register—Does not use titles, but considering change, publishes weekly Negro news column and also spot news daily ROP, uses constructive art, and employs six Negro correspondents (space rate).

Columbus Commercial Dispatch—Does not use titles, does not use pictures, has no Negro on staff and contemplates none, but uses Negro news ROP according to newsworthiness.

Greenville Delta Democrat — Uses titles ROP, carries no column or page, uses constructive art, employs no Negro but has organized plan of covering the community, and contemplates hiring Negro.

Gulfport Herald — Uses title "Mrs." ROP, with no column or page, uses pictures of Negroes only in sports section, has no Negro on staff, contemplates none.

FLORIDA

Lakeland Ledger—Not presently using titles or running special page or column, but using sports pictures and newsworthy items ROP. "Our paper is expanding and we plan to give organized weekly coverage to Negroes eventually, possibly with special page, including pictures," reports Editor Harris G. Sims.

Miami Herald—Uses title "Mrs." ROP, has no special column or page but "is studying steps to expand its coverage of Negro news" . . . finds Negro leaders feeling that separate column or page "is carrying segregation into the newspaper." Covers newsworthy Negro events, includes Negro schools in annual Herald Essay Contest and contest winners met with white at presentation luncheon this year with no complaints. In time, might employ Negro reporter.

Constructive Art

Pensacola News-Journal — Uses titles ROP, no column or page, uses constructive art, employs no

(*Continued on page* 76)

Mark 125th Year Of Negro Press

CHICAGO—A dinner, observing the 125th aniversary of the first American Negro newspaper, was held here, Dec. 7. The meeting marked the opening of a drive by the Chicago Urban League to raise $100,000 for a new headquarters.

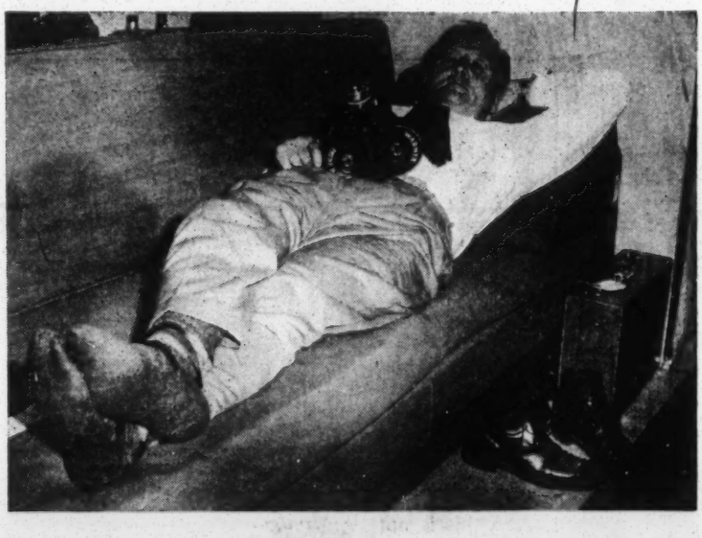
Enoc Waters, Jr., executive editor of the *Chicago Defender*, told of the original Negro newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, started in New York in 1827 by John B. Russwurm, who was the first of his race to receive a college education in America.

The speaker said names given to early newspapers were indicative of their militant character.

Covering the War Front With President-Elect

THREE REPORTERS . . . THREE ENGINES—Riding aboard MATS Constellation No. 8609 high above the Pacific Ocean, Bob Considine of INS, Don Whitehead of AP, and Merriman Smith of INS haven't a care in the world except to keep the American public informed about every phase of President-Elect Eisenhower's dramatic and historic visit to Korea . . . and the sudden news that their big plane is cruising into Wake Island on three out of four motors. Five hours late, they caught up with Ike's party on Iwo Jima and "hot dinner in quonset hut, officers mess and to bed." Up at daybreak to report Ike's ascent of Mount Suribachi in a jeep (re-enacted by special request).

POKER FACED Jim Hagerty, the General's press secretary, shuffles the cards and chuckles to himself at the way he and the reporters kept a secret since Nov. 13 when he advised the "select few" at Augusta to "get the shots" for cholera, etc. An unidentified player (aces back-to-back) takes the dough.



FILM FOOTAGE is the only thing on the mind of Dave Oliver, Pathe News, while relaxing. (Meanwhile Merriman Smith is writing in his diary: "Colder than the devil. Two more people than bunks on our plane, so I blew up my air mattress and picked out a bench in the men's room. Fairly pleasant."

Negro Policies

continued from Page 9

Negro and contemplates none. (See previous comment.) Editor Marion T. Gaines reporting.

Tallahassee Democrat — Does not use titles ROP, but has regular Negro news page and uses titles there, has "experimented" occasionally in using "Mrs." ROP, uses constructive art, employs Negro part-time.

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville Times — Uses titles ROP, has no special column or page, uses constructive art, does not employ Negro and doesn't plan to.

Charlotte News — Uses titles ROP, has no special column or page, uses constructive art, employs no Negro, doesn't plan to.

Greensboro News — Uses titles ROP, has no special column or pages, uses constructive art, employs no Negro and doesn't plan to.

Winston-Salem Journal — Uses titles ROP and on regular weekly page of Negro news, uses constructive art ("front-page pictures of our Negro alderman and Negro fireman"), employs one full-time reporter and one part-time (both on salary).

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga Free Press—Does not use titles generally, but sometimes uses "Mrs.", has no special column or page, uses constructive art, employs no Negro and doesn't plan to.

Chattanooga Times—Uses titles ROP, does not have special column or page, uses constructive art, formerly employed a Negro reporter, but doesn't now.

Special Column

Kingsport News — does not use titles ROP, but has special column in which titles are used, uses constructive art, employs no Negro and has no plans to.

Oak Ridge Oak Ridger — Uses titles ROP, has abandoned special column, uses constructive art with "positively no discrimination," has no Negro on staff but "might if we had a qualified applicant."

TEXAS

Dallas News — Uses titles ROP, does not have special column or page, uses constructive art, does not employ Negro and has no plans to.

Fort Worth Star-Telegram — Does not use titles, does not have special column or page, uses sports pictures, "but rarely elsewhere," employs no Negro and doesn't plan to, but relies on Negroes to report to the newspaper on lodge and church meetings, etc.

VIRGINIA

Richmond News Leader — Uses titles ROP, has no special column or page, uses constructive art and employs a Negro on space rate for sports and other Negro events.

624 xx

xxxx 3-2887

January 13, 1953

Dear Mr. Clement:

I went out on a limb and told the Southern Regional Conference that you would be able to help them get some information that they want in connection with a survey that is being made. Now I am asking, will you?

We are enclosing a copy of their last letter to me which shows the questions for which they would like to have answers.

Will you let me know if you can do?

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ruby Hurley
Regional Secretary

RH:S
encl

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Arthur J. Clement, Jr.
32 Bogard Street
Charleston, S. C.

624 xx

xxx 3-2887

January 13, 1953

Dear George:

I went out on a limb and told the Southern Regional Conference that you would be able to help them get some information that they want in connection with a survey that is being made. Now I am asking, will you?

We are enclosing a copy of their last letter to me which shows the questions for which they would like to have answers.

Will you let me know if you can do?

Please say "Hello" to Mrs. Flemmings, and with the best to you, I am

Ever sincerely,

Ruby Hurley
Regional Secretary

RH:S
encl

cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. George Flemmings
915½ Calhoun
Fort Worth, Texas

3-12-53

Memo to: Mr. Robert McKay

From: Anna Holden, Southern Regional Council

Attached is summary of the recreation material we gathered for the law journal article.

All letters and pamphlets material was drawn from are segregated in a box at the office. If you would like use of any or all you are welcome to them.

There is an article in the December, 1952 CRISIS entitled "Yonder Sits the Rocking Chair" which surveys recreational facilities available to Negroes. You may borrow our copy if you like.

Will be glad to answer any questions about this.

EMORY UNIVERSITY

EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

LAMAR SCHOOL OF LAW

March 17, 1953

RECEIVED
MAR 18
Southern Regional Council

Miss Anna Holden
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Anna:

I delayed for a few days acknowledging the collection of materials you left for me in the belief that I would be able to go through the papers fairly carefully the first part of this week. Now I see that it will be several days yet before I can give them more than cursory attention; so let me thank you now for what is obviously an extensive and helpful survey. It makes me hope that I will be able to go ahead and assemble my own data in a fashion that will make possible completion of an article a matter of only six weeks or so from now.

I am sure that I will have questions once I get back into the problem; so of course I will take advantage of your offer to come back to you for more assistance. Thank you again.

You might tell Harold that we managed our lunch on Saturday on a non-segregated basis without incident. I was interested to note the eagerness of all coaches and debaters (so far as I could tell) to participate in the event, so that it turned out my estimate of numbers was too cautious.

Sincerely,

Bob McKay

Bob McKay

REPRINTED FROM **The Washington Post** SUNDAY, APRIL 5, 1953

A Velde Committee 'File' Dissected

WHEN Chairman Harold H. Velde (R.-Ill.) recently indicated the possibility that his House Committee on Un-American Activities might investigate alleged subversion among America's churches and churchmen, one of the first to denounce the idea was G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop of Washington.

Soon thereafter, Rep. Donald L. Jackson, a member of the committee, came to Velde's defense in a House speech on March 17. In the course of his address, he assailed Bishop Oxnam in one of the most violent attacks on a clergyman ever made in Congress.

"Bishop Oxnam has been to the Communist front what Man O' War was to thoroughbred racing," Jackson said. He went on to describe Bishop Oxnam as a man who "served God on Sunday and the Communist front for the balance of the week."

Jackson then added: "If reprinting Bishop Oxnam's record of aid and comfort to the Communist front would serve any useful purpose, I would ask permission to insert it here, but suffice it to say that the record is available to any member who cares to request it from the (House Un-American Activities) Committee."

Two days later, Rep. Jackson declined to make public this information that he said was available. In response to a request for it, he wrote: "The detailed documentation is very voluminous and would be much too lengthy to include in a letter of this kind. However, in general, Bishop Oxnam is alleged to have been associated in the past with the following groups and organizations which have been cited as subversive and Communist." He then listed 12 agencies which were mentioned in Bishop Oxnam's file.

The Washington Post believed that reprinting the committee record would in fact serve a useful purpose, to see if it was one "of aid and comfort to the Communist front," to determine just what the "detailed documentation" and "very voluminous" record was, how accurate it was, and whether Bishop Oxnam did have associations with the cited organizations.

The newspaper obtained the committee file and submitted it to Bishop Oxnam for his comment. His reply, printed below, reproduces the committee file in full (except for a summary condensation of one newspaper article).

Comment on Item No. 1

I did deliver an address at the Indiana State Reformatory, entitled, "International Understanding as a Basis for World Peace." It was delivered at a time, if I recall correctly, when the oil issue in Mexico was current and the question of using military force was being discussed.

The important thing in this connection is that this paragraph should not be in the files of the committee; there is no reference here to any subversive organization. Nor is there any subversive idea expressed. My statement will stand moral scrutiny and is in keeping with the best traditions of this land.

Item No. 2

A LETTERHEAD of the League for the Organization of Progress dated February 2, 1931, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxman, president of De Pauw University, as a member of the board. The League for the Organization of Progress has never been cited as a front organization. It was an international organization founded in Paris in 1912, with headquarters in Bern, Switzerland. The American office was located at Yellow Springs, Ohio. The league has long been out of existence.

Comment on Item No. 2

The paragraph itself states that the organization was never cited as a front group. Why, then, does it appear here? Actually, the league was founded in 1912 by such men as Thomas Masaryk, later President of Czechoslovakia; Ramsay MacDonald, later British Prime Minister, and Edouard Herriot, later French Prime Minister. It was composed of scholars and political leaders, and dedicated to deepening international understanding, strengthening international cooperation and maintaining the free way of life. Its publications had a distinguished list of contributors, including Sir Gilbert Murray of Oxford, F. W. Taussig of Harvard, Quincy Wright of Chicago and Irving Fisher of Yale.

Item No. 3

A LETTERHEAD of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, dated 1932, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the national committee.

was organized in 1915 and is the American section of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Organized under the alleged motive to reconcile people, it maintains that class war is necessary and that all must work for the reorganization of society, and replace the present system of individual capitalism by collective ownership. The public records and files of this committee contain no further reference to any affiliation of Bishop Oxnam with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Comment on Item No. 4

The organization is, I believe, an absolute pacifist group. I have never held the absolute pacifist view and therefore could not have belonged to such a group. I was never a member and never signed any statement put out by it. In any case, the two paragraphs are quite irrelevant, since the Fellowship is not listed as subversive and as far as I know has never been cited as such by any Government agency.

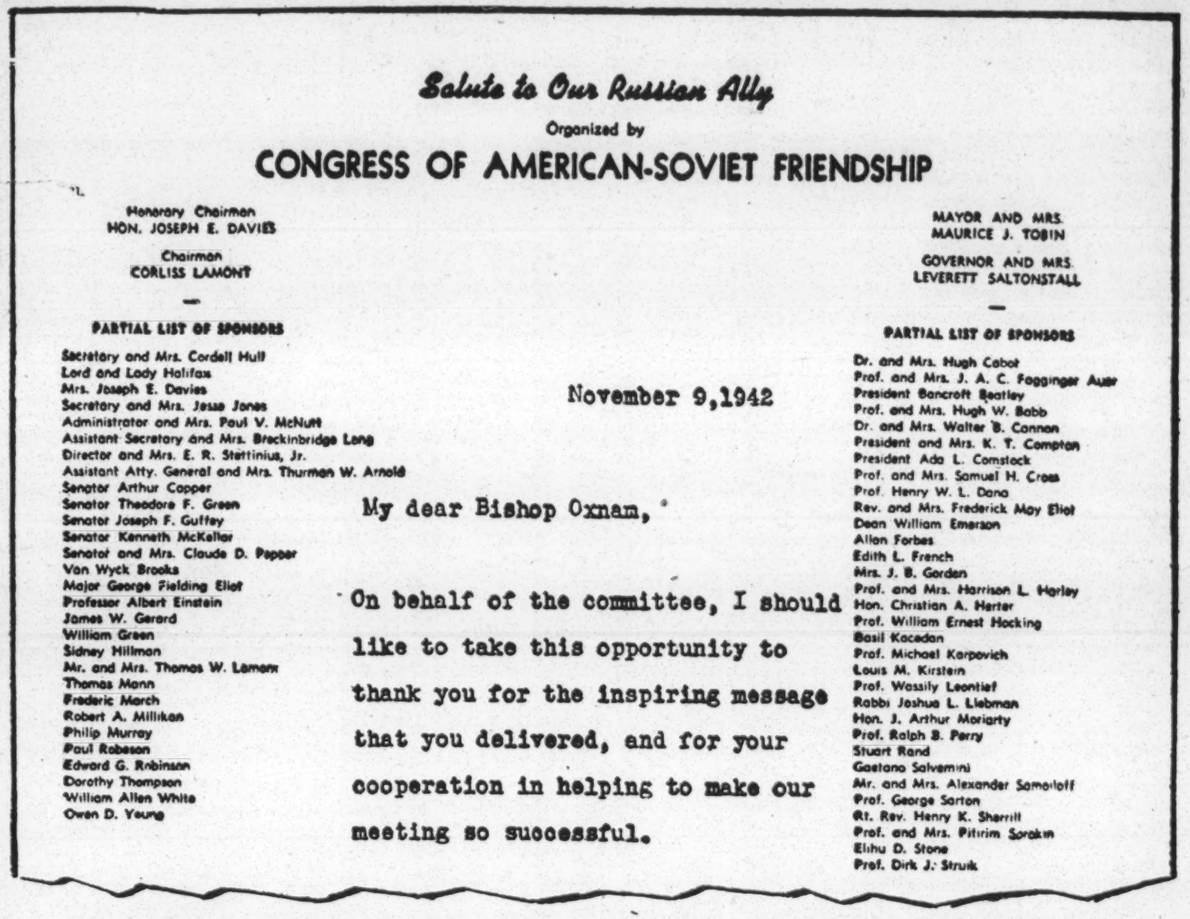
Item No. 5

A LETTERHEAD of the Committee on Militarism in Education, dated October 1, 1935, reflects the name of Bromley Oxnam as a member of its national council. Kirby Page, a member of the national council, testified before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on June 15, 1943. He stated that the Committee on Militarism in Education was opposed to military education in civilian schools. The following is quoted from a letter of the Committee on Militarism in Education dated September 22, 1930.

". . . Militarism in education goes on, accumulating power and tradition, aided by War Department money and resources . . . by propaganda, glorified by every device of military romance in literally hundreds of American colleges, universities and high schools, building that blind, unreasoning, emotional response of military symbols which has so often swayed and deceived men in a crisis. Against this glorification of the military method and machine, the peace movement has accomplished little as yet. The spearhead of the struggle against militarism in schools and colleges has been this committee. It has waged peace with intelligence and courage, showing not only the zeal of the peace advocate but the sound methods of the social scientist. Specializing on this one issue, it occupies a unique place in current peace endeavors, duplicating no other agency . . ."

Comment on Item No. 5

Once again, the report lists an organ-



Salute to Our Russian Ally

Organized by

CONGRESS OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

Honorary Chairman
HON. JOSEPH E. DAVIES

Chairman
CORLISS LAMONT

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS

Secretary and Mrs. Cordell Hull
Lord and Lady Halifax
Mrs. Joseph E. Davies
Secretary and Mrs. Jesse Jones
Administrator and Mrs. Paul V. McNutt
Assistant Secretary and Mrs. Breckinbridge Long
Director and Mrs. E. R. Stettinius, Jr.
Assistant Atty. General and Mrs. Thurman W. Arnold
Senator Arthur Capper
Senator Theodore F. Green
Senator Joseph F. Guffey
Senator Kenneth McKellar
Senator and Mrs. Claude D. Pepper
Van Wyck Brooks
Major George Fielding Eliot
Professor Albert Einstein
James W. Gerard
William Green
Sidney Hillman
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas W. Lamont
Thomas Mann
Frederic March
Robert A. Millikan
Philip Murray
Paul Robeson
Edward G. Robinson
Dorothy Thompson
William Allen White
Owen D. Young

November 9,1942

My dear Bishop Oxnam,

On behalf of the committee, I should like to take this opportunity to thank you for the inspiring message that you delivered, and for your cooperation in helping to make our meeting so successful.

MAYOR AND MRS.
MAURICE J. TOBIN

GOVERNOR AND MRS.
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS

Dr. and Mrs. Hugh Cabot
Prof. and Mrs. J. A. C. Fagginger Auer
President Bancroft Beatley
Prof. and Mrs. Hugh W. Babb
Dr. and Mrs. Walter B. Cannon
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Rev. and Mrs. Frederick May Eliot
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Hon. Christian A. Herter
Prof. William Ernest Hocking
Basil Kocedan
Prof. Michael Karpovich
Louis M. Kirstein
Prof. Wassily Leontief
Rabbi Joshua L. Liebman
Hon. J. Arthur Moriarty
Prof. Ralph B. Perry
Stuart Rand
Gaetano Salvemini
Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Samoiloff
Prof. George Sarton
Rt. Rev. Henry K. Sherrill
Prof. and Mrs. Pitirim Sorokin
Elihu D. Stone
Prof. Dirk J. Struik

In November, 1942, when Bishop Oxnam spoke at a Boston meeting sponsored by the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, he "thought he was in good company." A letterhead of the organization at that time shows why.

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor.

Comment on Item No. 7

It is quite true that my sympathies were with the Republicans in Spain. I abhor the Franco regime just as I abhor the Stalin regime in Russia and opposed wherever I could the Hitler regime and the Mussolini regime.

I did authorize my name to be included in what I think was called the Inter-Faith Division of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. If it was originally Communist-sponsored I did not know it, but I did subsequently resign when it became apparent to me that Communist sympathizers, at least, had moved into positions of influence in this organization.

Anyone acquainted with the facts knows

name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as chairman of the executive board.

The Washington Daily News of April 7, 1947, contains a news item concerning the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In the article, the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is listed as one who had withdrawn from the organization. The date of Bishop Oxnam's withdrawal is not mentioned.

Comment on Item No. 10

On November 8, 1942, I addressed a Boston meeting known as "Salute to Our Russian Ally." Among the sponsors were Secretary and Mrs. Cordell Hull, Lord and Lady Halifax, Secretary and Mrs. Jesse Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Stettinius, jr., Maj. George Fielding Eliot,

Item No. 12

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges issued an undated press release in regard to an open letter addressed to President Roosevelt by more than 300 clergymen throughout the country, urging that the deportation order against Harry Bridges be set aside. The letter, dated April 22, 1943, and signed by the Right Rev. Edward L. Parsons, states, in part: "Clearly, Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his political and economics beliefs." The name of the Right Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop, Boston, Mass., is listed as one who joined with Bishop Parsons in signing the letter.

tailed documentation" and "very voluminous" record was, how accurate it was, and whether Bishop Oxnam did have associations with the cited organizations.

The newspaper obtained the committee file and submitted it to Bishop Oxnam for his comment. His reply, printed below, reproduces the committee file in full (except for a summary condensation of one newspaper article).

In 40 years of work in the Methodist Church, Bishop Oxnam has been Bishop of Omaha, Boston, New York and now Washington. He has held, among other high clerical positions, that of president of the Federal Council of Churches. He is now one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches.

By G. Bromley Oxnam

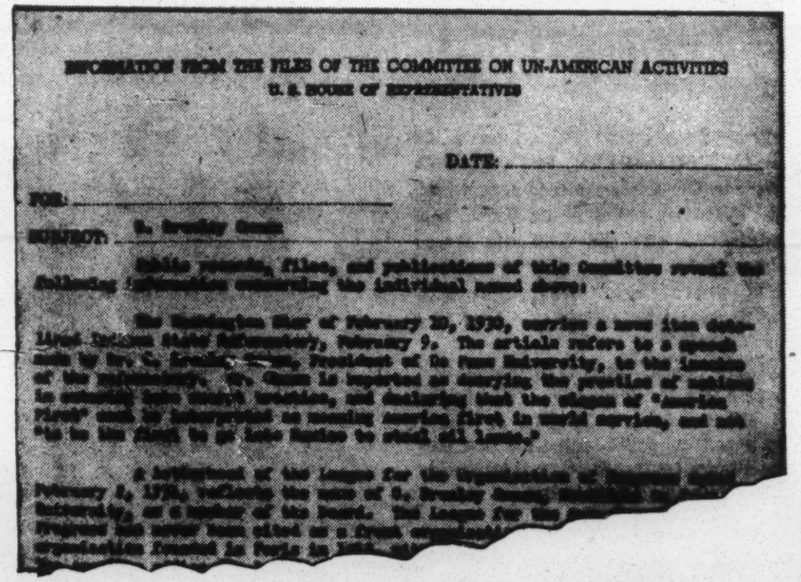
Methodist Bishop of Washington

IN referring to my file in the House Committee on Un-American Activities, but in not disclosing it, Rep. Jackson deftly invited his colleagues and Americans in general to draw the most sinister conclusions about me. Yet at the same time he provided no evidence or data for them to examine objectively or for me to comment upon, explain or refute if I could.

Fortunately, The Washington Post has secured the dossier on me in the House Un-American Activities Committee and has given it to me for comment. What follows is the committee file, which I have divided into numbered items, and my response in setting forth the facts.

Item No. 1

THE Washington Star of February 10, 1930, carries a news item datelined Indiana State Reformatory, February 9. The article refers to a speech made by Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, to the inmates of the reformatory. Dr. Oxnam is reported as decrying the practice of nations in entering into secret treaties, and declaring that the slogan of "America First" must be interpreted as meaning America first in world service, and not "to be the first to go into Mexico to steal oil lands."



INFORMATION FROM THE FILES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DATE: _____

FOR: _____

SUBJECT: G. Bromley Oxnam

While records, files, and publications of this Committee reveal the following information concerning the individual named above:

The Washington Star of February 10, 1930, carries a news item datelined Indiana State Reformatory, February 9. The article refers to a speech made by Dr. G. Bromley Oxnam, President of De Pauw University, to the inmates of the reformatory. Dr. Oxnam is reported as decrying the practice of nations in entering into secret treaties, and declaring that the slogan of "America First" must be interpreted as meaning America first in world service, and not "to be the first to go into Mexico to steal oil lands."

A letterhead of the League for the Organization of Japanese Aliens, February 8, 1936, includes the name of G. Bromley Oxnam [illegible] as a member of this board. The League for the Organization of Japanese Aliens is cited as a Japan organization [illegible]

A part of the first page of the Velde committee's record on Bishop Oxnam.

contributors, including Sir Gilbert Murray of Oxford, F. W. Taussig of Harvard, Quincy Wright of Chicago and Irving Fisher of Yale.

Item No. 3

A LETTERHEAD of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, dated 1932, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the national committee.

The National Religion and Labor Foundation, which has not been cited as a front organization, was founded in 1932 by Francis J. McConnell, Jerome Davis and John A. Ryan. The official publication was Economic Justice. The first issue of Economic Justice (November, 1932) printed a cartoon of Jesus by Art Young, New Masses cartoonist. With the cartoon of Jesus appeared these words: "Reward for Information Leading to Apprehension of Jesus Christ. Wanted—for Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Vagrancy, and Conspiring to 'Overthrow the Established Government.'" The National Religion and Labor Foundation apparently is still in existence. There is no record in the public files of this committee showing Dr. Oxnam's disaffiliation with that organization.

Comment on Item No. 3

Once again, the report states that the organization was never cited as subversive, so why does the material in these two paragraphs appear in the report? I was a member for some years and subsequently resigned, not because I regarded the group as subversive, but because I did not have the time to sit in on meetings when policy was being determined. It is worth noting that one of the founders, Monsignor John A. Ryan, was a revered leader of the Roman Catholic Church and one of its most distinguished sociologists.

Item No. 4

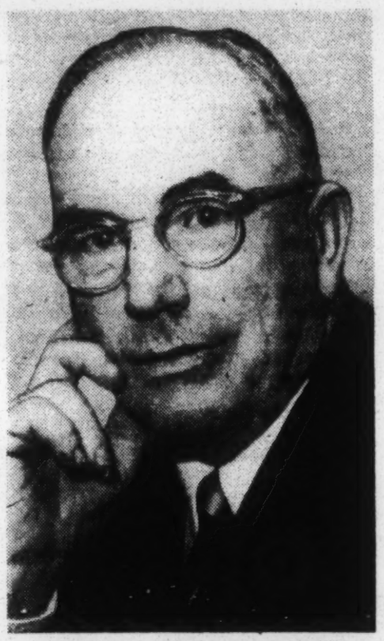
ON January 30, 1933, the Fellowship of Reconcilation released a petition addressed to the President of the United States urging the recognition of the Soviet Union. The name of G. Bromley Oxnam, president of De Pauw University, appears as one of the signers.

The Fellowship of Reconcilation, allegedly a strictly pacifist organization, of the struggle against militarism in schools and colleges has been this committee. It has waged peace with intelligence and courage, showing not only the zeal of the peace advocate but the sound methods of the social scientist. Specializing on this one issue, it occupies a unique place in current peace endeavors, duplicating no other agency . . ."

Comment on Item No. 5

Once again, the report lists an organization never listed as subversive, as far as I know. I belonged to the organization; its purpose was to block what was regarded as growing militarism in education. The church to which I have the honor to belong has gone on record as opposed to compulsory military training. I believe in a strong national defense but I do not believe that compulsory military training contributes significantly to it.

This, clearly, is a debatable issue, but it has nothing whatsoever to do with subversion.



BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
. . . dissects committee file

Item No. 6

THE DAILY WORKER of September 24, 1937 (page 6), contains an article about a meeting to be held at Madison Square Garden on October 1. This meeting, held under the auspices of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American Friends of the Chinese People, featured William E. Dodd as the speaker. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as a sponsor of the meeting.

Comment on Item No. 6

I was unaware that the Daily Worker is to be regarded as competent testimony. I never belonged to the American League Against War and Fascism nor to the American Friends of the Chinese People. I never sponsored any meeting under the auspices of these organizations. I was fundamentally opposed to the whole idea of the so-called "United Front" and at exactly the time when it enjoyed greatest support. A column of mine, reproduced elsewhere with this article and entitled, "United Front, a Menace," must make it perfectly clear that I could not have cooperated and did not cooperate with such an agency.

Item No. 7

LETTERHEADS of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy dated July 6, 1938, and February 2, 1939, list the name of the Mussolini regime.

I did authorize my name to be included in what I think was called the Inter-Faith Division of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. If it was originally Communist-sponsored I did not know it, but I did subsequently resign when it became apparent to me that Communist sympathizers, at least, had moved into positions of influence in this organization.

Anyone acquainted with the facts knows that Franco was an ally of Hitler and I believe that opposition to Franco was thoroughly justified. As World War II came to a close, however, I received communications from this organization which aroused my suspicions. In March, 1945, I refused to become a member of its executive board. In October of that year, I declined to go along with a suggestion from the group on setting aside a day of prayer for Franco prisoners. In November, 1946, I received a letter from a group called "Action Committee to Free Spain Now," which I had never joined, and found my name on the letterhead under the heading, "American Committee for Spanish Freedom." I wrote at once asking my name to be withdrawn from the list of sponsors.

Item No. 8

A PHOTOSTATIC copy of a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy dated April 6, 1939, reflected the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a national sponsor.

Comment on Item No. 8

I was never a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy, never a national sponsor and never had anything whatsoever to do with the organization.

Item No. 9

THE June-July, 1941, issue of the Protestant Digest reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as an editorial adviser.

Comment on Item No. 9

I was invited to serve on the editorial advisory board of the Protestant Digest in March, 1940, and accepted, having noted that members of the editorial board included some of the most distinguished religious and education leaders in the Nation. Less than two years later, in February, 1942, I wrote the editor of the journal submitting my resignation and asking that my name be dropped from the list of editorial advisers. I told the editor that the magazine was engaged in many activities relating to national policy and legislation quite apart from the magazine itself, and that statements were issued from it implying that these had the approval of the editorial advisers whereas in fact they had never been considered by that group.

Item No. 10

A CALL to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, to be held November 6-8, 1943, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor of that congress.

The Daily Worker of October 6, 1944 (Page 9), carries a news item concerning a rally sponsored by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, celebrating the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the Founding of the Soviet Union and the Eleventh Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is listed as one of the sponsors.

A letterhead of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated March 13, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor.

A letterhead of the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship dated December 15, 1943, reflects the drawal is not mentioned.

Comment on Item No. 10

On November 8, 1942, I addressed a Boston meeting known as "Salute to Our Russian Ally." Among the sponsors were Secretary and Mrs. Cordell Hull, Lord and Lady Halifax, Secretary and Mrs. Jesse Jones, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Stettinius, jr., Maj. George Fielding Eliot, William Green, Robert A. Millikan, Owen D. Young and, if I may say so to cap the climax, Sen. Kenneth McKellar. There were also distinguished leaders of religion such as the Right Rev. Henry Knox Sherrill. Frankly, I thought I was in good company.

In March, 1943, I believe I agreed to serve as sponsor for a Madison Square Garden meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Among those who had already accepted were William L. Batt, then vice chairman of the War Production Board; Dean Christan Gauss of Princeton University; Prof. Albert Einstein, and Bishop Henry St. George Tucker. I believed that we ought to give the fullest cooperation to cementing Russian-American friendship since Russia was our ally in a war in which our very life was at stake. I might point out that both of my sons were in the Army.

But in that same month of April, 1943, I received a proposed open letter from the organization which I did not believe temperate and wise, and refused to sign it or subsequent amended drafts. I also ignored a request from Corliss Lamont to serve as a member of a special ministers' committee.

I was elected chairman of a Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship on April 6, 1943. In August, 1943, I resigned the chairmanship and told the group that I would not have accepted the post had I known that it intended to undertake a financial appeal. In December, 1945, three years later, I found that the Massachusetts group had been carrying my name as "Honorary Chairman" and requested that it be dropped.

In April, 1944, I declined to accept membership on the board of directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. In November of that year, however, I did offer prayer at the mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden under the auspices of that group. The prayer was later reprinted on the cover of "Reader's Scope."

Item No. 11

ON December 26, 1941, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties issued a press release to the effect that an open letter had been addressed to the President and Congress of the United States, opposing antilabor legislation as a dire threat to the unity essential for the defeat of Japan and her Axis partners. The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of the letter.

In January, 1943, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties addressed a message to the House of Representatives. This message was a plea for the discontinuance of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. One of the reasons given was: "The Dies Committee, by continuing and repeated attacks on our great ally, the Soviet Union, has utilized its resources to obstruct the cooperation of the United Nations, which is a prerequisite for victory." The name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam appears as one of the signers of this message.

Comment on Item No. 11

I never at any time belonged to the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and never signed any statement for or on behalf of this organization.

The letter, dated April 14, 1943, and signed by the Right Rev. Edward L. Parsons, states, in part: "Clearly, Mr. Bridges has aroused the animosity of an influential minority because of his successful union activities and his political and economics beliefs." The name of the Right Rev. G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist Bishop, Boston, Mass., is listed as one who joined with Bishop Parsons in signing the letter.

The Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, located at 1775 Broadway, New York City, was one of four such organizations created for the defense of Harry Bridges. The others were: the Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges at 1265 Broadway, New York City; the Harry Bridges Defense Committee of San Francisco, with branches in Los Angeles, Seattle and Portland, and the Harry Bridges Victory Committee of San Francisco.

The Attorney General of the United States has listed the Citizens' Committee for Harry Bridges as a Communist organization. The same classification applies to the other three organizations.

Comment on Item No. 12

The clear inference from these paragraphs (although they never say so in that many words) is that I belonged to the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, an organization cited as subversive. I never belonged to this organization.

I cannot say whether I ever signed the letter referred to, drafted by Bishop Parsons, for my files covering letters written in Boston are not available to me here. Nor do I know if the Citizens Victory Committee referred to in the record ever used Bishop Parsons' letter. The important matter is that I never belonged to that organization and never signed any letter for it.

Item No. 13

A LETTERHEAD of the American Civil Liberties Union, dated February 8, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of its national committee. A Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States (Fish Committee), in a report dated January 17, 1931, said:

"The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 percent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. It claims to stand for free speech, free press and free assembly, but it is quite apparent that the main function of the ACLU is to attempt to protect the Communists in their advocacy of force and violence to overthow the Government, replacing the American flag and erecting a Soviet government in place of the republican form of government guaranteed to each State by the Federal Constitution."

In a report dated January 3, 1939, a Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities and Propaganda in the United States (Dies Committee) said:

"The committee heard testimony with reference to the Civil Liberties Union. Some witnesses listed this organization as communistic, while other witnesses denied it was communistic. We received in evidence a number of pamphlets distributed by the Civil Liberties Union, which speak for themselves. From the evidence before us, we are not in a position to definitely state whether or not this organization can properly be classed as a Communist organization."

Comment on Item No. 13

The transcript of the proceedings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities of October 23, 1939, quotes the committee chairman as saying, "This committee found last year, in its reports,

The Citizen 'Can Be Damaged Without Redress'

there was not any evidence that the American Civil Liberties Union was a Communist organization . . . So far as the chair is concerned . . . here is an organization that the committee has already said is not a Communist organization."

Again, on February 17, 1952, in a document issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the statement is made: "The American Civil Liberties Committee has never been cited as Red-dominated, or as Communist, by any official organization charged with the duty of investigating subversive activity."

Thus we have the fantastic situation of the House Un-American Activities Committee using material from another committee (the Fish Committee), apparently for purposes of discrediting me, when its official record has come to precisely the opposite conclusion about the organization in question. For purposes of denouncing me, the American Civil Liberties Committee is characterized as a Red-front organization in the files of the very committee which has twice declared that the organization is no such thing.

Item No. 14

THE letterhead of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom dated January 21, 1946, reflects the name of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as a sponsor.

Comment on Item No. 14

See comment under Item 7 above.

Item No. 15

A LETTERHEAD of the Methodist Federation for Social Service dated October 4, 1928, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as executive secretary, while another letterhead of the same organization dated April 12, 1946, reflects the name of G. Bromley Oxnam as a member of the executive committee.

The Bureau County Republican (otherwise unidentified) of May 18, 1939, carries a front-page story concerning the Methodist Federation for Social Services.

[The article is then quoted in full. Too long for reproduction here, its pertinent points are:

[*At a meeting of the Federation in Kansas City in May, 1939, Oxnam was one of the five bishops who "endorsed the Federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States and favored its replacement with a social planning order." Pamphlets of the Federation circulated at the meeting "declare that under the new social order, private ownership of property is to come to an end. Under their system, there are to be no capitalists. Private property . . . is to be taken over without compensation to the owners."*

[*Oxnam said he thoroughly endorses the Federation and the thing it stands for. He read from the masthead of the Federation's literature a statement of the Federation's purposes, declaring:*

["*(The Federation) rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic basis for society; (and) seeks to replace it with social, economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinction* profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges."

I personally objected to this in writing to Dr. Ward. I stated that this was pledging the Federation to a particular economic program, and that I did not think it became a religious organization to be so pledged. I do not believe in identifying the Gospel with a particular economic, political or social system.

This marked the beginning of a fundamental difference of opinion, as far as I was concerned, within the organization. I opposed Dr. Ward's proposed statement at the 1932 General Conference of the Methodist Church. There was a debate and floor fight, and Dr. Ward's position failed to carry.

Later, however, it was the turn of the group with which I was associated to fail. With the comnig of Rev. Jack McMichael to the executive secretaryship of the Federation, its publications became less factual and more propagandistic. When I took up my work in the New York area in 1944, I found myself in growing disagreement with the Federation's activities. I believed that the only answer to the problem was to create an official Commission on Social Service. At a New York meeting of a chapter of the Federation, I took its bulletins and showed how irresponsible they had become. I particularly objected to the continual misrepresentation in them of John Foster Dulles, Toyohito Kagawa and Martin Niemoller. Jack McMichael and others who were present were incensed by my address.

The necessary corrections were not made, despite my arguments with McMichael about their need, and the attacks on Dulles continued. I therefore resigned from the Federation and have had no relationship with it since. I do not have the date, but I should judge it was 1947 or 1948.

The House Un-American Activities Committee file on me in this connection, it should be noted, is comprised almost entirely in the reprint of the article in the Bureau County Republican, which the committee does not identify. Actually, it is a small paper published in Princeton, Ill. Why this little paper should give its front-page story to a meeting of the Federation in Kansas City no one knows. Whether a reporter was present at the meeting or not, the reporting is so inaccurate as to reveal journalism at its lowest level. This is not reporting; it is deliberate falsification.

The statement that I "endorsed the Federation's platform for the overthrow of the present capitalistic system in the United States" is absolutely false.

Also, I categorically deny the statement that I read aloud and endorsed the masthead of the Federation's literature denouncing the profit motive. I was not in favor of this part of the Federation's program, and had opposed it, as stated above.

As for being trained by Dr. Ward and taking dictation from him, the facts are that I had done secretarial work for Dr. Ward and took the dictation of his little book, "Poverty and Wealth," which was a Sunday School textbook and not a volume "known to all radical leaders."

Bishop Flayed 'United Front'

IN 1935, WHEN Bishop Oxnam was writing a newspaper column, he had occasion to comment on the all-too-popular movement of the day known as "The United Front." His column may conceivably be a more accurate representation of his views than the material gathered in his House Un-American Activities Committee file. It is reprinted below.

The United Front—A Menace

AMERICANS MUST NOT accept Communist leadership in order to avoid Fascist leadership.

Communists tell us that a Fascist dictatorship is inevitable in the United States. Hence, they urge "The United Front" to combat war and fascism. By that they mean the union of socialists, liberals, pacifists, churchmen and progressives of evry stripe, for the purpose of insuring peace and resisting fascism. Heretofore, these groups have never united. In fact, they have been convinced enemies of communism. Unfortunately, many liberals who fear fascism have been duped by the idea of the United Front. Its fundamental purpose is NOT to fight fascism.

Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, has revealed its menacing objective. He writes, "The United Front is not a peace pact with the reformists. The United Front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social-fascists, for the possession of the masses."

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN of the Communist Party of the United States, The Communist, in its January, 1935, issue stated, "The United Front is at the present time the main road along which the masses will be prepared for the struggle for Soviet power under the leadership of the Communist Party."

Intelligent Americans will denounce the proposal and seek to reveal its essential purpose. The Communist has no other purpose in the United Front program than to disrupt the American Federation of Labor and to insinuate himself into progressive movements in order to control them. Americans who are interested in maintaining the liberties of political democracy will repudiate the United Front.

Its real purpose is Divided Ranks. It is "the main road along which the masses will be prepared for the struggle." And the struggle, to use the Communist's own words, is "the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalistic order, for the establishment of the proletariat."

The United Front is a dangerous Gift Horse.

Comment on Item No. 18

Does anyone object to the statement that we must not flirt with Franco in order to stop Stalin? Why is this recorded? Franco was an ally of Hitler. He is a Fascist dictator. I do not care to deal with him. If we need bases in Spain, we will consider that upon its military merits; but to deal with this man is to say to the peoples of the world that our objection to dictatorship and violence is not based upon a moral principle but upon expediency.

Item No. 19

THE DAILY Worker of June 22, 1949, carries a news item datelined Boston, June 21, to the effect that Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam assailed congressional witch-hunts and said:

"Free men may well be alarmed at the action of the House Un-American Activities Committee in asking for a list of textbooks used by schools and colleges. At the very moment calm and critical minds are essential, leaders in the grip of fear become hysterical and adopt procedures destructive of democracy. More time given to constructive legislation designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of dynamic democracy, and less time to character assassination, would produce greater benefits."

Comment on Item No. 19

May I ask, again, what is the objection to this statement? Does the committee believe it is beyond criticism? Does it think itself competent to pass upon textbooks in the Nation? The paragraph quoted stands on its own feet.

Item No. 20

THE WASHINGTON Evening Star of May 26, 1950, carries a news item datelined Boston, May 26. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam is reported as calling for joint action between Protestants and Catholics to meet the onslaught of communism.

Comment on Item No. 20

Why is this included—as criticism or commendation? Is this an attempt, after first recording hearsay and false testimony in my file, to appear balanced by presenting a commendatory item?

Item No. 21

BISHOP Oxnam addressed a letter to the Committee on Un-American Activities on May 11, 1950. In it, he stated that he never belonged to the American League Against War and Fascism. He further stated he thought it would be fundamentally unfair to say he belonged to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship wtihout saying that his affiliation with this organization was during the war, when Russia was one of our allies.

Comment on Item No. 21

If the House committee now knows that I do not now belong to the organization,

REP. DONALD L. JACKSON
. . . the Bishop's accuser

REP. HAROLD H. VELDE
. . . the committee chairman

Item No. 24

ORGANIZATIONS and publications mentioned herein which have been

(1) Cited by the Special Committee and/or Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities;

(2) Cited by the United States Attorney General:

American Committee for Spanish Freedom (2);

American Friends of the Chinese People (1);

American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2);

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2);

Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges (1) and (2);

Congress of American-Soviet Friendship (1);

Daily Worker (1);

Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1):

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2);

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2);

New Masses (1) and (2);

Protestant Digest (1):

Comment on Item No. 24

This is the most inexcusable and vicious section of the entire report. This list would lead a reader to believe that I have been related to the organizations listed.

From the material presented above, I think it is clear to anyone that I had no relation with the American Friends of the Chinese People, the American League

Conclusions

THE DISCLOSURE above of the committee file on me invites a few conclusions on the nature of the Un-American Activities Committee's files in general.

First of all, what is a Committee file? It is obvious that it is nothing more than a collection of newspaper clippings, letterheads, letters and excerpts of speeches, etc. Clearly it can and does include any statements, true or false, that a personal enemy or crackpot may submit.

One might naively suppose that the purpose of the file was to give a Committee member some sort of indication of the true nature of the individual in question—his leanings, activities, point of view and associations in a balanced way so some informed judgment could be reached. If my file is typical, it is certain that nothing of the sort was intended; the effort was devoted almost exclusively to present me in the worst possible light, to collect all invidious references to me without any attempt to check their accuracy, and made no reference to the essential nature of my work over years, which has been public, open and easily available.

The next question is what use is made of the file. The answer is that a "research staff" selects from the file and prepares a report which, I have discovered from personal experience, is released in full or in part to citizens who request it.

It would appear that the "research staff" would be under obligation to find out whether the material selected and broadcast is true or false. But nothing of the sort takes place. When pinned down and asked explicitly, and only then, Committee members piously assert to an inquirer that the report "carries no conclusion of this Committee" and that the Committee never vouches for the correctness of any newspaper item.

This is deceit at its most vicious. What usually happens is demonstrated by the [illegible] last month by Rep. Jackson

owners."

[Oxnam said he thoroughly endorses the Federation and the thing it stands for. He read from the masthead of the Federation's literature a statement of the Federation's purposes, declaring:

["(The Federation) rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic basis for society; (and) seeks to replace it with social, economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinction and privilege."

[Other Federation literature praises social ownership, and lauds the Soviet Union as being the only country "that has a complete social action plan."

[Oxnam also paid high tribute to a leading Federation figure, Dr. Harry F. Ward, was trained by him and as a student took dictation from Dr. Ward "in the writing of some of his books known to all radical readers."]

Comment on Item No. 15

I was never executive secretary of the Federation although I was a member and served on its executive committee for many years.

The Federation was founded in 1907, but history on it in the files of the House Un-American Committee begins only in 1928. The best answer to any criticism of the Federation up to that period, or up to 1932, for that matter, is in the work of an official commission of the General Conference of the Methodist Church, which surveyed the whole field of social service and filed a unanimous report in 1932. It gave complete endorsement to the Federation and its work.

At that time, the Federation's constitution declared that its object "shall be to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity, to study social problems from the Christian point of view and to promote social service in the spirit of Jesus Christ."

To be referred to in the House Committee files as an officer of the Federation in 1928 in such a way as to indicate subversive interests on my part is hardly worthy of any investigating committee.

I do not recall the exact date when the purpose of the Federation referred to in the quotation just above was changed. I believe its revision was drafted by Dr. Ward. The proposed revision included a statement declaring: "The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for [illegible] head of the Federation's literature denouncing the profit motive. I was not in favor of this part of the Federation's program, and had opposed it, as stated above.

As for being trained by Dr. Ward and taking dictation from him, the facts are that I had done secretarial work for Dr. Ward and took the dictation of his little book, "Poverty and Wealth," which was a Sunday School textbook and not a volume "known to all radical leaders."

As for the story declaring that I favored confiscation of property, the truth is I believe in private property and find the whole idea of confiscation abhorrent.

Item No. 16

THE WASHINGTON Post of November 24, 1948, page 1, carries a news item datelined Newark, N. J., regarding a speech made by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam before the Newark Conference of the Methodist Church. Bishop Oxnam is reported to have denounced the Committee on Un-American Activities. He is quoted as saying:

"Protestants believe that the conspirators who would destroy our freedom can be ferreted out and properly punished better by the painstaking and patriotic procedures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation than by the hearsay and un-American procedures of this committee."

Bishop Oxnam was evidently referring to a pamphlet issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities entitled "100 Things You Should Know About Communism and Religion," wherein it was reported that the Methodist Federation for Social Action, while not an official church unit, is trying to use the prestige of the Methodist Church to promote the line of the Communist Party.

Comment on Item No. 16

Is it to be assumed that an American who criticizes the Committee on Un-American Activities has become subversive? Surely the committee does not think itself sacrosanct. At that time the chairman of the committee was under indictment for criminal activities, and was later convicted of them.

The paragraph of my speech that was quoted will stand scrutiny.

I was not, as it happens, referring to [illegible] the main road along which the masses will be prepared for the struggle." And the struggle, to use the Communist's own words, is "the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalistic order, for the establishment of the proletariat."

The United Front is a dangerous Gift Horse.

the pamphlet issued by the committee, "100 Things You Should Know About Communism." The full text of my speech makes it clear that I was referring to the un-American activities of the Un-American Activities Committee, which was aping totalitarian practices in a current campaign to identify Protestant churches with communism.

Item No. 17

THE WASHINGTON Star of December 8, 1948, at page 7, carries a news item datelined Buck Hills Falls, Pa., December 8, in which Bishop Oxnam is reported as having said that the House Committee on Un-American Activities is un-American itself for attempting to pin the Communist label on some churchmen and church groups. Also, Bishop Oxnam is reported as saying that such "absurd charges" are "disguised efforts to silence men on the pulpit by threatening to call them Communist."

Comment on Item No. 17

I do not have a summary of this address before me, but whether I did or did not criticize the committee has nothing to do with subversion.

Item No. 18

THE NEW York Times of February 24, 1949, pages 1 and 3, contains a news item regarding the presentation of the annual award of The Churchman to Bishop Oxnam. It was reported that Bishop Oxnam said that the United States must not flirt with Franco to stop Stalin. Bishop Oxnam is quoted as saying: "We cannot expect the common man to believe in democratic pronouncements if we make deals with dictators, or ally ourselves with political, economic or ecclesiastical reaction."

[illegible] fundamentally unfair to say he belonged to the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship wtihout saying that his affiliation with this organization was during the war, when Russia was one of our allies.

Comment on Item No. 21

If the House committee now knows that I do not now belong to the organization, and understands the circumstances under which I did belong, why was the material quoted in Item 10 above in my file?

Item No. 22

IN ANOTHER letter dated May 16, 1950, Bishop Oxnam states that the American Civil Liberties Union is not, and has never been, a Communist organization; that the Committee on Militarism in Education was never a Communist organization; that the Fellowship of Reconciliation is an absolute pacifist organization and he never belonged to it; that he did belong to the Methodist Federation for Social Action but no longer is a member; that he did serve on the advisory committee of the Protestant Digest but resigned.

Comment on Item No. 22

No comment is necessary here.

Item No. 23

IN THE third letter he wrote to the committee, dated February 12, 1951, Bishop Oxnam stated that he was never a member of the American Friends of the Chinese People; that he was never a member of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and never signed any statement of that organization; that he did authorize the use of his name by the American Friends for Spanish Freedom, and that he resigned from the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship following the war.

Comment on Item No. 23

These matters have been dealt with above.

Comment on Item No. 24

This is the most inexcusable and vicious section of the entire report. This list would lead a reader to believe that I have been related to the organizations listed.

From the material presented above, I think it is clear to anyone that I had no relation with the American Friends of the Chinese People, the American League Against War and Fascism, the American League for Peace and Democracy, Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges or the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Of the 12 organizations listed, five I never belonged to.

Why were the Daily Worker and the New Masses listed in this compilation about me? Does the committee cite a man as subversive because the Daily Worker reports a speech he has given, or falsely includes his name in a list of petitioners? Similarly with the New Masses. I have never had any relationship with these journals, direct or indirect.

My relationship with the other organizations listed has been explained in detail above.

The Statistics

A BRIEF statistical recapitulation may be in order:

The committee report on me consists of 305 typewritten lines. Of these:

Two are introduction;

Sixteen are a summary of the organizations mentioned in the report;

One hundred twenty-eight concern organizations never listed as subversive, or quotations from journals that are not related to subversive organizations or activities;

Seventy-two are from an obscure newspaper in Princeton, Ill., the utter falsity of which might have been disclosed in half an hour's conversation had a committee investigator bothered to walk the 300 yards from the Capitol to my office;

Sixty-four are devoted to organizations which I never belonged to;

Twenty-three refer to organizations listed as Communist fronts to which I once belonged but from which I had resigned prior to the publication of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and concerning which I have made full explanation above.

[illegible] broadcast is true or false. But nothing of the sort takes place. When pinned down and asked explicitly, and only then, Committee members piously assert to an inquirer that the report "carries no conclusion of this Committee" and that the Committee never vouches for the correctness of any newspaper item.

This is deceit at its most vicious. What usually happens is demonstrated by the letter written last month by Rep. Jackson in response to a request for the information which he said was available about me.

He did not make the file available, but only hinted darkly at its detail and volume. He then went on to list the 12 agencies that appear in the summary of my report, including those with which I never had any relationship. He included, of course, the Daily Worker and the New Masses, where my alleged relationship was the fact that my name appeared in some news item carried by them.

The letter clearly conveys to the reader that "detailed documentation," which is "very voluminous," lies back of these reports. This letter, on the stationery of the Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, signed by a Congressman who is a member of the Committee, is patently designed to convey the conclusion that the material is an opinion of the Committee.

What does this mean, then, for the American citizen on whom the Committee has made a file? It means that he can be damaged without redress. It means that instead of the community knowing the positions he has held, the service he has rendered, the views he holds and the estimates of the people who know him, he is judged by a document that appears to be deliberately designed to discredit.

A citizen receiving such a report from the Committee understandably assumes that the material does in fact represent the judgment and conclusion of the Committee. It does not carry any statement to the contrary, or any disclaimer by the Committee on the accuracy of the newspaper reports included in the file, or any warning that some of the material may be allegation and not fact. These reports have been reprinted by private agencies and circulated as the judgment of the Committee, as I have had occasion to know in my own case.

The Committee, I suggest, is using methods that in ordinary parlance would be called blackmail.

An Editorial from The Washington Post

Sunday, April 5th, 1953

Malicious Gossip

The Washington Post publishes today a calm, factual, detailed analysis by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of a dossier on himself in the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Bishop Oxnam's point-by-point refutation of the accusations, innuendoes and insinuations contained in the dossier, his exposure of its slovenliness and downright fraudulence, reveal a dangerous sort of evil which the House of Representatives ought not to countenance. What is a committee of Congress doing with a compilation of this sort of groundless gossip about a distinguished minister of religion?

Read Bishop Oxnam's full statement. The committee dossier on him records entirely innocent activities as though they had some sinister implication; for example, it contains a news clipping from 1930 to the effect that he made a speech to the inmates of the Indiana State Reformatory and wrests what he said on that ancient occasion entirely out of context. It reports that he was a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, an honorable, respected and extremely useful organization, and then quotes a statement smearing the ACLU put out by the long-discredited Fish Commission in 1931—and this, despite a statement issued as recently as February 17, 1952, by the Un-American Activities Committee itself that the ACLU "has never been cited as Red-dominated, or as Communist by any official organization charged with the duty of investigating subversive activity."

The dossier reports public statements by Bishop Oxnam assailing "witch hunts" and criticizing the Un-American Activities Committee, as though these statements were in themselves evidence against him. It reports that the bishop expressed the view in 1949 that the United States must not "flirt with Franco to stop Stalin" or "ally ourselves with political, economic or ecclesiastical reaction." What in the world is wrong with the expression of such an opinion in a free country?

The committee apparently regards as "subversive" any opinion of which it disapproves. The dossier compiled on Bishop Oxnam is the kind of dossier compiled by the political police behind the Iron Curtain. It does not represent investigation; it represents a naked and ugly attempt at intimidation.

Prof Kasins

American Nurses' Association

INTERGROUP RELATIONS PROGRAM

Why an Intergroup Relations Program?

- Prior to World War II
  - More than 15 state nurses' associations excluded Negro nurses from membership.
  - Only 42 of over 1,200 schools of nursing accepted Negro applicants.
  - Negro nurses were not accepted by the armed services.
  - Employment opportunities for Negro nurses were markedly limited.
  - Negro nurses were seldom upgraded according to their ability and preparation.
  - Few Negro nurses were appointed to ANA committees or elected to office.
  - Similar conditions prevailed for members of other racial minority groups.
- Fundamentally nurses believe in ethical and democratic principles.
- More nurses are needed to meet health needs.
- A sound program provides some
  - principles and methods by which to achieve improved intergroup relations.
  - resources: personnel, literature, names of related local community agencies.
  - means of exchange of ideas, progress and problems.
  - opportunity for every interested nurse to contribute to the betterment of intergroup relations.

What is the Intergroup Relations Program?

- Assisting state and district nurses' associations in achieving integration of nurses of racial minority groups in all phases of nursing by
  - helping to devise a plan by which integration can proceed on a sound and satisfying basis.
  - helping to solve problems if and when they arise.
  - highlighting positive achievements.
- Cooperating with all ANA programs
  - for the speedier realization of the goals of each program.
  - for achieving these goals in the most economical and wholesome manner.
- Cooperating with the staff of the American Journal of Nursing
  - to feature articles which highlight successful efforts toward integration and the reasons why these efforts were successful.
  - to encourage nurses of all races to write in the field of their competence.
  - to keep nurses informed of the progress being made with the intergroup relations program.
- Cooperating with the NLN by
  - sharing information.
  - discussion of common problems.
- Cooperating with other Intergroup Relations Agencies
  - to exchange information about goals and techniques.

  - to pave the way for state and district nurses' associations to contact the local units of these agencies for support and assistance.
  - to foster good will for the ANA program.
- Developing tools and techniques such as
  - a study guide which the local nurses' associations can use to determine the status of intergroup relations in their districts.
  - a kit of materials to provide authentic information about minority groups; techniques to use in developing an intergroup relations program; resource agencies in local communities and a bibliography of additional reading materials.
  - a demonstration project to test sound methods by which to achieve integration in nursing.
- A program of inclusiveness
  - to achieve the integration of nurses of all racial and religious minorities.
  - to protect the rights and privileges of all nurses.

What has been accomplished to date?

- All except two state nurses' associations admit Negro nurses to membership.
- 710 schools of nursing accept students on the basis of qualifications rather than ethnic group.
- The armed services accept and upgrade nurses of all races.
- In student nurses' associations generally, students of all ethnic groups are considered for membership, committee membership and officers on the basis of competence.

- Increasingly
  - Agencies employing graduate professional and practical nurses are using competence in nursing as the sole criterion for employment.
  - Nursing organizations are appointing committee members and electing officers solely on the basis of ability.

What can the nurses in my district and state do?

- Determine the current status of intergroup relations in nursing in your community.
  - Form a committee on intergroup relations.
  - Obtain (free) and use the study guide.
  - Seek assistance from the social science department in the local university or from other local intergroup relations agencies.
- Plan a program based on the findings in your community.
  - Every district can do something; every agency can do something.
  - Find out what other agencies in your community have done.
  - Proceed wisely - but proceed.
- Seek available materials and guidance from A.N.A. headquarters.
- Tell A.N.A. headquarters what your needs are so additional information and materials can be obtained or prepared.
- Share your experiences with others.
  - notify headquarters in order that your achievements will be publicized.
  - interest your local papers, radio stations, magazines, etc.

June 1953

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION
TWO PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION
Intergroup Relations Program
Staff Orientation Conference
June 9, 1953

Some of the most typical questions relating to the intergroup relations program on which various staff members have felt need for expert advice are indicated below. During the last part of the session opportunity will be given to the staff to raise additional questions.

I. When members of our professional staff are in the field, how shall we respond or behave when

A. We are told

1. "We have segregation laws, what can we as an association do to carry out the ANA program on integration?"?

2. "How far can we as a professional organization go ahead of the community (especially in the South) in the area of racial integration?"?

3. "Discussion of the possibility of conducting an intergroup relations program, or of actively working for the integration of nurses of racial minority groups, will increase resistance to the program."?

4. "If we accept Negro nurses into our organization, isn't that discrimination against the majority since we will have to give up our social activities?"? (Asked in a southern district where refreshments are served routinely following a business meeting.)

5. "We would employ Negroes, but our patients will object."?

6. "It is not so much a matter of the patients objecting as of the white nurses themselves objecting."?

7. "Our Negroes know their place --."?

8. "We can't invite a Negro staff member to our state because we have segregation laws and we do not wish to embarrass her."?

9. "We have no problem."? (Stated by persons from northern communities and by one district in the deep south.)

10. "Look at all <u>we</u> have done and now the nurses of minority groups won't

a. join the association."?

b. attend meetings of the association."?

c. participate in discussion during meetings."?

d. intermingle with majority group members."?

e. apply to our school of nursing."?

B. The following situations occur:

1. The city has segregation laws and one member of our group will have to sit in the back of the bus as we go to our destination?

2. Negro members of our staff will not be accommodated in restaurants in a city with segregation laws?

3. Members of racial minority groups are referred to as "they", "niggers", "those ---- goons (nurses from other countries)."?

4. Nurses of racial minority groups are designated as Nurse Doe or Jane Doe rather than as "Miss" Doe, as are nurses of the majority group?

5. A registrar who places private duty nurses telephones the patient, doctor and hospital to ask "Is it all right to send a Negro nurse?"?

II. In relation to the questions under I above, when is it desirable <u>to give</u> and <u>not to give</u> publicity to changes we wish to make towards greater integration of nurses of minority groups?

III. When we are in the field, or during our social activities during non-working hours, we may be asked questions concerning our personal beliefs and attitudes as they relate to the intergroup relations program. If our opinions are divergent to the policies of the ANA, what is our responsibility?

IV. The following facts are known to exist. How can we stimulate leadership to work for desirable changes in each case?

A. There are salary differentials for white and non-white nurses for the same level of responsibility in some communities.

B. In some instances, nurses of racial minority groups are assigned to the least desirable working situations and hours.

C. Employment and upgrading of nurses of racial minority groups on the basis of their education and experience is seldom (but increasingly) done. This is true in the North and South.

D. Nurses of racial minority groups are seldom (but increasingly) appointed to committees or elected to office in the association.

June 4, 1953
LI

PR

TO

April 17 1942

Dear Mr Angelo Herndon

Having read of the organization of the Negro Publication Society I should like to be enrolled as a member, and enclose $5.00 to cover my dues for this year. I have just sent you a book on Inter-Racial organizations. If you do not care for it for the Society's library will you please give it to someone interested in the subject. Wishing you all success in your admirable undertaking, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Garth Cate *Travel Promotion Manager*

New York World-Telegram

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER

November 11, 1953

Mr. Robert McKay
New York University School of Law
Washington Square
New York, N Y

Dear Bob:

We are wondering how the segregation-in-recreation article is coming--specifically, if it will be in print in the near future.

As you well know, some of the background data we got together dates back to August and September of 1952. Harold thought he would go ahead and use our survey as a NEW SOUTH article if 1) your article is still in the works and not likely to appear this fall and 2) our printing an independent piece focused on public recreational facilities by race (not tackling the legal aspects) would not detract from your article.

Would like to hear from you about this soon.

Also, S O S on the 1953 file of recreation and professional entertainment clips. We need them from time to time and would like to have them if you no longer need them.

Regards from S R C. Kack and I are sitting out the Emory night classes this quarter.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

A Stimulating Salute to Theater

NEW YORK (AP) — Possibly one of the most stimulating shows of the whole TV season turned up at 11:30 a.m. yesterday on CBS with bits from a dozen Broadway shows presented in "A Salute to The American Theater."

This was a purposeful salute, by the Anti-Defamation League, to call attention to the theater's traditional part

File Press TV

A Salute...

"A fine hour, worthy of prime evening time." — ASSOCIATED PRESS

"Glorious . . . splendidly executed." — NEW YORK TIMES

"A tribute to the battle against bigotry." — LOS ANGELES TIMES

"A series of splendidly executed scenes." — ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH

"Excellent . . ." — NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

"Superior drama." — DES MOINES REGISTER

mpartially,
Favor"

Entered at the Postoffice at Chattanooga, Tenn., as Second-Class Mail Matter.

ase Against Stoner Taken To Department of Justice

Leader of So-called Anti-Jewish 'Party' Here Is Accused of 'Inciting to Murder' in Literature Sent Through Mails

BY LUCIEN AGNIEL

J. B. Stoner last night faced the possibility of a five-year prison sentence and a $5,000 fine—maximum penalty for placing "indecent" material in the mails.

Stoner, self-styled "archleader" of what he calls the Stoner Anti-Jewish Party, lately has been mailing anti-Semitic literature in Chattanooga which calls for extermination of all Jews, and asks donations to the party war chest.

In Knoxville yesterday, Alexander F. Miller of Atlanta, southern director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, laid copies of Stoner's literature on the desk of U. S. Attorney James B. Frazier. Miller then cited the section of the U. S. criminal code which he believes Stoner has violated.

In a telephone call to The Times, Miller said: "I believe we have a case against Stoner. Mr. Frazier is taking the matter under advisement and is forwarding the evidence to Washington for action by the Civil Rights unit. Conviction under this statute carries a maximum punishment of $5,000 fine or five years imprisonment, or both."

Frazier told The Times he would act at once. "I will see that the evidence goes immediately to the Civil Liberties division of the Department of Justice for appropriate action," he said.

J. B. STONER, IN 1940

Section 211 of the U. S. criminal code, pertaining to mailing obscene matter, says:

"Every obscene, lewd or lascivious, and every filthy book, pamphlet, picture, paper, letter, print or other publication of indecent

See Page Two, Column One

home
paid $15
operating
year.

STONER
UNDER U.S.

From Page

character, * * * is hereby
to be nonmailable matter a
not be conveyed in the mails.
Whoever shall knowingly depo
or cause to be deposited for mailing * * * anything declared by this section to be nonmailable * * * shall be fined not more than $5,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both. The term 'indecent,' within the intendment of this section shall include matter of a character intending to incite arson, murder or assassination." * * *

In the anti-Jewish mailer which Stoner has been circulating at the rate of several hundred a week, he says: "The Stoner Anti-Jewish party is a political party whose main purpose is to serve Christianity and America by obtaining enactment of proper laws or constitutional amendments making it unlawful and impossible for Jews to live in North America. * * * The Jews are too evil to be allowed to live. * * * The Satanic Jews must be put to death in accordance with irresistible laws that command such.

"* * * The Jew devils must be destroyed. If our great and beloved America is to live, Jewry must die. The Jewish race must cease to exist."

The last paragraph, in small print, advertises "The Gospel of Jesus Christ versus The Jews," a pamphlet which Stoner offers to all who will buy—at $2 the copy.

Former Klan Organizer

Stoner, 23-year-old former Ku-Klux Klan organizer, could not be reached last night for a statement. He can be reached only through a postoffice box number. He refuses to give a telephone number or home address.

This passion for privacy is one of many Stoner phobias. He refuses to be photographed and often fancies he is being followed.

He attended several Chattanooga schools. He was not graduated from high school, mainly because he became preoccupied with Klan activities at an early age.

His chief claims to fame are a few lines in an old Winchell column, a brief mention from Drew Pearson over the air, and a couple of pages in John Roy Carlson's recent book, "The Plotters."

In Chattanooga, his Anti-Jewish Party is so small he won't divulge figures on membership or finances.

WOULD YOU SMILE?

TEST YOURSELF

If you were a Negro—

Would you, like the young man on the cover, have a warm and friendly smile?

Would you hold fast to your pride in being an American in spite of daily handicaps?

Would you be determined to succeed in spite of the obstacles you faced because of color?

Would you work with your fellow Americans, black and white, to build a better world?

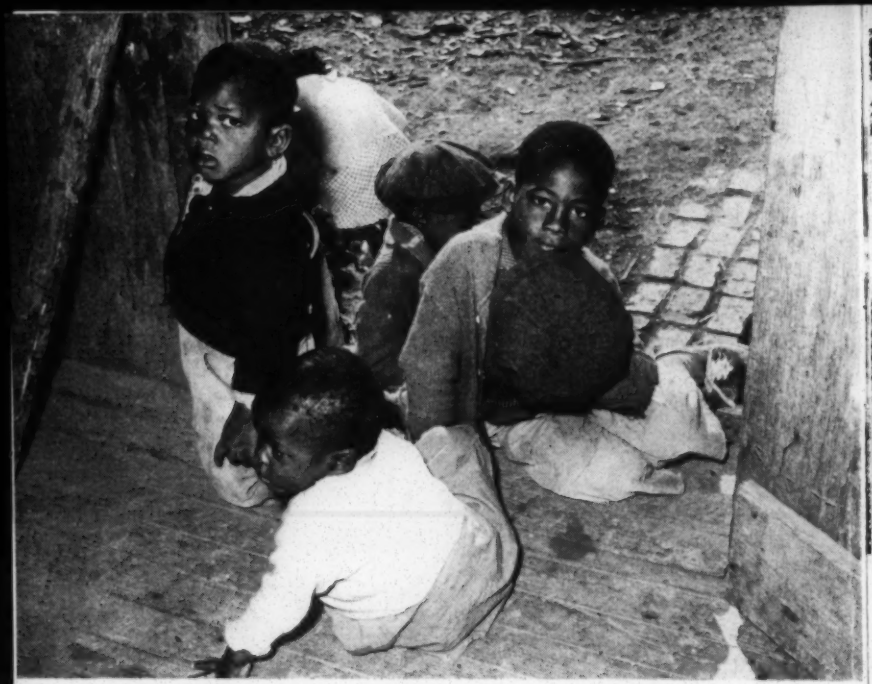
COULD YOU SMILE?

If you were a Negro—

The chances are 3 times greater that your mother would have died in giving you life.

The chances are 50 per cent greater that you would have died when less than a year old.

Shocking as it sounds, this is the case even today!



And, if you survived—

(With the inadequate medical care, bad housing, and low-paying jobs to which you would be shunted)—

You could expect to die 10 years before a white American born on the same day.

And you could expect your children to die 10 years before white children the same age.

If you were a Negro—

The chances are 4 in 5 that you would live in the South —and your family income would be less than 1/2 that of your white neighbors.

The chances are you would be a farm tenant or live in a city slum.

If you were a Negro—

Your total education would probably have been less than 6 years of schooling from underpaid teachers in run-down school houses.

And your children would probably go to a Southern Negro school where the expenditure for their education would be less than 1/4 the national average.

If you were a Negro—

You would share with other Americans the desire to vote and take part in government.

But in the South you probably would never have done so—because poll taxes, white primaries, and registration trickery rob 10 million Americans of the ballot.

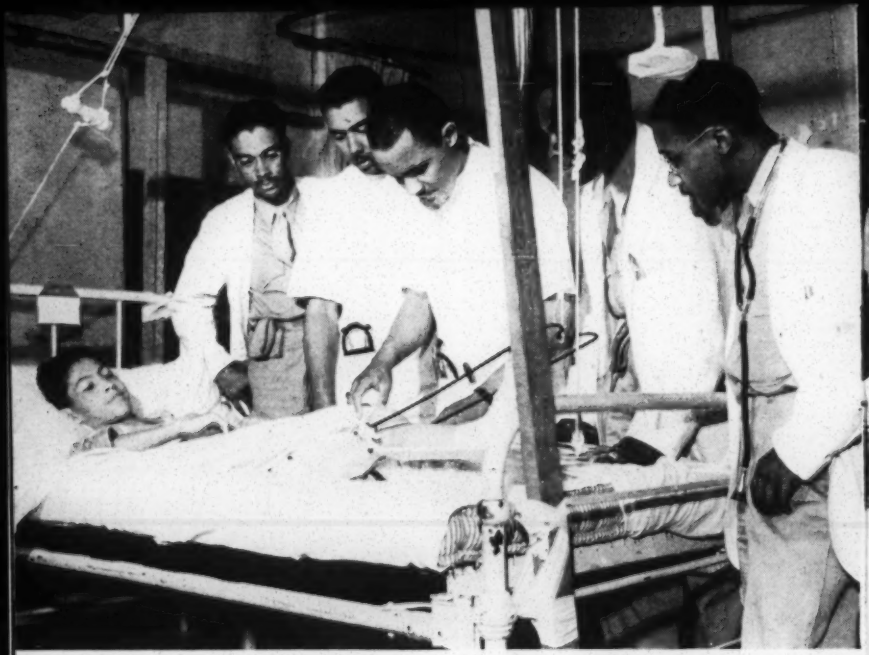
You would probably know fear as you have never known it.

If you were a Negro—

You would be proud of your fellow Negro Americans, past and present, who have had the opportunity to enrich the welfare and happiness of all Americans.

You would take pride in the work of Negro artists, like Marian Anderson and Paul Robeson; of scientists like Dr. George Washington Carver and Dr. Charles Drew, inventor of the blood bank; of athletes like Joe Louis; of educators and civic leaders like Mary McLeod Bethune and Channing Tobias; of fighting men from Crispus Attucks on the Boston Common to Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis and the immortal Dorie Miller. You would take pride in these and many, many others.

You would never feel inferior, but you would know that the ranks of these great men and women can be multiplied to the advantage of the whole nation—if only greater opportunities to live, to learn, and to serve are afforded all Negroes.



If you were a Negro—

You would know that there are only 3,500 doctors, 1,500 dentists, and 1,200 lawyers out of more than 13 million Negro Americans.

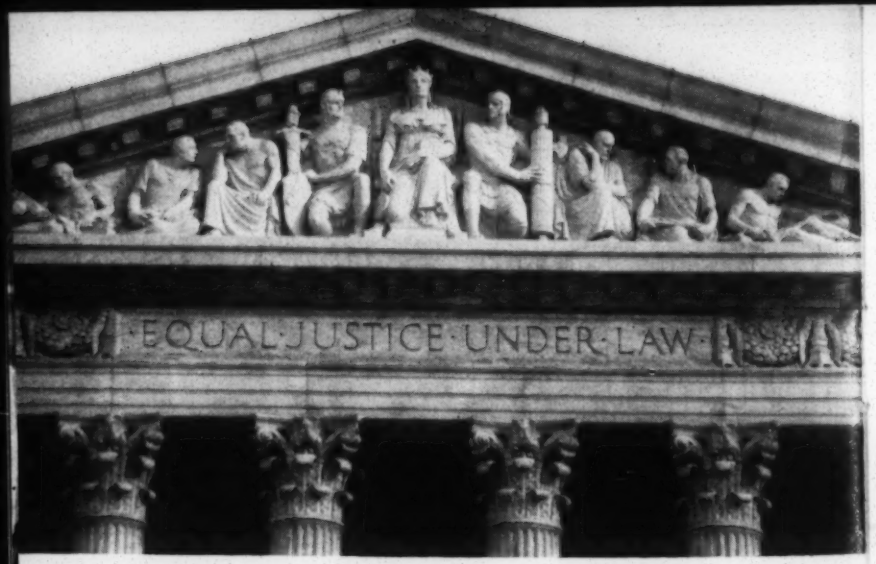
You would want more chances for Negro boys and girls to become doctors and lawyers and engineers and nurses; to become streetcar motormen and chemists and architects. You would want for them the same opportunities afforded other Americans.

If you were a Negro—

You would be proud of the production record made by 1½ million Negro workers in war industries since Pearl Harbor.

You would strive to prevent a return to the old days of dog-eat-dog when you were the "last hired and first fired." You would oppose those who seek to use you as a source of cheap labor; to exploit your plight, your need for work, as a means of depressing the wages of your fellow white workers.

You would join and support those labor unions which treat Negroes as fellow citizens.



If you were a Negro—

You would know that crime is not racial. You would know that poverty and oppression breed crime.

And you would know that we Americans have far to go before we achieve the democratic aim set forth by the great Thomas Jefferson: "Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion."

If you were a Negro—

You would want to destroy the mutual distrust and misunderstanding which separate you from your fellow Americans.

You would love your God and your country—its beauty and its ideals—its "promise for tomorrow."

You would assume all your obligations as a citizen and you would want all the corresponding rights and privileges of citizenship.

You would work with all your fellowmen to build a better world.

YOU WOULD TRY TO SMILE.

IF YOU ARE A GOOD AMERICAN

You will, in your own way, express the kind of concern reflected in the following letter addressed by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt to the 6th All-Southern Negro Youth Conference:

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington, D. C.

November 25, 1944

Dear Miss George:

It is good to know that at its meeting in Atlanta this year the All-Southern Negro Youth Conference will have as its theme "Democracy —The Challenge of Victory." It is increasingly apparent that this is the challenge faced by us all.

I know that on the road to victory, hard at first and bloody still, the Negro youth of the South met, with other American young people, this challenge with a courage which has dignified their generation. Hundreds of thousands of young Negroes from the Southern states serve in our armed forces. In the factories, on the farms, and in all fields of war activity, thousands of other Negro young people have given freely of their skill, their strength, their courage and their loyalty.

They have fought not only to defend America but to advance America. They have fought to establish a universal freedom under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all—regardless of station, race or creed.

Their fight has been democracy's fight. And democracy's victory must be their victory—to cherish and extend as the men and women of tomorrow.

I send my best wishes to them and to their cause.

Very sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt

IF YOU ARE A GOOD AMERICAN

You *know* that until *all* men are free from want and fear, no man can be really free.

You want every American to enjoy the rights outlined in the Constitution of the United States.

You want an end to intolerance and discrimination.

You want every American to have a chance to live, learn, and serve.

You will want to help the Negro youth of the South who, through the Southern Negro Youth Congress, are working to train themselves for good citizenship, to broaden their opportunities, and to stimulate the growth of friendship and cooperation with white young people for the building of a better South.

The SNYC needs your support. Contributions, which are tax deductible, should be made out to the order of: Southern Negro Youth Educational Fund, Inc., and mailed to:

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH CONGRESS
526 Masonic Temple Building Birmingham 3, Alabama

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
526 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham 3, Alabama

I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order for $ .....

Name .....

Street and No. .....

City and Zone ..... State .....

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NEWSPAPER TABULATIONS

PAPER	1. NEWS STORY	2. PICTURE WITH NEWS	3. COURTESY TITLE *
ALABAMA			
Birminghan Age Herald	✓		
Birminghan News	✓		✓
Livingston Home		✓	
FLORIDA			
Crestview News Journal	✓		
Mount Dora Topic		✓	
St. Petersburg Times	✓	✓	
Tampa Tribune	✓		
GEORGIA			
Atlanta Constitution	✓		
Atlanta Journal	✓		
Augusta Herald		✓	
Hiawassee Herald		✓	
Louisville News & Farmer		✓	
Pearson Tribune			✓
Sandersville Progress		✓	
Savannah News		✓	
Warrenton Clipper		✓	✓
LOUISIANA			
New Orleans Times-Picayune		✓	
MISSISSIPPI			
Holly Springs Reporter		✓	
Jackson News	✓		
Marks Democrat		✓	

* Footnote

PAPER	NEWS STORY	PICTURE WITH NEWS	COURTESY TITLES
Pontotoc Progress	**********	✓	
NORTH CAROLINA			
Ahoskie Herald		✓	✓
Albemarle News and Press		✓	✓
Ashboro Courier		✓	✓
Brevard Transylvania Times		✓	✓
Carthage News		✓	
Charlotte News	✓		
Durham Herald		✓	✓
Laurinburg Exchange		✓	✓
Lexington Dispatch		✓	✓
Morganton News Herald		✓	✓
Mount Airy Times		✓	✓
Newton News Enterprise		✓	
Oxford Ledger			
Raleigh News & Observer	✓		
Reidsville Review			✓
Roanoke Rapids Herald		✓	
Rutherfordton News			
Shelby Star		✓	✓
Smithfield Herald		✓	✓
Wadesboro Intelligencer		✓	
Wilson Times		✓	
Winston-Salem Sentinel		✓	✓
SOUTH CAROLINA			
Charleston News Courier	✓		
Gaffney Ledger		✓	

PAPER	NEWS STORY	PICTURE WITH NEWS	COURTESY TITLES
Myrtle Beach News			
Sumter Daily Item			
TENNESSEE			
Chattanooga Daily Times			
Cleveland Banner			
Johnson City Chronicle			
Knoxville Journal			
Manchester Times			
Nashville Banner			
Newport Plain Talk			
TEXAS			
Austin American			
Austin Statesman			
Beaumont Journal			
Beeville Bee Picayune			
Bonham Favorite			
Bonham Herald			
? Cuero Record			
? Galveston News			
Greenville Banner			
Houston Post			
Marlin Democrat			
Pecos Enterprise			
San Antonio Express			
Waco News Tribune			

PAPER	NEWS STORY	PICTURE WITH NEWS	COURTESY TITLE
VIRGINIA ****			
Amherst Progress	✓		
Appomatox Times-Virginian		✓	✓
Emporia Independent-Messenger		✓	
Hopewell News		✓	✓
Norfolk Pilot	✓		
Portsmouth Star		✓	✓
Radford News Journal		✓	✓
Richmond Times-Dispatch	✓		
Roanoke Times		✓	
South Boston News		✓	✓

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

SERVICES

TO

RURAL FAMILIES

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Farm Security Administration
Washington 25, D. C.

FSA PUB. 128
REV. 11-30-44

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

SERVICES

To Rural Families

THE FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION offers the small farmer and his family a start on the road to more adequate income, better living, and a more secure place in agriculture. It combines financial help with individual on-the-farm guidance in sound, efficient farm and home management.

Farm families who lack necessary equipment and operating capital, and cannot get credit elsewhere on reasonable terms and conditions are eligible for Farm Security supervised credit.

Farm Security borrowers attain greater security on the land and achieve a more useful place in agriculture. They are encouraged to build up their land and livestock, and to use both their labor and land resources to better advantage. Through diversification they achieve a balanced farming program with its year-round income and improved living standards.

These families participate in agricultural programs. Many cooperate with the Soil Conservation Service to prevent soil erosion and provide water control on their farms, work with the Forest Service in the care of farm woodlots, and take part in local activities of the Extension Service and AAA.

FSA loans are of two general types:

1—Rural Rehabilitation, or operating loans which are made in all rural counties.

2—Farm Ownership loans, made under the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937, in most rural counties.

In the 17 Western States a major activity is the water program which provides water facilities loans for developing water resources on farms and ranches.

A committee of three local farmers works with the Farm Security supervisor in each agricultural county. These committees determine applicants' eligibility for loans, review borrowers' progress, and approve farms to be bought and the prices to be paid.

627897°—45

Operating credit has been furnished to about 870,000[1] families to enable them to obtain the livestock, equipment, or other essentials needed to run their farms efficiently and on a paying basis. These loans are made for periods of from 1 to 5 years, at 5 percent interest.

Supervisors help the families plan their farm and home operations and put these plans into practice. Such plans usually call for the production of two or more farm commodities for market, food and feed needed at home, and cash income for the family's own necessities and the repayment of debts.

Supervised credit is accompanied by other types of aid necessary for improved living and efficient farming. More than 70,000 farm families in 1,012 counties are cooperating with local physicians in group health plans. Most of these plans offer general practitioners' services, either alone or in combination with surgery, hospitalization, prescribed drugs, or dental treatment.

With FSA help, about 85 percent of the tenant farmers on the program have arranged written leases, many of them for 2 or more years. For loan applicants over-burdened with debt, voluntary debt adjustments have been worked out with creditors by FSA supervisors and committeemen. More than 188,000 families have used this service to avoid bankruptcy, and both creditors and debtors have benefited through subsequent payment of the debts.

Farm Security also has provided services to improve rural housing. Through an environmental sanitation program, farm families have screened their houses, obtained sanitary privies and pure water supplies.

FSA borrowers and their neighbors have formed about 17,000 small informal group services. They buy and use together high-grade sires and farm equipment that would not be profitable for each to own and use alone. FSA makes small loans to individual farmers who need financial assistance in order to participate.

Improved Farming—Increased Security.—Families using FSA rehabilitation services were able to make outstanding food production records when wartime demands were greatest. A survey of the production by 311,880 borrowers who operated farms in both 1942 and 1943 showed they made increases in 5 war-essential food and oil crops that ranged from 14 to 65 percent over their 1942 production. They also increased cash marketings of

[1] This number does not include loans made from funds held in trust by the Government for the various State Rural Rehabilitation Corporations created during the depression period.

livestock and livestock products. In 1943 they sold 56 percent more hogs than the year before; 43 percent more cattle and calves; 30 percent more sheep; 18 percent more milk; 47 percent more chickens; and 32 percent more eggs.

Also they had learned to raise, conserve, and prepare more and better food for the family table, thus improving their diets and health as well as cutting down cash expenditures. In 1943 the average borrower's farm produced for home use 523 gallons of milk and 484 pounds of meat. Home canning of vegetables and fruit averaged 305 quarts. Earlier studies have shown that the average borrower, before getting the FSA loan, had for home use 288 gallons of milk, 252 pounds of meat, 139 quarts of home-canned vegetables and fruit.

By the end of 1941, the average net worth of rehabilitation borrowers, or the value of what they owned over what they owed, had risen 42.5 percent. Their average net worth was $871 before they got FSA help, compared with $1,242 in 1941. A later survey showed the average family active on the program during 1943 had a net worth of $2,301 at the end of the crop season.

Rural rehabilitation borrowers have repaid 89.2 percent of the principal due on their loans, and about 306,400 [2] have completely retired their loans and are now in a position to get credit from banks and other lending institutions. Altogether, $484,957,193 of the $843,243,890 advanced since the beginning of the program in 1935 has been paid back, and an additional $67,661,935 has been collected in interest.[2]

FARM OWNERSHIP

Under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937, the FSA has made long-term loans to 36,426 farm tenants, sharecroppers, and farm laborers unable to get credit elsewhere to buy family-type farms of their own. All services available to rural rehabilitation borrowers are also available to farm-ownership borrowers. The loans are made for 40-year periods, at 3 percent.

An important requirement for a loan is that the farm to be purchased will provide a good living for the family, as well as pay for itself over the period of the loan. It must be large enough to earn the necessary income, but not so large that outside help will be needed except at peak periods. Supervisors advise the borrowers, as in the rehabilitation program, relative to plans of operation that will conserve the soil and result in maximum returns.

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[2] Not including loans made from corporation trust funds.

Safeguards for Borrower.—The primary aim of the farm-ownership program is to enable tenant farmers and sharecroppers to buy farms and find security on the land. There is no security in the purchase of land at inflated prices which the borrower might not be able to repay out of farm earnings.

Before an applicant will be loaned money to buy a farm, the property undergoes a careful appraisal to determine its earning capacity and the probability of its yielding sufficient income over a period of years to enable the borrower to pay for it. With land values in many areas approaching boom levels, loan applicants are experiencing some difficulty in locating suitable farms that can be bought at fair prices. However, with careful search, they frequently find farms that can be bought at prices in line with their long-range earning capacity, even in areas where land values have generally risen sharply.

Borrowers Make Progress.—The typical family in this program has made great progress in improving land and buildings, adopting soil conservation practices, diversifying enterprises, and in retiring the loan with which the farm was bought.

Under a variable payment plan, borrowers are billed for higher than average amounts in good years, and smaller amounts in poor years. Thus during a period of higher income, they can pay ahead of schedule, providing a margin of security for themselves in case of crop failures or low prices later on.

Although they had 40 years to complete payments, 536 farmers have retired their loans within 7 years or less, some from farm income alone, and some with the help of other income. Another 221 borrowers paid out with money received from the sale of their farms, most of them having turned their land over to the Government for military purposes.

As of December 31, 1943, payments have come due on 30,603 loans. The amount which would have been due from these borrowers paying at a rate required to retire their debts in the allotted 40 years would have been $19,234,611. The amount actually repaid exceeded this sum by $9,210,022. In addition to this substantial payment ahead of schedule, $7,937,749 was paid from the sale of mortgaged property or refunds on unused portions of loans. Fifty-seven percent of the borrowers were ahead of schedule by an average of $736.

Loans for Veterans.—The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill of Rights) provides that World War II veterans will be eligible for these loans just as though they were farm tenants.

Veterans who can get loans on reasonable terms from other sources will, as in the case of non-veterans, be expected to do so. But if they need and want the kind of supervision furnished by FSA, their application for an FSA loan may be approved, even if they could get a loan elsewhere.

WATER PROGRAMS

Water Facilities.—In the arid and semiarid sections of the 17 Western States, where lack of water is often a greater handicap than lack of good soil, the FSA makes loans to individual farmers and ranchers, and to farmers' groups, to enable them to install or repair such water facilities as ponds, wells, stock water tanks, diversion dams, conduits, windmills, spring developments, water spreaders, farm distribution systems, flood irrigation works, small irrigation facilities, and facilities for supplying farmstead water. Technicians advise the borrowers in planning the changes to be made, and in building or repairing the facilities.

Individual loans have been made to 6,848 families, and more than 4,000 other families have benefited by financial assistance to groups.

These Western families have built or repaired 14,595 separate water services of many different kinds. On range land, stock watering facilities and supplemental irrigation water have been provided; on individual farms and ranches, families have been able to improve and expand their work after getting water for work stock and farmstead use nearer to their buildings. Underground water supplies have been developed in some areas previously dry-farmed, with the result that food production per acre has risen greatly.

The borrowers have repaid 109.5 percent of the principal due on their loans. A total of $4,166,237 has been advanced. Principal due as of June 30, 1944, was $1,198,047, and payments totaled $1,311,520 plus an additional $148,948 in interest.

Water Conservation and Utilization.—The FSA cooperates with the Bureau of Reclamation (Department of the Interior) in the Federal program for water conservation and utilization (also called the Wheeler-Case program) in the 17 Western States. Farm Security is responsible for land acquisition, land development and settlement on selected irrigation projects.

ASSISTING RETURNING VETERANS

More than 35,000 veterans of the first World War have used the supervised credit services of Farm Security, and before the end of 1944 nearly 6,000

veterans of World War II had come to FSA for help in getting reestablished as farmers.

Credit has been made available to more than 1,400 of these War II veterans to enable them to purchase feed, seed, livestock, equipment, and other operating items necessary to resume farming. Sixteen hundred other returning servicemen have applied for farm-ownership loans. About 50 already have been financed in the purchase of farms. Many more who are eligible have so far been unable to locate farms they can buy at prices in line with their long-time earning capacity.

Applications from World War II veterans will increase as discharges from the armed forces progress, since many inquiries have already been received from veteran organizations and men still in uniform seeking information about the services of FSA.

FLOOD RESTORATION PROGRAM

During 1943–44, the FSA was in charge of the flood loan program set up with a special appropriation to assist farmers in counties damaged by the 1943 floods. Of the $1,918,711 loaned, $66,292 in principal and $1,132 in interest was repaid during the year. In 1944–45, the FSA is in charge of a similar program in designated counties damaged by flood or windstorm.

LIQUIDATION OF RESETTLEMENT PROJECTS

The rural resettlement projects under FSA management are being liquidated as expeditiously as possible through sales of the land to private owners. In many cases, the farm units are being made available to low-income farm families already living on them, under the same terms as provided by the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. Private owners had received quitclaim deeds to 3,500 of the 9,045 units in the 152 farm projects by June 30, 1944, purchase commitments were outstanding for another 2,708 units, and 305 units had been transferred to other Government agencies or sold for cash. There were 2,532 units not yet sold.

(All figures are as of June 30, 1944 unless otherwise noted.)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1945

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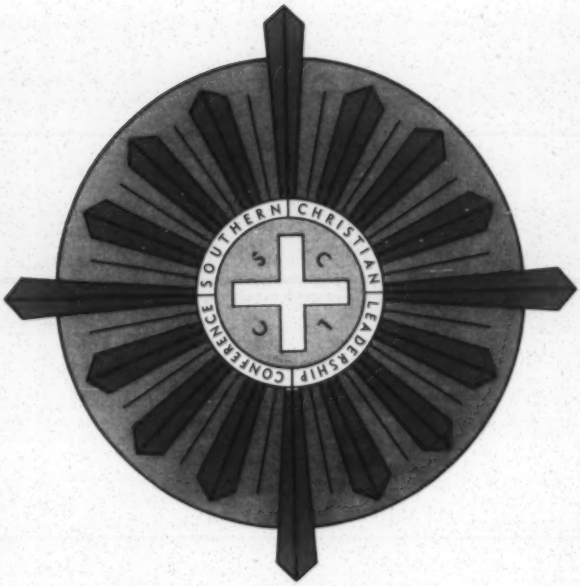

THIS IS SCLC

S C L C

Birth of SCLC

On January 10, 1957, more than 100 Southern leaders gathered in Atlanta, Georgia, to share and discuss their mutual problems of the Southern struggle. By unanimous agreement, the body voted to form a permanent organization that would serve as a coordinating agency for local protest centers that were utilizing the technique and philosophy of nonviolence in creative protest. Two months later, close on the heels of the successful Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott, SCLC came into being, in New Orleans, Louisiana. Martin Luther King, Jr., was elected president.

Structure of SCLC

Affiliate organizations all across the South make up the body of the Conference. The making and execution of basic policy is the responsibility of the Executive Board, geographically representative of the entire South. Of the thirty-three board members, twenty-four are elected by the Conference and nine by the Board. Every affiliate may have from one to five voting delegates at any deliberative session of the Conference, depending upon the type of financial affiliation. The annual meeting of the Conference is held in the early fall and the Executive Board meets in the Spring. Policy decisions are handled by an Administrative Committee between meetings of the Conference and the Board. SCLC maintains a modest but versatile staff at its home office in Atlanta, Georgia.

Membership in SCLC

SCLC is not a membership organization *per se*. As indicated, affiliate groups and organizations constitute the actual membership. In turn, individuals belong to the affiliates (churches, civic organizations, fraternal groups, etc.). The minimum affiliate fee is $25.00 per annum entitling the group represented to one voting delegate in all deliberative sessions. An affiliate may have as many as five (5) voting delegates ($125.00), but regardless of amount given, this is maximum number of delegates allowed. Affiliation requires an application in writing to national office that indicates general structure and purposes of group seeking affiliation. All affiliates are confirmed by the Executive Board or Administrative Committee. Upon confirmation, affiliate certificates and suitable credentials are forwarded to member organization indicating

SCLC's services are immediately available. The SCLC Newsletter and other printed material relevant to the social struggle are forwarded to the membership of the affiliate group periodically.

SCLC—A Nonsectarian Agency

From its inception, SCLC has been nonsectarian in character. Conference supporters are people of all faiths, religions and creeds. The word 'Christian' in SCLC's name is natural and unique to the social structure of the Negro community in the South. The Negro church is his only forum, owned, operated and controlled by him; it affords the broadest opportunity for social intercourse; it is generally the headquarters of the Negro's struggle for full citizenship; the pastor has been the community leader and champion of the Negro's civil liberties. Most of the protest centers in the South are clergy-led, thus accounting for the high incidence of ministers who make up the leadership of the Conference. Laymen too, play a significant role, several serving on the Board and holding top offices. SCLC welcomes the good wishes and support of any person or group of persons who have as their ultimate goal actualizing democracy in America through peaceful and nonviolent means.

Aims and Purposes of SCLC

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has the basic aim of achieving full citizenship rights, equality, and the integration of the Negro in all aspects of American life. SCLC is a service agency to facilitate coordinated action of local community groups within the frame of their indigenous organizations and natural leadership. SCLC activity revolves around two main focal points: the use of nonviolent philosophy as a means of creative protest; and securing the right of the ballot for every citizen.

Philosophy of SCLC

The basic tenents of Hebraic-Christian tradition coupled with the Ghandian concept of *satyagraha* — truth force — is at the heart of SCLC's philosophy. Christian nonviolence actively resists evil in any form. It never seeks to humiliate the opponent, only to win him. Suffering is accepted without retaliation. Internal violence of the spirit is as much to be rejected as external physical violence. At the center of nonviolence is redemptive love. Creatively

used, the philosophy of nonviolence can restore the broken community in America. SCLC is convinced that nonviolence is the most potent force available to an oppressed people in their struggle for freedom and dignity.

SCLC and Nonviolent Mass Direct Action

SCLC believes that the American dilemma in race relations can best and most quickly be resolved through the action of thousands of people, committed to the philosophy of nonviolence, who will physically identify themselves in a just and moral struggle. It is not enough to be intellectually dissatisfied with an evil system. The true nonviolent resister presents his physical body as an instrument to defeat the system. Through nonviolent mass direct action, the evil system is creatively dramatized in order that the conscience of the community may grapple with the rightness or wrongness of the issue at hand.

SCLC and Leadership Training

In its bold new program, SCLC has undertaken one of the difficult tasks so vital to the present-day struggle in the South. The Leadership Training Program is directed at the organization of communities at the 'grass-roots' level. It is believed that the great success of the Negro community's struggle for full citizenship will be determined by the training of this second-line leadership. Leadership Training embraces the work of the Citizenship Schools and the Correspondence Institute. Both include in their course of studies such subjects as: *Registration and Voting; Social Protest; Understanding Politics; Use of the Boycott; How to Picket; The Nature of Prejudice,* etc.

SCLC's Citizenship Schools

The Citizenship School is the direct result of one phase of the Leadership Training Program. Interested persons, who have a general knowledge of reading and writing, are trained intensively in the skills of adult education using subject matter relevant to the social struggle. They return to their individual communities as instructors and set up a Citizenship School that the 'grass-roots' people may be trained for full participation in civic life. Periodically, the instructors return to the training center for refresher courses to keep them abreast of significant changes and to further develop their skills.

SCLC and Voter-Registration

The right of the ballot is basic to the exercise of full citizenship rights. All across the South, subtle and flagrant obstacles confront the Negro when he seeks to register and vote. Poll taxes, long form questionnaires, harassment, economic reprisal, and sometimes death, meet those who dare to seek this exercise of the ballot. In areas where there is little or no attempt to block the voting attempts of the Negro, apathy generally is deeply etched upon the habits of the community. SCLC with its specialized staff works on both fronts: aiding local communities through every means available to secure the right to vote (e.g. filing complaints with the Civil Rights Commission) and arousing interest through voter-registration workshops to point up the importance of the ballot. Periodically, SCLC, upon invitation conducts a voter-registration drive to enhance a community's opportunity to free itself from economic and political servitude. SCLC believes that the most important step the Negro can take is that short walk to the voting booth.

SCLC and Civil Disobedience

SCLC sees civil disobedience as a natural consequence of nonviolence when the resister is confronted by unjust and immoral laws. This does not imply that SCLC advocates either anarchy or lawlessness. The Conference firmly believes that all people have a moral responsibility to obey laws that are just. It recognizes, however, that there also are unjust laws. From a purely moral point of view, an unjust law is one that is out of harmony with the moral law of the universe, or, as the religionist would say, out of harmony with the Law of God. More concretely, an unjust law is one in which the minority is compelled to observe a code which is not binding on the majority. An unjust law is one in which people are required to obey a code that they had no part in making because they were denied the right to vote. In the face of such obvious inequality, where difference is made legal, the nonviolent resister has no alternative but to disobey the unjust law. In disobeying such a law, he does so peacefully, openly and nonviolently. Most important, he *willingly* accepts the penalty for breaking the law. This distinguishes SCLC's position on civil disobedience from the 'uncivil disobedience' of the racist opposition in the South. In the face of laws they consider unjust, they seek to defy,

evade, and circumvent the law, BUT they are *unwilling* to accept the penalty for breaking the law. The end result of their defiance is anarchy and disrespect for the law. SCLC, on the other hand, believes that civil disobedience involves the highest respect for the law. He who openly disobeys a law that conscience tells him is unjust and willingly accepts the penalty is giving evidence that he so respects the law that he belongs in jail until it is changed.

Source of SCLC's Funds

SCLC's budget is supported by mass rallies, individual and organizational pledges, direct mailing fund appeals, and affiliate fees. Some portion of the budget is realized through the personal appearances of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other members of the Conference. Under its bold new program, SCLC launches in 1961 its 'Dollars For Freedom' campaign which is again directed at the 'grass roots' population of America. More recently, special fund-raising projects in the form of benefits featuring outstanding artists of show business, have added to the financial support needed to carry on the work throughout the South.

SCLC and the Sit-ins

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference views the Sit-In Movement of southern college students as the most important development in the southern struggle. The Conference's record evidences that at every opportunity, it has done everything within its power and resources to aid and abet the students in developing their skills in nonviolent protest. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the coordinating organization of the student movement, was born as a result of a conference called by SCLC at Raleigh, North Carolina, in the spring of 1960 at the height of the Sit-Ins. It continues to serve in an advisory capacity through its professional staff and its president, Martin Luther King, Jr., symbol of the students' nonviolent mass attack on segregation. Some of the most significant victories in the Sit-In Movement of southern college students have come as a result of the leadership and guidance of SCLC affiliates, e.g., Nashville Christian Leadership Council, Nashville, Tenn., Petersburg Improvement Association, Petersburg, Va., etc.

SCLC and Segregation

SCLC is firmly opposed to segregation in any form that it takes and pledges itself to work unrelentingly to rid every vestige of its scars from our nation through nonviolent means. Segregation is an evil and its presence in our nation has blighted our larger destiny as a leader in world affairs. Segregation does as much harm to the *segregator* as it does to the *segregated*. The *segregated* develops a false sense of inferiority and the *segregator* develops a false sense of superiority, both contrary to the American ideal of democracy. America must rid herself of segregation not alone because it is politically expedient, but because it is morally right!

SCLC and Constructive Program

SCLC's basic program fosters nonviolent resistance to all forms of racial injustice, including state and local laws and practices, even when this means going to jail; and imaginative, bold constructive action to end the demoralization caused by the legacy of slavery and segregation—inferior schools, slums, and second-class citizenship. Thus, the Conference works on two fronts. On the one hand, it resists continuously the system of segregation which is the basic cause of lagging standards; on the other hand, it works constructively to improve the standards themselves. There MUST be a balance between attacking the causes and healing the effects of segregation.

SCLC and the Beloved Community

The ultimate aim of SCLC is to foster and create the 'beloved community' in America where brotherhood is a reality. It rejects any doctrine of black supremacy for this merely substitutes one kind of tyranny for another. The Conference does not foster moving the Negro from a position of disadvantage to one of advantage for this would thereby subvert justice. SCLC works for integration. Our ultimate goal is genuine intergroup and interpersonal living — *integration*. Only through nonviolence can reconciliation and the creation of the beloved community be effected. The international focus on America and her internal problems against the dread prospect of a hot war, demand our seeking this end.

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208 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

*Clergy

I'M NOT PREJUDICED, BUT...

For Human Beings

FOR SENIORS ONLY # 9

By Alice Beaton

● Remember back in grade school when one of the favorite pastimes on the playground was for your "crowd" to get together, arm-in-arm, and toss your heads at the girls you had excluded from your little group? Or back a few years further, when you and another playmate would refuse to let the third child into your special game—though your particular twosome might change from day to day. Or the time your good friend gave a party and didn't invite you? Or the secret club that included the whole block except one sad little left-out? Nasty trick kids have, isn't it? They seem to like to pick and choose so that a few are on the outside—hurt, lonely, wondering. They like to be on the inside, enjoying that wonderful superiority of belonging—only it's no fun at all unless someone is left out.

Of course, it's childish stuff . . . something we outgrow and forget, along with other baby habits. At least, we no longer do it with quite the same aimless spite. We substitute "reasons" and name-calling to dress up our elementary school habits. We decide we're better because we live in a particular neighborhood, or because our fathers earn money in certain ways, or because our Church is what it is, or our ancestors landed here a little sooner. For a wide variety of "reasons," not one of which we are responsible for, we like to feel we have the privilege of shutting out other people.

And all of us seem to forget that this door-slamming may pinch *our* fingers; that when doors begin to bang shut we're just as apt to be on the wrong side. There is always something about each one of us that can mark us as in the minority, in the group to be shut out. Once the habit of selecting people for jobs or club-members or friends is on any basis except what the individual is like—who can tell what standards may be applied?

Hitler went to work with an old prejudice in Germany—against Jews. There were some people who didn't like Jews, others who had heard Jews described as pretty bad hombres, responsible for more things than any small minority could have done in many lifetimes, and still others who, after all, weren't Jews and why get upset? But Jews were just a beginning. Next came members of trade unions, then Catholics, then all foreigners. And finally the persecution and destruction of any human being who didn't agree with Hitler one hundred per cent. It used to be corny humor about not liking someone because of the color of his hair . . . but Hitler took the joke seriously and murdered millions to glorify the blonde German.

"Oh, that's all over," you say. "Hitler is through and we know how awful he is!" It isn't over. It will never be over as long as people think they should have power over other people merely because they were born to certain kinds of parents. You'll find it hits you in school, business or social life—even if you think now that you belong to a safe majority. Somewhere along the line, you're a member of a minority.

As a perfectly simple example, when you begin to earn your living, prejudice will hit your pay envelope. By an accident of being born a girl child, you're going to discover that you:

get less pay for doing the same work a man does
get fewer opportunities to advance in your job
are discussed and evaluated as an unpredictable problem
are excluded from any policy-making decisions
get fewer raises and smaller ones than a man
can be a male executive's "right hand" but seldom an executive
are viewed as a necessary evil to do the drudgery men don't like to do

Sounds grim? It is grim. A few women overcome all of those things. They're *different* (where have we heard that word before?). But most of us in business succumb to the label. We're "women" the "underfolk" that Adolf publicized so thoroughly in Greece, Norway, Poland and France. You don't like it? It's unfair? It's prejudice. The only way to fight this prejudice is to fight prejudice itself.

There—the word is out. What does it mean? It's a "judgment or an opinion formed without due examination . . . a hasty, unfair judgment . . . grounded in feeling, fancy or associations." That's what the dictionary says and that's how it works out. We all have prejudices. They're close cousins to superstitions—you know, you aren't superstitious but you still throw spilled salt over your left shoulder. It's silly, but it goes on from one generation to the next. So do prejudices. We're brought up to dislike "wops," or "kikes," or "micks," or "niggers," or "bohunks," or "Mexes." Every part of the country has its own set of pet prejudices. Each of us acquires them and they grow stronger as we grow older because it makes you feel good to be better than someone else.

What we forget is that there's another someone else who is feeling good at *our* expense. The darned thing is like the standing dominos—push one, it pushes the next, and so on until the whole row is flat on its face.

The whole world was not too far from being flat on *its* face. We missed it by a mere margin. We've paid in blood and the other two famous ingredients because a few unscrupulous men used our prejudices to blind us to their real purpose. They used our stupidest feelings to tie up our brains. And it will happen over again — and again — unless we make our heads work.

It is downright hard to use your brains to make decisions, choose jobs, friends, an environment. But you can start with a simple statement—and begin to clean out the murk of prejudice. *Every human being must be considered separately.* No race or religion or nation has a corner on the vices or the virtues—no, not even a tendency in that direction. Races are like families in one way—delve deep enough and you find a wide selection of heroes and heels, geniuses and dopes, with plenty of half-way-betweens.

If prejudice were an honest thing, it might say, "I find that people with different colored skins or different types of features or different ways of worship are strange and unfamiliar to me." Then intelligence could speak up and say, "How about a little healthy curiosity . . . a wider view? How about learning more about other kinds of people?"

But prejudice isn't honest. It turns on people who are no different from you, except for a label. It selects people who are as familiar to you as the girl next door. It tags whole groups of people, not as strange or different, but as vicious, dangerous, dirty, cowardly, smelly, greedy, sly, stupid. Prejudice is a division of heavy tanks running downhill without brakes. It is fear and ignorance harnessed to make hatred. And no one can tell who or what group will next feel its evil pressure.

Prejudice is hard to talk about, write about. We know it's a horrible word. We've learned how to avoid using the word while doing the deed. One of our country's biggest jobs is to root it out, air it, and let intelligence destroy it. The task begins with individuals. If you want to do your part, try this questionnaire:

1. What "group" do I label and make cracks about?
2. When did I start feeling this way?
3. Where do I get the ammunition that feeds this feeling?
   a. adjectives in books?
   b. the accepted view of my friends?
   c. stories that are told me?
   d. frequent personal experience?
4. Do I know more than ten people who belong to the "group" I dislike? (The word "know" means more than casual meeting.)
5. Are those I do know all of the things I've said?
6. Have any of my own "group" some or all of the qualities that I blame on the "group" I don't like?
7. Do I make nasty remarks, avoid all members of my own "group" when I discover one or two are less than perfect?
8. What minority do I belong to? (Think)
9. What would I do if I had to stand and watch the real persecution of the "group" I think I don't like—old people beaten in streets, little children starved, men and women kidnapped from their homes? Could I walk by and pretend not to see? Could I?

That last question is the sticker. Of course you couldn't. But that last question is the one you must face. It's no longer a horrid theory. The history we're living shows us that *that* is the end-of-the-road, the true destination of prejudices. Get it really rolling and there is no way to put on the brakes.

Getting rid of your own prejudices is a personal and often lonely job. Most of yours are reflections of your community's attitudes, the expressed views and "beliefs" of some of the people you love and respect very much. You'll frequently feel as though you were setting yourself up against the wisdom of the ages—which is not the case, but it doesn't change your queasy feelings.

But if you want to go ahead, remember that the best weapon against prejudice is knowledge. If Catholics are your "undesirables," get to know as many of them as possible. Go to see how they worship. Ask questions. You don't need to worship their way to be tolerant of their way. If Jews are your phobia, get acquainted with them. You probably already know plenty of any "group" you think you dislike—but when you discover you like a few of them or some of them, don't decide they're "different." Everybody is.

You won't like all the people in any one group. Goodness, why should you? It's hard enough even to like all of our own relatives. People are not "species," they're individuals. But you'll learn that half the time you can't tell who is what . . . and you'll care less. You'll begin to get rid of that evil thing that lives in all of us—the need of feeling superior . . . the dangerous idea that one group is entitled to rule the destiny of another.

"You can be better than you are"—but it never comes by hating or looking down on others. If we don't stop ourselves, if we can't beat this ugly thing called prejudice, it will catch us all—and that does mean you.

Welfare

SOCIAL AGENCY OF NEW ORLEANS ENTRANCE

The problem is real, big, vital, significant...
and its challenge is urgent!

Only intelligent
leadership... act-
ing now... can pre-
vent this problem
of today from be-
coming tomorrow's
crisis!

Simply and directly the problem comes down to the question -

"Is your agency door open to all the people without regard to race

... for client services?

... for social work jobs?

... for board membership?"

The kind of answers that your agency can make has community importance in the light of the facts and figures brought out by a city wide investigation of the status of Negroes as clients, staff members, and board members of social agencies.

This study covered all but a few of the member agencies of the Council of Agencies

It was conducted during 1949 and 1950 for the New Orleans Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers by a group of students of the Tulane University School of Social Work

It SHOWED that .....

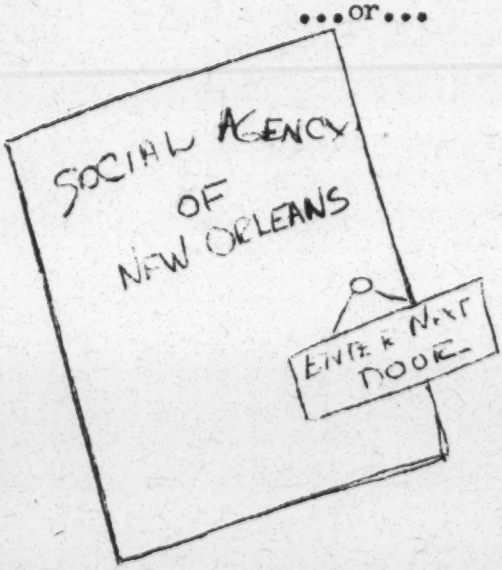
The doors of many social agencies

in New Orleans . . .

...Shut out...

...or...

Separate



NEGROES —

... Negroes as Clients ...

Of the 81 agencies covered by the study

33 do not admit any Negroes as clients

10 are restricted to the use of Negroes

38 serve both Negroes and whites but often through separate units or separate staffs

RESULTS . . .

...Negro clients do not have equal access to all the types of services that are available in the community

...Negro clients receive a considerably smaller proportion of the volume of services rendered than might be expected from their numbers in the population and their obviously great needs

...This disproportion holds for all but the large public welfare and health programs and several smaller programs

...Agencies restricted to the use of Negro clients generally are less adequately housed, equipped, financed, and staffed than the gencies restricted to white clients only

... Negroes as Social workers.

Of the 38 agencies serving both Negro and white persons

14 employ Negroes in social work positions
3 employ Negro social workers in supervisory positions
1 employs Negro social workers in executive positions
0 employ Negro social workers in consultant positions

In general, Negro social workers are at many disadvantages compared with their white colleagues

...They have less chance of employment if young or elderly
...They have less tenure on the job
...They have less training and less chance to receive educational leave with stipend although proportionately more Negro than white worker have the prerequisite of a college degree
...They often get less pay for the same work salaries in restricted Negro agencies are lower than in restricted white agencies in practically every job classification
...They are confined to working with Negro clients and to using Negro clerical help
...They are often required to use separate drinking fountains, rest rooms, and lunchrooms

... Negroes as Board Members

Of the 38 agencies serving both Negro and white persons

8 have Negroes on the board of directors

1 has Negroes as officers of the board

The Negro board members of these agencies

...constitute 19 percent of the total board membership

...comprise excessive proportions of the Negro male, middle-aged, and professional populations

...serve shorter terms

All these facts and figures add up to the conclusion that -

Segregation and discrimination are commonly practiced in the New Orleans Social work community against Negroes as clients ....

as Social workers ....

and as board members....

These practices are NOT required by law:

"Segregation is not a legal word but to most people in the South it spells law. What many of them, including some lawyers, do not know is that segregation is supported more by local custom than by penal or restrictive legislation. The taboos are bigger in the popular mind than they are in the statutes or the case law, Nevertheless there are segregation laws in all of the Southern states and some of the laws are respectable, at least according to the Federal Constitution."
(Vernon X Miller, Dean, Loyola Law School, in Notre Damean, March 1949)
Dean Miller has digested Louisiana laws pertaining to segregation as follows:

" I. Proprietors of theaters, restaurants or places of amusement MAY or MAY NOT segregate.
II. Hotels must observe the 'separate dwelling law'.
III. Circuses and tent-shows must maintain separate entrances and ticket-boxes.
IV. The use of public buildings is controlled by LOCAL licensing practices.
V. LOCAL ordinances fixing segregated neighborhoods cannot be enforced.
VI. Miscegenation forbidden with sanctions.
VII. Common carriers must provide equal facilities both for local and interstate travel.
Vlll. Interracial meetings, athletic contests, private schools fall under no STATE sanctions.
IX. Local laws on separate public schools supported by Federal courts in the sense that equal facilities must be supplied."

These practices are NOT sanctioned by the profession!

As a profession, social work is concerned with the welfare and happiness of all people. By the very nature of its proffessional task, its first obligation is to accord each individual full and equal respect and consideration.

Positive statements of policies of nondiscrimination have been adopted by the profession...

The AASW statement on civil rights in social work says:

"...He(the social worker) has a responsibility to work toward the abridgment of discriminatory practices within agencies, public and voluntary, since the best service to people is possible only when there is no abridgment of rights."

The AASW statement of standards of employment and personnel practices says:

"The person best qualified to do the job should be selected without regard to race...except as the auspices of the agency limit the personnel who might be used effectively."

The AASW code of ethics makes this statement in regard to conduct in relation to clients:

"Conduct all relations with and concerning the persons served with frankness and honesty, with respect for individual differences, and without discrimination..."

The same statement says this in regard to conduct in relation to colleagues:

"Treat all colleagues without discrimination... and with understanding and acceptance of individual differences."

SO. . . action rests with you!

THIS is what you can do...to make your agency door truly a doorway to community social service...

1. Acquaint everyone in your agency...board and staff... with the information of this report.

2. Appoint a joint board staff committee to look into the situation in your own agency and to report and recommend practical measures that may be taken to improve matters.

3. Examine the legal basis of your agency and see whether any changes need be made to permit an extension of agency services to Negroes.

4. Examine your agency intake policies to see whether any changes need be made to assure Negroes equal access to the services of your agency.

5. Examine your agency personnel standards and practices to see whether any changes need be made to give Negroes equal opportunity for employment, advancement and compensation on the principle of merit.

6. Examine your agency policies in regard to the selection of board members to see whether any changes need be made to give Negroes equal opportunity for board service on the principle of democratic community participation.

7. Inquire into the ways and means that your agency may link up with other local, state, and national agencies in working for a general abandonment of discriminatory practices against Negroes.

SURVEY: CONFERENCE CENTERS

Alabama:

C.B.1. Birmingham
2. Gadsden
3. Mobile
* 4. Montgomery
** 5. Tuscaloosa

Arkansas:

** 1. Fayetteville
2. Fort Smith
* 3. Little Rock
4. Hot Springs
5. Mt. Sequoia

Florida:

1. Fort Lauderdale
** 2. Gainesville
CB 3. Jacksonville
CB 4. Miami
CB5. Miami Beach
CB 6. Orlando
7. St. Petersburg
CB 8. Tampa
* 9. Tallahassee
10. West Palm Beach
11. Key West
12. Coral Gables

Georgia:

** 1. Athens
CB * 2. Atlanta
3. Augusta
4. Columbus
5. Macon
6. Savannah

Kentucky:

1. Covington
2. Berea
* 3. Frankfort
** 4. Lexington
CB 5. Louisville
6. Mammoth Cave

* State Capitals ** University centers

Louisiana:

** * 1. Baton Rouge
CB 2. New Orleans
3. Shreveport

Mississippi:

* 1. Jackson
2. Natchez
3. Biloxi
4. University, Miss.

North Carolina:

CB 1. Asheville
2. Charlotte
3. Durham
4. Greensboro
* 5. Raleigh
6. Winston-Salem
7. Pinehurst
8. Montreat
9. Lake Junaluska
** 10. Chapel Hill

Oklahoma:

* 1. Oklahoma City
2. Tulsa
** 3. Norman

South Carolina:

** 1. Charleston
* 2. Columbia
3. Greenville

Tennessee:

CB 1. Chattanooga
** 2. Knoxville
CB 3. Memphis
* 4. Nashville
5. Gatlinburg
6. Monteagle
7. Sewanee
8. Oak Ridge

Texas:

1. Amarillo
** * 2. Austin
3. Beaumont
4. CorpusChristi
CB 5. Dallas
6. El Paso
7. Fort Worth
CB 8. Houston
9. Laredo
10. Lubbock
11. Port Arthur
12. San Angelo
13. San Antonio
14. Waco

Virginia:

1. Alexandria
2. Charlottesville
3. Norfolk
4. Portsmouth
CB * 5. Richmond
6. Roanoke
7. Williamsburg
8. Hot Springs
9. Newport News

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FIFTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
DeKalb	6	1,393
Fulton	6	24,137
Rockdale	2	150

SIXTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Baldwin	4	2,700
Bibb	6	15,000
Bleckley	2	500
Crawford	2	800
Glascock	2	300
Hancock	2	1,800
Jasper	2	1,200
Jefferson	2	350
Johnson	2	1,000
Jones	2	800
Laurens	4	2,500
M onroe	2	1,100
Putnam	2	990
Twiggs	2	1,000
Washington	4	1,800
Wilkinson	2	1,200

SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Bartow	4	900
Catoosa	2	17
Chattooga	2	700
Cobb	4	1,100
Dade	2	50
Douglas	2	400
Floyd	6	2,500
Gordon	2	450
Haralson	2	100
Murray	2	18
Paulding	2	400
Polk	4	1,100
Walker	4	400
Whitfield	4	600

EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Appling	2	750
Atkinson	2	257
Bacon	2	48
Berrien	2	100
Brantley	2	207
Camden	2	600
Charlton	2	250
Clinch	2	150
Coffee	4	750
Cook	2	550
Echols	2	100
Glynn	4	3,110
Irwin	2	470
Jeff Davis	2	107
Lanier	2	350
Lowndes	4	2,000
P ierce	2	700
Telfair	2	1,300
Ware	4	2,500
Wayne	2	900

NINTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

County	Units	# Registered
Banks	2	100
Barrow	2	400
Cherokee	2	150
Dawson	2	0
Fannin	2	15
Forsyth	2	0
Gilmer	2	20
Gwinnett	4	550
Habersham	2	200
Hall	4	1,000
Jackson	2	250
Lumpkin	2	80
Pickens	2	50
Rabun	2	40
Stephens	2	450
Towns	2	0
White	2	150
Union	2	0

(Highlights from SRC's man-in-the-street poll of opinions on race relations.)

A sample-type street poll of 400 colored and 395 white citizens of Atlanta to determine average opinion on the condition of race relations since the war, causes of trouble and ideas for creating better relations. Poll conducted in late 1946, early 1947.

75 percent of Negroes polled thought race relations in Atlanta were "worse" since the war.

53 percent of whites thought relations "worse."

Replies as to the causes of trouble between the races were pretty divergent for both colored and white:

About 32 percent of colored informants gave replies that can be roughly grouped under such things as 'whites' fear and dislike of Negro progress, the white supremacy idea and race prejudice.'

Some 32 percent of whites thought race trouble is caused by 'agitation' -- by both liberals and reactionaries; tension resulting from the war, increased aggressiveness of Negroes or increasing independence of Negroes.

Answers on what is needed to create better understanding and harmony between races were pretty widely scattered, too.

Among Negro informants, about 17 percent said 'equal rights and equal justice' was needed; another 17 percent said interracial meetings and opportunities for association; some 14 percent said education (both formal and interracial).

It is interesting to note that almost 30 percent of white informants said better education and economic opportunities for Negroes, also better education for whites, was needed.

Some 21 percent of whites revealed a lack on interest in the problem by replying 'I don't know' or giving no reply to the question on what can be done.

Only a very small group -- 1.5 percent for each race -- offered violence as a solution -- 'Get rid of the whites'; 'Deal harshly with Negroes.'

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REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS

Summary of Report

INTRODUCTION

The summer of 1967 again brought racial disorders to American cities, and with them shock, fear and bewilderment to the nation.

The worst came during a two-week period in July, first in Newark and then in Detroit. Each set off a chain reaction in neighboring communities.

On July 28, 1967, the President of the United States established this Commission and directed us to answer three basic questions:

What happened?

Why did it happen?

What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

To respond to these questions, we have undertaken a broad range of studies and investigations. We have visited the riot cities; we have heard many witnesses; we have sought the counsel of experts across the country.

This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.

Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American.

This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed. Choice is still possible. Our principal task is to define that choice and to press for a national resolution.

To pursue our present course will involve the continuing polarization of the American community and, ultimately, the destruction of basic democratic values.

The alternative is not blind repression or capitulation to lawlessness. It is the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.

This alternative will require a commitment to national

action—compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and the richest nation on this earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will.

The vital needs of the nation must be met; hard choices must be made, and, if necessary, new taxes enacted.

Violence cannot build a better society. Disruption and disorder nourish repression, not justice. They strike at the freedom of every citizen. The community cannot—it will not—tolerate coercion and mob rule.

Violence and destruction must be ended—in the streets of the ghetto and in the lives of people.

Segregation and poverty have created in the racial ghetto a destructive environment totally unknown to most white Americans.

What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

It is time now to turn with all the purpose at our command to the major unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens—urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group.

Our recommendations embrace three basic principles:

- To mount programs on a scale equal to the dimension of the problems:
- To aim these programs for high impact in the immediate future in order to close the gap between promise and performance;
- To undertake new initiatives and experiments that can change the system of failure and frustration that now dominates the ghetto and weakens our society.

These programs will require unprecedented levels of funding and performance, but they neither probe deeper nor demand more than the problems which called them forth. There can be no higher priority for national action and no higher claim on the nation's conscience.

We issue this Report now, four months before the date called for by the President. Much remains that can be learned. Continued study is essential.

As Commissioners we have worked together with a sense of the greatest urgency and have sought to compose whatever differences exist among us. Some differences remain. But the gravity of the problem and the pressing need for action are too clear to allow further delay in the issuance of this Report.

PART I—WHAT HAPPENED?

Chapter 1—Profiles of Disorder

The report contains profiles of a selection of the disorders that took place during the summer of 1967. These profiles are designed to indicate how the disorders happened, who participated in them, and how local officials, police forces, and the National Guard responded. Illustrative excerpts follow:

NEWARK

. . . It was decided to attempt to channel the energies of the people into a nonviolent protest. While Lofton promised the crowd that a full investigation would be made of the Smith incident, the other Negro leaders began urging those on the scene to form a line of march toward the city hall.

Some persons joined the line of march. Others milled about in the narrow street. From the dark grounds of the housing project came a barrage of rocks. Some of them fell among the crowd. Others hit persons in the line of march. Many smashed the windows of the police station. The rock throwing, it was believed, was the work of youngsters; approximately 2,500 children lived in the housing project.

Almost at the same time, an old car was set afire in a parking lot. The line of march began to disintegrate. The police, their heads protected by World War I-type helmets, sallied forth to disperse the crowd. A fire engine, arriving on the scene, was pelted with rocks. As police drove people away from the station, they scattered in all directions.

A few minutes later a nearby liquor store was broken into. Some persons, seeing a caravan of cabs appear at city hall to protest Smith's arrest, interpreted this as evidence that the disturbance had been organized, and generated rumors to that effect.

However, only a few stores were looted. Within a short period of time, the disorder appeared to have run its course.

* * *

. . . On Saturday, July 15, [Director of Police Dominick] Spina received a report of snipers in a housing project. When he arrived he saw approximately 100 National Guardsmen and police officers crouching behind vehicles, hiding in corners and lying on the ground around the edge of the courtyard.

Since everything appeared quiet and it was broad daylight, Spina walked directly down the middle of the street. Nothing happened. As he came to the last building of the complex, he heard a shot. All around him the troopers jumped, believing themselves to be under sniper fire. A moment later a young Guardsman ran from behind a building.

The Director of Police went over and asked him if he had fired the shot. The soldier said yes, he had fired to scare a man away from a window; that his orders were to keep everyone away from windows.

Spina said he told the soldier: "Do you know what you just did? You have now created a state of hysteria. Every Guardsman up and down this street and every state policeman and every city policeman that is present thinks that somebody just fired a shot and that it is probably a sniper."

A short time later more "gunshots" were heard. Investigating, Spina came upon a Puerto Rican sitting on a wall. In reply to a question as to whether he knew "where the firing is coming from?" the man said:

"That's no firing. That's fireworks. If you look up to the fourth floor, you will see the people who are throwing down these cherry bombs."

By this time four truckloads of National Guardsmen had arrived and troopers and policemen were again crouched everywhere looking for a sniper. The Director of Police remained at the scene for three hours, and the only shot fired was the one by the Guardsman.

Nevertheless, at six o'clock that evening two columns of National Guardsmen and state troopers were directing mass fire at the Hayes Housing Project in response to what they believed were snipers. . . .

DETROIT

. . . A spirit of carefree nihilism was taking hold. To riot and destroy appeared more and more to become ends in themselves. Late Sunday afternoon it appeared to one observer that the young people were "dancing amidst the flames."

A Negro plainclothes officer was standing at an intersection when a man threw a Molotov cocktail into a business establishment at the corner. In the heat of the afternoon, fanned by the 20 to 25 m.p.h. winds of both Sunday and Monday, the fire reached the home next door within minutes. As residents uselessly sprayed the flames with garden hoses, the fire jumped from roof to roof of adjacent two- and three-story buildings. Within the hour the entire block was in flames. The ninth house in the burning row belonged to the arsonist who had thrown the Molotov cocktail. . . .

* * *

. . . Employed as a private guard, 55-year-old Julius L. Dorsey, a Negro, was standing in front of a market when accosted by two Negro men and a woman. They demanded he permit them to loot the market. He ignored their demands. They began to berate him. He asked a neighbor to call the police. As the argument grew more heated, Dorsey fired three shots from his pistol into the air.

The police radio reported: "Looters, they have rifles." A patrol car driven by a police officer and carrying three National Guardsmen arrived. As the looters fled, the law enforcement personnel opened fire. When the firing ceased, one person lay dead.

He was Julius L. Dorsey . . .

* * *

. . . As the riot alternately waxed and waned, one area of the ghetto remained insulated. On the northeast side the residents of some 150 square blocks inhabited by 21,000 persons had, in 1966, banded together in the Positive Neighborhood Action Com-

mittee (PNAC). With professional help from the Institute of Urban Dynamics, they had organized block clubs and made plans for the improvement of the neighborhood. . . .

When the riot broke out, the residents, through the block clubs, were able to organize quickly. Youngsters, agreeing to stay in the neighborhood, participated in detouring traffic. While many persons reportedly sympathized with the idea of a rebellion against the "system," only two small fires were set—one in an empty building.

* * *

. . . According to Lt. Gen. Throckmorton and Col. Bolling, the city, at this time, was saturated with fear. The National Guardsmen were afraid, the residents were afraid, and the police were afraid. Numerous persons, the majority of them Negroes, were being injured by gunshots of undetermined origin. The general and his staff felt that the major task of the troops was to reduce the fear and restore an air of normalcy.

In order to accomplish this, every effort was made to establish contact and rapport between the troops and the residents. The soldiers—20 percent of whom were Negro—began helping to clean up the streets, collect garbage, and trace persons who had disappeared in the confusion. Residents in the neighborhoods responded with soup and sandwiches for the troops. In areas where the National Guard tried to establish rapport with the citizens, there was a smaller response.

NEW BRUNSWICK

. . . A short time later, elements of the crowd—an older and rougher one than the night before—appeared in front of the police station. The participants wanted to see the mayor.

Mayor [Patricia] Sheehan went out onto the steps of the station. Using a bullhorn, she talked to the people and asked that she be given an opportunity to correct conditions. The crowd was boisterous. Some persons challenged the mayor. But, finally, the opinion, "She's new! Give her a chance!" prevailed.

A demand was issued by people in the crowd that all persons arrested the previous night be released. Told that this already had been done, the people were suspicious. They asked to be allowed to inspect the jail cells.

It was agreed to permit representatives of the people to look in the cells to satisfy themselves that everyone had been released.

The crowd dispersed. The New Brunswick riot had failed to materialize.

Chapter 2—Patterns of Disorder

The "typical" riot did not take place. The disorders of 1967 were unusual, irregular, complex and unpredictable social processes. Like most human events, they did not unfold in an orderly sequence. However, an analysis of our survey information leads to some conclusions about the riot process.

In general:

- The civil disorders of 1967 involved Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority and property in Negro neighborhoods—rather than against white persons.
- Of 164 disorders reported during the first nine months of 1967, eight (5 percent) were major in terms of violence and damage; 33 (20 percent) were serious but not major; 123 (75 percent) were minor and undoubtedly would not have received national attention as "riots" had the nation not been sensitized by the more serious outbreaks.
- In the 75 disorders studied by a Senate subcommittee, 83 deaths were reported. Eighty-two percent of the deaths and more than half the injuries occurred in Newark and Detroit. About 10 percent of the dead and 38 percent of the injured were public employees, primarily law officers and firemen. The overwhelming majority of the persons killed or injured in all the disorders were Negro civilians.
- Initial damage estimates were greatly exaggerated. In Detroit, newspaper damage estimates at first ranged from $200 million to $500 million; the highest recent estimate is $45 million. In Newark, early estimates ranged from $15 to $25 million. A month later damage was estimated at $10.2 million, over 80 percent in inventory losses.

In the 24 disorders in 23 cities which we surveyed:

- The final incident before the outbreak of disorder, and the initial violence itself, generally took place in the evening or at night at a place in which it was normal for many people to be on the streets.
- Violence usually occurred almost immediately following the occurrence of the final precipitating incident, and then escalated rapidly. With but few exceptions, violence subsided during the day, and flared rapidly again at night. The night-day cycles continued through the early period of the major disorders.
- Disorder generally began with rock and bottle throwing and window breaking. Once store windows were broken, looting usually followed.
- Disorder did not erupt as a result of a single "triggering" or "precipitating" incident. Instead, it was generated out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked in the minds of many in the Negro community with a reservoir of underlying grievances. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident—in itself often routine or trivial—became the breaking point and the tension spilled over into violence.
- "Prior" incidents, which increased tensions and ultimately led to violence, were police actions in almost half the cases; police actions were "final" incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders.
- No particular control tactic was successful in every situation. The varied effectiveness of control techniques emphasizes the need for advance training, planning, adequate intelligence systems, and knowledge of the ghetto community.

- Negotiations between Negroes—including your militants as well as older Negro leaders—and white officials concerning "terms of peace" occurred during virtually all the disorders surveyed. In many cases, these negotiations involved discussion of underlying grievances as well as the handling of the disorder by control authorities.
- The typical rioter was a teenager or young adult, a lifelong resident of the city in which he rioted, a high school dropout; he was, nevertheless, somewhat better educated than his nonrioting Negro neighbor, and was usually underemployed or employed in a menial job. He was proud of his race, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes and, although informed about politics, highly distrustful of the political system.
- A Detroit survey revealed that approximately 11 percent of the total residents of two riot areas admitted participation in the rioting, 20 to 25 percent identified themselves as "bystanders," over 16 percent identified themselves as "counter-rioters" who urged rioters to "cool it," and the remaining 48 to 53 percent said they were at home or elsewhere and did not participate. In a survey of Negro males between the ages of 15 and 35 residing in the disturbance area in Newark, about 45 percent identified themselves as rioters, and about 55 percent as "noninvolved."
- Most rioters were young Negro males. Nearly 53 percent of arrestees were between 15 and 24 years of age; nearly 81 percent between 15 and 35.
- In Detroit and Newark about 74 percent of the rioters were brought up in the North. In contrast, of the noninvolved, 36 percent in Detroit and 52 percent in Newark were brought up in the North.
- What the rioters appeared to be seeking was fuller participation in the social order and the material benefits enjoyed by the majority of American citizens. Rather than rejecting the American system, they were anxious to obtain a place for themselves in it.
- Numerous Negro counter-rioters walked the streets urging rioters to "cool it." The typical counter-rioter was better educated and had higher income than either the rioter or the noninvolved.
- The proportion of Negroes in local government was substantially smaller than the Negro proportion of population. Only three of the 20 cities studied had more than one Negro legislator; none had ever had a Negro mayor or city manager. In only four cities did Negroes hold other important policy-making positions or serve as heads of municipal departments.
- Although almost all cities had some sort of formal grievance mechanism for handling citizen complaints, this typically was regarded by Negroes as ineffective and was generally ignored.
- Although specific grievances varied from city to city, at least 12 deeply held grievances can be identified and ranked into three levels of relative intensity:

First Level of Intensity

1. Police practices
2. Unemployment and underemployment
3. Inadequate housing

Second Level of Intensity

4. Inadequate education
5. Poor recreation facilities and programs
6. Ineffectiveness of the political structure and grievance mechanisms

Third Level of Intensity

7. Disrespectful white attitudes
8. Discriminatory administration of justice
9. Inadequacy of federal programs
10. Inadequacy of municipal services
11. Discriminatory consumer and credit practices
12. Inadequate welfare programs

- The results of a three-city survey of various federal programs—manpower, education, housing, welfare and community action—indicate that, despite substantial expenditures, the number of persons assisted constituted only a fraction of those in need.

The background of disorder is often as complex and difficult to analyze as the disorder itself. But we find that certain general conclusions can be drawn:

- Social and economic conditions in the riot cities constituted a clear pattern of severe disadvantage for Negroes compared with whites, whether the Negroes lived in the area where the riot took place or outside it. Negroes had completed fewer years of education and fewer had attended high school. Negroes were twice as likely to be unemployed and three times as likely to be in unskilled and service jobs. Negroes averaged 70 percent of the income earned by whites and were more than twice as likely to be living in poverty. Although housing cost Negroes relatively more, they had worse housing—three times as likely to be overcrowded and substandard. When compared to white suburbs, the relative disadvantage is even more pronounced.

A study of the aftermath of disorder leads to disturbing conclusions. We find that, despite the institution of some post-riot programs:

- Little basic change in the conditions underlying the outbreak of disorder has taken place. Actions to ameliorate Negro grievances have been limited and sporadic; with but few exceptions, they have not significantly reduced tensions.
- In several cities, the principal official response has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons.
- In several cities, increasing polarization is evident, with continuing breakdown of inter-racial communication, and growth of white segregationist or black separatist groups.

Chapter 3—Organized Activity

The President directed the Commission to investigate "to what extent, if any, there has been planning or organization in any of the riots."

To carry out this part of the President's charge, the Commission established a special investigative staff supplementing the field teams that made the general examination of the riots in 23 cities. The unit examined data collected by federal agencies and congressional committees, including thousands of documents supplied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, gathered and evaluated information from local and state law enforcement agencies and officials, and conducted its own field investigation in selected cities.

On the basis of all the information collected, the Commission concludes that:

> The urban disorders of the summer of 1967 were not caused by, nor were they the consequence of, any organized plan or "conspiracy."

Specifically, the Commission has found no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national or local.

Militant organizations, local and national, and individual agitators, who repeatedly forecast and called for violence, were active in the spring and summer of 1967. We believe that they sought to encourage violence, and that they helped to create an atmosphere that contributed to the outbreak of disorder.

We recognize that the continuation of disorders and the polarization of the races would provide fertile ground for organized exploitation in the future.

Investigations of organized activity are continuing at all levels of government, including committees of Congress. These investigations relate not only to the disorders of 1967 but also to the actions of groups and individuals, particularly in schools and colleges, during this last fall and winter. The Commission has cooperated in these investigations. They should continue.

Part II—Why Did It Happen?

Chapter 4—The Basic Causes

In addressing the question "Why did it happen?" we shift our focus from the local to the national scene, from the par-

ticular events of the summer of 1967 to the factors within the society at large that created a mood of violence among many urban Negroes.

These factors are complex and interacting; they vary significantly in their effect from city to city and from year to year; and the consequences of one disorder, generating new grievances and new demands, become the causes of the next. Thus was created the "thicket of tension, conflicting evidence and extreme opinions" cited by the President.

Despite these complexities, certain fundamental matters are clear. Of these, the most fundamental is the racial attitude and behavior of white Americans toward black Americans.

Race prejudice has shaped our history decisively; it now threatens to affect our future.

White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II. Among the ingredients of this mixture are:

- *Pervasive discrimination and segregation* in employment, education and housing, which have resulted in the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress.
- *Black in-migration and white exodus,* which have produced the massive and growing concentrations of impoverished Negroes in our major cities, creating a growing crisis of deteriorating facilities and services and unmet human needs.
- *The black ghettos* where segregation and poverty converge on the young to destroy opportunity and enforce failure. Crime, drug addiction, dependency on welfare, and bitterness and resentment against society in general and white society in particular are the result.

At the same time, most whites and some Negroes outside the ghetto have prospered to a degree unparalleled in the history of civilization. Through television and other media, this affluence has been flaunted before the eyes of the Negro poor and the jobless ghetto youth.

Yet these facts alone cannot be said to have caused the disorders. Recently, other powerful ingredients have begun to catalyze the mixture:

- *Frustrated hopes* are the residue of the unfulfilled expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories of the Civil Rights Movement and the dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South.
- *A climate that tends toward approval and encouragement of violence* as a form of protest has been created by white terrorism directed against nonviolent protest; by the open defiance of law and federal authority by state and local officials resisting desegre-

gation; and by some protest groups engaging in civil disobedience who turn their backs on nonviolence, go beyond the constitutionally protected rights of petition and free assembly, and resort to violence to attempt to compel alteration of laws and policies with which they disagree.

- *The frustrations of powerlessness* have led some Negroes to the conviction that there is no effective alternative to violence as a means of achieving redress of grievances, and of "moving the system." These frustrations are reflected in alienation and hostility toward the institutions of law and government and the white society which controls them, and in the reach toward racial consciousness and solidarity reflected in the slogan "Black Power."
- *A new mood* has sprung up among Negroes, particularly among the young, in which self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to "the system."
- *The police are not merely a "spark" factor.* To some Negroes police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread belief among Negroes in the existence of police brutality and in a "double standard" of justice and protection—one for Negroes and one for whites.

* * *

To this point, we have attempted to identify the prime components of the "explosive mixture." In the chapters that follow we seek to analyze them in the perspective of history. Their meaning, however, is clear:

In the summer of 1967, we have seen in our cities a chain reaction of racial violence. If we are heedless, none of us shall escape the consequences.

Chapter 5—Rejection and Protest: An Historical Sketch

The causes of recent racial disorders are embedded in a tangle of issues and circumstances—social, economic, political and psychological—which arise out of the historic pattern of Negro-white relations in America.

In this chapter we trace the pattern, identify the recurrent themes of Negro protest and, most importantly, provide a perspective on the protest activities of the present era.

We describe the Negro's experience in America and the development of slavery as an institution. We show his persistent striving for equality in the face of rigidly maintained social, economic and educational barriers, and repeated mob violence. We portray the ebb and flow of the doctrinal tides—accommodation, separatism, and self-help—and their relationship to the current theme of Black Power. We conclude:

The Black Power advocates of today consciously feel that they are the most militant group in the Negro protest movement. Yet

they have retreated from a direct confrontation with American society on the issue of integration and, by preaching separatism, unconsciously function as an accommodation to white racism. Much of their economic program, as well as their interest in Negro history, self-help, racial solidarity and separation, is reminiscent of Booker T. Washington. The rhetoric is different, but the ideas are remarkably similar.

Chapter 6—The Formation Of the Racial Ghettos[1]

Throughout the 20th century the Negro population of the United States has been moving steadily from rural areas to urban and from South to North and West. In 1910, 91 percent of the nation's 9.8 million Negroes lived in the South and only 27 percent of American Negroes lived in cities of 2,500 persons or more. Between 1910 and 1966 the total Negro population more than doubled, reaching 21.5 million, and the number living in metropolitan areas rose more than five-fold (from 2.6 million to 14.8 million). The number outside the South rose eleven-fold (from 880,000 to 9.7 million).

Negro migration from the South has resulted from the expectation of thousands of new and highly paid jobs for unskilled workers in the North and the shift to mechanized farming in the South. However, the Negro migration is small when compared to earlier waves of European immigrants. Even between 1960 and 1966, there were 1.8 million immigrants from abroad compared to the 613,000 Negroes who arrived in the North and West from the South.

As a result of the growing number of Negroes in urban areas, natural increase has replaced migration as the primary source of Negro population increase in the cities. Nevertheless, Negro migration from the South will continue unless economic conditions there change dramatically.

Basic data concerning Negro urbanization trends indicate that:

- Almost all Negro population growth (98 percent from 1950 to 1966) is occurring within metropolitan areas, primarily within central cities.[2]
- The vast majority of white population growth (78 percent from 1960 to 1966) is occurring in suburban portions of metropolitan areas. Since 1960, white central-city population has declined by 1.3 million.

[1] The term "ghetto" as used in this report refers to an area within a city characterized by poverty and acute social disorganization, and inhabited by members of a racial or ethnic group under conditions of involuntary segregation.

[2] A "central city" is the largest city of a standard metropolitan statistical area, that is, a metropolitan area containing at least one city of 50,000 or more inhabitants.

- As a result, central cities are becoming more heavily Negro while the suburban fringes around them remain almost entirely white.
- The twelve largest central cities now contain over two-thirds of the Negro population outside the South, and one-third of the Negro total in the United States.

Within the cities, Negroes have been excluded from white residential areas through discriminatory practices. Just as significant is the withdrawal of white families from, or their refusal to enter, neighborhoods where Negroes are moving or already residing. About 20 percent of the urban population of the United States changes residence every year. The refusal of whites to move into "changing" areas when vacancies occur means that most vacancies eventually are occupied by Negroes.

The result, according to a recent study, is that in 1960 the average segregation index for 207 of the largest United States cities was 86.2. In other words, to create an unsegregated population distribution, an average of over 86 percent of all Negroes would have to change their place of residence within the city.

Chapter 7—Unemployment, Family Structure, and Social Disorganization

Although there have been gains in Negro income nationally, and a decline in the number of Negroes below the "poverty level," the condition of Negroes in the central city remains in a state of crisis. Between 2 and 2.5 million Negroes—16 to 20 percent of the total Negro population of all central cities—live in squalor and deprivation in ghetto neighborhoods.

Employment is a key problem. It not only controls the present for the Negro American but, in a most profound way, it is creating the future as well. Yet, despite continuing economic growth and declining national unemployment rates, the unemployment rate for Negroes in 1967 was more than double that for whites.

Equally important is the undesirable nature of many jobs open to Negroes and other minorities. Negro men are more than three times as likely as white men to be in low-paying, unskilled or service jobs. This concentration of male Negro employment at the lowest end of the occupational scale is the single most important cause of poverty among Negroes.

In one study of low-income neighborhoods, the "subemployment rate," including both unemployment and underemployment, was about 33 percent, or 8.8 times greater than the overall unemployment rate for all United States workers.

Employment problems, aggravated by the constant arrival of new unemployed migrants, many of them from depressed

rural areas, create persistent poverty in the ghetto. In 1966, about 11.9 percent of the nation's whites and 40.6 percent of its nonwhites were below the "poverty level" defined by the Social Security Administration (currently $3,335 per year for an urban family of four). Over 40 percent of the nonwhites below the poverty level live in the central cities.

Employment problems have drastic social impact in the ghetto. Men who are chronically unemployed or employed in the lowest status jobs are often unable or unwilling to remain with their families. The handicap imposed on children growing up without fathers in an atmosphere of poverty and deprivation is increased as mothers are forced to work to provide support.

The culture of poverty that results from unemployment and family breakup generates a system of ruthless, exploitative relationships within the ghetto. Prostitution, dope addiction, and crime create an environmental "jungle" characterized by personal insecurity and tension. Children growing up under such conditions are likely participants in civil disorder.

Chapter 8—Conditions of Life In the Racial Ghetto

A striking difference in environment from that of white, middle-class Americans profoundly influences the lives of residents of the ghetto.

Crime rates, consistently higher than in other areas, create a pronounced sense of insecurity. For example, in one city one low-income Negro district had 35 times as many serious crimes against persons as a high-income white district. Unless drastic steps are taken, the crime problems in poverty areas are likely to continue to multiply as the growing youth and rapid urbanization of the population outstrip police resources.

Poor health and sanitation conditions in the ghetto result in higher mortality rates, a higher incidence of major diseases, and lower availability and utilization of medical services. The infant mortality rate for nonwhite babies under the age of one month is 58 percent higher than for whites; for one to 12 months it is almost three times as high. The level of sanitation in the ghetto is far below that in high income areas. Garbage collection is often inadequate. Of an estimated 14,000 cases of rat bite in the United States in 1965, most were in ghetto neighborhoods.

Ghetto residents believe they are "exploited" by local merchants; and evidence substantiates some of these beliefs. A study conducted in one city by the Federal Trade Commission showed that distinctly higher prices were charged for goods sold in ghetto stores than in other areas.

Lack of knowledge regarding credit purchasing creates special pitfalls for the disadvantaged. In many states garnishment practices compound these difficulties by allowing creditors to deprive individuals of their wages without hearing or trial.

Chapter 9—Comparing the Immigrant and Negro Experience

In this chapter, we address ourselves to a fundamental question that many white Americans are asking: why have so many Negroes, unlike the European immigrants, been unable to escape from the ghetto and from poverty. We believe the following factors play a part:

- *The Maturing Economy:* When the European immigrants arrived, they gained an economic foothold by providing the unskilled labor needed by industry. Unlike the immigrant, the Negro migrant found little opportunity in the city. The economy, by then matured, had little use for the unskilled labor he had to offer.
- *The Disability of Race:* The structure of discrimination has stringently narrowed opportunities for the Negro and restricted his prospects. European immigrants suffered from discrimination, but never so pervasively.
- *Entry into the Political System:* The immigrants usually settled in rapidly growing cities with powerful and expanding political machines, which traded economic advantages for political support. Ward-level grievance machinery, as well as personal representation, enabled the immigrant to make his voice heard and his power felt.

  By the time the Negro arrived, these political machines were no longer so powerful or so well equipped to provide jobs or other favors, and in many cases were unwilling to share their influence with Negroes.
- *Cultural Factors:* Coming from societies with a low standard of living and at a time when job aspirations were low, the immigrants sensed little deprivation in being forced to take the less desirable and poorer-paying jobs. Their large and cohesive families contributed to total income. Their vision of the future—one that led to a life outside of the ghetto—provided the incentive necessary to endure the present.

  Although Negro men worked as hard as the immigrants, they were unable to support their families. The entrepreneurial opportunities had vanished. As a result of slavery and long periods of unemployment, the Negro family structure had become matriarchal; the males played a secondary and marginal family role —one which offered little compensation for their hard and unrewarding labor. Above all, segregation denied Negroes access to good jobs and the opportunity to leave the ghetto. For them, the future seemed to lead only to a dead end.

Today, whites tend to exaggerate how well and quickly they escaped from poverty. The fact is that immigrants who came from rural backgrounds, as many Negroes do, are only now,

after three generations, finally beginning to move into the middle class.

By contrast, Negroes began concentrating in the city less than two generations ago, and under much less favorable conditions. Although some Negroes have escaped poverty, few have been able to escape the urban ghetto.

PART III—WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Chapter 10—The Community Response

Our investigation of the 1967 riot cities establishes that virtually every major episode of violence was foreshadowed by an accumulation of unresolved grievances and by widespread dissatisfaction among Negroes with the unwillingness or inability of local government to respond.

Overcoming these conditions is essential for community support of law enforcement and civil order. City governments need new and more vital channels of communication to the residents of the ghetto; they need to improve their capacity to respond effectively to community needs before they become community grievances; and they need to provide opportunity for meaningful involvement of ghetto residents in shaping policies and programs which affect the community.

The Commission recommends that local governments:

- Develop Neighborhood Action Task Forces as joint community-government efforts through which more effective communication can be achieved, and the delivery of city services to ghetto residents improved.
- Establish comprehensive grievance-response mechanisms in order to bring all public agencies under public scrutiny.
- Bring the institutions of local government closer to the people they serve by establishing neighborhood outlets for local, state and federal administrative and public service agencies.
- Expand opportunities for ghetto residents to participate in the formulation of public policy and the implementation of programs affecting them through improved political representation, creation of institutional channels for community action, expansion of legal services, and legislative hearings on ghetto problems.

In this effort, city governments will require state and federal support.

The Commission recommends:

- State and federal financial assistance for mayors and city councils to support the research, consultants, staff and other resources needed to respond effectively to federal program initiatives.

- State cooperation in providing municipalities with the jurisdictional tools needed to deal with their problems; a fuller measure of financial aid to urban areas; and the focusing of the interests of suburban communities on the physical, social and cultural environment of the central city.

Chapter 11—Police and the Community

The abrasive relationship between the police and the minority communities has been a major—and explosive—source of grievance, tension and disorder. The blame must be shared by the total society.

The police are faced with demands for increased protection and service in the ghetto. Yet the aggressive patrol practices thought necessary to meet these demands themselves create tension and hostility. The resulting grievances have been further aggravated by the lack of effective mechanisms for handling complaints against the police. Special programs for bettering police-community relations have been instituted, but these alone are not enough. Police administrators, with the guidance of public officials, and the support of the entire community, must take vigorous action to improve law enforcement and to decrease the potential for disorder.

The Commission recommends that city government and police authorities:

- Review police operations in the ghetto to ensure proper conduct by police officers, and eliminate abrasive practices.
- Provide more adequate police protection to ghetto residents to eliminate their high sense of insecurity, and the belief of many Negro citizens in the existence of a dual standard of law enforcement.
- Establish fair and effective mechanisms for the redress of grievances against the police, and other municipal employees.
- Develop and adopt policy guidelines to assist officers in making critical decisions in areas where police conduct can create tension.
- Develop and use innovative programs to ensure widespread community support for law enforcement.
- Recruit more Negroes into the regular police force, and review promotion policies to ensure fair promotion for Negro officers.
- Establish a "Community Service Officer" program to attract ghetto youths between the ages of 17 and 21 to police work. These junior officers would perform duties in ghetto neighborhoods, but would not have full police authority. The federal government should provide support equal to 90 percent of the costs of employing CSOs on the basis of one for every ten regular officers.

Chapter 12—Control of Disorder

Preserving civil peace is the first responsibility of government. Unless the rule of law prevails, our society will lack

not only order but also the environment essential to social and economic progress.

The maintenance of civil order cannot be left to the police alone. The police need guidance, as well as support, from mayors and other public officials. It is the responsibility of public officials to determine proper police policies, support adequate police standards for personnel and performance, and participate in planning for the control of disorders.

To maintain control of incidents which could lead to disorders, the Commission recommends that local officials:

- Assign seasoned, well-trained policemen and supervisory officers to patrol ghetto areas, and to respond to disturbances.
- Develop plans which will quickly muster maximum police manpower and highly qualified senior commanders at the outbreak of disorders.
- Provide special training in the prevention of disorders, and prepare police for riot control and for operation in units, with adequate command and control and field communication for proper discipline and effectiveness.
- Develop guidelines governing the use of control equipment and provide alternatives to the use of lethal weapons. Federal support for research in this area is needed.
- Establish an intelligence system to provide police and other public officials with reliable information that may help to prevent the outbreak of a disorder and to institute effective control measures in the event a riot erupts.
- Develop continuing contacts with ghetto residents to make use of the forces for order which exist within the community.
- Establish machinery for neutralizing rumors, and enabling Negro leaders and residents to obtain the facts. Create special rumor details to collect, evaluate, and dispel rumors that may lead to a civil disorder.

The Commission believes there is a grave danger that some communities may resort to the indiscriminate and excessive use of force. The harmful effects of overreaction are incalculable. The Commission condemns moves to equip police departments with mass destruction weapons, such as automatic rifles, machine guns and tanks. Weapons which are designed to destroy, not to control, have no place in densely populated urban communities.

The Commission recognizes the sound principle of local authority and responsibility in law enforcement, but recommends that the federal government share in the financing of programs for improvement of police forces, both in their normal law enforcement activities as well as in their response to civil disorders.

To assist government authorities in planning their response to civil disorder, this report contains a Supplement on Control

of Disorder. It deals with specific problems encountered during riot-control operations, and includes:

- Assessment of the present capabilities of police, National Guard and Army forces to control major riots, and recommendations for improvement;
- Recommended means by which the control operations of those forces may be coordinated with the response of other agencies, such as fire departments, and with the community at large;
- Recommendations for review and revision of federal, state and local laws needed to provide the framework for control efforts and for the call-up and interrelated action of public safety forces.

Chapter 13—The Administration of Justice Under Emergency Conditions

In many of the cities which experienced disorders last summer, there were recurring breakdowns in the mechanisms for processing, prosecuting and protecting arrested persons. These resulted mainly from long-standing structural deficiencies in criminal court systems, and from the failure of communities to anticipate and plan for the emergency demands of civil disorders.

In part, because of this, there were few successful prosecutions for serious crimes committed during the riots. In those cities where mass arrests occurred many arrestees were deprived of basic legal rights.

The Commission recommends that the cities and states:

- Undertake reform of the lower courts so as to improve the quality of justice rendered under normal conditions.
- Plan comprehensive measures by which the criminal justice system may be supplemented during civil disorders so that its deliberative functions are protected, and the quality of justice is maintained.

Such emergency plans require broad community participation and dedicated leadership by the bench and bar. They should include:

- Laws sufficient to deter and punish riot conduct.
- Additional judges, bail and probation officers, and clerical staff.
- Arrangements for volunteer lawyers to help prosecutors and to represent riot defendants at every stage of proceedings.
- Policies to ensure proper and individual bail, arraignment, pretrial, trial and sentencing proceedings.
- Procedures for processing arrested persons, such as summons and release, and release on personal recognizance, which permit separation of minor offenders from those dangerous to the community, in order that serious offenders may be detained and prosecuted effectively.
- Adequate emergency processing and detention facilities.

Chapter 14—Damages: Repair and Compensation

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Amend the Federal Disaster Act—which now applies only to natural disasters—to permit federal emergency food and medical assistance to cities during major civil disorders, and provide long-term economic assistance afterwards.
- With the cooperation of the states, create incentives for the private insurance industry to provide more adequate property-insurance coverage in inner-city areas.

The Commission endorses the report of the National Advisory Panel on Insurance in Riot-Affected Areas: "Meeting the Insurance Crisis of our Cities."

Chapter 15—The News Media and the Riots

In his charge to the Commission, the President asked: "What effect do the mass media have on the riots?"

The Commission determined that the answer to the President's question did not lie solely in the performance of the press and broadcasters in reporting the riots. Our analysis had to consider also the overall treatment by the media of the Negro ghettos, community relations, racial attitudes, and poverty—day by day and month by month, year in and year out.

A wide range of interviews with government officials, law enforcement authorities, media personnel and other citizens, including ghetto residents, as well as a quantitative analysis of riot coverage and a special conference with industry representatives, leads us to conclude that:

- Despite instances of sensationalism, inaccuracy and distortion, newspapers, radio and television tried on the whole to give a balanced, factual account of the 1967 disorders.
- Elements of the news media failed to portray accurately the scale and character of the violence that occurred last summer. The overall effect was, we believe, an exaggeration of both mood and event.
- Important segments of the media failed to report adequately on the causes and consequences of civil disorders and on the underlying problems of race relations. They have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery and hopelessness of life in the ghetto.

These failings must be corrected, and the improvement must come from within the industry. Freedom of the press is not the issue. Any effort to impose governmental restrictions would be inconsistent with fundamental constitutional precepts.

We have seen evidence that the news media are becoming aware of and concerned about their performance in this field. As that concern grows, coverage will improve. But much more must be done, and it must be done soon.

The Commission recommends that the media:

- Expand coverage of the Negro community and of race problems through permanent assignment of reporters familiar with urban and racial affairs, and through establishment of more and better links with the Negro community.
- Integrate Negroes and Negro activities into all aspects of coverage and content, including newspaper articles and television programming. The news media must publish newspapers and produce programs that recognize the existence and activities of Negroes as a group within the community and as a part of the larger community.
- Recruit more Negroes into journalism and broadcasting and promote those who are qualified to positions of significant responsibility. Recruitment should begin in high schools and continue through college; where necessary, aid for training should be provided.
- Improve coordination with police in reporting riot news through advance planning, and cooperate with the police in the designation of police information officers, establishment of information centers, and development of mutually acceptable guidelines for riot reporting and the conduct of media personnel.
- Accelerate efforts to ensure accurate and responsible reporting of riot and racial news, through adoption by all news gathering organizations of stringent internal staff guidelines.
- Cooperate in the establishment of a privately organized and funded Institute of Urban Communications to train and educate journalists in urban affairs, recruit and train more Negro journalists, develop methods for improving police-press relations, review coverage of riots and racial issues, and support continuing research in the urban field.

Chapter 16—The Future of the Cities

By 1985, the Negro population in central cities is expected to increase by 72 percent to approximately 20.8 million. Coupled with the continued exodus of white families to the suburbs, this growth will produce majority Negro populations in many of the nation's largest cities.

The future of these cities, and of their burgeoning Negro populations, is grim. Most new employment opportunities are being created in suburbs and outlying areas. This trend will continue unless important changes in public policy are made.

In prospect, therefore, is further deterioration of already inadequate municipal tax bases in the face of increasing demands for public services, and continuing unemployment and poverty among the urban Negro population:

Three choices are open to the nation:

- We can maintain present policies, continuing both the proportion of the nation's resources now allocated to programs for the unemployed and the disadvantaged, and the inadequate and failing effort to achieve an integrated society.
- We can adopt a policy of "enrichment" aimed at improving dramatically the quality of ghetto life while abandoning integration as a goal.
- We can pursue integration by combining ghetto "enrichment" with policies which will encourage Negro movement out of central city areas.

The first choice, continuance of present policies, has ominous consequences for our society. The share of the nation's resources now allocated to programs for the disadvantaged is insufficient to arrest the deterioration of life in central city ghettos. Under such conditions, a rising proportion of Negroes may come to see in the deprivation and segregation they experience, a justification for violent protest, or for extending support to now isolated extremists who advocate civil disruption. Large-scale and continuing violence could result, followed by white retaliation, and, ultimately, the separation of the two communities in a garrison state.

Even if violence does not occur, the consequences are unacceptable. Development of a racially integrated society, extraordinarily difficult today, will be virtually impossible when the present black ghetto population of 12.5 million has grown to almost 21 million.

To continue present policies is to make permanent the division of our country into two societies; one, largely Negro and poor, located in the central cities; the other, predominantly white and affluent, located in the suburbs and in outlying areas.

The second choice, ghetto enrichment coupled with abandonment of integration, is also unacceptable. It is another way of choosing a permanently divided country. Moreover, equality cannot be achieved under conditions of nearly complete separation. In a country where the economy, and particularly the resources of employment, are predominantly white, a policy of separation can only relegate Negroes to a permanently inferior economic status.

We believe that the only possible choice for America is the third—a policy which combines ghetto enrichment with programs designed to encourage integration of substantial numbers of Negroes into the society outside the ghetto.

Enrichment must be an important adjunct to integration, for no matter how ambitious or energetic the program, few Negroes now living in central cities can be quickly integrated.

In the meantime, large-scale improvement in the quality of ghetto life is essential.

But this can be no more than an interim strategy. Programs must be developed which will permit substantial Negro movement out of the ghettos. The primary goal must be a single society, in which every citizen will be free to live and work according to his capabilities and desires, not his color.

Chapter 17—Recommendations For National Action

INTRODUCTION

No American—white or black—can escape the consequences of the continuing social and economic decay of our major cities.

Only a commitment to national action on an unprecedented scale can shape a future compatible with the historic ideals of American society.

The great productivity of our economy, and a federal revenue system which is highly responsive to economic growth, can provide the resources.

The major need is to generate new will—the will to tax ourselves to the extent necessary to meet the vital needs of the nation.

We have set forth goals and proposed strategies to reach those goals. We discuss and recommend programs not to commit each of us to specific parts of such programs but to illustrate the type and dimension of action needed.

The major goal is the creation of a true union—a single society and a single American identity. Toward that goal, we propose the following objectives for national action:

- Opening up opportunities to those who are restricted by racial segregation and discrimination, and eliminating all barriers to their choice of jobs, education and housing.
- Removing the frustration of powerlessness among the disadvantaged by providing the means for them to deal with the problems that affect their own lives and by increasing the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.
- Increasing communication across racial lines to destroy stereotypes, to halt polarization, end distrust and hostility, and create common ground for efforts toward public order and social justice.

We propose these aims to fulfill our pledge of equality and to meet the fundamental needs of a democratic and civilized society—domestic peace and social justice.

EMPLOYMENT

Pervasive unemployment and underemployment are the most persistent and serious grievances in minority areas. They are inextricably linked to the problem of civil disorder.

Despite growing federal expenditures for manpower development and training programs, and sustained general economic prosperity and increasing demands for skilled workers, about two million—white and nonwhite—are permanently unemployed. About ten million are underemployed, of whom 6.5 million work full time for wages below the poverty line.

The 500,000 "hard-core" unemployed in the central cities who lack a basic education and are unable to hold a steady job are made up in large part of Negro males between the ages of 18 and 25. In the riot cities which we surveyed, Negroes were three times as likely as whites to hold unskilled jobs, which are often part time, seasonal, low-paying and "dead end."

Negro males between the ages of 15 and 25 predominated among the rioters. More than 20 percent of the rioters were unemployed, and many who were employed held intermittent, low status, unskilled jobs which they regarded as below their education and ability.

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Undertake joint efforts with cities and states to consolidate existing manpower programs to avoid fragmentation and duplication.
- Take immediate action to create 2,000,000 new jobs over the next three years—one million in the public sector and one million in the private sector—to absorb the hard-core unemployed and materially reduce the level of underemployment for all workers, black and white. We propose 250,000 public sector and 300,000 private sector jobs in the first year.
- Provide on-the-job training by both public and private employers with reimbursement to private employers for the extra costs of training the hard-core unemployed, by contract or by tax credits.
- Provide tax and other incentives to investment in rural as well as urban poverty areas in order to offer to the rural poor an alternative to migration to urban centers.
- Take new and vigorous action to remove artificial barriers to employment and promotion, including not only racial discrimination but, in certain cases, arrest records or lack of a high school diploma. Strengthen those agencies such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, charged with eliminating discriminatory practices, and provide full support for Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act allowing federal grant-in-aid funds to be withheld from activities which discriminate on grounds of color or race.

The Commission commends the recent public commitment of the National Council of the Building and Construction Trades Unions, AFL-CIO, to encourage and recruit Negro membership in apprenticeship programs. This commitment should be intensified and implemented.

EDUCATION

Education in a democratic society must equip children to develop their potential and to participate fully in American life. For the community at large, the schools have discharged this responsibility well. But for many minorities, and particularly for the children of the ghetto, the schools have failed to provide the educational experience which could overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation.

This failure is one of the persistent sources of grievance and resentment within the Negro community. The hostility of Negro parents and students toward the school system is generating increasing conflict and causing disruption within many city school districts. But the most dramatic evidence of the relationship between educational practices and civil disorders lies in the high incidence of riot participation by ghetto youth who have not completed high school.

The bleak record of public education for ghetto children is growing worse. In the critical skills—verbal and reading ability—Negro students are falling further behind whites with each year of school completed. The high unemployment and underemployment rate for Negro youth is evidence, in part, of the growing educational crisis.

We support integration as the priority education strategy; it is essential to the future of American society. In this last summer's disorders we have seen the consequences of racial isolation at all levels, and of attitudes toward race, on both sides, produced by three centuries of myth, ignorance and bias. It is indispensable that opportunities for interaction between the races be expanded.

We recognize that the growing dominance of pupils from disadvantaged minorities in city school populations will not soon be reversed. No matter how great the effort toward desegregation, many children of the ghetto will not, within their school careers, attend integrated schools.

If existing disadvantages are not to be perpetuated, we must drastically improve the quality of ghetto education. Equality of results with all-white schools must be the goal.

To implement these strategies, the Commission recommends:

- Sharply increased efforts to eliminate de facto segregation in our

schools through substantial federal aid to school systems seeking to desegregate either within the system or in cooperation with neighboring school systems.

- Elimination of racial discrimination in Northern as well as Southern schools by vigorous application of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- Extension of quality early childhood education to every disadvantaged child in the country.
- Efforts to improve dramatically schools serving disadvantaged children through substantial federal funding of year-round compensatory education programs, improved teaching, and expanded experimentation and research.
- Elimination of illiteracy through greater federal support for adult basic education.
- Enlarged opportunities for parent and community participation in the public schools.
- Reoriented vocational education emphasizing work-experience training and the involvement of business and industry.
- Expanded opportunities for higher education through increased federal assistance to disadvantaged students.
- Revision of state aid formulas to assure more per student aid to districts having a high proportion of disadvantaged school-age children.

THE WELFARE SYSTEM

Our present system of public welfare is designed to save money instead of people, and tragically ends up doing neither. This system has two critical deficiencies:

First, it excludes large numbers of persons who are in great need, and who, if provided a decent level of support, might be able to become more productive and self-sufficient. No federal funds are available for millions of men and women who are needy but neither aged, handicapped nor the parents of minor children.

Second, for those included, the system provides assistance well below the minimum necessary for a decent level of existence, and imposes restrictions that encourage continued dependency on welfare and undermine self-respect.

A welter of statutory requirements and administrative practices and regulations operate to remind recipients that they are considered untrustworthy, promiscuous and lazy. Residence requirements prevent assistance to people in need who are newly arrived in the state. Regular searches of recipients' homes violate privacy. Inadequate social services compound the problems.

The Commission recommends that the federal government, acting with state and local governments where necessary, reform the existing welfare system to:

- Establish uniform national standards of assistance at least as

high as the annual "poverty level" of income, now set by the Social Security Administration at $3,335 per year for an urban family of four.

- Require that all states receiving federal welfare contributions participate in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children—Unemployed Parents program (AFDC-UP) that permits assistance to families with both father and mother in the home, thus aiding the family while it is still intact.
- Bear a substantially greater portion of all welfare costs—at least 90 percent of total payments.
- Increase incentives for seeking employment and job training, but remove restrictions recently enacted by the Congress that would compel mothers of young children to work.
- Provide more adequate social services through neighborhood centers and family-planning programs.
- Remove the freeze placed by the 1967 welfare amendments on the percentage of children in a state that can be covered by federal assistance.
- Eliminate residence requirements.

As a long-range goal, the Commission recommends that the federal government seek to develop a national system of income supplementation based strictly on need with two broad and basic purposes:

- To provide, for those who can work or who do work, any necessary supplements in such a way as to develop incentives for fuller employment;
- To provide, for those who cannot work and for mothers who decide to remain with their children, a minimum standard of decent living, and to aid in the saving of children from the prison of poverty that has held their parents.

A broad system of supplementation would involve substantially greater federal expenditures than anything now contemplated. The cost will range widely depending on the standard of need accepted as the "basic allowance" to individuals and families, and on the rate at which additional income above this level is taxed. Yet if the deepening cycle of poverty and dependence on welfare can be broken, if the children of the poor can be given the opportunity to scale the wall that now separates them from the rest of society, the return on this investment will be great indeed.

HOUSING

After more than three decades of fragmented and grossly underfunded federal housing programs, nearly six million substandard housing units remain occupied in the United States.

The housing problem is particularly acute in the minority ghettos. Nearly two-thirds of all non-white families living in the central cities today live in neighborhoods marked with substandard housing and general urban blight. Two major factors are responsible.

First: Many ghetto residents simply cannot pay the rent necessary to support decent housing. In Detroit, for example, over 40 percent of the non-white occupied units in 1960 required rent of over 35 percent of the tenants' income.

Second: Discrimination prevents access to many non-slum areas, particularly the suburbs, where good housing exists. In addition, by creating a "back pressure" in the racial ghettos, it makes it possible for landlords to break up apartments for denser occupancy, and keeps prices and rents of deteriorated ghetto housing higher than they would be in a truly free market.

To date, federal programs have been able to do comparatively little to provide housing for the disadvantaged. In the 31-year history of subsidized federal housing, only about 800,000 units have been constructed, with recent production averaging about 50,000 units a year. By comparison, over a period only three years longer, FHA insurance guarantees have made possible the construction of over ten million middle and upper-income units.

Two points are fundamental to the Commission's recommendations:

First: Federal housing programs must be given a new thrust aimed at overcoming the prevailing patterns of racial segregation. If this is not done, those programs will continue to concentrate the most impoverished and dependent segments of the population into the central-city ghettos where there is already a critical gap between the needs of the population and the public resources to deal with them.

Second: The private sector must be brought into the production and financing of low and moderate rental housing to supply the capabilities and capital necessary to meet the housing needs of the nation.

The Commission recommends that the federal government:

- Enact a comprehensive and enforceable federal open housing law to cover the sale or rental of all housing, including single family homes.
- Reorient federal housing programs to place more low and moderate income housing outside of ghetto areas.
- Bring within the reach of low and moderate income families within the next five years six million new and existing units of decent housing, beginning with 600,000 units in the next year.

To reach this goal we recommend:

- Expansion and modification of the rent supplement program to permit use of supplements for existing housing, thus greatly increasing the reach of the program.
- Expansion and modification of the below-market interest rate program to enlarge the interest subsidy to all sponsors and provide interest-free loans to nonprofit sponsors to cover pre-construction costs, and permit sale of projects to nonprofit corporations, cooperatives, or condominiums.
- Creation of an ownership supplement program similar to present rent supplements, to make home ownership possible for low-income families.
- Federal writedown of interest rates on loans to private builders constructing moderate-rent housing.
- Expansion of the public housing program, with emphasis on small units on scattered sites, and leasing and "turnkey" programs.
- Expansion of the Model Cities program.
- Expansion and reorientation of the urban renewal program to give priority to projects directly assisting low-income households to obtain adequate housing.

CONCLUSION

One of the first witnesses to be invited to appear before this Commission was Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a distinguished and perceptive scholar. Referring to the reports of earlier riot commissions, he said:

> I read that report . . . of the 1919 riot in Chicago, and it is as if I were reading the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '35, the report of the investigating committee on the Harlem riot of '43, the report of the McCone Commission on the Watts riot.
>
> I must again in candor say to you members of this Commission —it is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving picture re-shown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations, and the same inaction.

These words come to our minds as we conclude this report.

We have provided an honest beginning. We have learned much. But we have uncovered no startling truths, no unique insights, no simple solutions. The destruction and the bitterness of racial disorder, the harsh polemics of black revolt and white repression have been seen and heard before in this country.

It is time now to end the destruction and the violence, not only in the streets of the ghetto but in the lives of people.

Published as a public service by:

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217 West 125 Street, New York, N.Y. 10027

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American Jewish Congress
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National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
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National Council of Negro Women
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Union of American Hebrew Congregations
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United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
Committee for Racial Justice
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United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
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United Synagogue of America
3080 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10027

Young Women's Christian Association
National Board
Bureau of Communications
600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022

Additional copies of this Summary may be obtained from any of the above organizations. Individual copies: 15¢; in quantity–$10 per 100.

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E Q U A L
E M P L O Y M E N T
O P P O R T U N I T Y

I N
T H E

P U L P & P A P E R

I N D U S T R Y

WORKBOOK FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS

prepared by

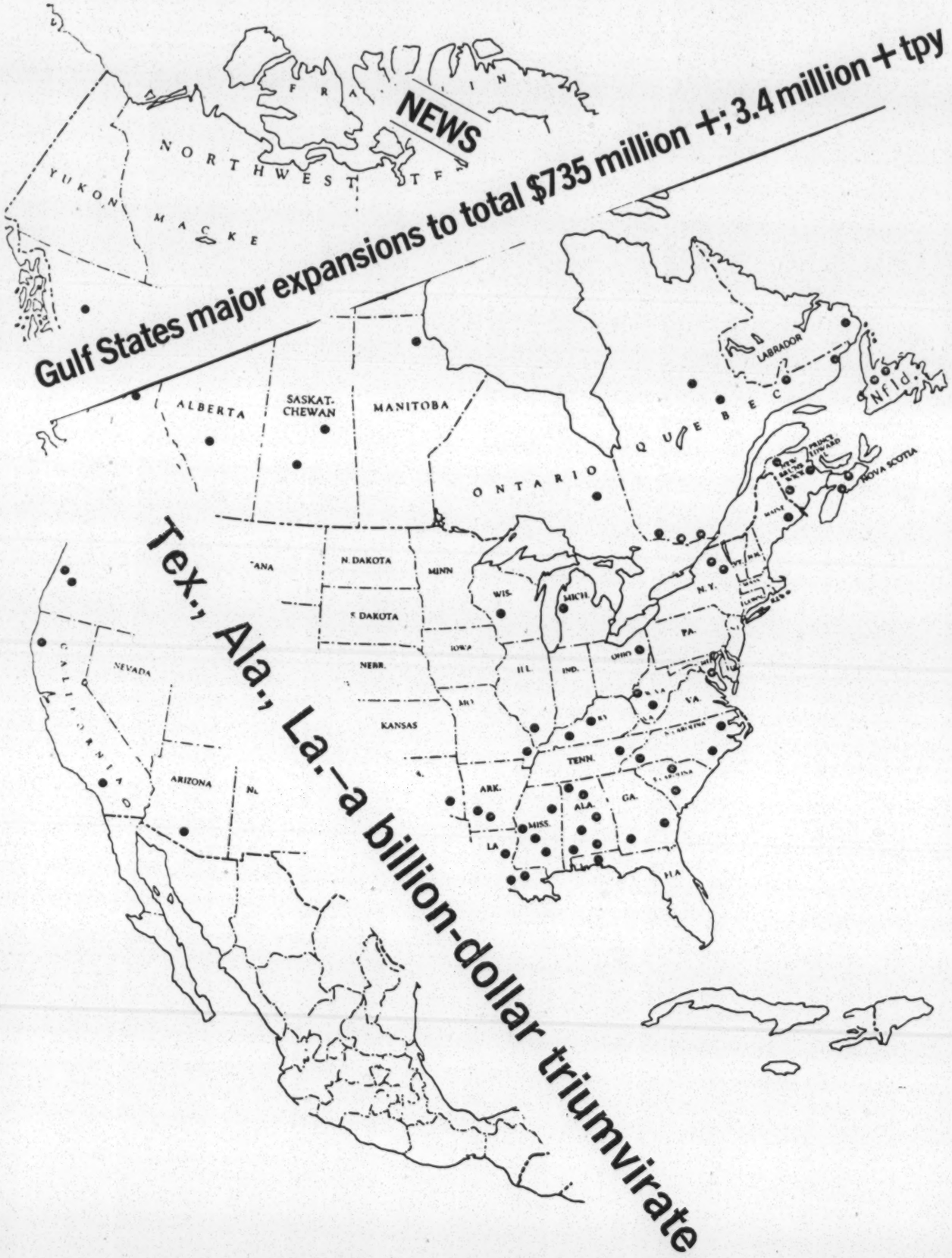
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND

Agency file

220 South Danny Thomas Blvd.
Memphis, Tennessee 38126

10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

Geographical locations of proposed new mills (1967 onward)



I N T R O D U C T I O N

Equal employment opportunity is a fact in law. Greater job opportunities have come with the opening of new plants and the expansion of present industries.

Jobs exist.

You have a right to be considered for those jobs without discrimination.

Whether new plants and new rights and expanding economies will mean better jobs and more security for Negroes will depend to a large extent upon whether citizens work to make equal employment a reality in their own community. Opportunities mean just that; that a door is opened.

The workbook has been prepared to help community leaders turn job equality in law into equality in fact. While the ideas are useful regarding equal employment generally, the workbook is specifically geared toward the pulp and paper industry.

We are concerning our efforts in this direction because we feel this industry is a very vital part of the economy in this region and because it is expanding at a very rapid pace. The industry has announced plans for the expenditure of almost 3 billion dollars, 2/3 of which is to be spent in this region.

We can logically assume, therefore, that the industry will be providing expanded job opportunities. Our job is to make certain that these opportunities are extended on a non-discriminatory basis.

We hope that this notebook will provide you with the inspiration for action in making equal employment in the pulp and paper industry a reality.

12 STEPS

TO ORGANIZING YOUR COMMUNITY FOR EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

T W E L V E S T E P S

STEP ONE

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS!!!

STEP TWO

CREATE AN ACTION COMMITTEE FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT

STEP THREE

GET ACCURATE UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION

STEP FOUR

VISIT EMPLOYERS

STEP FIVE

VISIT THE LOCAL OFFICE OF THE STATE EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION

STEP SIX

GET INFORMATION ABOUT ALL TRAINING PROGRAMS IN YOUR AREA

STEP SEVEN

PUBLICIZE INFORMATION ABOUT YOUR PROJECT AND ABOUT SPECIFIC JOBS.

STEP EIGHT

ENCOURAGE QUALIFIED APPLICANTS TO APPLY FOR JOBS, ETC.

STEP NINE

KEEP FULL RECORDS

STEP TEN

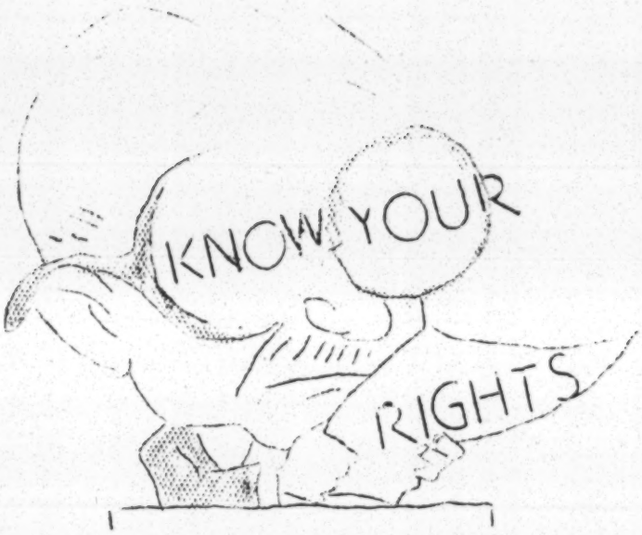
FILE COMPLAINTS

STEP ELEVEN

SPONSOR PROJECTS TO HELP MEET PROBLEMS WHICH NEGROES MAY FACE AS THEY SEEK NON-TRADITIONAL JOBS.

STEP TWELVE

KEEP WORKING



TITLE VII
of the
civil rights
ACT OF 1964

EXECUTIVE
ORDER
number
11246

MONEY---MINIMUM WAGE LAW---MONEY

COMPLAINTS----EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION---COMPLAINTS

OFFICE of CONTRACT COMPLIANCE

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

I. TITLE VII OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

A. <u>Who is covered?</u>

1. employers
2. employment agencies
3. labor unions

   If the employ (or have members amounting to) at least 75 persons and their operations affect interstate commerce. As of July 2, 1967--if at least 50 persons are employed. As of July 2, 1968--if at least 25 persons are employed.

B. <u>Who is not covered?</u>

1. federal, state or local employers or agencies, i.e. federal government agencies
2. bona fide private clubs (other than a labor organization)
3. businesses on or near an Indian reservation (preferential treatment may be given Indians)
4. schools, colleges, or universities owned in whole or substantial part by a particular religion (such institutions may employ persons because of their religion)

C. <u>What does Title VII do?</u>

1. generally Title VII has as its purpose the elimination of race, color, religion, sex or national

origin as a factor in employment or membership (union) practices

2. Specifically, Title VII prohibits the following things:

---An employer may not because of a person's race,

a. refuse to hire

b. discharge

c. otherwise discriminate against an individual with respect to compensation, terms, conditions, or priviledges of employment

d. limit, segregate or classify his employees in a discriminatory manner

---An employment agency may not becuase of a person's race, etc.:

a. fail or refuse to refer persons for employment

---A labor union may not because of a person's race, etc.:

a. exclude or expel persons from its membership

b. limit, segregate or classify its membership in a discriminatory manner.

c. cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against an employee.

---Neither employers or unions may operate training or apprenticeship programs which discriminate against a person because of his race, etc.

D. How to file a complaint

1. Sample copies of the proper complaint form may be found in this workbook

2. All complaints should be immediately forwarded to our Memphis office. Address to: Legal Defense Fund

220 South Danny Thomas Blvd., Memphis,Tennessee. We will then file them with the appropriate office. In this way some systematic account can be kept of the total number of complaints filed.

3. The complaints should be notarized.
4. Complaints should be filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission no later than ninety days after the occurrence of the acts complained of; if the acts are continually occurring, indicate that in the complaint. Therefore, have them signed as soon as possible.
5. Individuals (and not committees or groups) should sign the complaint. However, a union may file a complaint on behalf of its members.
6. The complaint should describe and complain of as many discriminatory practices as personally known to the complaining party. Yet the complaint should be as specific as possible.

II. TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

A. <u>What is prohibited by Title VI</u>

----No person because of race, color or national origin may be:

a. excluded from

b. denied the benefits of

c. or be subjected to discrimination under any program receiving federal financial assistance

B. <u>How Title VI operates</u>

1. Each Federal department or agency authorized to dispense federal assistance funds is to draft regulations which must be complied with by those receiving such funds. These regulations should require that recipients not discriminate in a way which is violative of Title VI guarantees.

2. If you believe that a company, receiving federal funds, is not complying with the guarantees of Title VI, a complaint should be made to that federal agency responsible for the funds.

3. The federal agency is empowered to terminate or refuse the grant if the recipient is found to be engaging in discriminatory practices, violative of Title VI.

III. EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11246

In addition to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Order No. 11246, signed by President Johnson on September 24, 1965, provides for equal employment opportunity in Federal employment and private companies or plants holding contracts with the Federal government.

Under this order, the Civil Service Commission was required to promulgate rules and regulations specifically designed to implement equal employment in Federal agencies. In addtion, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance was established in the Department of Labor to review employment practices of companies holding Federal Contracts to assure equal employment opportunities for all persons regardless of race, creed, color or sex.

A. Who is Covered By Executive Order No. 11246?

1. Civil Service Employees:

Employees in Federal agencies, such as, United States Employment Service, Veteran's Administration, Post Office, and Military Installation employees.

2. Prime Government Contractors:

Companies which perform any work for the Federal government according to a contract. Usually all of the large companies, such as, United States Steel, International Paper Company, and cigarette manufacturers have contracts with the Federal government. However, a large number of smaller and less well known companies have federal contracts also.

3. Government Sub-Contractors:

Companies which perform work for a company in the furtherance of fulfilling a contract with a prime government contractor.

B. Who May File Complaints Under Executive Order No. 11246:

1. Civil Service Complaints:

a. Federal Civil Service Employees

Any federal civil service employee who believes he has been discriminated against because of race may as an individual file a charge of discrimination with the Equal Employment Officer of the particular Federal agency in which he is employed.

b. Applicants for Civil Service Employment

Persons seeking employment with most Federal agencies may file complaints of employment discrimination with the agencies' Equal Employment Officer of the particular agency at which he is seeking a civil service job.

c. Organizations, With the Consent of the Employee or Applicants for Federal Employment

Under regulations promulgated by the Civil Service Commission, in accordance with Executive Order No. 11246, an organization may file a charge of discrimination with the particular agency at which the employee works or at which the applicant seeks employment, if the organization has the consent of the employee or applicant. This means that civil rights organizations may file charges of discrimination on behalf of persons who believe they have been discriminated against.

2. Employees and Applicants For Employment of Companies Holding Contracts with Federal Agencies:

a. Any employee of any company holding a federal contract or an applicant for employment with such contractor who believes he was denied equal employment or a job because of race, color or sex may file a charge of discrimination with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

C. Time For Filing Complaint

1. Complaints filed in accordance with Executive Order No. 11246, either with a Federal Agency or with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance must be filed within ninety (90) days of the alleged discriminatory act. This means that if a person was refused a promotion, a job, a pay raise, etc., the complaint should be filed within ninety (90) days of such refusal.

2. Many discriminatory practices are considered of a "continuing nature" not capable of determination for the ninety (90) day purpose. So, if in doubt, file anyway!

D. Where to File:

1. Civil Service Employees and Applicants:

Complaints of employment discrimination in Federal agencies must be filed with the particular agency involved. According to Civil Service Regulations, each agency should have a specific procedure within the agency to handle complaints of discrimination based on race.

2. Employees and Applicants for Employment of Companies Holding Federal Contracts:

Complaints should be filed with: Office of Federal Contract Compliance, Department of Labor, 1800 "G" Street, Washington, D. C.

Fair Labor Standards Act, As Amended in 1966

The Fair Labor Standards Act, as amended in 1966 went into effect on February 1, 1967. It is of great importance to groups working on fair employment because it deals with minimum wages and overtime pay. Unfortunately not all jobs are covered by this law. Therefore, it is important that local groups find out what jobs are covered and what jobs are not covered. It is the purpose of this section to provide at least part of this information.

Jobs Covered Before February 1, 1967

Certain jobs were covered by the minimum wage and overtime provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act before February 1, 1967. Anyone working on one of these jobs had to be paid at least $1.25 per hour. After February 1, 1967 this person must be paid at least $1.40 per hour, and after February 1, 1968 this person must be paid at least $1.60 per hour. As before February 1, 1967, this person still must be paid at least 1½ time his regular rate of pay for hours worked beyond 40 in a workweek.

What jobs are covered by this provision of the Fair Labor Standards Act? These jobs are as follows:

1. Those jobs in manufacturing plants producing goods for interstate commerce. This would include most of the manufacturing plants in Southern Mississippi.

2. Those jobs in companies transporting these goods from state to state. These would include jobs for railroads, trucking firms, shipping companies and airlines.

3. Those jobs in retail and service companies selling at least $1 million worth of goods or service. This company must have at least $250,000 worth of goods or materials coming in from another state. Examples of this type of company would be Sears Roebuck and Company, Woolworth, A. and P., etc.

4. Those jobs in local bus firms doing at least $1 million worth of business in a year.

5. Those jobs in construction companies doing at least $350,000 worth of business in a year.

6. Those jobs in gasoline service stations doing at least $250,000 worth of business in a year.

7. Those jobs in companies not included in the above categories but having employees engaged in interstate commerce and doing at least $1 million worth of business in a year.

Newly Covered Jobs

A large number of jobs have been covered only since February 1, 1967. These companies will have made the following increases in minimum wages over a period of five years:

$1.00 an hour, beginning February 1, 1967
$1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968
$1.30 an hour, beginning February 1, 1969
$1.45 an hour, beginning February 1, 1970
$1.60 an hour, beginning February 1, 1971

Exemptions Under Amended Act

Unfortunately not all persons come under the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. Workers in private homes are not covered. Farm workers on small farms are not covered. In other words, a minimum wage and overtime pay exemption applies for workers of retail or service establishments not covered by this Act. It also applies to individual establishments in a cover company which do less than $250,000 worth of business in a year. The overtime provisions do not apply to workers of hotels, motels, and restaurants, and for for food service workers of retail or service establishments. Farm workers are not covered by the overtime provisions of the act.

Equal Pay

The equal pay provision prohibits wage discrimination on the basis of sex within an establishment: When subject to the minimum wage, employees of one sex must not be paid wages at rates lower than those paid employees of the sex for equal work on jobs requiring skill, effort, and responsibility which are performed under similar working conditions.

Child Labor

Sixteen years is the minimum age for most employment covered by the Act. This includes employment in agriculture during school

With regard to overtime, these company must pay at least 1½ time the worker's regular rate of pay according to the following time schedule:

After 44 hours in a workweek, beginning February 1, 1967
After 42 hours in a workweek, beginning February 1, 1968
After 40 hours in a workweek, beginning February 1, 1969

What jobs are covered by this provision on the Fair Labor Standards Act? These jobs are as follows:

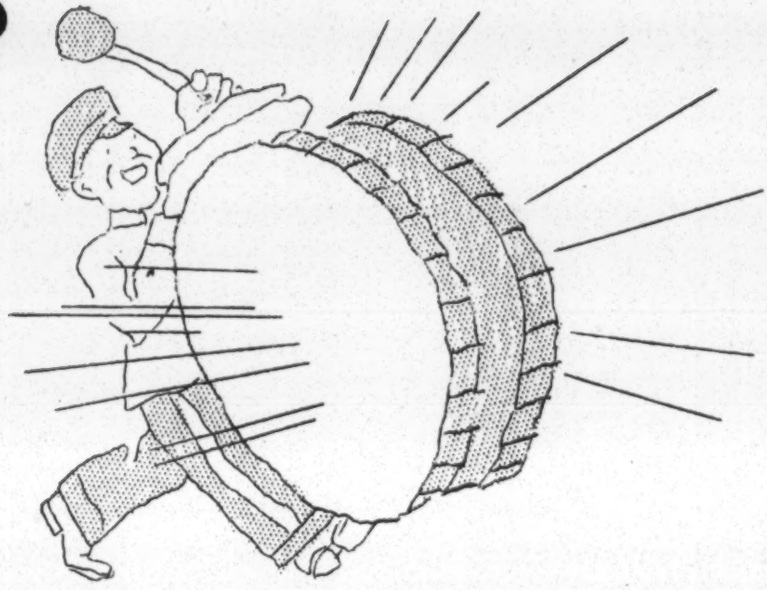
1. Those jobs in laundry and dry cleaning establishments.
2. Those jobs in construction enterprises.
3. Hospitals, nursing homes, and most schools (both public and private, but excluding Federal Government hospitals).
4. Other companies, if amount of business it does in a year is at least $500,000 ($250,000 after February 1, 1969). Hotel, motel and restaurant enterprises are among the new establishments covered by this provision.

Some farm workers have covered by the minimum wage provisions since February 1, 1967. They are covered if the employer used more than 500 man-hours of farm labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding year. Such workers must be paid a minimum wage of at least $1.00 an hour beginning February 1, 1967, $1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968, and $1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969. The overtime provisions do not apply to farm workers.

hour or in farm jobs declared hazardous by the Secretary of Labor. Eighteen years is the minimum age for employment in non-agricultural jobs declared hazardous. Fourteen years is the minimum age for employment outside school hours in a variety of non-manufacturing and non-mining occupations for a limited number of hours under specified conditions.

What To Do With A Complaint

The Fair Labor Standards Act is a complicated law. Therefore, this has been only a partial discussion of the law. If you have a question concerning the provisions of this act, or if you have a complaint, contact either the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor or the Legal Defense Fund.



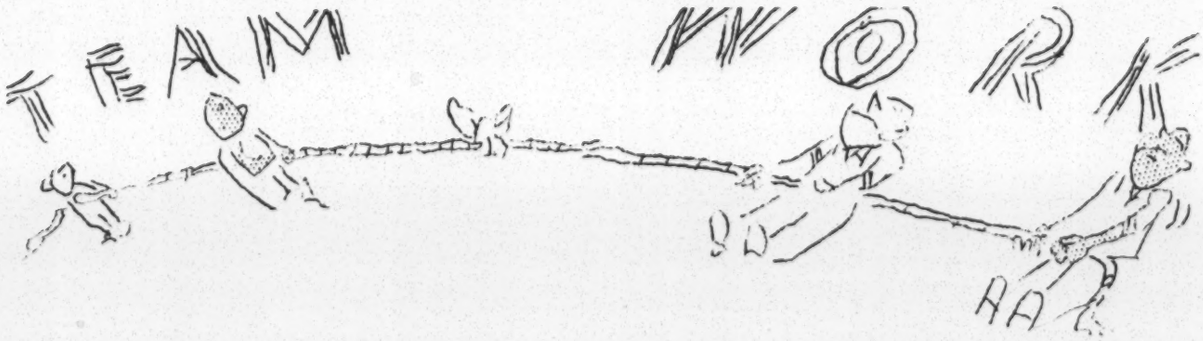
CREATE

AN

ACTION

COMMITTEE

ACTION *ACTION* *ACTION*



CREATE AN ACTION COMMITTEE

Create an action committee for fair employment. This could BE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF AN ALREADY EXISTING ORGANIZATION, LIKE THE NAACP or the MFDP. Best results usually come from county-wide committees involving all kinds of people from all kinds of groups concerned about jobs.

Helping people help themselves is the only lasting way to help them. When everyone is working toward a common goal results are more likely to ensue.

Here are some tips which community leaders may find helpful.

1. Show understanding of the problems of the people in the group.

2. Show respect. Be business-like.

3. Don't do things for them--make them do things for themselves.

4. Always point out that they must act to set up their project.

5. Describe steps similiar groups have taken to achieve success.

6. When you speak:
   - (a) Talk in plain language,
   - (b) Use familiar examples
   - (c) Talk about what happens how,
   - (d) Talk about what happens now,
   - (e) Have the people discuss among themselves. In this way you can determine how well you have been understood.

7. Find two or three people in whom you can place your confidence. Make sure that no one person has too much power.

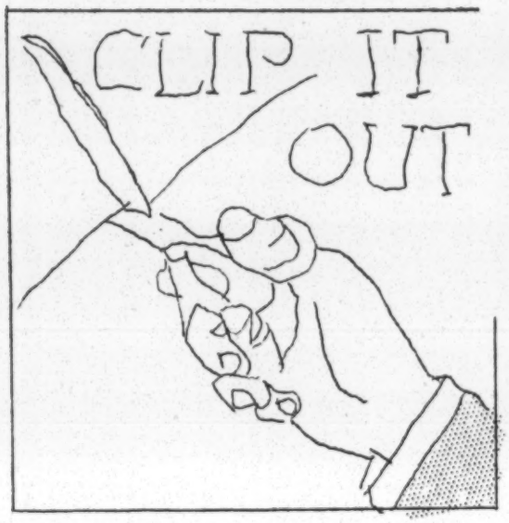
8. Try to see to it that the work is spread out. Keep everybody busy.

9. Keep the committee broadly based. Try to draw participation from all segments of the community.

10. Use imagination in proposing constructive activities for the committee. See step eleven.

The more people involved, the more you can get done. But start with those expressing interest--no matter how few. A few hardworking, dedicated and well disciplined persons can effect a real change. Successes attract others. Draw upon youth, retirees, the unemployed, and others with some time to contribute.

Remember to keep in touch with our office.



GET

UP
TO

DATE

INFORMATION---INFORMATION___INFORMATION

GET ACCURATE UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION about jobs which are available in your community.

Clip newspaper articles, be on the lookout for news about future plans for expansion and new industries.

Order publications about jobs in the pulp and paper industry from fedetal, state and local agencies and from private organizations.

Read pulp and paper publications in the library or subscribe to them.

Before initiating this project we determined the areas in which know expansion was taking place.

In Mobile the paper industry employs almost 10,000 people with the largest plant being International Paper Company, which has just completed a four million dollar expansion program. Other plant located here are the Scott Paper Company, Stone Container Corp., National Gypsum and Rubberoid Inc.

In Brewton, Alabama the Container Corporation of America has a principal plant here and controls about 150,000 acres of land.

The Allied Paper Company has a large plant in Jackson, Alabama.

In Pine Hill, Alabama the McMillan Blodell Company has just completed a 77 million dollar complex which includes a saw mill, paper mill and pulp mill.

In Naheola, Alabama the Marathon Southern Corporation, a division of American Can, has just completed a 15 million dollar expansion program. We already have information that a good deal of discrimination exists.

In Demopolis, Alabama, Gulf State Corp. has a large plant.

The Gulf State Paper Corp. has its largest plant in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

Hammermill Paper Company has just completed a large plant in Selma, Alabama.

The Union Camp Company has just completed a new plant in Prattville, Alabama.

The Kimberly Clarke Company is in the process of completing a 45 million dollar expansion program in Coosa Pines and already employs over two thousand people.

In Courtland, Alabama U. S. Plywood-Champion Paper has purchased some 2,000 acres, but has not yet commenced to building.

In Camden, Arkansas, the Barrett Division of Allied Chemicals has just been sold to the Jim Walter Corp. of Tampa, Florida and the International Paper Company has just completed a 12 million dollar expansion program.

There are two pulp mills and four paper mills located in Crossett, Arkansas. The Georgia Pacific Company has allocated 75 million dollars for expansion by 1970, 50 million of which is to be completed by the end of this year. I might also point out that, as a matter of history, Crossett as a town was pretty much organized by the Georgia-Pacific company

In Pine Bluff there are two paper mills and three pulp mills. The Dierks Paper Company has a large installation and the International Paper Company has just completed a 19 million dollar expansion.

The International Paper Company has allocated 6 1/2 million dollars for a fiber board plant in Malvern which is to be completed around the middle of this year.

Nekoosa Edwards Paper Company is building a 46 million dollar plant in Ashdown and it should be completed by the middle of the year.

In Warren, Arkansas the Potlatch Forest Inc. has allocated 50 million dollars for a pulp and a paper mill.

In Bastrop, La. the International Paper Company has allocated 40 million dollars for expansion of its mills there.

In Bogalusa, Crown-Zellerbach is the dominant firm and has spent 1.7 million dollars in modernization for the year just ended. It should be pointed out that Crown-Zellerbach is now in court and that we are hesitant to establish a committee in this area pending the settlement of that suit.

In Elizabeth, La., Calcasleu Paper Company has spent almost three quarters of a million dollars on its paper mills. They have one paper mill and one pulp mill.

In Hodge, La. the Continental Can Co. has one pulp mill and one paper mill.

In Lockport, La., the Valentine Paper and Pulp Company has one pulp mill and one paper mill.

In Marrero, La., the Celotex Corp. has one paper mill.

In Port Hudson the Louisiana Forest Products Corp. has entered into a joint venture with Riegel Paper Corp. and Uk's Inveresk Paper Company to build a 40 million dollar pulp mill which should be completed this year.

In St. Francisville there are presently two paper mills and two pulp mills. Crown-Zellerbach spent about thirty million dollars remodeling an existing mill and about 40 million dollars building a new mill.

In Shreveport Bird & Son Inc. have one paper mill and one pulp mill.

In Springhill there are two paper mills and one pulp mill, owned by International Paper and Red River Paper Mill. International spent about 4 million dollaes in expansions last year.

Vacherie has one paper mill owned by the Fiberite Corp.

In West Monroe Olin-Mathieson has one pulp mill and paper mill.

Louisiana Forest Products has a plant in Zachery.

In Deridder the Boise Cascade Corp. has announced plans to spend 10 million dollars to build a new plant there. The Packaging Corp. of America is conducting feasibility studies toward the establishment of a prepared paper mill.

In Alexandria thePineville Craft Corp. built a 50 million dollar craft, pulp and liner board mill at nearby Pineville.

In Greenville, Mississippi, U. S. Gypsum has one pulp mill and one paper mill.

In Laurel the Masonite Corp. has a pulp mill, a paper mill and the largest hardwood flooring plant in the world.

St. Regis Paper Company is building a 110 million dollar complex in Monticello.

In Moss Point the International Paper Company has both a pulp mill and a paper mill.

In Natchez, Mississippi the International Paper Company has announced plans to spend 6 million dollars in expanding its facilities here. In addition, both Diamond National Corp. and the Johns Manville Products Corp. have plants here.

Mississippi Industrial Land and Timber Company has one paper plant and has announced plans for modernization of it's plant in Pickens.

In Vicksburg the International Paper Company has just erected a 61 million dollar pulp-liner board mill.

More specific information can be determined by local committees.

GET THE FACTS. Nothing you will do will be more important then becoming knowledgeable about the true situation existing in a plant which is a target for your project. You should, if at all possible, know where discrimination exists, and what steps should be taken to correct it. Talk to employees, talk to plant officials, talk to local folk. Read the newspaper about expansions.

Find out how many departments there are, which are segregated, which discriminate. Learn as much as possible about the plant and find people within the plant who would be willing to testify as to the truth of your statements.

The Legal Defense Fund will be taking several steps to support this project. One of them is to confront corporate heads of organizations with the facts about discrimination we know of that exists. In order to do this we need the facts.

Another step is to contact the Office of Federal Contract Compliance suggesting changes that office should demand in order to insure equal employment opportunities. Before we can do this we need the facts.

We will at times contact the Equal Opportunity Commission directly requesting a commissioner's charge. Before we can do this we need the facts. We have on at least one occasion communicated with the President of the United States spelling out discrimination we found to exist in a very large company and suggesting ways by which the President can use his good office to see that such discrimination was eliminated. Before doing this we have to have the facts. Your job is to get the facts.

NAME OF COMPANY_____ADDRESS_____

If the firm is a branch of a regional or national company,
give headquarters address_____

Name of top official
(president or manager)_____

Name of personnel
director_____

Does the plant have
a Federal contract_____

I. Does the plant have plans for expansion or new construction? Describe.

II. EMPLOYMENT POLICIES:

A. What is the total number of employees?
B. What is the total number of Black employees?
C. Does the company hire both men and women? For the same or different jobs?
D. What Divisions does the plant have?
E. How many Black and non-black employees does each division have?
F. How many Negroes are there in supervisory positions and do their salaries differ from non-blacks'?
G. Are certain jobs available only to whites and denied to Black persons?
H. Have Black persons applied for or qualified for promotions?
I. Were Black persons refused who applied for promotions or for different jobs.
J. Are lunchrooms and restrooms integrated?
K. If a plant is being expanded what are the employment policies of the contractor as they relate to common labor and to supervisory positions?
L. Are there separate or merged lines of progression for Black and non-black employees?
M. What methods of promotion are being used?
N. Are terminations and lay-offs on the basis of "last hired, first fired" or is race used as a factor?
O. Describe any form of discrimination practiced by this company.

III. TESTING:

A. Does the company require a test for entry level jobs?
B. Does the company require tests for promotion.
C. Is the test(s) related to the job that the individual has applied for?
D. Does the company interview all applicants that take tests?
E. Are separate rooms used for Black and non-black persons who are taking the test?
F. Does the company have Black persons who help supervise or administer the test?
G. Has the test(s) been validated? When?
H. What is the name of the test(s) given to the applicant(s)?
I. Do persons who give the test treat everyone alike?

IV. TRAINING:

A. What kinds of training and skills are needed for work in this company?
B. What kinds of training and skills are needed for jobs done by men?
C. What kinds of training and skills are needed for jobs done by women?
D. Does the company have its own on-the-job training programs?
E. Has the company used any Federal programs, such as MDTA, for training workers?
F. If an on-the-job training program is used, are they made available to non-black persons and denied to Black persons?
G. Does the company have an arrangement with local public schools to train workers?
H. Does the company have any jobs for unskilled workers?

V. UNIONS:

A. Name the locals.
B. Are the unions integrated?
C. Is there a separate Black union?
D. List any apprenticeship training programs sponsored by unions.
E. Are these apprenticeship training programs available to Black persons.
F. What is the process of transferring from one local to another?

VI. EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES:

A. Do public and private employment agencies refer Black persons to this company?
B. Have any agencies refused to refer Black persons?
C. Do these agencies recruit, train and place persons on an equal basis.
D. Are Black people put in separate lines or given separate tests?
E. Are courtesy titles and/or derogatory terms used by office employees.
F. Do they provide information about the length of time applications stay in the active file and about available training programs, etc. on an equal basis?

VII. RECRUITMENT:

A. How does the company recruit employees?
   (1) Newspaper ads?
   (2) At the gate?
   (3) Through local schools?
   (4) By word or mouth through present employees?
   (5) By the state employment service?
   (6) By a private employment agency?
B. Does the company recruit employees through Black newspapers and Black radio stations?
C. Does the company recruit employees through both Black schools and non-black schools?
D. Are Black and non-black persons recruited and employed from adjacent counties? If so, how far away, in what proportion to the total work force, and who does the recruitment?

VISIT

PRIVATE

EMPLOYERS

VISIT EMPLOYERS

WHY?

TO EXPRESS CONCERN ABOUT JOBS FOR ALL

TO REMIND EMPLOYERS ABOUT LAWS AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

TO FIND OUT THE COMPANY'S PLANS ABOUT HIRING AND UPGRADING NEGROES.

TO GET SPECIFIC INFORMATION ABOUT PRESENT AND FUTURE NEEDS FOR WORKERS--ABOUT SKILLS AND REQUIREMENTS FOR JOBS.

TO OFFER YOUR HELP IN FINDING QUALIFIED NEGRO APPLICANTS

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE SOME OF THE TYPICAL JOBS AND AVERAGE SALARIES TO BE FOUND IN MOST PULP AND PAPER MILLS.

Painter		
1st 1000 hours		
2nd 1000 hours		
3rd 1000 hours		
Top Rate		3.60
Shift Oiler		3.295
Oiler		3.245
Shift Knife Grinder		3.245
Knife Grinder		3.295
Insulator, When Used		3.79
Head Painter		4.015
Clean-up Man		2.54
Maintenance Helper		
1st 1000 hours	2.60	
2nd 1000 hours	2.70	
3rd 1000 hours	2.81	
4th 1000 hours	2.885	
5th 1000 hours	2.945	
Top Rate		2.995

Helpers shall remain at Top Rate until a vacancy occurs in a higher classification in their progression. If a vacancy occurs and they are qualified to move up to a higher job, they shall immediately receive:

*Maintenance Journeymen

(Includes all job classifications under Maintenance marked with asterisk (*).)

1st 1000 hours	3.245	
2nd 1000 hours	3.355	
3rd 1000 hours	3.47	
Top Rate		3.79
Tool Room Attendant		3.115

TYPICAL SALARIES IN THE PULP AND PAPER INDUSTRY

JOB TITLE	SALARY
Envoy Operator	2.955
Tux Operator	2.955
Facial Operator	2.955
Wrapper Operator--2 Machines	2.83
Wrapper Operator	2.73
Facial Packer Operator	2.73
Band Saw Operator Packer	2.73
Broke Box Handler	2.57
Converting Helper	2.54
Sawman	2.54
Handy Roll Helper	2.54
Envoy Helper	2.54
Tux Helper	2.54
Gala Helper	2.54
Napkin Packer	2.54
Facial Roll Feeder	2.54
Facial Packer	2.54
Glue Supplyman	2.64
Facial Sawman	2.54
Facial Carton Feeder	2.54
Core Machine Operator--2 Machines	2.795
Core Machine Operator	2.87
Case Sealer	2.87
Roll Hauler-Lift	2.78

Repulperman		2.64
Utility Man-Weigher		2.915
Senior Clean-up Man		2.59
Clean-up Man		2.54
Trimmer Operator & Converting Label Controlman		3.18
Rewinder Operator		3.065
Trimmer Operator		3.065
Sheeter Operator		3.065
Wrapper Skidder		2.74
Core Cutter		2.72
Finishing Helper		2.62
Clean-up Man		2.54
Shift Converting Mechanic		3.84
Converting Mechanic		
1st 2000 hours	3.295	
2nd 2000 hours	3.355	
3rd 2000 hours	3.47	
Top Rate		3.79
Unit Tender		3.26
Tissue Rewinder Operator 2 Machines		3.15
Aurora Rewinder Operator 2 Machines		3.15
Gala Rewinder Operator		3.065
Aurora Rewinder Operator		3.065
Handy Roll Operator		3.015
Econodex Operator		3.015
Napkin Machine Operator		2.955
Stock Preparation Utilityman		2.09

Dempster Dumpster Truck Drives	2.84
Truck Driver	2.78
Jack Hammer Man, When used	2.68
Pusher	2.68
Filter Changer	2.64
Lawnman	2.59
*Laborer	2.54
*When Handling Salt Cake	2.62
Locomotive Engineer	3.79
Switchman	3.51
Brakeman	3.305
Leadman	4.10
*Shift Pipefitter	3.84
*Shift Millwright	3.84
*Shift Machinist	3.84
*Pipefitter	3.79
*MIllwright	3.79
*Machinist	3.79
*Sheet Metal Worker	3.79
*Welder	3.79
*When Required to do certified welding	3.89
*Senior Automotive Repairman	3.94
*Shift Automotive Repairman	3.84
*Automotive Reapirman	3.79
*Roll Grinder & Machinist	3.79
*Carpenter	3.79

Machine Tender No. 2 Machine	4.435
Back Tender " " "	4.005
Third Hand " " "	3.675
Fourth Hand " " "	3.215
Fifth Hand " " "	2.885
Sixth Hand " " "	2.71
Machine Tender No. 4 & 5 Machines	4.47
Back Tender " " "	4.005
Third Hand " " "	3.675
Fourth Hand " " "	3.165
Utility Man-Weigher	2.915
Senior Clean-up Man	2.59
Machine Tender No. 3 Machine	4.50
Back Tender " " "	4.09
Third Hand " " "	3.74
Fourth Hand " " "	3.255
Fifth Hand " " "	2.905
Sixth Hand " " "	2.71
Machine Utility Man	2.65
Coating and Chemical Operator	3.48
Stock Preparation Operator	3.285
Coaterman	3.285
*Coating & Chemical Helper	2.885
*When helping Coaterman	3.085

VISIT

— YOUR

STATE

EMPLOYMENT

OFFICE

VISIT THE LOCAL OFFICE OF THE STATE EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION

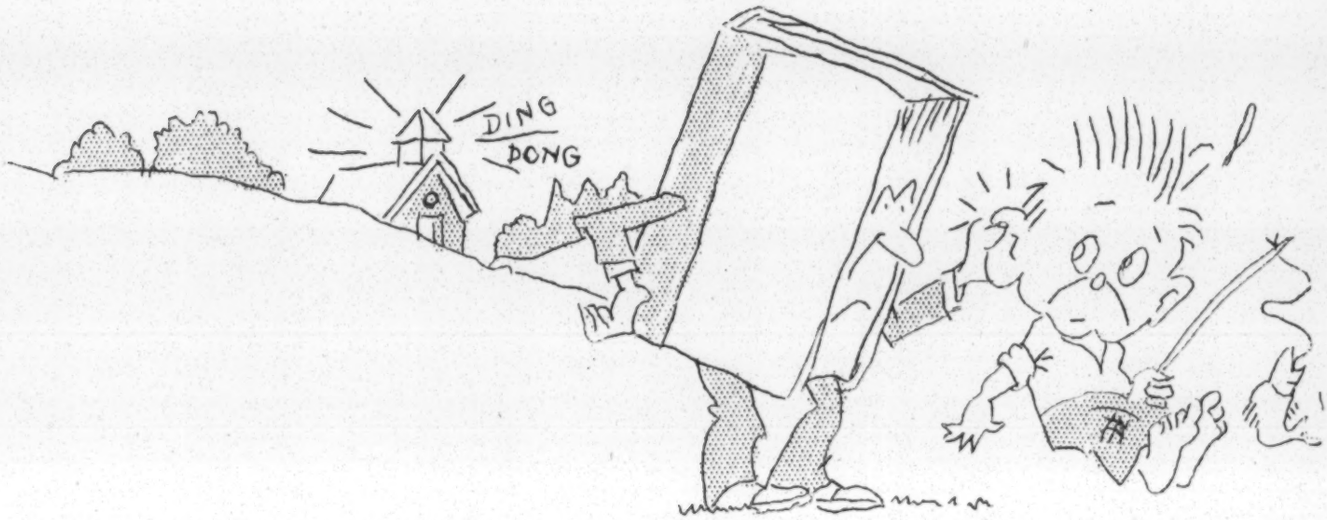
WHY?

TO SEE WHETHER SERVICES AND FACILITIES ARE OPEN TO ALL

TO FIND OUT ABOUT JOB OPENINGS

TO GET INFORMATION ABOUT TRAINING PROGRAMS

KEEP THE INFORMATION THAT YOU FIND ON STEPS 3, 4, AND 5 ON THE YELLOW PAGES.



TRAINING

As the industry becomes increasingly automated, the number of unskilled jobs available decreases. Some form of training is therefore becoming more and more important for persons who intend to work in the pulp and paper industry. Such training is available.

This training ranges from courses in area technical schools to courses leading to majors in chemistry, business administration, forestry and pulp and paper manufacturing in universities. It also includes on-the-job training programs, apprenticeship programs and MDTA courses offered through the state employment service.

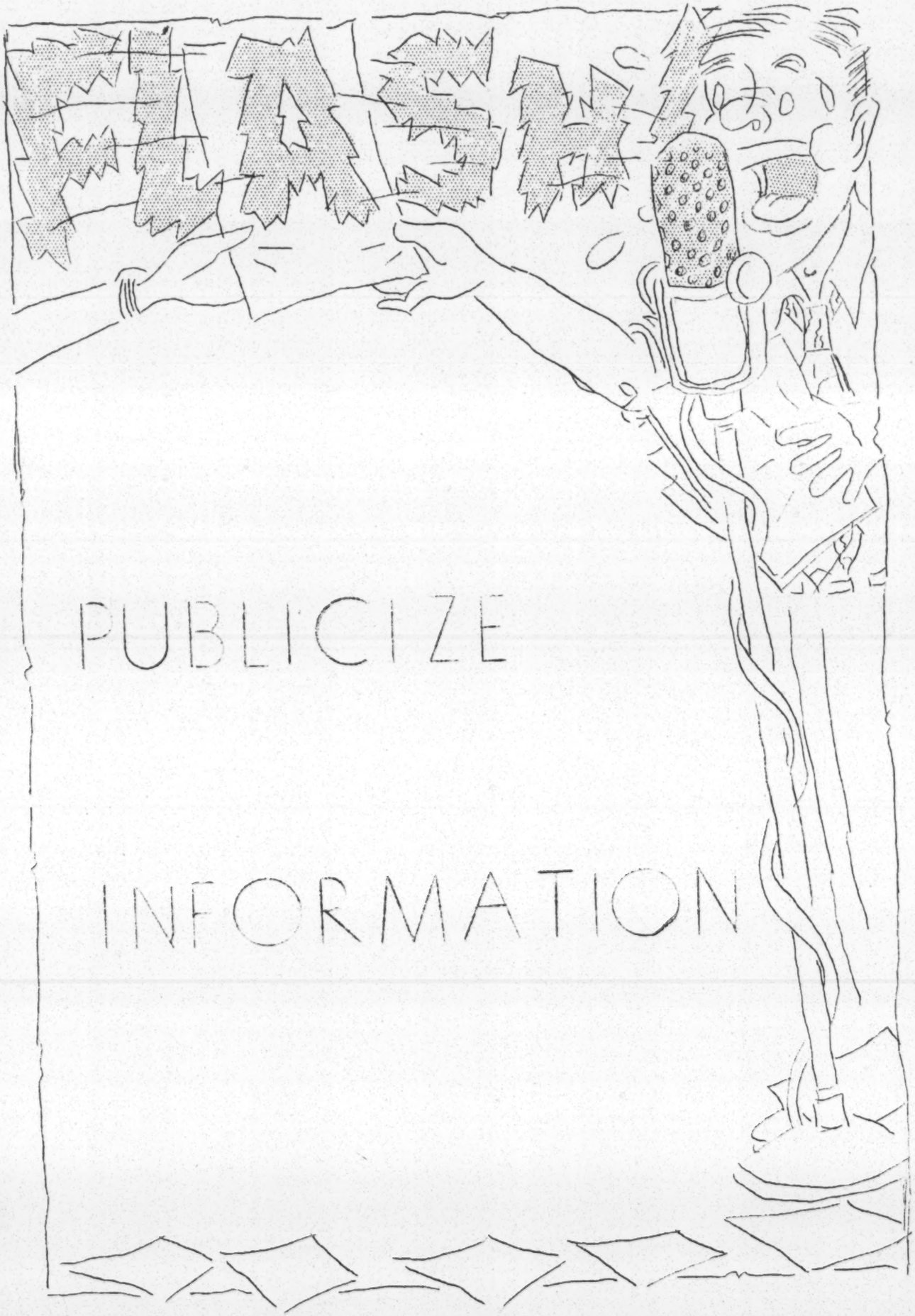
Committees should determine what courses are available and advise potential employees of them.

The MDTA--OJT. The MDTA on-the-job training programs are operated under contracts between the government and the company offering the training.

To get in such a program, a person must first be an employee of the company running the program. Since the government pays the training costs, these companies can lower their employment qualification requirements, hire more qualified Negroes and train them with government money. The company pays

their salaries as employees, but the government pays the cost of training.

FIND OUT WHAT COMPANIES IN YOUR AREA OFFER SUCH A PROGRAM.


FLASH!
PUBLICIZE
INFORMATION

Publicize information about your project and about specific jobs;

(1) through churches

(2) through lodges

(3) through social clubs

(4) organize a newsletter

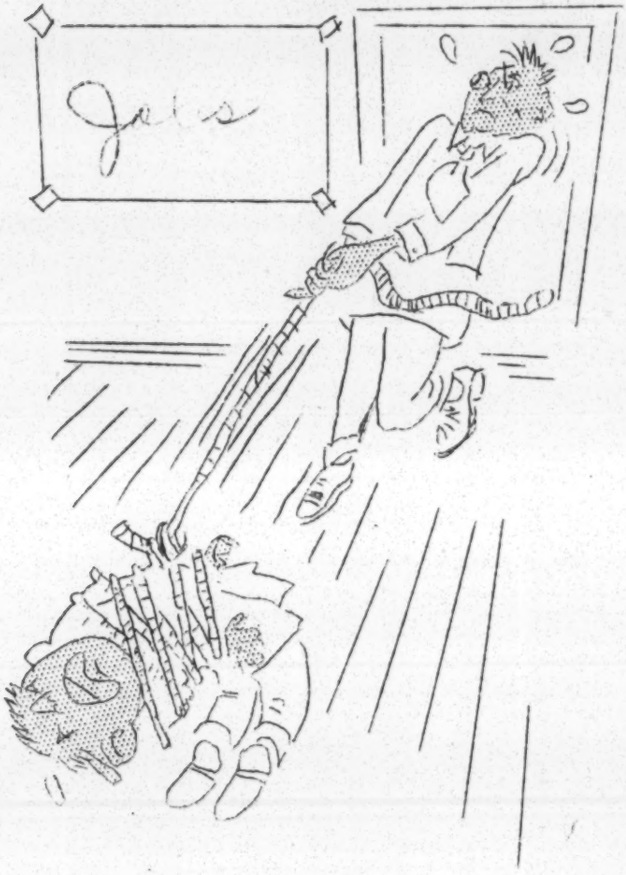
(5) make announcements on radio and television

(6) through personal cotact

Organize a committee and campaign to visit and advise unemployed and underemployed persons about job vacancies your committee has discovered.

Spread the word.

EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE--LOCAL FOLKS



ENCOURAGE

people

to APPLY

FOR JOBS

GO TO THE STATE EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

GO TO PERSONNEL OFFICES

HAVE COMPANY EMPLOYEES APPLY FOR ADVANCEMENTS

HAVE IDEAS ABOUT PEOPLE YOU CAN RECOMMEND OR HELP

(GO TO THE NEXT SECTION)

ENCOURAGE applicants to apply for jobs, to register at the state employment office and to register at plant personnel offices.

LOCATE potential employees and urge them to apply for jobs in the industry.

URGE present employees to apply for advancements.

KEEP your own registry of potential applicants. Perhaps you cannot be an employment agency, but it helps if you know about people whom you aan recommend or assist.

THERE IS A SPECIAL PAGE IN THIS WORKBOOK ON WHICH YOU CAN KEEP INFORMATION ABOUT POTENTIAL JOB APPLICANTS.

USE IT!''

INFORMATION ABOUT JOB APPLICANT
Please Print

NAME _____ SOC. SECURITY NUMBER _____

ADDRESS _____ TEL. NUMBER _____

_____ SEX _____ AGE _____

EDUCATION
Last grade completed _____ School or College _____ Degree or Certificate _____

List special courses you have taken Where? How long? Certificate?

_____ _____ _____ _____

JOB EXPERIENCE

Present Employer	Kind of Work	Wages	How long have you worked here?

Previous Employers	Kind of Work	Wages	How long did you work there?

SKILLS: What are you qualified to do? List specific skills.

_____

WHAT KIND OF JOB ARE YOU LOOKING FOR? _____

HAVE YOU TAKEN FEDERAL OR STATE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS? If so, when?

_____

WHERE HAVE YOU SOUGHT EMPLOYMENT RECENTLY? Name companies and describe what happened.

_____

_____

HAVE YOU APPLIED TO THE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE? What happened?

_____

DO YOU FEEL YOU HAVE EVER BEEN DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BY AN EMPLOYER OR AN EMPLOYMENT AGENCY? If so, describe your experience and what you did about it.

_____

KEEP

FULL

RECORDS

KEEP FULL RECORDS

This includes the main points of conversations with employers, public and private officials, employment committee meetings, job applications, etc.

This also includes filing frequent reports with our office, telling us of progress and problems in your community.

A good report would tell us: The names and addresses of committee leaders and community contacts, committee meeting times and places, committee plans and activities, what is happening in the community in terms of school desegregation, housing, and civil rights per se. Report should also include complaints by persons who feel themselves discriminated against. You should know how many people applied for which jobs, how their applications were received and who they were. You should know who files complaints and for what reasons and you should know what job vacancies exist from time to time.

IF COMPLAINTS HAVE BEEN FILED

GIVE DETAILS

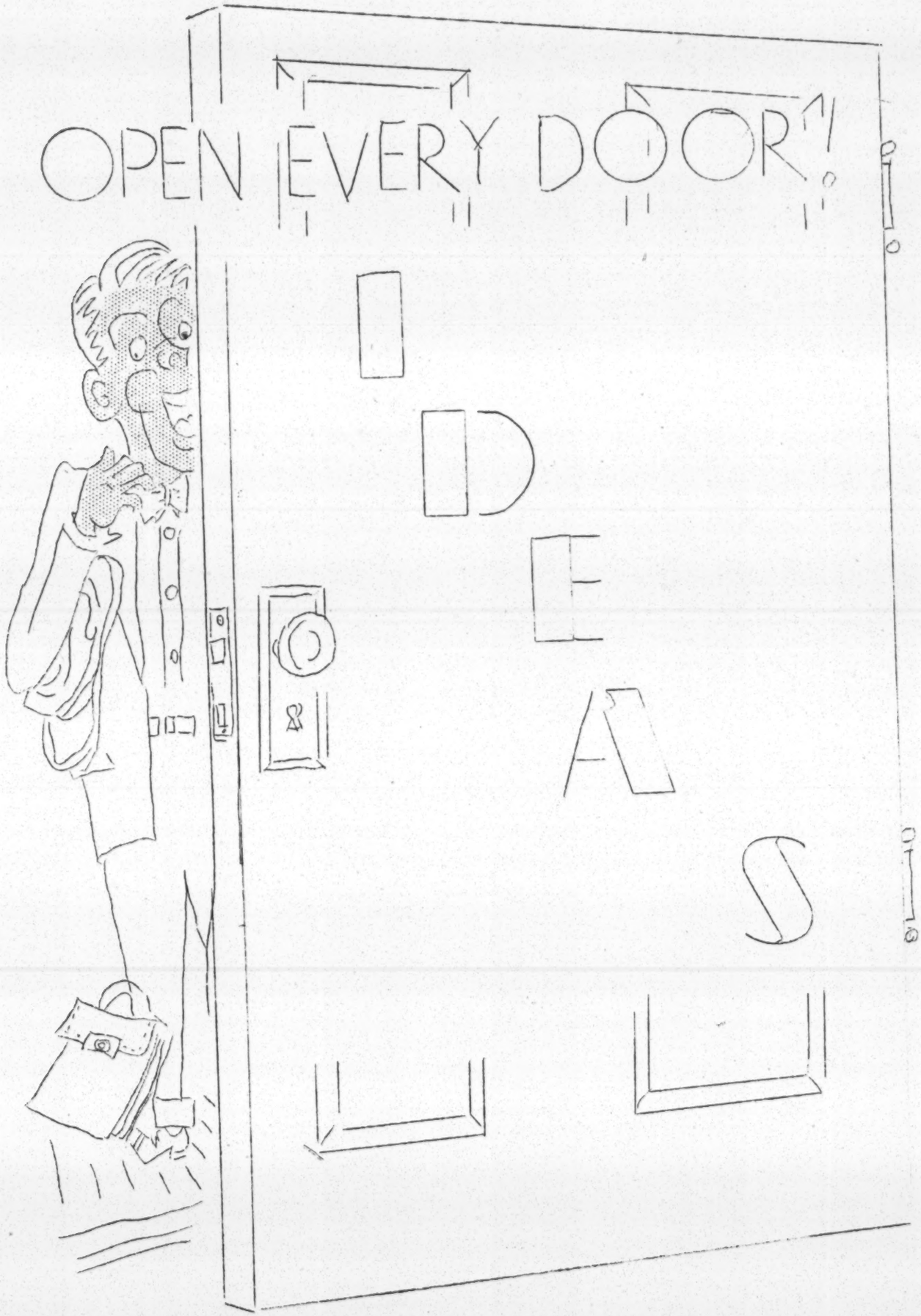
Who filed complaints?	To which agency?	Date	What happened?

BLACK PERSONS WHO HAVE APPLIED FOR WORK SINCE YOUR EMPLOYMENT PROJECT BEGAN

NAME	DATE	JOB APPLIED FOR AND WHAT HAPPENDED

FILE

COMPLAINTS


OPEN EVERY DOOR!
IDEAS

SUCCESSFUL PROJECTS SOME COMMUNITIES HAVE SPONSORED

Job-Applicant Workshop

1 The fear of new situations and lack of confidence prevent some Negroes from applying for nontraditional jobs. The strangeness of new jobs creates adjustment problems. So, Negroes leave or are fired before they have really had a chance. Negroes who have only worked on farms or in pri vate homes may find it hard to adjust to a job in an industry. This workshop deals with very practical, down-to-earth questions: How to apply for a job. How to fill out an application. How to prepare for and conduct yourself at a job interview. How to learn to adjust to new jobs. The purpose of the workshop is to build confidence and to develop know-how.

New Careers Clinic

2 Negro schools usually have little information about new careers which have opened up. Many Negro boys and girls are not motivated to stay in school; to get a good basic training; to get vocational information. Programs on new careers and on specific job opportunities can be organized by commuhity leaders. Good persons to have on the program: representatives of local businesses and industries; Negroes who are successful "pioneers" in jobs formerly held only by white persons.

Brush-Up Courses

3 Local groups are usually not able to sponsor full training courses but they can often do a good job with a brush-up course--for example, a course to help applicants prepare for civil service exams or a course to improve typing skills.

Project-"Welcome!"

4 New jobs bring strangers to the community. They have no friends. Some have never lived in towns before. They need help in finding housing, friends, churches, schools. Loneliness and adjustment problems may force people to give up jobs with a good future and return to old familiar places and to segregation. Project-"Welcome!" is just basic friendliness organized into practical help to newcomers during their adjustment period.

VISITATION DAY

Arrangements might be made for Negro students and potential students and trainees to visit local technical education centers, institutions providing MDTA training, plants providing on-the-job training and plants that have indicated that they have job openings and will hire Negroes for any jobs.

REGULAR PUBLICITY OF SUCCESSES

A local radio, TV or newspaper might be prepared to do a feature story every week on Negroes in non-traditional jobs or in training for those jobs. The county might be divided into geographic areas with publicity and awards each month to the area placing the most Negroes into non-traditional jobs or into training for those jobs.

COUNTY FORUM

Representatives of major employers in the county are invited to a one or two day public forum to make brief remarks and answer questions concerning equal employment in their companies. Others, such as private employment agencies' representatives, representatives of the local office of the State Employment Service and others are invited for the same purpose' so that the Negro public learns what equal employment resources and opportunities are available locally.

JOB FAIR

Some localities have held job fairs to seek out Negroes who want jobs or want better jobs. Often this can be done by the local Chamber of Commerce since it is made up largely of employers. It is important that job fairs be given a lot of publicity among Negroes, that the fairs be held in Negro communities at convenient hours, that the employer be willing to hire on the spot for all kinds of jobs. It is not enough just to pass out application forms.

CAREER DAY

This is something like the new career clinics described above. The two can be combined. It is geared toward careers and jobs which exist now. It can be directed toward high school seniors or it can include youngsters in lower grades who are planning their courses for specific jobs. In some cases they haven't decided. It could be geared toward people in, or who should be in, adult basic education courses. If held during a college holiday such as Christmas or Easter, it can be geared toward Negroes already in college, who might want to live and work in your community.

CONDUCT TEST TAKING WORKSHOPS.

Many job applicants have difficulty in passing tests which are required both for entry into jobs proferred by the pulp and paper industry and for transfer into better paying jobs because

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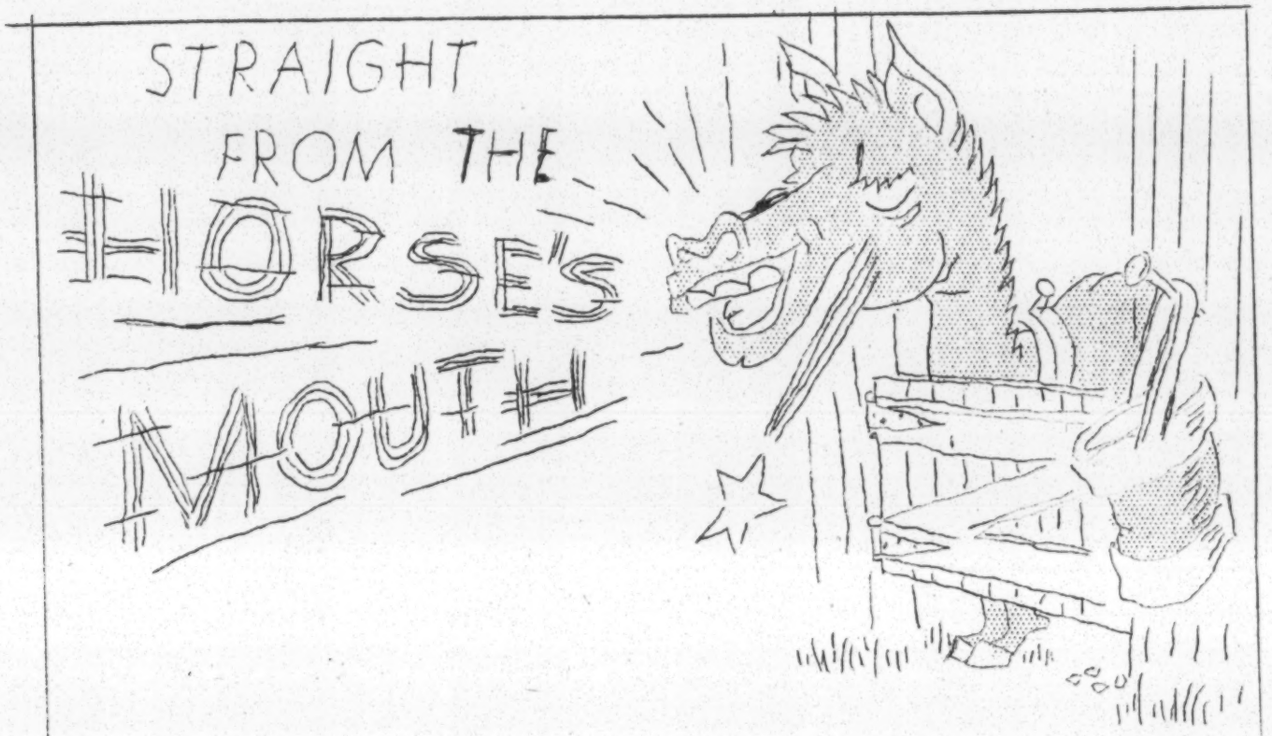
of their difficulty in passing personnel tests which companies use as a pre-requisite. Committees can conduct workshops to acquaint potential job applicants and transferees with the mechanics of taking timed tests. It is not always important that the exact test being taken in the workshop is the same as the real test, often times the mere exercise of taking a similiar test will assist interested persons in becoming test oriented. One such test in included in this workbook.



KEEP

WORKING

a3

OUR WORK FORCE

Take a Peek at a Few Statistics

1968

Population of U. S.	180,000,000
People over 65	82,000,000
Balance left to work	98,000,000
People under 21	54,000,000
Balance left to work	44,000,000
People working for U. S. Government	21,000,000
Balance left to work	23,000,000
People in Armed Forces	10,000,000
Balance left to work	13,000,000
People working for State and Municipal Government	12,800,000
Balance left to work	200,000
People in Hospitals and Asylums	126,000
Balance left to work	74,000
Beggars,=Bums and those who refuse to work	62,000
Balance left to work	12,000
People in all prisons	11,998
Balance left to work	2

Yes, just two people left to get the job done--me and you--and with you loafing and failing to show up at all over half of the time, that leaves me to do all the work. I'm getting weak, weary and overburdened so if you don't pitch in and do your part, the job is likely to go undone.

Number 89 August, 1967

CIVIL LIBERTIES BULLETIN

Issued by the

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1637 Massachusetts Ave., N.W. - Washington, D.C. - 20036

DUpont 7-6300

file

EMERGENCY MEETING OF NATIONAL LEADERS WILL SEEK ANSWERS TO URBAN CRISIS

A new national attack on the ghetto problems that have exploded in this summer's riots will be the aim of an emergency convocation of 1000 leaders of American life which is scheduled to be held in Washington in late August.

At a meeting called on July 31 by Mayor Joseph M. Barr of Pittsburgh, president of the U. S. Conference of Mayors, and Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York, a member of the Conference's executive committee, twenty-two leaders of national civic, business, labor, religious and civil rights organizations agreed to establish an Urban Coalition which will sponsor the convocation as a major step toward redefining the Nation's priorities and mustering greater resources against the troubles of the cities.

In the face of the evident tendency of Congress to cut back on urban and social programs rather than to expand them, the Coalition urged a "commitment of national resources equal to the dimensions of the problems we face" and said that "the country can wait no longer for model cities, anti-poverty, housing, education and job-training legislation and a host of other matters that have been too long denied the cities."

A basic statement approved by the Urban Coalition outlined in its preamble the participants' fear that the wide-spread riots may lead to disastrous racial division and conflict:

> "The tangible results of the urban riots in terms of death, injury and property damage are horrifying in themselves. The intangible damage in terms of the riots' effects on men's minds may yet be even greater.
>
> "At this moment, millions of Americans are forming attitudes that could mean disaster to our social structure: the homeowner who vows to shoot the next suspicious character he sees in his neighborhood; the

businessman who decides to get out of the slums, the labor leader who determines to keep minorities out; the insurance man who refuses to cover slum properties; the Negro or white who goes out to take whatever he can get his hands on; the legislator who fails to meet his public responsibilities.

"These people and others are reversing a trend that, however slowly, was working to the benefit of our cities' disadvantaged minorities.

"Let them realize that it is the citizen, in the end, who will keep our country united or will divide it. It is government's duty to maintain law and order. But all must understand that law and order is not an excuse for oppression. If law and order is to be accepted by the minorities, the majority must clearly and positively demonstrate its belief that justice, social progress, and equality are rights of every citizen."

"Dramatic and Immediate" Correction Called For

"Lawlessness and all its engredients cannot be tolerated," the statement continued. "Looting, burning and bottle-throwing are criminal acts and must be dealt with as such. But let not a reaction to acts, committed by a small fraction of the population of the country's ghettos, blind us to the absolute necessity of moving dramatically and immediately to correct the desperate condition of our urban centers."

Urging a "full new dimension in both the public and private sectors, working together for jobs, housing, education" and the many other needs of the cities, the Urban Coalition called for:

* Development by the Federal Government of an Emergency Work and Reconstruction Program to provide new training programs and jobs for the unemployed.

* Vigorous involvement of the private sector of America in a commitment to investments, job training and hiring, and everything else "necessary to the full enjoyment of the free enterprise system, and also to its survival."

* Establishment of "Earn and Learn" centers in the cities as a joint venture of business, labor and local government.

* National recognition that the "sickness of the cities, including the civic disorder within them" makes it the responsibility of every American to join in the creation of a "new political, social, economic and moral climate which will make possible the breaking up of the vicious cycle of the ghetto."

Among those who attended the meeting which set up the Urban Coalition were I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO; Andrew J. Biemiller for the AFL-CIO; Arthur S. Flemming, president of the National Council of Churches; John J. Gunther, executive director of the U. S. Conference of Mayors; Andrew Heiskell, chairman of the board of Time, Inc., and chairman of Urban America; Mayor Arthur Naftalin of Minneapolis, chairman of the Conference of Mayors' Community Relations Committee; Gerald Phillipe, chairman of the board,

General Electric; Walter P. Reuther, president, United Automobile Workers of America, AFL-CIO; David Rockefeller, president, Chase Manhattan Bank; Rabbi Jacob P. Rudin, president, Synagogue Council of America; William L. Slayton, executive vice president of Urban America; the Most Rev. Paul Tanner for the National Conference of Catholic Bishops; John Wheeler, president of the Southern Regional Council; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

-- Harold C. Fleming
Potomac Institute

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CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION
-- A MID-YEAR REVIEW

Although the first session of the 90th Congress is now well past the half-way mark, civil rights legislation is only just beginning to move off dead center. Last year the House passed the civil rights bill after 12 days of highly emotional debate, much of it centered on the open housing provision, only to see the bill later killed by a Senate filibuster. Because of that frustrating experience, the House decided to let the Senate act first this year. It was a position with which civil rights spokesmen could not disagree.

The decision to let the Senate act first led to a new strategy designed to get a bill to the Senate floor by by-passing Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee, the graveyard of civil rights legislation. It was devised by Senator Hart (D-Mich.), the principal sponsor of the Administration's six-point bill (S. 1026). With the backing of civil rights groups he split up the package into six separate bills so that the housing title (Title IV) and the provision to strengthen the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Title III) would go to committees other than the Judiciary Committee. In this way these sections of the bill would be brought to the Senate floor, and one could then be made the vehicle for a major civil rights effort.

Progress So Far "Slow and Halting"

To date, progress in the Senate has been slow and halting. Only the bill (S. 1308) to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which can now only try to conciliate complaints of discrimination, authority to issue judicially enforceable cease and desist orders to end discriminatory employment practices, has moved forward. It is before the full Labor Committee, to which it was reported by a subcommittee on July 25.

The federal jury reform provision (S. 1319), Title I of the omnibus bill, has been the subject of extensive hearings before the Judiciary Committee Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery. Senator Tydings, the Subcommittee chairman, is expected to support a bill which will be patterned on the bill (S. 989) recommended by the chief judges of the federal courts who compose the U. S. Judicial Conference, and essentially like the Administration's proposal. By ending the so-called "key man" system and eliminating the use of subjective tests in the selection of federal jurors and providing instead for their random selection from voters' lists, the bill would eliminate opportunities for racial discrimination in the selection of federal juries and make them more representative of the general community. But, even if the bill should clear the

Subcommittee -- Senator Ervin, a key member, has reservations about it -- it would still face the hurdle of Senator Eastland, who has never let a civil rights bill out of his committee without being instructed to do so by a vote of the Senate.

Hearings on the open housing bill (S. 1358) are scheduled to begin on August 21 before the Banking and Currency Subcommittee on Housing, and to run for three days. Hearings on the omnibus bill (S. 1026) first scheduled for May 23 were postponed and rescheduled five times before finally getting under way August 1 with the Attorney General as the lead-off witness. The last time they fell victim to the Detroit rioting -- the Attorney General was tied up and compelled to call off his appearance.

Action in the House

The House, notwithstanding its decision to let the Senate act first, has not been entirely idle. It has taken action on two of the bill's less controversial provisions. On July 10 it voted 282-89 to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission -- due to expire in January of 1968 -- for an additional five years. The important contributions made by the Commission are so widely acknowledged that House leaders confident of overwhelming support for the extension brought up the bill (H.R. 10805) under the rules suspension procedure requiring a two-thirds vote for passage.

During the debate on the 1966 civil rights bill, an anti-riot bill was tied in on the House floor to Title V, whose aim is to give more effective federal protection to Negroes and civil rights workers exercising their federal rights. This year it was the reverse -- it was the anti-riot bill which provided the momentum for Title V. Under growing demands of House members to report out an anti-riot bill, a House Judiciary Subcommittee headed by Chairman Celler voted out a bill coupling Title V with the anti-riot bill. But, under pressure of Chairman Colmer (D-Miss.) of the House Rules Committee, who objected to linking the two proposals in the same package and threatened to take the bill away from the Judiciary Committee and report an anti-riot bill direct to the floor, Celler yielded. He agreed to have the full Committee report out separate measures, but only after he first received assurances that the Rules Committee would clear Title V (H.R. 2516) for floor action after the anti-riot bill passed, a step which the Committee took on August 2.

Atom-Smasher Goes To Weston, Ill.

In other civil rights developments, the Senate voiced strong opposition to the selection of Weston, Illinois as a proposed site for a multi-million dollar atom smasher in the absence of adequate assurances that Negroes who would be employed on the project would have equal housing opportunities. A group of liberal Senators led by Pastore (D-R.I.) sought to delay the project to give Illinois and the communities surrounding Weston time to enact open housing legislation. Their move to strike the 7.3 million dollar fund from the Atomic Energy Commission authorization bill failed, by a vote of 47-27, a considerably narrower margin, however, than the lop-sided 104-7 vote by which the House had earlier approved the site.

Senator Brooke (R-Mass.) best summed up the attitude of civil rights groups who had criticized the site selection when he declared: "The Federal government should not condone racial discrimination by rewarding it with Federal grants." The same view was expressed in 1958 by the then Attorney General William P.

Rogers when he told an Anti-Defamation League audience: "...the Government, in determining the location of new or expanded federal facilities will have to give consideration to the availability of public schools and other public conveniences as a matter of fairness and justice to its personnel who will be on duty there."

Assault on Office of Education Guidelines

A renewed assault was launched in the House on the Office of Education school desegregation guidelines and Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which prohibits discrimination in all federally-assisted programs. The vehicle for the attack was the bill, H.R. 7819, to extend the life of the exising school aid legislation. After three days of often bitter and confused debate, three amendments were adopted, one of which, the so-called Fountain amendment, if not modified by the Senate, will have a damaging effect on the Title VI enforcement program.

The amendment adopted by a vote of 116-62 would forbid HEW from withholding or deferring funds for new education programs from a school district which was practicing discrimination until after there had first been a hearing finding the school district to be in non-compliance. The same amendment was adopted by the House last year, but House-Senate conferees worked out a compromise to permit HEW to defer funds for a period of up to 90 days while a hearing is being held to determine whether a school district is in compliance. Secretary Gardner has urged the Senate Labor Committee to delete the amendment, saying that it would "seriously weaken" HEW's compliance efforts.

The second amendment, which was adopted by voice vote, would require the school desegregation guidelines to be applied uniformly in all 50 states. Both HEW and House liberals first opposed the amendment when offered by Mrs. Green (D-Ore.). They viewed it as an effort to "invite evasion and delay" in the enforcement of the '64 Act. But after three hours of debate in which there was disagreement as to the meaning of the amendment and its effect on HEW's enforcement program, liberals reversed their stand and supported the amendment when Mrs. Green explained that its sole purpose was to make sure that the Office of Education would move to end discrimination in the North as well as in the 17 Southern and border states which operated dual school systems before they were outlawed by the 1964 Supreme Court school desegregation decision.

The third amendment, also adopted by voice vote, does no more than to enact into law what HEW's regulations now provide -- that a school district which is in compliance with a court order will be deemed to be in compliance with Title VI.

Proposals Offer an Opportunity for Reaffirmation

The negative mood of the Congress, particularly that of the House, and the failure of the Senate at the beginning of the session to adopt a new cloture rule to make it easier to curb the filibuster, continue to be the major obstacles in the path of the civil rights bill. The rioting in Detroit and elsewhere has raised a new question mark. While it may still be too early to assess its impact -- some backlash and resistance to new civil rights legislation may be anticipated -- the riots will undoubtedly be used by some as an excuse to turn their backs on such legislation.

It is hoped, however, that Congress will see in these proposals an opportunity to reaffirm its own as well as the nation's commitment to outlaw discrimination and assure equal justice for all Americans regardless of race and to help create a climate not conducive to the outbreak of violence -- a climate in which those who would provoke violence would have no one to respond to their call. As Attorney General Clark told the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, "For a decade Congress has led the nation toward equal justice. The need for progress was never greater. We cannot falter now." The fact that the Rules Committee voted to send Title V to the floor may be a sign that Congress will continue to make progress in civil rights. A better barometer will be available after the bill reaches the House floor.

-- David A. Brody
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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NEGRO LEADERS APPEAL
FOR END TO VIOLENCE

Four of the Nation's major civil rights leaders in late July joined in an appeal to the Negroes of the cities for an end to rioting and for the maintenance of law and order, calling violence self-destructive and the Negroes themselves the "primary victims" of the riots. They also urged redoubled efforts by both Negro and white Americans to eliminate the ghettos' "disabilities" of "joblessness, inadequate housing, poor schooling, insult, humiliation and attack."

The joint statement was signed by Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; A. Philip Randolph, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League. Its full text follows:

"Developments in Newark, Detroit and other strife-torn cities make it crystal clear that the primary victims of the riots are the Negro citizens. That they have grave grievances of long standing cannot be denied or minimized. That the riots have not contributed in any substantial measure to the eradication of these just complaints is by now obvious to all.

"We are confident that the overwhelming majority of the Negro community joins us in opposition to violence in the streets. Who is without the necessities of life when the neighborhood stores are destroyed and looted? Whose children are without milk because deliveries cannot be made? Who loses wages because of a breakdown in transportation or destruction of the place of employment? Who are the dead, the injured and the imprisoned? It is the Negroes who pay and pay and pay, whether or not they are individually involved in the rioting. And for what?

"Killing, arson, looting are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people.

"We who have fought so long and so hard to achieve justice for all Americans have consistently opposed violence as a means of redress.

Riots have proved ineffective, disruptive and highly damaging to the Negro population, to the civil rights cause, and to the entire nation.

"We call upon Negro citizens throughout the nation to forego the temptation to disregard the law. This does not mean that we should submit tamely to joblessness, inadequate housing, poor schooling, insult, humiliation and attack. It does require a redoubling of efforts through legitimate means to end these wrongs and disabilities.

"We appeal not only to black Americans, but also to our fellow white citizens who are not blameless. The disabilities imposed upon Negro citizens are a century old. They remain because the white citizenry in general supports these restrictions.

"The 90th Congress has exhibited an incredible indifference to hardships of the ghetto dwellers. Only last week the House defeated a rat-control bill which would have enabled the cities to get rid of the rats which infest the slums.

"And finally, we support President Johnson's call upon all our people black and white alike in all our cities to join in a determined program to maintain law and order, to condemn and to combat lawlessness in all its forms, and firmly to show by word and by word and deed that riot, looting and public disorder will just not be tolerated.

"No one benefits under mob law. Let's end it now!"

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IN "QUIET" SUPREME COURT TERM, PRECEDENTS WERE SHATTERED

Historically, two or three major decisions in a term of the Supreme Court would suffice to justify calling that term great or important. These days of judicial activism have heightened the public's expectations about the Court, however, so that every time the Justices pass up a chance to breach a constitutional barrier, there are reams of commentary about judicial "retreat."

This helps to explain how the term recently ended could be described, superficially, as dull, or a year in which nothing happened. But to call the term dull or quiet is to have missed the action.

The Court was quarrelsome about crime, impatient over civil rights, fragmented over issues and dissatisfied with past ways of doing things; it was never dull. Nine strong-minded lifetime judges exercised their prerogatives, sometimes sending the Court in several directions at once.

What the Court Did --

No catalogue of things the Court didn't do, and no tally of rulings classified as "liberal" or "conservative", can make the term any less action-packed than it was. These, then, are some of the things the Court did do:

* It shattered eight major legal precedents. The decisions put American citizenship beyond the reach of Congress to revoke against a citizen's will; wiped out state miscegenation laws; struck down New York's loyalty laws

for public employes; held that a prying microphone conducts a "search" subject to constitutional restrictions; expanded both the police power to search and the citizen's right to privacy, and said that a lawyer needn't choose between self-incrimination and disbarment.

* The Court extended two more Bill of Rights guarantees to the states: the right to a speedy trial and the right of a defendant to obtain witnesses through court order.

* The Court extended to juvenile courts the major safeguards provided for adults at criminal trials, at the same time offering a generous interpretation of the Fifth Amendment's privilege against self-incrimination.

* The Court exposed public figures and newsworthy people to the burden of proving -- if they want legal redress for defamation or nondefamatory falsehoods -- that statements about them were published as known falsehoods or with reckless disregard for the truth.

* The Court announced that a legislator has a constitutional duty to speak his mind on such matters as opposition to war, and that a state legislature can't punish him for it.

* The Court reversed its field, at least temporarily, on the most visible part of the civil rights movement, ruling for the first time in this decade against demonstrators whose actions are accompanied by public disturbance.

* The Court added a new constitutional rule to the criminal law -- a suspect is entitled to counsel during police identification procedures -- and limited the rule to future "lineups," declaring broader powers than ever to make its constitutional decisions operate only for the future.

-- And Didn't

Conspicuous among the things the Court did not tackle were local reapportionment, state aid to religion, obscenity, and the rights of public housing tenants. But there is little evidence that mere timidity moved the Court to postpone or avoid dealing with such issues.

Even the local reapportionment issue, which the Justices were weighing while Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen was mounting his campaign against the "one man, one vote" decision, seems to have been handled on its merits.

No "Plain Vanilla" Cases

The makeup of local governing boards proved to be far more complex than the makeup of state legislatures. Indications were that the Court put off deciding whether the "one vote" rule applied because none of the four cases squarely concerned a local governing body with full legislative powers -- or, in a phrase attributed to one Justice, none was a "plain vanilla case."

As for religion and the schools, the Court refused to disturb a Maryland court decision denying state aid to some religion-connected colleges -- those with a more religious "image" -- and allowing it to others.

While the Court does not give reasons for such action, or lack of action, there are plenty of reasons available other than timidity. One might be that the

Maryland case, involving one state and a few million dollars but not involving the Federal Government, was an inappropriate vehicle for determining the fate of the multibillion-dollar Federal aid to education program.

Obscenity was simply a Donnybrook of disagreement. The best the Court could muster was a message to states and localities to trim their laws to protect juveniles and inhibit the most offensive privacy-invading and "pandering" promotion of salacious matter.

Portent on Housing

The Court did find a way to avoid deciding the merits of a public housing tenant's argument that when the government is landlord, it must not evict without an explanation. Yet the writing on the wall seemed plain enough: government should think twice before it tries to skirt due process demands just because it is a landlord.

Such a warning message was flashed a few years ago when the Court declined temporarily to strike down all state laws against marriage between races. From the way the majority handled the 1964 case of McLaughlin vs Florida, and with a few Justices signaling their all-out opposition to miscegenation laws, it was clear that one more push would probably finish the job.

When the push came and the case of Loving vs Virginia was decided on the last day of this term, there was no surprise and hardly a ripple of old-fashioned court-baiting outcry. Like the timing of the nomination of Thurgood Marshall to the Court, the miscegenation decision was made in "the right time and the right place." Perhaps timing is the key to the many things the Court did do and the few things it didn't.

-- John P. MacKenzie
Washington Post Staff Writer

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JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ACTS OF CONGRESS ON FIRST AMENDMENT GROUNDS

Senator Sam J. Ervin's judicial review bill (S. 3) continues to be stalled in the House Judiciary Committee, of which Rep. Emanuel Celler is chairman. Passed twice by the Senate (89th and 90th Congresses) the bill never has been scheduled for hearings on the House side. An identical bill (H.R. 1198) has been introduced in the House by Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D., N.Y.).

Although known to be highly skeptical of the bill, Celler has promised that hearings will be held. There is a possibility, but no assurance, that the hearings will be held before the end of this year.

The bill proposes "to provide effective procedures for the enforcement of the establishment and free exercise clauses of the first amendment to the Constitution.

The Problem of "Standing to Sue"

A bottleneck in such "enforcement" is the problem of "standing to sue." Until now it has been very difficult, if not impossible, to challenge an allegedly improper federal aid to religious agencies in the courts, because of long-standing limitations on the scope of standing to use.

The Supreme Court held in 1923 in Frothingham v. Mellon that a person who tries to stop a government program must show some real damage to himself. The damage must be beyond that caused by the fact that as a taxpayer a fraction of his tax goes to the supposedly improper program's budget. Short of a showing of tangible damage, the person has no standing to sue, and his case is dismissed.

In an effort to break this bottleneck to a challenge of the constitutionality of certain Acts of Congress, Senator Ervin has pushed hard in both the 89th and 90th Congresses for his judicial review bill. The proposal would give three classes the right to court tests on the basis of First Amendment provisions. They are:

1) Any public or other nonprofit agency or institution whose accessibility to loans or grants is reduced because of aids to church-related agencies;

2) Any citizen or group of citizens who have paid income taxes the previous year who feel that such loans or grants violate the First Amendment; and

3) Any public or nonprofit institution or agency whose application for federal aids has been rejected on First Amendment grounds.

Nine Acts Specified

The judicial review bill specifies nine Acts of Congress concerning which standing to sue would be granted. They are: (1) the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, (2) title VII of the Public Health Service Act, (3) the National Defense Education Act of 1958, (4) the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963, (5) title II of the Act of September 30, 1950 (Public Law 874, Eighty-first Congress), (6) the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, (7) the Cooperative Research Act, (8) the Higher Education Act of 1965, or (9) the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Demands for judicial review of Acts of Congress on First Amendment grounds have been rising during the past half-dozen years. As far back as 1961 there was a draft of such a bill by Senator Wayne Morse. It was reworked in 1963. In 1963 a judicial review amendment by Senators Ervin and Cooper was proposed to the Higher Education Facilities Act. It was passed by the Senate but rejected in conference with the House.

During the 88th Congress the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights received numerous requests for an investigation of the expenditure of Federal funds to aid sectarian institutions. Chairman Ervin began preliminary research in this area of constitutional law at that time. The pressure increased with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and the Higher Education Act of 1965.

During the debate on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Senator Morse pleaded with those pushing for a judicial review amendment not to do it. He said it would only serve to defeat the education bill. His position was that

judicial review should be handled as a separate matter. He later sponsored such a bill.

On July 29, 1966 the Senate approved S. 2097 and referred it to the House Judiciary Committee on August 1 but no action was taken on the bill before Congress adjourned. S. 3 was introduced in the 90th Congress on January 11, 1967 and passed by unanimous consent on April 11.

Opposing Reasons for Support

It is interesting to observe that Sen. Morse and Sen. Ervin support the same judicial review bill but for exactly opposite reasons. Morse expects that the courts, if they get cases properly before them, will uphold the constitutionality of the Acts of Congress under question. He is anxious to get the matter cleared up in the courts so the legislative bottleneck will be broken and the Congress can get on with their programs of education.

On the other hand, Ervin has let it be known that he believes that at least some of the federal grants and loans possible under the listed Acts may very well be unconstitutional. Thus, if his view prevails, many federal programs will be curtailed.

The optimists say that the judicial review bill has a 50-50 chance for passage in the House. Others, however, note that rising opposition from various groups is being made known to the House Judiciary Committee. Add to that the fact that Chairman Celler, Speaker John McCormack, and Rep. Hale Boggs, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, are opposed to the bill and one comes up with considerable pessimism about the passage of a judicial review bill by the House of Representatives in the 90th Congress.

-- W. Barry Garrett
Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs

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NEW DRAFT LAW MAKES CHANGES IN
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION PROVISIONS

The "Military Selective Service Act of 1967" amending the former "Universal Military Training and Service Act", which was signed by the President on June 30 and is now in effect, makes two basic changes in the provisions for conscientious objectors.

First, the clause defining "Religious training and belief" as meaning "an individual's belief in a relationship to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relationship" has been deleted. The Congress felt that this clause as interpreted in the Seeger case was too broad, in that it allowed those who were not religious in the traditional sense to be conscientious objectors. This change, it is believed, will make no difference to the vast majority of COs who base their objection on traditional religious grounds. Whether, in fact, the change will make it more or less difficult for the unorthodox to receive the CO classification will probably be demonstrated through experience in the classification process and through test cases in the courts.

Second, the provision which involved the Department of Justice in the appeal process has been deleted. No new cases will be referred to the Justice Department after July 1, 1967. The approximately 2,700 cases presently before the Department will be continued, but processing must be completed by July 1, 1968.

New Wording

The new wording of the law concerning conscientious objectors is as follows:

"(j) Nothing contained in this title shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. As used in this subsection, the term 'religious training and belief' does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views, or a merely personal moral code. Any person claiming exemption from combatant training and service because of such conscientious objections whose claim is sustained by the local board shall, if he is inducted into the armed forces under this title, be assigned to noncombatant service as defined by the President, or shall, if he is found to be conscientiously opposed to participation in such noncombatant service, in lieu of such induction, be ordered by his local board, subject to such regulations as the President may prescribe, to perform for a period equal to the period prescribed in section 4(b) such civilian work contributing to the maintenance of the national health, safety, or interest as the local board pursuant to Presidential regulations may deem appropriate and any such person who knowingly fails or neglects to obey any such order from his local board shall be deemed, for the purposes of Section 12 of this title, to have knowingly failed or neglected to perform a duty required of him under this title."

There is no change in the alternative service program. Although the words "pursuant to Presidential regulations" were inserted in section 6(j) as quoted above, it is understood that this makes no difference in the meaning of the law.

The intent of the law is to speed up the judicial process concerning Selective Service cases. It gives these cases precedence on the dockets of the Federal courts. It puts pressure on the Department of Justice to prosecute such cases as quickly as possible. It strengthens the former provision that the courts may not review the action of the Selective Service System until or unless a registrant has refused induction into the military service or has been wrongfully inducted.

-- J. Harold Sherk
National Service Board for
Religious Objectors

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"CONCENTRATION CAMP" RUMORS
SPRING FROM QUESTIONABLE PAMPHLET

Through the late Spring and Summer, college students from many areas alarmed their parents with letters quoting nebulous rumors that the United States has established "five concentration camps" allegedly for persons who engaged in civil rights and peace demonstrations or who were accused of conspiring to bring about acts of espionage or sabotage. With practically nothing to go on except this rumor, we were able to track down its source and obtain a refutation, thanks to the aid of Larry Speiser of the American Civil Liberties Union's Washington office, Congressman Don Edwards of California, and J. Walter Yeagley, U. S. Assistant Attorney General.

The basis for this falsehood is found in a pamphlet by Charles R. Allen, Jr., Concentration Camps, U.S.A., published in 1966 by the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties.

A number of organizations have inquired about the rumor, and the question was also raised at a recent meeting of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. Publication of the following letter from Mr. Yeagley to Congressman Don Edwards (D., Calif.) may help to spike it:

"May 11, 1967

"The Hon. Don Edwards
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

"Dear Mr. Edwards:

"This is in reply to your letter of May 9, 1967, with regard to inquiries from two of your constituents who have read and are deeply concerned about the information contained in the pamphlet Concentration Camps, U.S.A., written by Charles R. Allen, Jr.

"The article by Mr. Allen has been reviewed by representatives of this Division and found to be replete with inaccuracies. It can be stated without equivocation that there are no 'concentration camps' in existence in the United States and that the allegations that a master pick-up list of 500,000 Americans was held by the FBI in 1952, and that one million 'detention warrants' have been printed by the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice and are on hand for immediate issuance to and use by the FBI, Federal, State and local police agencies once 'operation dragnet' is set in motion, are complete fabrications.

"The Internal Security Act of 1950 authorizes the President to proclaim the existence of an internal security measure under specified conditions and also authorizes the President during such emergency, acting through the Attorney General, to apprehend and by order detain persons as to whom there is reasonable grounds to believe that such person will engage in or will conspire with others to engage in, acts of espionage or sabotage.

"In keeping with these provisions facilities were maintained for a few years with funds appropriately authorized by the Congress for this purpose. Such facilities were never used for the foregoing purposes. About 1957 the project was discontinued, the camps abandoned, and since that time no funds have been appropriated for this purpose.

"You may wish to refer to reports of hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities for background information on the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties which commissioned Mr. Allen to write his article.

I trust that the foregoing will be of some assistance to you in your reply to constituents.

Sincerely,

(Signed) J. Walter Yeagley,
Assistant Attorney General"

-- Dr. Edwin W. Davis
National Education Association

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NEW PROPOSALS FOR ABOLITION
OF THE FEDERAL DEATH PENALTY

A bill to abolish the Federal death penalty (S. 1760) was introduced in May by Senator Philip Hart (D., Mich). Among the co-sponsors are Democratic Senators Quentin Burdick of North Dakota, Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, Edward Long of Missouri, Eugene McCarthy and Walter Mondale of Minnesota, Wayne Morse of Oregon, Gaylord Nelson and William Proxmire of Wisconsin, Harrison Williams of New Jersey, and Stephen Young of Ohio, and Republicans Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Jacob Javits of New York.

The bill provides that no sentence of death shall be imposed on anyone convicted of any Federal offense. Whatever conviction presently authorizes or requires the death penalty would authorize or require a sentence of life imprisonment. The measure is before the Senate Judiciary Committee, which as yet has not scheduled hearings.

In the House, eight Congressmen have written all Members inviting their co-sponsorship of legislation for the same purpose, emphasizing that the President's Crime Commission has pointed out the discriminatory pattern of the death sentence as it is disproportionately imposed and carried out on the ignorant, the powerless, the Negro and the poor, and the statement of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice that the death penalty has a clearly undesirable effect "both because of the inherent sensationalism of a trial for life which may strongly influence all involved in the adjudication", as well as the possibility that the innocent may be executed. A bill is expected to be introduced by Rep. Don Edwards (D., Calif.) and others in the near future.

Although prospects for passage -- or even hearings -- do not seem good this session, it is the sponsors' hope that their action may stimulate concern with the question, on both the national and the state levels.

-- Dr. Lewis I. Maddocks
United Church of Christ

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(NOTE: Former Governor Michael DiSalle, chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the Federal Death Penalty, discussed the pro's and con's of the issue in an article, Capital Punishment: Deterrent to Crime -- Or to Justice? which was published in the May, 1967, issue of IUD Agenda. Through the courtesy of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, a reprint of the article is enclosed as an informational supplement to this Civil Liberties Bulletin.)

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PEOPLE AND PROJECTS

THE REV. JOHN P. ADAMS has come from Hammond, Ind., to become the director of public affairs with the Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns. He will work with the board's Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs, with primary responsibility in the issues of church-government relations, Christian citizenship and civil liberties. Mr. Adams, a member of Phi Beta Kappa and of Sigma Chi, has served in pastorates in Connecticut and Ohio as well as in Indiana. In community activities he has been president of the Lake County Migrant Council, chairman of the Indiana Council of Churches' migrant ministry, president of the Northwest Indiana Council of Churches, and a member of the Hammond mayor's subcommittee on minority group problems. He and Mrs. Adams have six children.

Americans for Democratic Action's new legislative representative is VERLIN NELSON, a native of Des Moines, Ia., whose background includes work as executive secretary of Iowa's Democratic Central Committee, assistant state personnel director, and a stint with the state legislature's legislative research bureau. He is a graduate of the State University of Iowa, where he also attended the School of Law.

DR. LEWIS I. MADDOCKS, director of the Washington Office of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, will be on sabbatical leave during September, October and November, and will be working on a report on the legal and civil liberties problems facing the homosexual in America, and what position the Church should take concerning public opinion and public policy on these questions. Lew would be interested in receiving information on these issues from any organizations which have been studying them. Though he will be in and out of Washington, he can be reached through his office at 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., which will be in continuing touch with him.

New associate director of the Washington office of the National Council of Churches and editor of its fortnightly publication, Memo, is the REV. DR. JOHN W. TURNBULL. Dr. Turnbull, who is a clergyman of the Episcopal Church and received his Ph.D. in Religion from Yale, had been since 1958 Professor of Christian Ethics at the Episcopal Theological Seminary of the Southwest at Austin, Tex.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM is redefined to include the rights of students as well as of teachers in a Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students which has been drafted by a committee of representatives of the American Association of University Professors, National Student Association, Association of American Colleges, National Association of Student Personnel Administrators and National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. The committee, which hopes that the "student bill of rights" will have the same impact on the academic world as did the AAUP's 1940 statement on faculty freedoms, holds that students should be free to extend invitations to controversial speakers and to engage in off-campus activities without college interference; should be protected against improper disclosure of their records, and should be free to publish their opinion with minimum restraint.

Recently named Community Affairs Program Director for the National Council of Catholic Women is MISS RUTH D. WEHLE, whose prior work has included United States government service in the fields of public relations, information and community organization, both at home and in England and South Africa. Among her assignments have been the posts of liaison officer with the Central Intelligence Agency, and second secretary and special assistant to the American Ambassador at Pretoria. Miss Wehle is listed in Who's Who of American Women and the International Who's Who of American Women. The University of Kentucky designated her a Distinguished Alumna, 1966, and she is a recipient of the Alpha Gamma Delta Alumna Award for 1967.

THE REV. EVERETT W. FRANCIS, who has been appointed public affairs officer of the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, will be spending several days of each week in Washington, with an office at 110 Maryland Ave., N. E. His new work will include responsibility for co-ordinating the efforts of the divisions of the Executive Council which are concerned with public issues, among them public welfare, civil rights and foreign aid. From 1964 until his present appointment, Mr. Francis had been associate director of program for the Diocese of Michigan, where his community activities included service on the Board of Directors of the Michigan Council of Churches as chairman of their Division of Christian Education.

agency NCCJ

Equal Education For All Children

by James M. Eagan

EQUAL education for all children has always been the goal of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. This has been achieved very largely in areas where parents would organize and where their voice could be heard. For the most part these were parents of majority status, largely white and middle class. As internal pressures grew in urban centers, many of these parents moved to the suburbs where new schools, better paid teachers and a forward looking curriculum provided educational opportunity unsurpassed in the world.

Those left in urban centers and those in poverty pockets of rural America did not fare so well. The educational plant deteriorated. Teachers became discouraged and moved to the fringes of the city or to the suburbs. Two kinds of public schools developed, often within the same system, where children of the poor who needed better teaching, a curriculum adapted to their needs, often dropped out of school or rather school dropped out of them.

James M. Eagan,
Vice President
National Conference
of Christians and Jews

This posed a major problem in rearing children of good will. Parents and children of the white middle class lived in a world completely separated from the parents and children of the poor in the inner city. There could be little understanding, little empathy, where there was so little personal contact. This presents a major problem to the PTA. More and more its strength has grown in the suburbs and the fringes of the city. The result has been that parents in the ghettoes have had little organization, little help from great national organizations such as the PTA. Fortunately, this situation is now being remedied as the PTA turns its attention to the problems of the inner city. This comes at a time too when parents of the poor are becoming alive to their rights and responsibilities and are beginning to ask for their children the same educational opportunities being offered to those more fortunate children of the suburbs.

What should be the present role of the PTA? First, a frank recognition that there is a problem of equal education. Coupled with this is the recognition that this is a moral and spiritual problem as well. There is a moral imperative to do something about the problem. Some PTA's have been willing to change their kind of meeting, to meet in homes, often on a Saturday or Sunday to involve working parents. Sometime PTA leaders go to the natural congregating places of the poor — to laundromats, to community rooms of settlement houses in order that they may acquaint young parents with the advantages of programs such as Operation Headstart. Other parents have formed tutorial committees to work with children who so desperately need the extra help that they may give. Parents in need are often supplied with books, magazines, records, so that this cultural background will be enhanced. This has had a remarkable effect upon the so-called "IQ's" of their children. Parents and school systems cooperate to conduct visits to concerts, to museums, to study local history. These activities require time, effort, persistence, and dedication to the idea of working with people, not for them.

This approach puts the PTA in the position of a community service organization. Personal contact must not only be followed with action, it must be action directed towards better housing, equal employment opportunity. It involves a willingness to take a sharp look at the entire educational structure of our cities. The neighborhood school, for example, may not be the contemporary answer to the problem of equal educational opportunity. It is far too easy to provide fewer facilities to a neighborhood school in a poverty-ridden district. Perhaps the educational park concept has much to recommend it in terms of being better able to provide team teaching, involvement of parents, highly trained specialists and guidance personnel. In addition, it will certainly provide better integration of school children. If we really "learn by doing" the best way to teach human relations is to provide day-by-day personal contact and experiences. Many of the problems of prejudiced children and parents arise from the fact that there is so little contact with children of differing socio-economic, religious, and racial backgrounds. The educational park idea may provide that necessary contact. Above all, it may set up standards of excellence in education which are not now attainable in our present system.

Such an approach to education involves a continued interest on the part of parents in the kind of training that teachers of their children receive. There is no doubt but that present teacher training is well suited to the present suburban school. But a large number of our children attend city schools where this kind of training is inadequate. Traditionally, teachers in most states have been trained in colleges and universities set in rural parts of the state. Usually practice teaching was done in small schools with largely homogeneous school populations. Increasingly, teachers so trained have sought jobs in the cities. The result is a teacher in a state of trauma school when she discovers that the conditions which prevailed during the training period do not prevail at all in the slum.

There are some signs of change. Some city universities will train teachers through a much longer period of teacher training under slum conditions. A few may even be encouraged to live in the slums while undergoing such training. Future teachers should not be averse to training similar to that given Vista and Peace Corps workers. It is somewhat strange that we train young teachers to work in the slums of Rio de Janeiro but do not train teachers for the Hough area of Cleveland.

Only through this kind of training will teachers develop a concept of what the total life situation of the child will be. Only then will teachers realize that it is more important to teach children and not solely subjects. Since the Russians sent up sputnik, a great deal of emphasis has been placed on teaching subject material. Somewhere the fact has been forgotten that it is children who have to be taught, not just subject matter. Unless the subject matter has some relevance to the child, the teacher's efforts are for naught. One school system which discovered this was Wilmington, Delaware. In *An Adventure in Human Relations,* Dr. Muriel Crosby, Associate Superintendent of Schools, describes how parents, teachers, and children brought educational emphasis back to the child without sacrificing educational quality. Dr. Crosby has served as educational consultant to Akron, Ohio schools. Her work is published by Follett Publishing Company of Chicago, 1965. It is well worth reading in conjunction with the *Action Program* of the PTA. The two provide a guideline and a means of implementation if we really desire educational excellence for all children. The PTA publication *In All Good Faiths,* can be of help in developing concepts of pluralism. The booklet, *Rearing Children of Good Will* may provide some suggestions for practical implementation.

Above all, we must realize we live in a pluralistic society which enriches our culture. The PTA must be pluralistic. If it represents only one segment of parents, teachers, and children, it does not truly represent America. There are many signs, however, which indicate that the PTA increasingly represents American pluralism. As it grows in this aspect, it will strive to eliminate those flaws in our educational structure and to perfect its aim of the equal (and better) education for all children. □

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS?

NCCJ is a civic organization engaged in a nationwide program of intergroup education. It enlists Protestants, Catholics and Jews who without compromise of conscience or of their distinctive and important religious differences work together to build better relationships among men of all religions, races and nationalities. Its operation is civic and social although, obviously, the roots of the brotherhood which it seeks to build are in the moral law and in religious faith.

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by

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS

43 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y. 10019

CATHOLIC GUIDELINES ON RELATIONS TO JEWS

THE DIALOGUE

A JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS

NCCJ

EDITORIAL

The end of anti-Semitism, political or religious, is not yet in sight. Basic first steps were taken by the World Council of Churches (Amsterdam, 1948; Evanston, 1954; New Delhi, 1961) and the Vatican Council (Rome, 1965). The preceding issue of Dialogue *was an interpretation of the Vatican Declaration.*

This number is devoted to the interpretation of a necessary second step in de-mythologizing the anti-Semitic Christian tradition, as far as Jews and Catholics in the United States are concerned. That Protestants, and eventually the Eastern Orthodox, will also need to join with Jewish leaders and organizations in adopting or adapting guidelines for Christian-Jewish dialogue and the actions that dialogue must generate, seems obvious. Both nationally and locally, such dialogue has been going on for years, with tacit or explicit ground rules for each occasion — the latest conspicuous instance, nationally, being the consideration of the Role of Conscience in Boston, May 7 and 8, 1967. There, as our text notes, the plans for the consultation did not appear inviting to an important segment of Judaism — and important segments of Protestantism were not officially involved. There is evidently a great deal to be done before the Christian-Jewish dialogue can include all Jews and Christians, even organizationally and at the national level.

How much more remains to be done before individuals and communities throughout the nation are seriously involved in overcoming traditional and currently destructive anti-Semitism, replacing it with the understanding, mutual respect and cooperation *that the Jewish and Christian faiths both abundantly support, are questions individuals and communities must answer. Let no one suppose that he can evade his responsibility on the ground that the question is already "old hat." His indifference or boredom will not excuse him from his duty to take note of what goes on in the Near East, in Russia, among the neo-Nazis, and in his own nation, community and church, and to combat it in his own thoughts, speech and acts, and in concert with his neighbors.*

We know of no one better equipped to assemble, evaluate and interpret the contents of this issue of Dialogue *than our colleague, Dr. Bernhard E. Olson, whose portfolio in the National Conference of Christians and Jews is Director of Interreligious Affairs. As student, teacher, writer, speaker and program director, he has arrived at a maturity in the field of Christian-Jewish relations which justifies our pride and gratitude in presenting him as the editor of this issue of our bulletin.*

— Claud Nelson

TEXT OF GUIDELINES ON CATHOLIC-JEWISH RELATIONS

WASHINGTON, D. C. (RNS) 3/16/67. Following is the text of the "Guidelines for Catholic-Jewish Relations" issued by the Subcommission for Catholic-Jewish Affairs of the U. S. Catholic Bishops' Commission for Ecumenical and Interreligious Affairs:

Perspectives

In its Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions of 1965, the Second Vatican Council issued a historic Statement on the Jews and summoned all Catholics to reappraise their attitude toward and relationship with, the Jewish people.

The statement was, in effect, a culminating point of initiatives and pronouncements of recent Pontiffs and of numerous endeavors in the church concerned with Catholic-Jewish harmony. It was also the point of convergence of many insights opened by Pope Paul's Encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam* and the Council's Constitution on the Church and Decree on Ecumenism.

HOUSTON'S SHACKLED PRESS

by Ben H. Bagdikian NEWS MEDIA

AMONG the most fervent declarations about American institutions are public testaments to the need for freedom of the press, and no one pronounces these with more passion than the press itself. From standing mottoes on page one, in prose and poetry across editorial pages, and in unrelenting rhetoric from publishers' conventions comes the message: the democratic process is founded on the rock of free and independent newspapers.

Most of these calls imply the danger of control by government. Some suggest other threats, from welfare statism to public apathy. Over the years, among the most insistent alarmists of the internal threat to freedom has been the Houston *Chronicle*, the largest paper in Texas and at one time the property of Jesse Jones. But so far in this decade the greatest contribution the Houston *Chronicle* has made to the maintenance of native American institutions is to conduct a continuing and depressing demonstration on how not to operate a free paper in a free society, and to remind its brethren in the trade that the most immediate threat to a free press in this country is their own conflict of interest.

In the 1950s the *Chronicle* was an unabashed mouthpiece for the city's aging oligarchy, dull, jingoistic, reactionary, and falling behind its competitors. Brought in to rejuvenate the paper in 1960 was William P. Steven, a professional editor (moderate Republican) who reversed the paper's dying tendencies and looked at the *Chronicle* as though it were being published for the whole community. In addition to this heresy, he was pretty radical: he supported higher education, Lyndon Johnson, and civil rights. So last September he was fired by the oligarchy. It was the most spectacular story in American newspapering that week, reported in all major Texas dailies, the wire services, and national newsmagazines. But in the *Chronicle's* account of its change — the conservative team of the 1950s was put back in charge — Steven's name did not appear, and he became an unperson in the manner of fallen political gods in the Soviet encyclopedia. The paper began shifting back to the right.

When a big and powerful newspaper fires its hard-driving editor, then changes hands only to reverse the change a few months later, that's news — but barely so to the newspaper in question. Mr. Bagdikian, Washington-based author and reporter, needed weeks of intensive querying and checking to get at the facts about the policies and the goings-on of the owners of the Houston CHRONICLE. *The results have great relevance to the state of the free press.*

Three months later the oligarchs agreed to sell the *Chronicle* to the Houston oil millionaire John Mecom as part of an $85 million package that included hotels, banks, office buildings, and a laundry. The deal would change the commercial power structure of the sixth largest city in the country, but the *Chronicle's* bland story was one eighth as long as the one in the opposition *Post*. After Mecom moved in, the paper continued its rightward shift and changed largely by playing up its new proprietor's interest in oil, horse and automobile racing, and providing spectacular coverage of his daughter's wedding.

On June 7 of this year the Mecom deal collapsed, and the *Chronicle* reverted to the oligarchy, along with the laundry. Apparently the deal fell through over disagreement on the final price for the biggest bank in the package. The *Chronicle* did not report that the deal had been canceled, let alone why, presumably on grounds that it was none of the public's business. Readers were not even told that they had lost a newspaper proprietor. Mecom's name, like Steven's before him, was merely dropped from the masthead and replaced by that of Jesse Jones, who has been dead ten years. If Houstonians depended on their biggest paper, they would not know that their community had undergone a profound change, even though the paper was part of that change. And they would not know that their leading newspaper, the most prominent Texas representative of that crucial institution of a free and independent press, was being bought and sold like an anonymous link in a string of corporate hot dogs. On the basis of that record, the *Chronicle's* readers will probably have to rely on rumor and gossip to tell them what happens next to their newspaper.

Among the depressing morals to be drawn from the turbulence in Houston is the reminder that the American press has hardly begun to think about, let alone solve, a fundamental problem of conflict of interest. The press has been vigorous about pointing to conflict of interest among politicians, occasionally exposing men and agencies in government who let private profit interfere with their public duty. Newspapers were particularly noticeable stressing the horrors of conflict of interest and payola in broadcasting. At infrequent times a few papers will even expose individual reporters or editors who compromise their reportorial objectivity by taking money, favors, or glory from news sources. But they have been virtually silent about a major source of conflict of interest in journalism: the danger that the publisher of a local paper will have a financial interest in an enterprise that should be reported objectively but is not.

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For example, the group that controlled the *Chronicle* last year also controlled a large bank in town which experienced a bitter stockholder struggle that was reported in the *Wall Street Journal* and on page one of the opposition *Post*, but never mentioned in the *Chronicle*.

So it was typical that when the *Chronicle* was sold last December, along with the same large bank and downtown real estate, Houstonians depending solely on the *Chronicle* would have known nothing of the event unless they had caught the final edition of the December 6 paper, and even there they would have been limited to a twelve-and-a-half-inch story. Six months later when it was "unsold," the readers were told nothing. The *Post* had three chaste paragraphs forty-eight hours later.

The *Post* has not always compensated for the deficiencies of the *Chronicle*. It cooperated, for example, in keeping out of print in Houston the name and fate of the discharged Steven. Competition does not necessarily produce good newspapers. There are too many cities where it seems to produce the opposite — Boston, San Francisco, the afternoon papers in New York City — and a number of places where monopolies print good newspapers — Louisville and St. Petersburg. Competition merely increases the odds that news will be printed and public questions asked and investigated. There is no longer competition in 96 percent of American cities with papers, and in the remaining 4 percent the tide of monopoly seems to move on inexorably, as it has in Houston in recent times.

UNTIL 1964 there had been three papers in the city. For years, the best one was Oveta Culp Hobby's morning *Post*, staid, occasionally enterprising, but never as vigorous or as authoritative as one would expect from the only morning paper in the country's sixth largest and remarkably rich city. There were two afternoon papers. The Scripps-Howard *Press*, a wretched paper, was a flamboyant, superficial jab in the civic rib cage. The other was the *Chronicle*, reactionary and stingy with the news, for years the voice of its early owner, Jesse Jones, and after his death, of his fiscal trustees.

In 1960 the *Press* had a circulation of 102,000. The *Post*, with 218,000 and the only staff exhibiting signs of metropolitan-caliber ability, grew slowly to dominance in the city. The *Chronicle* had a circulation of 205,000, but it was out of sympathy and out of touch with large segments of the community. John T. Jones, Jr., the titular head of the *Chronicle*, decided it was time for a change. Jones, the favorite nephew of Jesse Jones, is tall, slender, slow-speaking, with a facial resemblance to his uncle except for a contemplative quality.

John Jones decided to change the *Chronicle* to a paper for a modern metropolis, which Houston desperately needed. For years the city had been wracked by ideological wars of the most primitive kind, most dramatically in its educational system. The schools were dominated by citizens who regarded sympathetic mention of the United Nations in the classroom as Communist indoctrination, racial integration as an alien plot, and who eschewed such forms of federal aid as school lunches but grasped it in the form of federally supported military training for high school boys.

Jones's instrument for the awakening of the *Chronicle* was William P. Steven, a man of heavy build and hearty voice, with a national reputation for rejuvenating newspapers. He had started out in his native Wisconsin, had edited in Tulsa, and had enlivened the Minneapolis news scene. He is of that breed of newspapermen who possess instinctive rapport with their generation, a drive to go where the action is, and an immunity from the contagion of bureaucracy and ultrarespectability.

Like his friend Lyndon Johnson, Steven is a calculating plunger. (Years ago he told a *Time* magazine reporter that his editing philosophy is "Plan now, print later," but it came out in *Time* as "Print now, plan later" and continues unchangeable in the corridors of *Time* as a famous Steven quote.) He parted with the Cowles management in Minneapolis largely because young John Cowles had risen to the point of editorial leadership, and a good newspaper can stand only one leader at a time. It is typical of Steven's shrewd enthusiasm that he found his next job by compiling a list of all the papers in the country with three characteristics: big enough to pay him a good salary, dull, and with an editor over sixty. There were eight. In each case he arranged for a friend who knew the owners to let the publisher know Steven was a good man and available. One of the papers was the *Chronicle*.

In September of 1960 John Jones and Steven spent a day and a half talking in a room of the Rice Hotel in Houston. Jones wanted Steven to do for the *Chronicle* what he had done for papers in Tulsa and Minneapolis, make them interesting and make them grow. The two men liked each other. As they approached a decision, Steven told Jones, "You know, John, there is one thing that troubles me about working in the South that you ought to know. I feel that integration is an essential fact in the demonstration of democracy. I think it is necessary for the full development of the economy. And I think it is the only way to make our foreign policy mean anything in a world of mostly dark skins. Outside of that, I have no strong feelings on the matter."

As Steven remembers it, Jones replied, "The *Chronicle* supports the law of the land. The only trouble I'll have with you is that you may want to talk about it too much."

The *Chronicle* stopped being dull and archaic. Emphasis moved from columnists of the far right, like Paul Harvey and Fulton Lewis, Jr., to those of the center, like James Reston and Max Freedman. The paper subscribed to the Los Angeles *Times*–Washington *Post* wire service and the New York *Times* News Service (after the *Times* service appeared, conservatives in town began calling the *Chronicle* their *Pravda*).

Almost at once Steven began building the local news staff, which was suffering from inbreeding, age, and malnutrition. Top reporters at the *Chronicle* in 1960 were getting $120 a week, and he raised their salaries to $165. He attracted bright young journalists from outside to the paper. One

photographer, Ted Rozumalski, became the only man ever to be named twice as national Photographer of the Year. Reporter William Porterfield won an Ernie Pyle Award in 1963. Saul Friedman was named a Nieman Fellow at Harvard. The staff began doing a series of articles on urgent local problems, among them sympathetic accounts of the nature of racial relations in the city (there are 300,000 Negroes in a city of a million). Much attention was devoted to the need for faster development of higher education. The *Chronicle* withdrew its support from the conservatives on the school board, pressed for televising of school-board proceedings against the bitter opposition of conservatives, and won.

Steven spent money, but he also saved some. For years it had cost the paper $100,000 to publish a 6 A.M. edition merely to get an extra 7000 circulation in the fight against the *Post*. Steven scrapped that edition. In 1964 the *Press* finally gave up and sold its assets to the *Chronicle*, which then became the largest paper in Texas, with 254,000 circulation.

The opposition *Post* began to perk up. It brought down William Woestendiek from the highly successful Long Island *Newsday*, and its national and foreign news improved. The changes were long overdue in a city with four universities (total enrollment 25,000), a large petrochemical and shipping community with global rather than parochial interests, and the huge NASA space center.

For the first time, urgent issues could be discussed openly without destructive recrimination. The pre-Steven *Chronicle* spoke for the financial lords of the territory and their eccentric politics, and everyone knew it; the most dangerous political radicalism it had entertained was to support Governor John Connally, even though he is, in a manner of speaking, a Democrat.

A man who lived and worked in Houston during the Steven period said, "You have no idea what a difference it made that the *Chronicle* changed. It wasn't dangerous to be a Johnson Democrat anymore, or to support minority groups, or speak in favor of Medicare. Before, if you supported these things, they made you feel like the village crazy man."

The nature of this change is implied in the award given Steven in October of 1964 by the Houston chapter of the American Jewish Committee "in recognition of his constructive and effective labors in guiding the Houston *Chronicle* toward accomplishing the information of our populace and the improvement of opinion in Houston."

It was typical of the new role of the paper that on September 2, 1965, Steven and his counterpart on the *Post*, William Hobby, Jr., spent much of the day conferring with Houston Mayor Louie Welch over an alarming local development. It was during the Watts rebellion in Los Angeles, and though Houston Negroes showed no sign of hostility, hysterical whites had bought out all the guns in a number of stores and were mounting armed patrols of neighborhoods. Steven put in continual calls for his boss, John Jones, and for his managing editor, Everett Collier, but, oddly, could not reach either one.

Steven arrived home tired and worried, but his wife, Lucy, an alert and articulate blonde, insisted that he shake his concern and join a family celebration. It was a gay evening. But by eleven thirty Bill and Lucy were in bed reading when John Jones called and said that he was coming right up. Bill assumed that Jones wanted to talk about the racial tension.

Just before midnight, Mr. and Mrs. Jones arrived at the Steven home in the fashionable southwest of Houston. Bill and Lucy were in bathrobes and over an initial drink made friendly small talk. Then Jones blurted out: "This is the hardest thing I ever had to do. Bill, they had a meeting today, and they got you."

As Bill and Lucy Steven reconstruct it, the conversation went like this:

Steven: Who is "they"? And what do you mean, they got me?

Jones: You know. The Endowment.

Lucy: Who?

Jones: The trustees.

Lucy: What do you mean, they got Bill?

Jones: You're all through, Bill.

Lucy: Why? Why?

There was no direct answer. Much later that night, Jones said: "Bill, you had a vision. They don't want a vision; they want a voice."

The Endowment is The Houston Endowment, Incorporated, a tax-free charitable foundation started by Jesse Jones in 1937 with a gift of $1,050,000. Jesse Jones, banking, lumber, and real estate millionaire and a government administrator under Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt, died in 1956. Today his Endowment calculates its assets at $168 million. Others think it is $400 million, but no outside audit has ever been made.

Under the law, the Endowment exists solely to support charities. But its primary impact on the community is as a powerful, tightly held corporate force. It has an important interest in thirty-two corporations, a majority interest in twenty-five, including half a dozen banks, three hotels, several downtown office buildings, real estate, and the Mayfair House hotel on Park Avenue, New York. Through its communications properties it has been the major controller of political and social intelligence in the city of Houston. At the start of the counterrevolution that swept Bill Steven out of his job, the tax-free foundation owned 100 percent of KTRH Broadcasting Company, a major station in the city, 31 percent of a local television station, and 100 percent of the Houston *Chronicle*.

From 1951 to 1964 the Endowment had an income of $97 million and gave $19 million in charity. When Representative Wright Patman of Texas began investigating abuses by some tax-free foundations, the Internal Revenue Service momentarily revoked the Endowment's foundation status but later restored it.

Four men and one woman controlled probably the largest single corporate force in the city. John Jones used to be a sixth trustee and chairman of the board, but he resigned last August, in order, he said, to buy $3 million worth of broadcasting properties from the Endowment without conflict of inter-

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est. The remaining five trustees are all related to Jesse Jones by blood, marriage, or former business association. They are J. Howard Creekmore, president, a former bank employee of Jones's; Mrs. Audrey Jones Beck, granddaughter of Jesse; John Beck, her husband; J. Hurt Garrett, a former employee of Jones's and now senior vice president of the Texas National Bank of Commerce, second largest bank in the city, controlled by the Endowment; and W. W. Moore, former associate of Jesse Jones's, now president of Bankers Mortgage Company, a holding company owned 97 percent by the Endowment.

There is special irony in the episode. Reformers of newspapers have long dreamed of ownership by a foundation that would be immune to commercial attitudes and pressures. But as it unfolded in Houston, foundation ownership produced a list of almost every pitfall in business domination. This does not necessarily negate the idea of foundation support, but it would seem to for foundations run by men who are essentially corporate administrators with control of operating businesses. For example, the *Chronicle* represented only one twentieth of the Endowment's total assets. Even if the newspaper never showed a profit, this would be tolerable to the total economy of the foundation. It served the trustees instead to have the paper protect the property and politics of its owners and do it more effectively by overwhelming its competing papers, which it did by consistently cutting its advertising rates secretly for big advertisers, keeping its monthly subscription rate abnormally low, running exorbitant editions to help put one competitor out of business and dominate another. The owners of the *Chronicle* had another convenience: they held notes for some time on the owners of the *Post*.

The chief evil of the Endowment's ownership is the same as that of any business conglomerate possessing a newspaper: the paper is always in danger of becoming a means to the parent corporation's nonjournalistic ends, a handmaiden rather than a detached reporter.

A second danger is that such ownership is ideological. A man who controls a dozen nonjournalistic businesses usually has nothing in his experience telling him he is obliged to make his property available to the ideas of others. The owners of the *Chronicle* seemed to find any such notion of obligation intolerable, and Steven insists he was fired because of that intolerance. "The conservatives won," he says.

As he cleaned out his desk, Steven got a call from President Johnson, who wanted to know what was going on. "Mr. President," Steven said, "we carried every precinct but the right one." He meant that the paper had support from the community but not from the boardroom of the Houston Endowment in the Bankers Mortgage Building. It was from here that the counterrevolution was mounted. First the foundation trustees dissolved the board of the *Chronicle*, which had included Steven, replacing him with their new editor, Collier, who had been a columnist during the paper's reactionary period in the 1950s. Then they loaded the paper's board with members of the foundation board — Creekmore, Garrett, Moore, and John Beck.

Jones seems to have been a powerless witness to the wreckage of his paper. He has said that he was told to take it or leave it.

There was almost unanimous indignation among the new hierarchy of the paper at reports that politics of the paper had anything to do with the firing. I tried to ask all the trustees, but most of them were unapproachable. The receptionist for Mr. Moore at Bankers Mortgage brought back the message "He knows what you want, and he won't see you." But I found the number two man on the board less bashful. J. Hurt Garrett has his office on the executive third floor of the Endowment's Texas National Bank of Commerce (the biggest bank it controls). He is an elderly jowl-faced man reminiscent of veteran overseers of New England textile mills.

"We didn't like their editorial policy, that's all," he said. "They had everyone up in arms. Nobody liked it. I never heard anything but complaints about it. . . . It was all this racial desegregation business. Things were all right in Houston before they came down. But all this racial business — nobody liked it. And I don't like all this Johnson stuff, and all his civil rights, too. I know that Jones and Steven are friends of Johnson, but all we got was complaints about the paper's policy on that."

Mr. Garrett sounded quite credible. When he said of the paper's policy, "Nobody liked it," presumably he meant nobody on the third floor of the Texas National Bank of Commerce. Two thirds of Harris County voted for Lyndon Johnson in 1964. And when he said he heard nothing but complaints, this, too, sounded plausible. My guess is that he does not subscribe to a Houston weekly called *The Forward Times*, which goes mostly to the Negro community, and which ran almost a full-page editorial on the firing of Bill Steven, saying:

> A strong positive force that has quietly but effectively gone about the business of helping Houston Negro citizens move up into new heights of dignity and opportunity has been fired from his position.
>
> Not many Negroes were personally acquainted with William P. Stevens [*The Forward Times* made a common error of putting a terminal "s" on the name], but most were well aware of the fact that for the last four years The Houston *Chronicle* had shifted from a staunchly conservative newspaper to one that openly advocated school integration and printed editorials that warmed the heart of the depressed and disadvantaged.
>
> What the Negro citizens did not know was the man responsible for all this change was William P. Stevens, backed by John T. Jones, Jr. What they may not have realized recently, when a front-page announcement was run in the *Chronicle* announcing that a new editor had been hired was that the old editor, William P. Stevens, had been fired. . . . It is an ominous warning of things to come or to say the least it is an indication of the end of a short, short era.

The editorial referred to the possibility that people in Houston might not know that Steven had been fired. On September 3 the *Chronicle* ran a large story on page one on the new appointments but omitted any mention of Steven, and of the Endowment, which made the changes. Over at the *Post* a story about the firing was prepared but killed by the top brass.

So the news of Steven's discharge had to travel by underground: two church newsletters (one said "truly disturbing," another "a tragic mistake"), two weeklies (*The Forward Times* and the conservative weekly, *Tribune*, which ran a straightforward news story). Later someone mailed out thousands of reproductions of stories in national papers and newsmagazines on a sheet entitled "News all over the U.S. but not in Houston."

JOHN MECOM, the new owner of the *Chronicle*, inherited all its problems, and some of them were even magnified. Under the previous ownership, when a columnist in the *Chronicle* had mentioned in print that there was a plan to study a downtown air terminal, the head of the Endowment, Howard Creekmore, personally called the paper in anger. The Endowment also owned the Rice Hotel, where most of the airlines have their offices. A new downtown terminal was not encouraged in the *Chronicle*.

Under Mecom the Rice Hotel was still owned by the owner of the *Chronicle*, who still had a controlling interest in the bank. In addition, Mecom has worldwide oil, industrial, hotel, and banking interests, and in the Houston area he owns the Warwick Hotel, the Reed Roller Bit Company, the Keystone Drug Company, a building construction firm, a half interest in a huge industrial complex on the Houston Ship Channel, and 20,000 acres of land, some of which he is using to construct 5000 homes and high-rise apartments. The possibility of a conflict of interest was as inherent under Mecom's ownership of the *Chronicle* as it was under its previous owners. But the Houston Endowment had been under pursuit by the Department of the Treasury and by Congressman Patman. Patman was digging deeper into the Endowment in the summer and fall of 1965, compiling an impressive record, only partly publicized at the time, of the Endowment's large-scale corporate dealings and its modest indulgence in charity. Patman proposed and even the conservative Treasury agreed that there ought to be a law limiting the right of tax-free foundations to control operating businesses.

During this period, the foundation was looking for a suitable buyer, Steven was fired, and Creekmore decided that John Mecom was the man to buy the *Chronicle*. Why did they pick him?

Collier's explanation is: "The trustees of Houston Endowment were determined to keep these properties in the hands of someone who has the same deep love of this community and the same concepts for its betterment and progress that Jesse Jones had." The trustees no doubt felt they were expressing "the same concepts for its betterment and progress" when they fired Steven for being too liberal, too pro-Negro, and too militant a reporter of the town.

Mecom is pro-Johnson in a Texas sort of way, but he is not an ideologue. He maintained an office in the *Chronicle* and ran the same kind of paper the post-Steven editors did under the Endowment. The paper remained to the right of the Steven paper. Three months after Mecom took over, its columnists on domestic affairs were William White, Henry J. Taylor, Raymond Moley, Les Carpenter, Marianne Means, Victor Reisel, William Buckley, James Reston, Max Freedman, and David Lawrence. Four of these (White, Freedman, Carpenter, and Means) are close friends of Lyndon Johnson's. The only nonconservative among the remainder is Reston, and he appeared less frequently than before. Liberal cartoonist Herblock no longer appeared. The paper dropped Ralph McGill and Whitney Young, and conservative columnist David Lawrence was run twice as often as before.

Almost a year after Steven was fired, a series of articles on the Negro community, criticizing among others the slum landlords, had not been published. Reporter Saul Friedman, who has since gone to Detroit, had worked on the series four months. It was ready for publication when Steven was discharged.

On a number of urgent local issues the editorial page went blank. It decided, in an abrupt change, that the televising of school-board sessions was not important. When Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach made a major speech urging the city to complete its racial integration willingly and without rancor, the *Chronicle*, whose editorials under Steven had not been reticent about giving opinions, merely suggested that readers look at the speech. Another editorial recommended that readers look at a certain column of William White's. An editor told a subordinate, "That will be a signal to President Johnson that we're still with him." The new *Chronicle* apparently hoped to send esoteric signals to the President that would go undetected by the owners and the readers.

WHEN the Houston Endowment fired Steven, an indignant citizen of Houston wrote to the White House: "The time has come to license newspapers — to assure that they will use their licenses for the benefit of the public and not just for special interests."

Licensing of the press is, of course, unconstitutional and unwise. But newspapers ought to worry about how often the idea appeals to a frustrated public. There is almost nothing a community can do about a local newspaper that fails in its primary duty. Starting a new metropolitan competitor is too much like a man dissatisfied with his automobile trying to start a new General Motors. He might have done it fifty years ago but not today. Nor is there any effective way he can reach owners who choose to remain unresponsive.

The country's newspaper proprietors, the vast majority enjoying a monopoly, preside over an institution that should be the most sensitive detector of change in society. But among major American institutions, newspapers have been the least responsive to upheavals in civilization since World War II. Government, education, religion, and much of corporate life have adapted to altered conditions in economic and social life, but newspaper owners have clung to the past. They seem to be reminded of their special status under the First Amendment only when someone suggests changes in the second-class mailing privilege or the payment of standard wages to delivery boys. Their response to the notion of the press being accountable to the public is

(over)

to bar reporters from sessions of the American Newspaper Publishers Association. In addition, the dangers of news monopoly are increasing.

The basic answer to this vacating of responsibility is for owners to include in their corporate hierarchy, their directorships, and their wills some meaningful representation in the public interest, quite divorced from simple property interest.

In the absence of that there are methods by which a paper ownership can establish working communications with its own community. The editor, publisher, and owner of one of the best papers in the country, Barry Bingham, of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and *Times*, has proposed local press councils in which community representatives would regularly sit with the paper's hierarchy to adjudicate complaints and public issues. No one has been trampled in the rush to try it.

Because there has been little evidence of publisher interest in creating some method of public accountability for the press, the government may have to step in. The least that can be done is to take away the "they" of ownership of newspapers, the usually faceless controllers of the community's news. The Post Office requires users of the second-class mailing privilege to list each year all parties who own one percent or more of the stock in the publication. But at present, there is no distinction made between a one percent owner and a 99 percent owner. And the listing, usually published in the paper in early October, is meaningless because it lists only the holders of record, often trustees and third parties acting as executors of wills.

Although a few newspapers offer stock publicly, there is no good reason in law or logic why newspapers should not file for public scrutiny, under postal law, the same information the Securities and Exchange Commission requires of 4500 companies who trade their stock in the open market. The SEC requires the filing as a public record of the names of all officers, directors, and holders of 10 percent or more of stock. Each of those persons in turn must file their holdings in any other traded firm in which they are an officer, director, or holder of 10 percent or more of stock. The present postal requirement was passed to prevent the use of government mailing subsidy by parties using the cover of education and news for propaganda or concealed advertising. The present listings do not usually tell the Post Office or the readers who the beneficial owners of newspapers are or what other financial interests they have that might constitute a conflict of interest and a distortion upon the news.

Newspapers have generally supported the idea that policy-making federal officials should disclose their financial holdings and sell those that might conceivably tempt them to influence their work for their own benefit. The American newspaper is almost a branch of public administration. It is the most important single instrument of information in a society peculiarly dependent upon public knowledge and public opinion; for its own future and the national good it needs to be as free as possible, and it needs to assure increasingly dubious readers that it is free.

MEDIA

Newsweek—Bernard Gotfryd

The Message of Marshall McLuhan

McLuhan, right or wrong?

The Oracle of Toronto thinks big—his theory of communications offers nothing less than an explanation of all human culture, past, present and future. And he excites large passions. "McLuhan's teaching is radical, new, animated by high intelligence, and capable of moving people to social action," writes the novelist George P. Elliott. "If he is wrong, it matters." "He's swinging, switched on, with it and NOW," says Amherst Prof. Benjamin DeMott. "And wrong." "He makes us question all the shibboleths of Western culture," counters critic Gerald Stearn. "He can only be considered a stimulating thinker on a scale quite similar to Freud and Einstein."

Freud, Einstein—Marshall McLuhan?

On first inspection, there are some rough similarities. Freud and Einstein, each in his turn, offered propositions about the psyche and the universe that were plainly contradicted by the senses of all right-thinking men (Sex drives in infants? Space is curved?). And now McLuhan proclaims equally barmy notions to contradict the eye and bend and boggle the mind. He firmly avows, for instance, that watching television is a tactile rather than a visual experience; that man goes through life looking through the rear-view mirror, aware of his environment only after he has left it, and that what is communicated doesn't count as much as how it is communicated. This last, of course, is expressed in the aphorism that is McLuhan's trademark: "The Medium Is the Message."

If these propositions are correct, the implications of McLuhanism are staggering. In his world view, wars are obsolete and so are political dogmas, the assembly line and white supremacy; the age of the individual is over, and a new man is emerging.

"I explore, I don't explain," McLuhan explains. Yet he offers himself to the world as a kind of Dr. Spock of pop culture. Are the children alienated? McLuhan has the answer there—somewhere. From Marshall's McClues, Camp Followers supposedly can tell which fashions will sell, and politicians which candidates will go over big. A girl can even read McLuhan's notion of why she makes herself more provocative when she wears dark glasses and fishnet stockings.

LSD and Needles: Naturally enough, McLuhan himself is viewed through a rear-view mirror, darkly. To critics he is, at best, obscure; at worst, a charlatan. But the McLuhanite tong around the country is enthusiastic enough to have made him courted by industry, and to have made the paperback edition of his major work, "Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man," the fastest-selling nonfiction book at Harvard and at Ann Arbor. At Columbia, a coed likens reading McLuhan to taking LSD. "It can turn you on," she says. "LSD doesn't mean anything until you consume it—likewise McLuhan." Fordham has tapped McLuhan next semester for the Albert Schweitzer Chair, a New York State-supported sinecure with a $100,000 per year fund to cover salary and research.

In "Understanding Media," McLuhan needled Bell Telephone's research department for being "oblivious to the real meaning of the telephone." Stung, the Bell people recently journeyed up to Toronto for a séance. McLuhan has an office at Time Inc. and an arrangement to write articles for Look. And last year he signed—at a handsome fee—with the Container Corp. of America to give a lecture to Container executives and selected customers. In the lecture, McLuhan told his audience they were engaged in the business of mass production at a time when the age of mass production was coming to an end.

'Mysterioso': Already apotheosized in a score of publications ranging from the New Mexico Quarterly to Life magazine, McLuhan is the subject of a new anthology, "McLuhan, Hot and Cool," edited by Gerald Stearn and due out in May from the Dial Press. This week, Bantam Books will bring out McLuhan's latest treatise, "The Medium Is the Massage" *(160 pages. $1.45)*. The pun is intended: "massage" is a once-over-lightly kneading of the ideas contained in McLuhan's "Understanding Media." On March 19, he will be the subject of an hour-long NBC television documentary that eschews the usual sequential reporting in favor of quick cuts, overlapped images and out-of-focus shots of McLuhan. "Mysterioso," explains Ernest Pintoff, the producer. And in the ultimate accolade, McLuhan's name has passed into the language. The French apply the term *mcluhanisme* to the mixed-media world of pop art; more invidiously, "McLuhan" has become a synonym for impenetrable prose, as when one columnist accused George Romney of reading too much McLuhan.

Most literary critics tend to favor this second usage. "It is not possible to give a rational summary of McLuhan's ideas," George Elliott declares. "His writing is deliberately antilogical: circular, repetitious, unqualified, gnomic, outrageous." McLuhan, as one not unsympathetic crit-

Newsweek—Bernard Gotfryd

Associated Press

A tactile discothèque, a cool candidate, an aural society (right)

ic says, is too "messy and journalistic" for the academic-literary Establishment. And Jerome Agel, an early McLuhan booster and the publisher of the non-Establishment tabloid Books, claims McLuhan was "discovered by young people and the artists, not by the literary crowd. Most of the critics panned him," he adds, "and they still do not understand his books." Nevertheless, the harshness of the reviews didn't hinder sales too much. "Media" has sold more than 9,000 in hardcover—not bad for a serious $7.50 work—and more than 100,000 in soft.

Even more than style, the critics abhor McLuhan's message. McLuhan, it is whispered, actually *likes* television. He is accused of electronic chiliasm, of being an evangelist on behalf of the whole adwracked, meretricious pop kingdom-to-come of the media. He has become, as Elliott puts it, "a double agent" who "went out among tribalizing Media as a spy from civilization but stayed there too long." As the CIA knows, however, the intelligence agent's position is always an ambiguous one, and Madison Avenue tends to treat McLuhan gingerly. San Francisco advertising man Howard Gossage proclaims McLuhan is "an Archimedes who has given the ad industry levers to move the world." But Doyle Dane Bernbach president William Bernbach says he "has read only bits and pieces of McLuhan and our agency has not been influenced by him."

Whose Miasma? That McLuhan should be indicted for treason to scholarship and accused of shilling for pop culture, constitutes perhaps the greatest paradox of all about this paradoxical man. As it happens, he is an Establishment figure himself; his doctorate is from Cambridge University, and for two decades he has been writing serious textbooks and straight prose for such scholarly media as the Sewanee Review and the Journal of Economic History. He is a devout Roman Catholic by conversion, and far from selling out to the brave new media world, McLuhan may have a means of coming to grips with it.

Just possibly, then, the miasma about McLuhan may reside in the eyes of his critics. Just possibly, the new environment that McLuhan discerns should be studied as carefully as the O_2 system in the Apollo spaceship. Just possibly, understanding McLuhan may help ensure that earth's environment sustains rather than destroys the crew. Right or wrong, then, it matters to understand McLuhan, his media and his message.

Oar No. 3: McLuhan was born in Edmonton in 1911. "My mother was Baptist, my father [an insurance salesman] was Methodist," McLuhan recalls. "Spiritually, I shopped around as a student." At the University of Manitoba, he started out by studying engineering and reading G.K. Chesterton, later switched to English literature and the more weighty Catholic writers, such as Maritain and Gilson. As an undergraduate at Cambridge University from 1934 to 1936, he rowed for Trinity Hall and his varnished No. 3 oar now hangs in his office in a converted town house on the campus of the University of Toronto's St. Michael's College, along with a large photograph of beat poet Allen Ginsberg and a portrait of James Joyce. At Cambridge, McLuhan came under the influence of Wyndham Lewis, one of the first literary figures to study popular culture seriously.

At Cambridge, too, McLuhan acquired the galaxy of heroes that shaped his later message: Edgar Allan Poe ("He was the inventor of the detective story," McLuhan says. "He made his readers work, made them do-it-themselves"); James Joyce ("He starts with language as the ultimate medium; the whole of 'Finnegan's Wake' is a study of the effects of technology on all of human society"); Gustave Flaubert ("He pointed out that style is a way of perception"); T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound ("Their poems are full of jazz idioms and pop cult forms"); and Rimbaud, Baudelaire and Mallarmé ("I learned my style from the symbolists—they suggest but do not say all . . .").

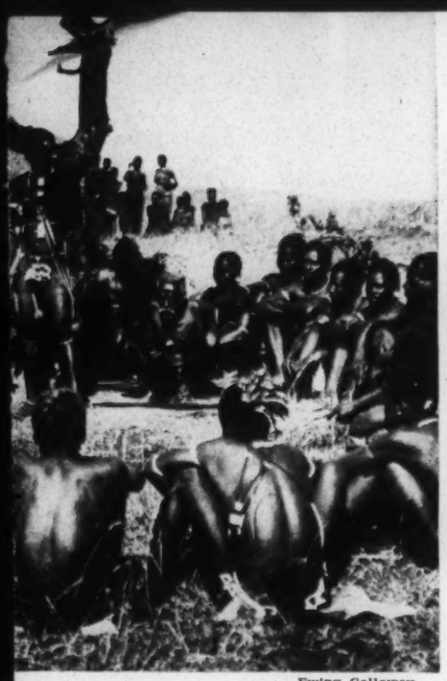
McLuhan returned to Cambridge again as a graduate student in 1939, to write his thesis on the poet Thomas Nashe—and, incidentally, to take his honeymoon with Corinne Lewis, a young Texas-born actress he had met the year before at California's Pasadena Playhouse. A strikingly handsome woman, Corinne McLuhan occasionally edits her husband, chauffeurs him around town in the family Toronado and keeps track of their two sons and four daughters.

By his own account, McLuhan's first practical encounter with popular culture occurred in 1936, when he arrived to teach freshman classes at the University of Wisconsin. "I was confronted with young Americans I was incapable of understanding," he recalls. "I felt an urgent need to study their popular culture in order to get through."

Subliminal Sex: The eventual result of this confrontation with pop culture was McLuhan's "The Mechanical Bride" (1951). The Bride is subliminal sex in the service of technology, particularly as revealed by the way some advertising tries to move goods. McLuhan wants to know what mass media have done to American culture; to find out, he looks at ads for autos, caskets and deodorants.

The targets were familiar enough; in the early '50s, sociologists like David Riesman and Reuel Denney, among others, were looking at similar topics. But McLuhan went about his analysis in a jazzier, elliptical manner. In "Bride," his Ph.D. dissertation prose gave way to provocative headlines or glosses. "Does the American immigrant have to reject his father?" asks McLuhan in introducing a discussion of Maggie and Jiggs. There were Joycean puns and word plays; with Life Buoy and Lysol, "Little B.O. Peep Has Lost Her Sheep."

Though well-received by his peers, "Bride" has long been out of print. But a Daughter of the Bride will soon appear;



Ewing Galloway

Ken Regan—Roy Cummings

Pix

A 'with it' electronic game and the shape of the topless present

McLuhan, aided by his 24-year-old son Eric, is just finishing up and sending to his editors at McGraw-Hill a series of some 140 ads and glosses he has been collecting over the last ten years. The new collection is entitled "Culture Is Our Business," and is full of his re-joycings and probes of such new cultural manifestations as the Jolly Green Giant, Muzak and the Television Information Office.

Coming of Age: After "Bride" came "The Gutenberg Galaxy" (1962) and "Understanding Media" (1964), which examine not only the pop objects of the new technological age but how the age itself came into being. As McLuhan tells it, he has a box seat. Canada and Catholic-supported St. Michael's—the public University of Toronto went ecumenical long before Vatican Council II—provide him with a quiet nineteenth-century vantage point to view the frantic twentieth-century to the south.

McLuhan says he is fond of Canada because it is "a backward country. There are no interruptions and distractions and yet it is close to the center of the world." Also, his light teaching load, together with his disinclination to play the academic climbing game, provide him with time to go with his perspective. McLuhan has been Director of the University of Toronto's Centre for Culture and Technology since 1964, but the imposing name is misleading; actually the Centre consists of McLuhan, his secretary and the down-at-the-heels office they share. No computers, no labs and no staff. Instead, various Toronto professors attach themselves from time to time to collaborate with McLuhan.

In his two decades at Toronto, McLuhan used his time to remain a student. In the 1950s, it was a case of informally but assiduously supplementing his literature major with a strong minor in science and art. With designer Harley Parker and anthropologist Edmund Carpenter, a student of Eskimo culture, he put out Explorations, a magazine modeled after Wyndham Lewis's Dadaesque venture BLAST. McLuhan plans to use some of his Fordham money to bring Parker and Carpenter to New York.

"The Gutenberg Galaxy" and "Understanding Media" reflect the synthesis of literature and science. Both books show off McLuhan's appallingly encyclopedic erudition, his exasperating method and the scatter-shot sweep of his theory of culture and communications. The whole is so chaotic that even friendly critics despair. Many of the sources he uses to build his theory, as Prof. Raymond Waddington has pointed out, are "eccentric and simplistic." He cites, for example, an economist who believes trading can be traced to the monkey's habit of swinging from tree to tree.

Leaving aside most of the monkeyshines, McLuhan in short-course form goes like this:

The basic premise is that there have been three Ages of Man—the Pre-literate or Tribal, the Gutenberg or Individual and the present Electric or Retribalized. Each age, says McLuhan, is shaped by the form of the information available. And by information McLuhan means not only the standard media such as print and TV, but also clothes, clocks, money and any artifact that conveys meaning.

Triple Play: McLuhan's claim is that these information modes or media alter our sensory life—that is, what we see, hear, feel, taste and smell, and, therefore, know. For example, the development of such "media" as tools and language among the low-browed hominids led to the explosive development of the brain and to man's differentiation from other species—and not the other way around. McLuhan sees each medium as a similar extension and modifier of man; just as the caveman's ax is an extension of the hand, so the book is an extension of the eye, and so electric circuitry—the telegraph, telephone and television—is an extension of the central nervous system. Each such extension, McLuhan maintains, changes the balance among the five senses—making one sense dominant and altering the way man feels, thinks and acts toward information. As a result, a new environment is created, spatial relations are re-conceptualized. It is a triple play: new media to new sensory balance to new environment. This, he says, is why the medium is the message, why the effect is important, why the fact that the TV image is composed of phosphor dots is more important than whether the dots are carrying the Smothers Brothers or Uncle Vanya.

Bomb: Thus in the pre-alphabet age, the ear was dominant; "hearing was believing." Man lived in acoustic space—a world of tribes, emotion, mystery and communal participation. Beginning with the Greeks, the new medium of the phonetic alphabet forced the magic world of the ear to yield to a new sensory balance centered on the neutral world of the eye. Later, Gutenberg's invention of movable type forced man to comprehend in a linear, uniform, connected, continuous fashion. A whole new environment—the Gutenberg Galaxy—emerged. The portable book was like a hydrogen bomb dropped on the tribal world; for the first time, man could read and think in isolation. Individualism was born, and it became possible to separate thought from action (*vide* Hamlet). Politically, the newly discovered privacy of the reader made a point of view possible; economically, linear thought produced the assembly line and industrial society; in physics, it led to the Newtonian and Cartesian views of the universe as a mechanism in which it is possible to locate a physical event in space and time; in art, linearity produced perspective; in literature, the chronological narrative.

Then, in the nineteenth century man entered the Electric Age with the invention of a new medium, the telegraph. The Gutenberg galactic explosion that had shattered the old tribal unity of the ancients gave way to a huge implosion;

electric circuitry bound up the world in a web of instant awareness and brought all the fragmentary pieces back together. The old, linear visual connections were severed, and the aural and tactile senses emerged once again. With Telstar and other high-speed communications annihilating space and time, an "all-at-once" environment has taken shape. Tribal man has returned and the world has contracted into a global village in which everyone is involved with everyone else—the haves with the have-nots (foreign aid, war on poverty), Negroes with whites (sit-ins and rights marches) adults with teen-agers (Sunset Strip riots).

'Hot' and 'Cool': Thus, to McLuhan, the key word in the new Electric Age is "involvement." His second major insight (or outrage, if one disagrees) is that the old print medium involves one sense (the visual) while the new electric media, particularly television, involve all the senses simultaneously. This is why he says that some media are "hot" and some "cool." Print, McLuhan insists, is a hot medium: the printed page projects plenty of information; it comes in as high definition for one sense—but does not involve all the senses. By contrast, he says, TV is a cool, low-definition medium; that is, it provides a minimum of information—but involves all the senses all at once. This means there is high participation and involvement.

To the man who has stared for hours on end at the little black box this simply doesn't make sense—to him, quite naturally, TV seems visual. McLuhan would reply: that's eye thinking. In reality, he says, with television *you* are the screen; the TV image is not a still photo but a ceaselessly forming contour or mosaic projecting all those little Seurat-like dots onto you, the screen, at the rate of 3 million impulses a second. You have to fill in the mosaic, connect all the dots. "You have to be 'with it'," McLuhan admonishes, adding Delphically that "the phrase 'with it' came in since TV."

McLuhan also holds that the same messages come over differently via different media. As a prime example, he cites the 1960 debates between Nixon and Kennedy. To those who simply concluded that Kennedy looked and spoke better, McLuhan's theory seems absurd. The public Richard Nixon, he says, was a hot, forceful, high-definition type, while the public Kennedy was a cool, nonchalant low-definition figure. During the later debates, Nixon became more forceful—hot and definite in McLuhan's terms—and many of the political sages thought he was catching Kennedy. But for McLuhan it was the end of Nixon. In a newspaper interview which appeared on Oct. 15, 1960, McLuhan gave the nod to Kennedy. (Yet when McLuhan watched Nixon in another context on TV—talking in a relaxed manner on the "Jack Paar Show"—he knew that *that* Nixon could have won the Presidency.)

Newsweek—Bernard Gotfryd

McLuhan, his wife and four of their children: Retribalized man

Television brings not only the voting booth into the living room but also the civil-rights march along Alabama's U.S. 80 and the bulldozing of a village in Vietnam—and involves the audience intimately. "Without television, there would be no civil-rights legislation," McLuhan declares, sweepingly. Moreover, "a hot war like Vietnam over a cool medium like TV is doomed. The young oppose the war not out of pacifism but out of their pain of involvement."

Ending—eventually—the war in Vietnam is only one of the effects McLuhan claims for television. McLuhan holds that the changes in the environment "since TV" are so pervasive that he despairs of presenting them. All he is able to offer is an "inventory" of effects that includes:

▪ *Sex.* Among the first victims of television that McLuhan counts are his own views in "The Mechanical Bride" emphasizing the visual nature of advertising, particularly the sexual come-on. "There has been a dimming down of the visual," he says. "We are now in the all-involving tactile mode." That's why discothèques are loud and dark. It is also why a girl is sexier in cool media like dark glasses and fishnet stockings: these things invite involvement.

▪ *Morals.* There will be more sleeping around among single young people, McLuhan says, but married couples will be models of rectitude—because that's how it is in tribal culture.

▪ *Fashions.* The shift from the visual to the tactile also is signaled by boys and girls who dress alike and cut their hair alike—gender differentiation now comes with touch. Miniskirts, topless waitresses and the trend toward nudity on beaches and in films are also signs of the TV times: as the visual becomes less important no one minds a show of skin.

▪ *Sports.* Baseball is linear, individual—the pitcher stands on the mound, the batter waits. By contrast football is like the TV mosaic itself—action occurs simultaneously, with the entire team involved and scattering all over the screen. So football has supplanted baseball as the most popular U.S. sport.

▪ *The politics of consensus.* McLuhan claims TV is killing off the voting bloc and elevating the leader who tries to be the all-inclusive image; instead of offering a political viewpoint, politicians now will take inclusive political postures.

▪ *The generation gap.* The young TV generation has a completely different sensory life than the adult generation which grew up on hot radio and hot print. Hence, young people today reject jobs and goals—that's linear thinking. They reject the consumer life—that's fragmented and specialist. They want roles, that is, involvement.

▪ *Business reorganizations.* The mosaic mesh of TV is driving out lineality in industry. Since TV, McLuhan declares, the assembly line has disappeared and staff and line structures have dissolved in management. In fact, all lines are disappearing: stag lines, receiving lines and pencil lines from the backs of nylons.

Some of this looks—sounds, feels—plausible; some, preposterous. Pencil lines have disappeared from nylons, but have assembly lines disappeared from Detroit? Certainly they have, McLuhan would reply. What then are the autoworkers doing in those plants? Beginning to make custom cars, McLuhan says, like the "basic" Mustang which comes with a score of optional accessories. Why then don't we all realize this? The trouble, says McLuhan, is that people are still looking through the rear-view mirror.

The idea of rear-view mirrorism is the

newest McLuhanism. When faced with a new situation, McLuhan writes in "The Medium is the Massage," "we always tend to attach ourselves to the objects, to the flavor of the most recent past." Contemporary society is like a driver who sees neither ahead to the future nor outside his side window to the present but looks only at the past in the rear-view mirror. U.S. adult society, he says, exists imaginatively among the Cartwrights of Bonanza-land, closing off its life—like so many wagons drawn in a circle—unaware of what's happening outside.

DEW-liner: But a few people are alert. Mostly they are the avant-garde poets, artists and sleuths—McLuhan includes himself in these categories—who have consciously sharpened their perceptions, realized the phoniness of the rear-view mirror and forced themselves to look ahead and see the environment as it really is. The artist, McLuhan says, serves like Canada's Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line; his job is to alert society.

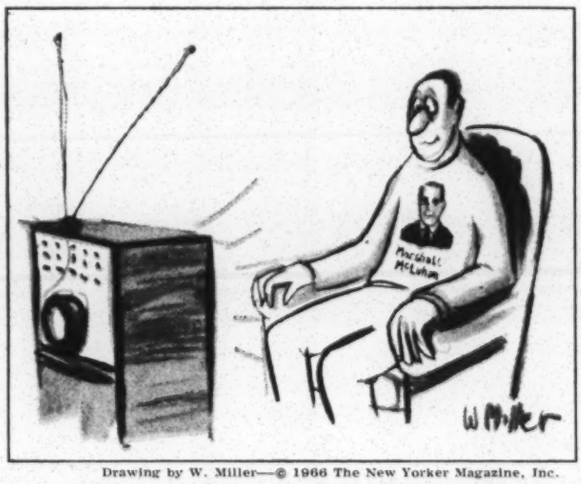
From this short—and considerably glossed over—course on McLuhan, several judgments can be drawn.

First, none of his basic ideas is in itself startling or even original. Discussions about form as content date to Aristotle; Buckminster Fuller, and Henri Bergson before him, explained how tools of man can become extensions of man, and sociologists long ago gave the designation "cultural lag" to situations in which social organization falls behind technological development. Even the aphorism about the medium and the message is not wholly new; the late Canadian economic historian Harold Innis pointed out the role of print in the transformation of culture more than a decade ago—a priority McLuhan has graciously acknowledged.

Reply: Second, McLuhan is a synthesizer. He has gathered amorphous and scattered ideas, thought them through with force and vivacity, and opened up new areas of awareness. "He has joyously enriched the scope of what is relevant," says the English critic George Steiner. "He has made the jungle of the world more interesting." And Harvard's David Riesman lauds McLuhan as "a reply to the solemn commentators who look with alarm on the rise of pop culture."

Third, McLuhan himself isn't a very good DEW Line. The essence of a DEW Line is to discriminate between the radar scope blips of real incoming enemy planes and the patterns caused by flights of geese and the northern lights. But in his books and in his conversations, McLuhan lets everything through, no matter how outrageous or exaggerated or contradictory. He often takes the good insights that he has hit upon and pushes them too far. The U.S. may still be largely a visual culture just emerging from the nineteenth century. The Soviet Union may be an aural-tactile culture, just emerging from the Middle Ages. But is that why the CIA sends U-2 reconnaissance planes over the Soviet Union while the KGB plants bugs in U.S. embassies? Everything becomes grist for his mad, mod mill. Is the subject the youthful Red Guards? That's easy. China is still a tribal environment, says McLuhan, and, of course, this permits participation of children in adult affairs.

Fourth, the leaky DEW Line and the impossibly broad argument are the inevitable consequences of McLuhan's own beliefs. He is delivering his message via a medium—the printed page—which he has stated is no longer adequate to command the attention and involvement of modern electric man. McLuhan's solution in "Galaxy" and "Media" is to invent a "mosaic writing" that attempts to simulate the disconnected, low-definition coolness of television—and thus capture the reader. The result is deliberately repetitious, confused and dogmatic. In McLuhan's new picture book, "The Medium Is the Massage," he attempts to go further toward mosaic presentation but in shorter, less repetitive takes.



Drawing by W. Miller—© 1966 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

No sweatshirts yet, but a lively cult

Tailor-made: Despite his dilemma, McLuhan doesn't plan to abandon the book form. He and Toronto Prof. Richard Schoeck are collaborating on a series of volumes of poetry and prose for high-school seniors and college freshmen (written non-mosaically but with accompanying tapes); there is "Culture Is Our Business" as well as "Space in Poetry and Painting," with Harley Parker and "A Message to the Fish," with management-consultant Ralph Baldwin. "The Fish," explains McLuhan, "are the corporation heads moving about in a media they know nothing about." Finally, he is writing "The Future of the Book," with William Jovanovich, the president of Harcourt, Brace & World. The *future* of the book? Yes, thanks to photocopying and computers, McLuhan allows that books have a future; they will no longer be assembly-line products, they will be services, tailor-made (like the car of the future) to meet specific demands phoned to the information retrieval center.

But neither does McLuhan plan to abandon his methods of presentation. "Unless a statement is startling," he says candidly, "no one will pay any attention; they will put it down as a point of view." He considers statements in his books and his speeches as tentative probes—disposable as Kleenex. "I don't necessarily agree with everything I say," he adds.

"Most of my work in the media is like that of a safecracker," McLuhan says in the introduction to Gerald Stearn's "McLuhan, Hot and Cool." "In the beginning I don't know what's inside. I just set myself down in front of the problem and begin to work. I grope, I probe, I listen, I test—until the tumblers fall and I'm in."

Jokes: But does he really want to get in—or stay out? His attitude about the media is a little like the punch line in one of his after-dinner jokes: a man went out on a date with Siamese twins and the next day a friend asked if he had a good time; his answer: "Well, yes and no."

Sometimes he seems to be saying the media threaten man. Education, he says, must serve as civil defense against the media fallout; the Ivory Tower must become the control tower. And he likens modern man to the mariner in Edgar Allan Poe's story, "A Descent Into the Maelstrom." The mariner is caught in a whirlpool; but he figures out the relative velocities of currents and saves himself. The sailor's strategy, McLuhan suggests, is his own: understand our predicament, our electrically configured whirl, and save ourselves from drowning.

On the other hand, McLuhan describes, with obvious approval, cool men in a tribal world of full sensory involvement and group participation. It is a situation that the Catholic McLuhan finds not unlike the rich liturgical services of his church. Further, the scholar McLuhan acknowledges that a world where the Ivory Tower is so important can't be too bad.

McLuhan isn't specific about his future strategy of social action; he speaks instead in science-fiction terms about learning how to control the thermostat of the environment in order to shape the new world to come. The thought of just such a thermostat, manipulated by technicians or hidden persuaders, chills many of McLuhan's readers. But he says, optimistically, that the futurists will use their thermostats rationally, for "who would want to turn up the heat to 150?"

McLuhan, right or wrong?

Well, yes and no.

NEWS MEDIA

Papers in South Expanding Negro News Coverage

By WALTER RUGABER
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 10—A recent issue of The Star-Tribune, a small weekly newspaper in Chatham, Va., included a front-page picture of Ruth L. Harvey, a Negro lawyer, seeking election to the state's House of Delegates.

Miss Harvey's photograph appeared at the top of the page adjacent to a picture of Dabney K. Hall, a white man campaigning for sheriff in the same election. A lengthy article quoted Miss Harvey and set forth her personal history in detail.

At the top of an inside page, there was a three-column photograph of a Negro voter registration rally at a local high school. The caption reported that "a large crowd attended," and an accompanying story gave an account of various speeches.

In other recent issues, The Star-Tribune has carried a large photograph of a local Negro glee club and has published an article about a local Negro minister who had completed 40 years of service at his church.

The weekly's open-handed coverage of Negro affairs is an example of an important trend in many Southern newspapers over the last decade. The drive for Negro equality has reached the region's news rooms.

Pattern Is Uneven

The pattern is quite uneven, however. Southern coverage of everyday activities by Negroes has become an issue in recent weeks during a bitter controversy involving two other Virginia newspapers.

Less than 50 miles north of Chatham, two much larger publications in Lynchburg — the morning News and the evening Daily Advocate—present a contrast to The Star-Tribune's approach to the Negro community.

The arch-conservative dailies in Lynchburg, published by Carter Glass 3d, grandson of the late Senator, have been subjected to sharp national criticism and charges of biased handling of local stories about Negroes.

While skipping obituaries and news of other developments of interest to their Negro readers, the News and Daily Advance gave extensive coverage to the trial of a Negro dishwasher charged with the rape of a 63-year-old white woman.

The papers repeatedly referred to Thomas C. Wansley, who had won a new trial, as a "twice-convicted Negro rapist." One of the defendant's lawyers, William M. Kunster of New York, was often identified as a man linked "with Communist-front organizations."

Open Letter of Protest

Angered by such coverage, 67 publishers have discontinued it under heavy pressure.

Most papers have dropped awkward references to "the Jones woman" and now give Negroes the courtesy titles of "Miss" and "Mrs." Also, an area of particular expansion in coverage is the sports section.

"Hell, we're just up to our ears in colored athletes all the time," said W. D. Workman, associate editor of the Columbia (S. C.) State. He added that the paper also reports on Negro scholarship winners, speakers and other notables.

When the city's predominantly Negro Benedict College got a new president recently, Mr. Workman said The State published his picture and a news article under an eight-column headline on the front page of its second section.

"There's been no drastic change," Mr. Workman declared, "just an evolution of growing with the times over the past 10 years." Negro affairs, he added, are now judged by editors strictly on their news value.

Society Pages Sensitive

In another move typical of many Southern papers, The Arkansas Gazette dropped the identification of Negroes in obituaries two or three years ago and integrated these notices with announcements of white deaths.

The society pages are considered the most sensitive area on Southern papers, and the least touched by change. While notices of Negro engagements are beginning to appear, pictures of the bride-elect remain widely taboo.

There have been advances, however. Hugh B. Patterson Jr., publisher of The Arkansas Gazette, said the paper began printing pictures of Negroes in its society sections about six months ago.

Mr. Patterson said the paper had included photographs of Negro beauty queens and prize winners as well. Recently, he added, it carried a picture of a group of local Negro debutantes.

While coverage of Negro news has scarcely been expanded by all Southern newspapers, some papers long considered especially hostile in reporting Negro activities have done so.

The Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger and The Jackson Daily News grant courtesy titles to Negro women and have expanded their reports of Negro sports. A source sensitive to the treatment of racial news in the state observed:

"I would say that if three years ago these papers were terrible they can now be considered merely drab. That represents a hell of an improvement."

As is often the case, however, the editorial policy remains hostile to civil rights activities.

Mr. Struby of the publishers association said he expected that in perhaps five years coverage of Negro news in the South would have become "as general a practice as elsewhere in the country."

NEWS MEDIA

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

FOR YOUR PERSONAL-PROFESSIONAL USE ONLY

May 17, 1967

TO: Intergroup Relations Agencies -- Public and Voluntary

FROM: Isaiah Terman

SUBJECT: Mass Media and Race Tensions

We have had a heartening response to Harry Fleischman's memorandum of April 20 on "Help Shape A Safer City" and there are signs that local intergroup agencies are taking steps to demonstrate support and concern for police needs and professional interests as an essential part of police-community relations programs.

This encourages us to write to you about another program which warrants greatly increased attention at this time, namely, the development of guidelines and machinery to ensure <u>responsible</u> and <u>constructive</u> reporting of news with intergroup significance.

The attached report of a Mass Media Briefing Session held by the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations exemplifies an ongoing effort to develop such a program. We have been granted permission to share this report with professional intergroup practitioners on a <u>confidential</u> basis only. It is <u>not</u> for publication.

(More background on the Philadelphia effort is given in Burton I. Gordin's article, "The Mass Media and Intergroup Relations," published in the NAIRO <u>Journal</u>, Summer 1961, which is known to many of you as is the pioneering and continuing work in this field by the Chicago Commission. Relevant also are our reprints, "Racial News Gap" and "Improving the Image of a Group.")

We would like to gather information from Commissions and voluntary intergroup agencies who have -- or are in process of establishing -- active consultative and collaborative relations with mass media. If you permit, we will make the material available to others who can benefit from it.

Readers of this memo hardly need to be told that the solution to problems of intergroup tensions lies in dealing with the root causes and effects of discrimination and prejudice, not simply with the treatment of intergroup problems by the mass media. (Suggestions for immediate remedial action are given in our "Case Study of a Riot," p. 55-62.) Yet we cannot deny that the media have a crucial role, in the long run as well as in tension situations, for resolving intergroup problems constructively.

An idea that emerged following the Philadelphia Mass Media Briefing Session concerns the creation of a small Media Advisory Committee which, during the summer months, will receive special reports and briefing from the Commission on Human Relations, the police, etc. This group of high level representatives would issue periodic bulletins to the media with regard to the handling of racially inflammatory material and other news of intergroup significance. Also planned is another session for media executives, following through on the one reported herewith.

Let us hear from you and let us know if we can be of further service in this regard.

Encl.

CONFIDENTIAL

PHILADELPHIA MASS MEDIA BRIEFING SESSION

August 4, 1966

On Thursday, August 4, 1966, the Commission on Human Relations and the City of Philadelphia's Division of Information held a briefing session on the current status of intergroup relations in the city. Representatives of the press, radio and television, at policy-making levels, attended.

City Representative Abe S. Rosen opened the session by stating that its purpose was to acquaint the media with the background and specifics of City efforts in human relations areas (particularly those of the Police Department, Commission on Human Relations and the Anti-Poverty Program). Mr. Rosen also noted that there are different approaches toward the handling of news on human relations issues, ranging from the view of those who think it better not to say anything to those who believe everything must be said.

Mr. Fred T. Corleto, managing director, asked the group for help, as newsmen and as responsible human beings, to "keep Philadelphia clean of serious trouble" this summer. He said the city was doing everything possible to keep human temperatures down by anticipating the problems which might spark difficulty. He cited programs of recreation, health, welfare services, and police-community relations.

He said that an irresponsible news story could inflame the public and urged the mass media to be guided by their sense of responsibility to their profession as well as to their community.

Deputy Commissioner of Police Frank Rizzo described the various action programs sponsored by the police to prevent intergroup disharmony and to improve police-community relations. He noted that no other city in the country has a police-community relations division as effective and well-staffed as Philadelphia.

Mr. Rizzo also made a plea to the media for a more understanding attitude toward the police. He extended an invitation to all members of the press to ride in a police patrol car any Friday or Saturday night to "see what goes on." He criticized media's handling of the 13th and Fitzwater incident. He said the press called the situation a "near-riot" and stated that

the police retreated. Mr. Rizzo said it was not a near-riot — rather, it was a fairly ordinary street occurrence and that it was normal for a policeman to meet situations he could not handle alone and, therefore, to request aid — that such a situation equalled neither a riot nor a police retreat.

Mr. Rosen then pointed out that the police do as much preventive work as possible, such as their work in individual communities through the community's own leaders. He then called on one of these community leaders, Rev. Licorish of the Zoar Methodist Church, to tell the group about such activities.

Rev. Licorish expressed concern about "the manner in which things are reported by the media." He said media sometimes "got carried away and didn't realize what effect they had on the public." Rev. Licorish said that, on unsavory stories, "the Negro seems to get the punch line more so than the others, that the press should realize this is saying it's alright for the other fellow (to do this) but not this one." He observed that the press says it's in business to sell papers but should be aware of what it's doing to many who may be less responsible by glorifying certain kinds of tragedy — like stories about a well-known entertainer who takes dope.

Mr. Rosen then introduced Mr. Charles W. Bowser, executive director of the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee.

Mr. Bowser said "...what we're talking about is a riot. We don't want one." He then described his own experiences as a North Philadelphia teenager during the riot of the 1940's. He pointed out that both he and those he knew who participated in the riot felt completely justified in their behavior. He spoke of the hopelessness with which they all viewed their world and said that no delinquent in North Philadelphia believes he has anything to lose. He attributed this feeling of hopelessness to the fact that he and the others had never heard anything good about the neighborhood they lived in — that everything said about it was negative — that no one ever writes anything about North Philadelphia unless it's bad. He said that an emphasis on the negative intensifies the frustrations already there and that "we all have a responsibility to try to point to the positive also."

Mr. Bowser noted that, in the past few years, the press had given good publicity to the Opportunities Industrialization Center although this program did not directly involve great numbers of people. He mentioned the fact that Anti-Poverty's summer program for children reaches 300,000 youngsters yet it gets minor coverage. He said that, though this lack of coverage doesn't affect the program, it does affect the community in the sense that such publicity could give hope to the people —

that the press was in a pivotal position — it could emphasize the possibility of hope or communicate that it is hopeless.

Mr. Willis Selden, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C., then spoke about some of his experiences with human relations groups and issues throughout the country. Mr. Selden noted that there are 30 to 40 cities in the country, including Philadelphia, with tension situations but that Philadelphia had better machinery to handle this problem than many of the others.

Mr. Terry C. Chisholm, executive director of the Commission on Human Relations, described a recent Commission on Human Relations study of the North Philadelphia community which revealed many similarities in the aspirations and views of the Negro and white groups in the area. He noted that these aspirations were fed by the media's reflection of our affluent society and that the disparity in the opportunities afforded minority groups to achieve these goals led to the feelings of hopelessness in the community. He said that the biggest problem is frustration, lack of hope and that the media could help alleviate this by "weaving into its daily output information about existing programs and plans, all the things that make it possible for people to have hope." He concluded, "We all must go to great pains not to have hopeless people in our society."

The meeting was then opened for discussion by Mr. Rosen.

A radio executive suggested the City had the cart before the horse and that, if the City agencies would solve the underlying problems which caused the tension situations, they would not have to worry about what the press had to say.

Mr. Bowser, in answer to this remark, commented that problems could not be solved that quickly, that no one was even sure what the solutions were but that, if we could stop inflaming the situation, we buy a little more time to arrive at solutions.

The representative of another radio station then commented that a riot was the community against the police and that the police must give respect to the community if they expect respect.

This remark prompted Mr. Irving Tranen, Community Relations Service, Department of Justice, to comment that the police are unpopular because they represent the authority of the community, and hopeless, depressed people are angry at the community. He said that the press can and is obligated

to do something when it comes to an incident like the "13th and Fitzwater" situation. Mr. Tranen stated that he did not favor censorship but that, in Chicago, the media got together and voluntarily adopted basic guidelines for the handling of such incidents. He also gave his own "thumbnail" definition of a riot ("when the police have lost control of a situation"). Mr. Tranen concluded by suggesting that a committee be formed to establish, as a cooperative venture, guidelines for the Philadelphia media on the handling of such tension situations. Mr. Tranen termed this a "cooperative self-control mechanism." He also noted that, in his opinion, the Watts riot began because the people in that community wanted someone to notice them and their problems and that the message must be gotten to such people that others do care about them.

A TV newsman responded to Mr. Tranen's remarks by noting that the Chicago system had worked during the recent rioting in that city. He mentioned that an article in "Variety" reported on this.

Another member of the Philadelphia media said he had just returned from Chicago and the system worked.

The TV newsman added that the Chicago system works because the city has a central news office to act as a clearing house. He said that some sort of agreement, such as that adopted in Chicago by the media, was imperative. He noted that, when a story breaks, he often wants direction but can't get it fast enough.

A wire service official said that he thought his organization has the machinery to provide such a service.

One of the editors of a daily newspaper said that there should be some restraint until one can check the facts. He added that, if there is a riot, it's a serious situation and the news media must report what exists, not what they would like to exist, but that there is need for restraint, particularly for TV and radio since they are more immediate media than the press.

A radio commentator noted that he had broadcast an erroneous report that James Meredith had been killed. He regretted this and underscored the need for a reliable method of checking such stories.

Another participant mentioned that there was a group in Philadelphia which feeds positive stories about youngsters to the news media.

Mr. Randolph Wise (Philadelphia's Commissioner of Welfare) responded as a member of the board of "Story", the organization

referred to, and said that the group's title stood for "Salute To Our Responsible Youth." He explained that the organization was created to emphasize the positive things kids were doing and was administered by the Junior League of Philadelphia which communicated the stories to the media.

Mr. Tranen again suggested that the group create a media committee that could begin to solve a problem which could become acute.

The wire service official requested that the wire services be represented on such a committee.

A major radio-TV executive said that his organization would also like to participate. He added that the Chicago system, however, was far from a panacea — that it didn't work so well because "it has forgotten media's obligation to the public which has a right to know." He concluded by stating that his group has a plan of its own — a good one — that they believe will both serve the public and have a calming influence.

Mr. Rosen stated that a media committee already existed and that the Commission on Human Relations would follow-up the suggestion for an expanded committee which could implement the proposals which had been offered.

Participants in the Mass Media Briefing Session were 10 representatives of 6 publications, 23 representatives of 13 radio and TV stations, and 17 members of voluntary and public agencies (American Jewish Committee, Zoar Methodist Church, City Government, Commission on Human Relations, Police Department, Federal Community Relations Service).

1/8/67

Action Due on Court Plan

By JAY JENKINS

Raleigh Bureau, The Charlotte Observer
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

RALEIGH, N.C., Jan. 7—Minutes after the North Carolina General Assembly convenes on Feb. 8, a measure will be introduced calling for establishment of an intermediate court of appeals.

The new court would consist of six judges, and on the judicial ladder would be between the Superior Courts and the State Supreme Court.

NORTH CAROLINA

State Sen. Lindsay C. Warren, Jr., of Goldsboro, chairman of the N.C. Courts Commission, said the measure will propose that Gov. Dan Moore be allowed to appoint the six judges, who then would have to run for election to the eight-year terms in 1968.

CREATION of the court was authorized in a 1965 referendum. The General Assembly was given a free hand in deciding how to implement the public mandate.

Sen. Warren said there is some opposition to the idea of letting Gov. Moore appoint the judges initially. But Warren said any other course would fail to give prompt relief to the overworked justices on the Supreme Court.

Even if Moore does name the judges of the appeals court, they could not begin hearing cases until January, 1968, Warren said. Requiring them to stand for election in 1968 before making the court operative would lead to still another one-year delay, he added.

MEANWHILE, Chief Justice R. Hunt Parker of the State Supreme Court has dropped a broad hint that the sooner the new court is set up, the better. Parker said the court wound up its 1966 winter term with 105 cases still to be ruled on.

During the winter term, Parker added, a total of 276 cases plus another 134 motions and petitions were submitted to the high court. Opinions were written in 171 of the cases. Even with the seven members of the court working six days a week, he said, some of the 105 carryover cases still will be pending when the court begins its spring term on Feb. 6.

"THE N.C. Supreme Court has one of the heaviest dockets of any of the Supreme Courts in the nation," Parker said. "The Supreme Courts of California and New York will write about half the opinions that the Supreme Court of North Carolina writes."

One reason for the heavy caseload, Parker added, is that in those two big states there are various intermediate courts of appeal. Another is that every citizen of North Carolina "has a constitutional right to appeal to the Supreme Court." Some states limit appeals to certain types of cases.

For the Courts Commission, Sen. Warren indicated an effort may be made to limit appeals to the top court after the court of appeals is in operation.

"IN GENERAL," Warren said, "the Commission hopes the new court will hear questions of law that aren't novel."

That is, the new court would pass upon cases in which points of law and precedent are fairly clear and routine.

The Supreme Court would continue to get appeals from criminals condemned to die in the gas chamber for capital offenses.

"This would be the ideal situation," Warren added.

TIME TO GET FANCIER

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7 (UPI)—The Post Office Department, the nation's largest tenant, is getting some fancier, more modern buildings over the next five years.

Postmaster General Lawrence F. O'Brien said that 59 new buildings would open within the next five years and an additional 102 buildings will be built within the next decade.

He said that in most of the 161 large cities handling 60 per cent of the nation's mail the post office is located in a building dating back to the 1930s, when mail volume was one-third the 80 billion pieces predicted for 1967.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1967.

North Carolina Governor Asks New Drinking Law

Special to The New York Times

RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 9 — North Carolina's "brownbaggers" found a friend today in Gov. Dan K. Moore. The Ku Klux Klan found an enemy.

The Governor, addressing a joint session of the General Assembly, said he believed the brownbagging custom should be legalized but that he was opposed to permitting the sale of liquor by the drink.

Thus the Governor sided with persons accustomed to carrying their bottles into private clubs and restaurants and mixing their drinks there. The custom received a setback in December when the State Supreme Court ruled it illegal.

Cross-Burning Opposed

Tourist and convention interests, who have been advocating sales of liquor by the drink, said that despite the Governor's opposition they would continue to press for favorable action at this session of the legislature. With the Governor now against them, their chances have grown more remote.

Gov. Dan K. Moore

The Governor, once accused of being soft in battling the Klan, asked the assembly to enact laws that would do the following:

¶Make it a felony to burn a cross or other symbol without permission of the owner of the property on which the burning occurred.

¶Fix a minimum penalty of 10 years in prison, and a maximum of life, for bombing occupied property. Governor Moore said there was "no more dastardly crime" than this.

¶Authorize the Governor to offer rewards up to $10,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of anyone who commits a felony. The reward limit now is $400.

Dispute Over College

In June of last year, Malcolm Seawell, a former state Attorney General, resigned as chairman of the Governor's Law and Order Committee because of differences with the Governor over the handling of Klan activities.

Mr. Seawall advocated a tougher line than the state was taking at the time, saying the Klan's charter should be revoked under existing statutes.

In his speech, the Governor also stepped into the middle of a dispute over university status for East Carolina College at Greenville. The college, which has over 9,000 students, is making a strong bid for elevation to university status but insists that it should be separate from the consolidated University of North Carolina, which has branches in Chapel Hill, Raleigh, Greensboro and Charlotte.

The state has been dedicated to a one-university system since 1931.

"While all institutions must develop to the fullest, I remain convinced of the soundness and the many advantages of the one university concept," the Governor said. "It has served and continues to serve this state well and I remain determined to oppose any effort to deprive the people of North Carolina of the positive benefits of consolidation."

The Governor also said that in his budget message next Monday night he will recommend an increase of 17.58 per cent in salaries of public school teachers and 5 per cent in salaries of state employes.

BLUEPRINT FOR OPPORTUNITY

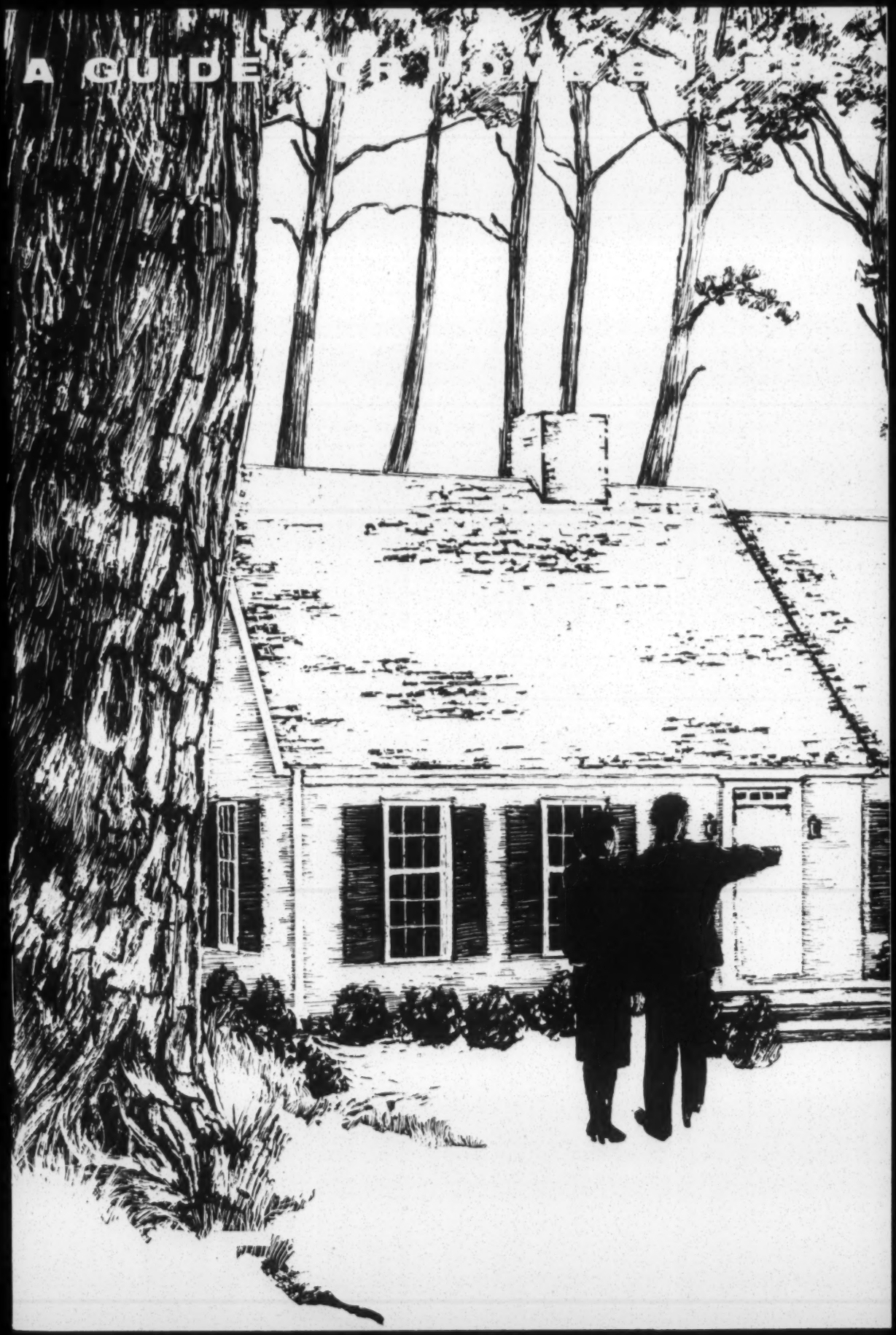
Vol. 3 No. 3 November, 1967

CAN LT. GENE CHERRY'S
NEW BREED OF POLICEMAN

CHANGE RESTLESS WINSTON-SALEM
GHETTO DWELLERS' IDEA ABOUT COPS?

see page 4

A GUIDE



Urban Planning Project Publication No. 2

A HOME OF OUR OWN

Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St.,
N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. Nov. 1966

INTRODUCTION

To the average family, buying a house is the most important business transaction it will ever undertake. Yet few of us have a clear understanding of all that is involved in the process. For how large a loan should one obligate oneself? What neighborhood considerations should one take into account in looking for a house; what structural considerations in the house itself? What is the meaning of such terms as equity, title deed, mortgage? This pamphlet, prepared by Mrs. Jerry Dell Gimarc of the Southern Regional Council's Urban Planning Project, attempts to answer fully, and yet in language comprehensible to the lay reader, these and many other questions related to the buying of a house.

In presenting this information we have chosen a fictionalized account of the "adventures" of a Negro family considering home ownership for the first time. The course the Walters take is the same that any buyer must pursue. The definitions of terms and the check list for deciding on a good house are the same for anyone looking for a house in any neighborhood or city. There is special emphasis on the problems and complications which may face a Negro family who find *their* house outside traditionally Negro neighborhoods. At the end of the pamphlet is a list of other booklets and materials which may be helpful and of interest to the prospective house buyer.

This pamphlet is a work book. The reader will notice that various check lists are provided throughout the text. The boxes in the left hand margins should be checked as each step is completed. The pamphlet is designed to be used, marked on, and made valuable as your own house-buying guide.

1 | WHY NOT BUY?

One evening after the dinner dishes were put away and the three children tucked into bed, Sue turned to Joe and asked, "Why can't we buy a house of our own?" Joe hesitated, for he had heard this question before, then replied, "Perhaps we could." And so began a long search as the Walters looked carefully at their desires, financial capability, future plans and willingness to undertake the responsibilities and costs of home ownership.

First, they wrote down the reasons why they wanted to buy.

☐ 1. MORE LIVING SPACE FOR THE MONEY THEY WERE SPENDING ON RENT. They had three growing children, and the family was probably not complete. The Walters lived in a small six-apartment unit in a two bedroom apartment; they were already feeling crowded, but apartments with enough space cost more than they could pay.

☐ 2. They wanted more PRIVACY. Their landlord, who lived nearby, dropped by too often to "look around," and the people in the other part of the apartment building were too near.

☐ 3. Sue wanted a GARDEN of her own. She could have used some ground where they were, but it didn't seem worthwhile to invest in plantings for someone else's property.

☐ 4. The Walters liked their town and intended to remain there. A house of their own would give the children a sense of STABILITY or PERMANENCY. Sue and Joe wanted to be part of a community where they felt they *belonged!*

☐ 5. Two of the children were already in school, but the neighborhood school was overcrowded and did not offer as much individual attention to the pupils as the Walters had hoped. In another neighborhood they believed they would find BETTER SCHOOLS.

☐ 6. Although the thought of the house as a "home" was uppermost in their minds, the Walters also considered the purchase as a

sort of enforced savings, for they would be slowly building up EQUITY, or redeemable value, in the property as they paid for it over the years.

☐ 7. In the not too distant future Joe hoped to own his own small business, a garage, where he would be his own boss. He realized that the purchase of a house, with prompt and regular payments, would give him a good CREDIT RATING. When he was ready to establish his garage, he would have less trouble borrowing the money for his business.

Then the Walters made a list of the reasons why they should not buy.

☐ 1. They wanted to remain in their town, but it was quite possible that they might move out of the state in the next five years. If so, could they SELL the house quickly? If not, then they might own a house in one city and be living in another state!

☐ 2. They would have to take CARE OF THE HOUSE themselves if they owned it; would have to see about repairs, repainting, pay real estate and other taxes.

☐ 3. They would have to BUDGET carefully, making sure part of their *weekly* income was put aside to pay for monthly house notes. This might be difficult for a while until they got used to planning for bills and expenses on a monthly and sometimes a yearly basis.

Sue and Joe considered and reviewed the lists carefully. The list *for* buying was much longer and weightier than the one against, but they were concerned that they really might not be able to *afford* buying. They did not want to go beyond their means and fail to meet their payments. They decided they would take a careful look at their present income and expenditures to see how much they could spend on shelter. They had heard several simple formulas about how much a family could or should spend for (1) monthly house notes: 25 or 30% of the effective monthly income (the income for a month less deducted federal and state taxes, social security and retirement fund) or (2) total price: two and a half times the family yearly income. But the Walters wanted more than these simple formulas; they wanted to look closer at their own spending. To do this they made a list of their income, living expenses and obligations and gave as true a picture as they could from the records they had of the real expenditures they made for each item and of the income they could count on.

INCOME (Monthly)

Joe's Take Home Pay	$ _____
Any other steady income*	$ _____
TOTAL INCOME	$ _____

*Sue worked occasionally in a department store, but since her job wasn't steady and since she had small children at home and was still of childbearing age they did not count any income from her.

LIVING EXPENSES (Besides Housing)

Food (per month)	$ _____
Clothing (per month)	$ _____
Education (money required by children for school fees)	$ _____
Medical and dental (budgeted)	$ _____
Automobile (or other transportation) - operating expenses, repairs	$ _____
Recreation & entertainment (books, hobby supplies, newspapers, magazines, sports events, movies, etc.)	$ _____
Miscellaneous (dues to organizations, charitable contributions, church)	$ _____
Savings (as a regular item)	$ _____
Taxes (besides those deducted, such as ad valorem or property tax on autos)	$ _____
TOTAL	$ _____

FIXED OBLIGATIONS (Monthly)

Installment payments (on car, furniture, appliances, etc.)	$ _____
Other debts, payments (personal loans, debts, etc.)	$ _____
Insurance premiums (auto, theft or life - any premium not already deducted from check)	$ _____
State income tax (if not deducted)	$ _____
Retirement fund or health insurance (if not deducted)	$ _____
Miscellaneous (support of parents, alimony, child support, etc.)	$ _____
TOTAL	$ _____

To figure monthly expenses from weekly figures, Sue and Joe multiplied the weekly figure by fifty-two (for the number of weeks in a year) and divided by twelve (for the number of months).

$$\text{Monthly} = \frac{\text{weekly x 52}}{12}$$

Sue and Joe added their fixed obligations to their living expenses and got a total which was their total monthly expenditures besides housing expenses. They subtracted this total from their total income. *The difference was what they had per month for housing expenses.*

TOTAL MONTHLY EXPENSES (besides housing)		$————
FIXED MONTHLY OBLIGATIONS	+	$————
TOTAL MONTHLY EXPENDITURES		$————
TOTAL MONTHLY INCOME		$————
TOTAL MONTHLY EXPENDITURES	—	$————
HOUSING MONEY PER MONTH		$————

The housing money had to include:
MORTGAGE LOAN — Principal and interest
Plus Mortgage Insurance Premium (if FHA loan)
Hazard Insurance Premium
Taxes and any special assessments
Estimated maintenance and repairs
Estimated utilities — heat, light, water, air conditioning

Sue and Joe decided that in the next week they would learn what all the words meant — mortgage, interest, principal, equity, and so on.

They learned these definitions:

☐ 1. LOAN — the money they would have to borrow to buy a house; the money lent them either by a lending institution alone or lent by a lending institution and secured (underwritten) by the Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration for buying a house.

☐ 2. INTEREST — the fee they would have to pay the lending institution for the loan; the amount of money they would be charged for using the money borrowed. The interest was usually given as a per cent, like 5½% or 6%, and meant they must pay that per cent each year for the amount of money borrowed for the number of years borrowed.

☐ 3. PRINCIPAL — the sum borrowed. When the borrower repays the loan, he pays each month a certain amount for the interest on the money lent and the rest on the principal, or the money

borrowed. (Some payments also include small amounts for taxes and insurance.) At first, most of the monthly payment is taken up by the interest on the loan and only a small amount goes to pay back the money borrowed. The amount each month which must go to interest declines over the years of the loan as the principal is repaid. Each month a little more of the monthly payment is applied to pay the principal, and the owner's equity thus increases.

☐ 4. DOWN PAYMENT — the money given as partial payment for the house at the time of purchase.

☐ 5. MORTGAGE — agreement for a long-term loan where the lender has a claim on the property as security for the money he has lent and may foreclose, or take back the property, if the borrower does not pay the amount borrowed according to a time schedule.

☐ 6. EQUITY — the actual dollars and cents value that an owner has in his home — in effect, his investment — once all fees and charges against his property have been paid.

☐ 7. TITLE DEED — legal document stating that a piece of property belongs to the owner and was transferred to him from the previous owner with no legitimate claim remaining unsatisfied. When real estate is sold an investigation of the records must be made to show that the seller really owns the property, that it is without debts or ownership claims on the property.

☐ 8. TITLE INSURANCE — insurance to make sure that the lender does not lose money if the title to a property is defective. This insurance provides funds to defend the insured title against any claims (such as a forged deed or an undisclosed heir) and to pay the insured party (the lender, and at a small additional cost the buyer, can also be covered) against loss. This insurance cost is paid *only once,* at the time of sale, and is a per cent of the sales price.

☐ 9. HAZARD INSURANCE — insurance against fire, wind storm and other specified natural hazards. This is usually part of the payment to the lender each month.

☐ 10. TAXES AND SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS — property owners must pay real estate taxes which are based on the appraised value of the property. These taxes pay for schools, civic improvements, parks, etc. Usually, they, too, are part of the monthly payment to the lender. He charges the borrower part of the tax month by month, accumulates it, then pays the tax on the property for the borrower when it falls due.

☐ 11. CLOSING COSTS — these are a number of items which are charged to the buyer at the time of purchase. Often they are unexpected, and they must be paid for in *cash.* They include the cost of title insurance and the amount of hazard insurance premium due for the remainder of the year, the amount of real estate tax due for the remainder of the year, recording fees which are charged by state and and sometimes city offices to record the change of ownership, recording tax fees for states which require revenue stamps (tax stamps) to be placed on the documents filed. Besides these charges are the fees the lending institution may demand for the services of experts used to check items for borrower before he is lent money — title search or the check to see that the title to the property is in good order, property survey or the check on the dimensions of the property the lender may lend his money on, appraisal of the value of the property

to guide the lender in deciding how much to lend, personal credit report on the borrower to see if he is a good credit risk, has a steady job and pays his debts. A fee for the outside lawyer who is attending to the seller's interest may be charged to the buyer. The buyer's own lawyer's bill is in addition and does not usually appear at closing.

The Walters were staggered by all the complicated terms, but gradually, after studying them for a while, they began to feel more comfortable with the definitions. One thing they were terribly curious about was how much the closing costs would be since they had to be paid for in CASH at the time the mortgage agreement was signed, and this was in addition to the CASH required for the down payment. They found these costs depended on the property and its locality but that the CLOSING COSTS are a per cent of the cost of the house. They usually range between 3 to 5 per cent. This varies according to the location of the house and the custom of the neighborhood. Who pays the costs *can* be negotiated. The seller may agree to pay some of them. The terms of payment *can* be established prior to the closing of the sale. The buyer's lawyer should check these terms and costs to get the best possible terms for his client.

After considerable discussion Sue and Joe thought they would be able to buy if they could find a modestly priced house and get a good loan. They had saved $1,500.00 which they could use for down payment and closing costs. Now they began to find out the difference between the three types of loans — conventional, FHA, and VA.

CONVENTIONAL LOANS — two-party loans between the borrower and lender. The "security" the borrower offers is the house he is buying and his own value as a credit risk, as a person who can and will repay the money lent. Usually the terms of a conventional loan are more conservative than for FHA or VA. This means that these loans require a larger down payment, sometimes a higher interest rate, and often are for shorter terms than in the other two classes. Conventional loans have more flexible terms. For people who are able to make a down payment of several thousand dollars they are easier to get. These loans are obtainable through banks, savings and loan associations, insurance companies and mortgage bankers. FHA and VA loans may also be obtained at the same places.

FHA LOANS — a three-party agreement. Besides the borrower and lender (as with a conventional loan) the Federal Housing Administration, a government agency, is involved. The FHA tells the lender that in addition to the borrower's credit rating and house it will offer further security for the loan by insuring the lender against the loss he might incur if the borrower does not live up to the loan agreement.

The borrower, however, is charged ½ of 1% more for this insurance. This money goes into a common pool to pay the losses when borrowers default. This additional security often enables the borrower to get a larger loan than he could ordinarily. At present the borrower, if approved, could get a loan for all but three per cent of the total price of the house. This means that up to a $15,000 loan, a borrower might have to pay only 3% as down payment. And in some cases the time allowed for repayment may be up to 40 years. The rate of interest which can be charged for the loan is usually smaller than for a conventional loan. A family, then, with little ready cash could buy a house under this type of loan.

VA LOANS — also a three-party agreement. This time the Veterans Administration guarantees repayment of part (60%) of the loan up to a maximum of $7,500.00. This extra guarantee means as with FHA that the lender may be willing to lend more than he would for a conventional loan. Also, the VA requires no down payment, if this is satisfactory with the lender. But not everyone can qualify for a VA loan. One must have served in the U. S. Armed Forces during World War II, the Korean War, or since January, 1955.

The FHA-insured or VA-guaranteed loans must be applied for at the time of application for a loan from a lending institution. FHA and VA do not lend money directly (there are some exceptions for VA), but they do guarantee loans from lending institutions under the special conditions mentioned above. The borrower fills out an FHA or VA application form when he applies for a loan. These applications are usually available at the lending institutions. (For comparison of the different types of loans, see the chart at the back of the book.)

The Walters studied their finances and the possibilities of getting a satisfactory loan and decided they would be able to afford to buy without undue stress on their present budget. Although they were paying a good deal for shelter, they felt that with their small regular savings for emergencies they could accept the responsibility of home ownership and long-term debt with little likelihood of defaulting or being unable to make payments, and they knew they would keep *their* house in good condition, well-maintained at all times. They had talked to enough FHA people and loan people to know that if they couldn't make payments and their house was repossessed they would find it very difficult to get a loan *ever* again. This then was a serious step for them, but one they felt was reasonable and justified.

But now that they had decided they would buy if they could find a house which suited them they began to wonder how to locate "their" house and how to tell if it were a good buy when they found a place which appealed to them.

2 | THE SEARCH

Early the next Sunday morning Sue and Joe grabbed the paper, got out a map of town, found pencil and paper and began looking through the classified section for "Houses for Sale." They decided they would become acquainted with what was available in all sections of the city for several weeks, go through some of the houses, drive by others, so they would get used to "looking." They read the ads and prices, checked the locations on the map, bundled the children into the car and set off.

They first wanted to look at the location of the houses. Joe had made up a check list of things the location of "their" house must have and Sue had added a few items of her own. They drove and looked and checked— "a" for excellent, "b" for good, "c" for fair and "d" for bad — each location according to these needs:

☐ 1. NEIGHBORHOOD

What did the other houses look like, were they nicely kept, was the house they were interested in the best of the group or one of the less impressive in the area? (They had read that it was better to buy a less expensive house in a good neighborhood than the best house in a poorer neighborhood, at least as far as resale value was concerned.)

☐ 2. NEARNESS TO WORK AND GOOD TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

Sue sometimes needed the Walters' car to run errands; Joe didn't want to live on the other side of town from the large repair shop where he was depended on as foreman mechanic. He wanted to be able to reach his job by public transportation without spending several hours going back and forth.

- Was there a bus running near-by?
- What was its schedule?
- Would it take Sue to town quickly and conveniently at non-rush hours?

☐ 3. GOOD SCHOOLS

To both the Walters it was very important to know where the nearest grade school was and what sort of program it had.

- Was it overcrowded?

- Were its teachers well-qualified and interested in their teaching and their pupils (according to other parents in the neighborhood)?
- How far away was the high school and what sort of place was it? (After all, the children grew so fast.)
- Could the children walk to school without crossing streets with heavy traffic?

☐ 4. CHURCH
Sue wanted to make sure a church of their denomination was near so that the family could be involved in weekday activities as well as Sunday services.

☐ 5. CONVENIENTLY LOCATED SHOPPING AREAS
Sue would prefer being able to walk to local stores. Until they could afford a washing machine she would have to take the clothes to the laundromat. Was there one nearby?

☐ 6. RECREATION AREAS
The children would soon need a park or playground for games and activities.
- Were there any in the area?
- Could they be reached by the children without danger from heavily trafficked streets?
- Were these areas well lighted in the evenings and properly cared for by the city?

☐ 7. AWAY FROM HEAVILY TRAVELED STREETS
- Was the house protected from the noise and dust created by heavy traffic?
- Could the children walk to their activities without undue danger?

Sue and Joe found houses in several neighborhoods which got many more "a's" than "b's" and no "d's" at all. The following weeks were devoted to intensified examination of the houses offered for sale in the classified section of the paper. The Walters also contacted a real estate agent, told him their problems, price range and approximate neighborhood. They looked at many houses and from their experiences drew up yet another checklist to mark "a," "b," "c," and "d" for houses.

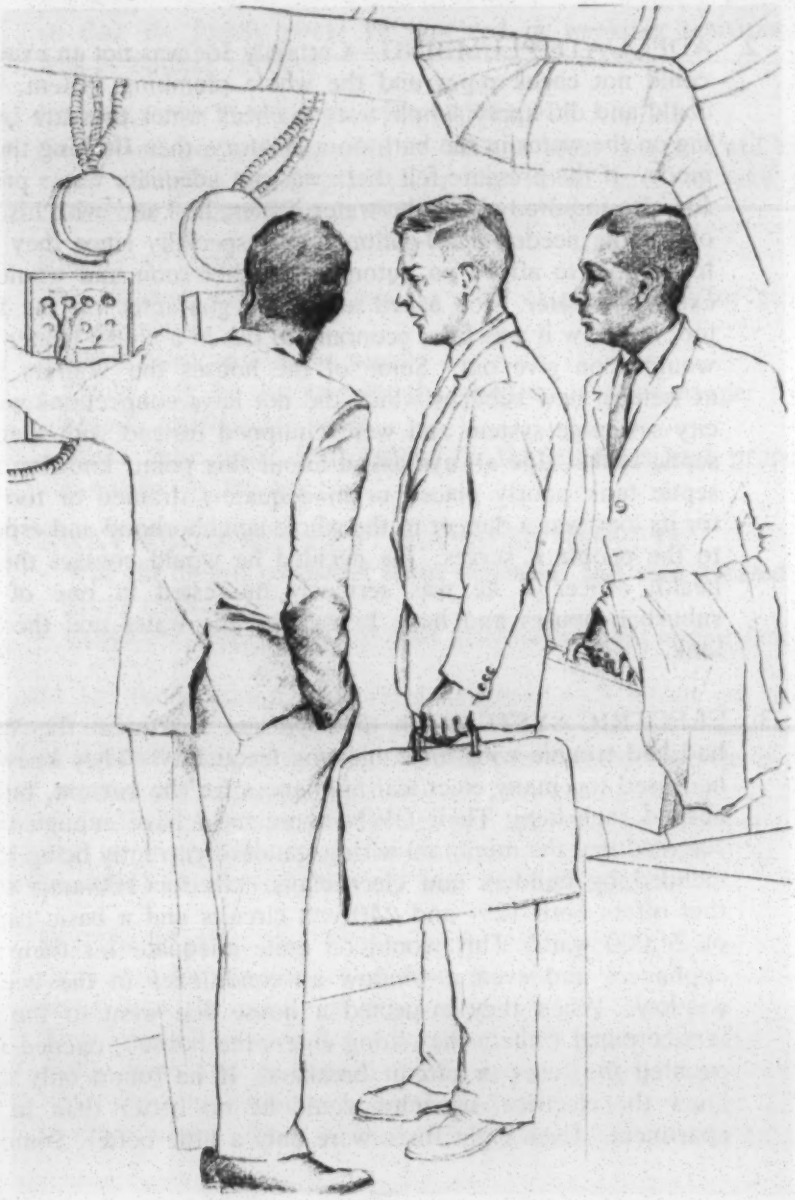
☐ 1. FLOOR PLAN—The Walters were looking for a house with a quiet area for sleeping set off from the rest of the house and buffered from the noises of other activities (by closets or halls). They wanted an area for entertaining and family activities (the living room and perhaps a dining room or den) which would allow these activities to proceed undisturbed by constant traffic to other rooms. They wanted adequate work space—the kitchen

and a place for Joe to work on cars and keep his tools screened and private from the street and neighbors. They could find how well a house took care of these needs by drawing a floor plan and marking off the different areas in different colors. This showed easily how one area related to another and which areas overlapped. Sue and Joe wanted to make sure that the bathroom (or rooms) and kitchen could be reached from other rooms without going through bedrooms (a continuing disturbance in their present apartment).

☐ 2. ADEQUATE PLUMBING—Certainly Joe was not an expert and could not check pipes and the whole plumbing system, but he could and did apply simple tests to check water pressure by turning on the water in the bathroom lavatory, then flushing the commode. If the pressure fell there was not adequate water pressure. Joe also inquired about the water heater; he knew with his family of five he needed a 50-gallon tank, especially since they hoped to be able to afford an automatic washer soon and would need extra hot water. Joe asked about the guarantee on the heater, too; he knew it was false economy to put in a cheap heater which would soon give out. Some of the houses the Walters looked at were in new suburbs which did not have connections with the city sewerage system and were equipped instead with their own septic tanks. Joe always asked about this point, knowing that a septic tank poorly placed or inadequately drained or too small for its load was a danger to the whole neighborhood and especially to the people it serves. He decided he would contact the local health officer if he was seriously interested in one of these suburban houses and have him check the water and the septic tank.

☐ 3. ELECTRIC SYSTEM—In their present apartment the Walters had had trouble with fuses blowing frequently. They knew they had used too many electrical appliances for the current, but they needed each item. Their OWN house must have enough wiring. Joe read that the minimum wiring standard currently being recommended by builders and electricians calls for 100-amp service that offers both 129- and 240-volt circuits and a basic capacity of 24,000 watts. This would be quite adequate for their small appliances and even a window air-conditioner in the bedroom window. When they inspected a house Joe went to the main service panel (where the wiring enters the house), opened it and counted the fuses or circuit breakers. If he found only six he knew the electrical capacity would be no better than in their apartment. Even eight fuses were only a little better. Sometimes

the capacity rating was written on the panel. Joe decided he would call an electric utility representative or an electrician to check the capacity for him when they thought they had found THEIR house. While Joe was looking at the fuse box Sue was counting the electrical outlets in each room. One, she knew from experience, was not enough. It was dangerous as well as inconvenient to string extension cords all over the room from the one plug. In their dining room it was even worse because appliances had to be plugged into extension cords hanging from the light socket.



Two outlets would be an absolute minimum in each room and four should be the norm. Joe pointed out that increased outlets only was no relief from blown fuses without increased amperage (current). Joe hoped the house they chose would have an outdoor self-grounding electrical outlet for power tools, one that was covered to protect it from weather and children. He liked to work outside, doing odd jobs and working on cars; an outside plug would be a real convenience.

☐ 4. SOUND ROOF—Although Joe was not a roofing expert, he could and did look for ordinary signs of wear. Dry, cracked asphalt on the roof meant a new roof would be required soon. He also checked the flashing (metal strip around the chimney and at the place where different roof planes meet such as at the junction of roof and gable) to see whether it was visible and in good repair. Joe knew that most roof leaks occur at the flashing points when the flashing is not tight. Joe looked for rain gutters and down spouts and their condition. At the point where the down spout lets water out to the ground the best provision is a gutter which directs the water into the street, but the minimum is a splash block or concrete scoop which splashes the water off and away from the house. Letting the water run along the ground with no other provision for drainage meant erosion in the yard or standing puddles to breed mosquitoes and undermine the foundation of the house.

☐ 5. PROPER DRAINAGE OF LAND—Joe knew from experience that lowlying land, improperly drained, caused disagreeable consequences for the houses located on it. Besides the mosquitoes and probable termites there was constant mud (which the children played in and Sue scrubbed up). Grass and flowers wouldn't grow well. And the water against the house kept the wood damp; damp wood rotted. Joe was so concerned that the house they bought have proper drainage he made a point of checking the land around houses they were interested in after the rains. Joe did not accept the assurances of house owners or real estate agents.

☐ 6. DRY BASEMENT—In a few houses the Walters were shown basements. This was not common construction, but they could see some advantages for it. It could be used for storage, for a children's playroom, and it would be cool and comfortable in the summer. They checked the walls for tell-tale signs of moisture and checked the walls again after a rain. They asked neighbors if they had had trouble with their basements. And finally they looked carefully, inside and out, to see whether there were any

high water marks. Sue remembered faintly that she had read of water backing up from a creek into one residential section of the town; was this the one?

☐ 7. SOUND FLOORS—In the rooms with wooden floors Sue and Joe walked carefully all around, looking for boards which seemed loose, looking for signs of moisture and heavy wear, trying to determine the slant (an indication of the settling of the house), trying to feel for soft spots in the floor which might indicate a bad brace. They attempted the same survey on the floors covered in vinyl tile, noting especially any places where the tile was loose or where the adhesive oozed through. Then they stepped back to see if the different flooring materials created a harmonious effect with each floor flowing into the next rather than every room having a different floor.

☐ 8. CONVENIENT ARRANGEMENT OF THE KITCHEN—While Joe looked over the roof and basement, Sue cast a critical eye over the kitchen since that was where she would be spending a great deal of her time. She wanted a place which would be large enough for the family to have room to eat in and one where she could look out the windows and keep an eye on the children playing. She looked to see if there were plenty of cabinets and if she could reach them without climbing on the kitchen stool each time she needed a muffin tin. Sue played cook in the kitchens of the houses they were interested in, trying out the "work triangle" or the path from sink to stove to refrigerator and back. She tried how the refrigerator door would fit, opened cabinets and drawers to see how much they interfered with one another. And she looked for adequate ventilation. She knew an open window simply didn't function well enough to take away cooking odors and heat. She had vowed that in her new house she would have an exhaust fan in her kitchen. Finally she made an especially careful check for electrical outlets. She liked to play the radio while she worked in the kitchen and it would be an inconvenience if she had to unplug it every time she used the toaster, or the electric iron.

☐ 9. ROOM FOR FUTURE GROWTH—Sue and Joe together stood back from the houses they were considering and thought where they might add another bedroom in five years or so, or possibly a large family room. They wanted their house to be able to grow with them as their family increased and as the children's demands for space increased with age. The Walters realized that what seemed enough land was not always the deciding factor for there were ordinances and zoning laws which restricted building

which was too close to the street or too close to the property line. They decided they must find out about these laws for any house they thought they might buy.

After five weeks of looking at houses, Sue and Joe became very observant "lookers" and the children bored travelers. The family almost despaired of finding a suitable place already built. Sue and Joe began investigating building their house themselves. Their first question was where to find the sort of plans they might like. They discovered they had several courses.

1. ARCHITECT — His plans would be drawn up to fit their own unique needs as they explained them to him. This would take some time and a specific understanding of their needs and desires themselves plus the ability to express them specifically to the architect. The architect would continue submitting plans until all changes had been made and the plans accepted. This was time consuming for architect and client. They found that architects ordinarily would not take jobs for houses on budgets as limited as theirs. The architect must spend many hours drawing the plans, and he is paid a per cent, 8% to 15%, of the total cost of the house. Since they wanted to spend about $10,000 to $12,000 on the house it was uneconomical for an architect to take the job.

2. STOCK PLANS—These are plans drawn up by an architect and mass produced and distributed. They are available through government agencies, home and garden magazines, building material supply houses, lending institutions, builders' magazines, department stores, furniture stores and home plan services. The Walters looked through several plan books and found a plan they liked. They considered sending off for it. The cost of one set of drawings was $30 to $35. The drawings consisted of a set of blueprints, four to eight sheets showing the floor plan, foundation plan, all four elevations, the roof and wall framing schemes and various construction details. Generally included with the blueprints are a list of specifications (telling how deep to make the foundation piers, temperature when pouring concrete, etc.), a list of materials needed, and directions on doing the actual work. Sometimes there is also a blank contract which could be used for the agreement between builder and contractor. As Sue and Joe studied further the possibility of building they were a little hesitant because they felt they knew so little about it. They learned, for instance, that the lot they bought must be perfectly level if ready-made plans were used; if it were not there might be complications when alter-

ing the foundation plans. They were afraid to pick the plan and the contractor and then oversee the construction. They wanted to be able to look at the house as a finished product before buying.

3. READY-BUILT HOUSE — A friend suggested that one alternative might be to buy in a subdivision where the builder was showing model homes. Here the Walters could look at a house *like* the one which would be built for them. The friend cautioned them, however, that when looking at the model, they should look beyond the glamour, find out how much space they really had, how many of the fancy appliances and light fixtures came

with the house and which were extras—and besides that, if they were truly interested, get all the specifications down in writing. He also advised them to inspect the building lot rather than picking it blindly off a subdivision map. They began to look at the builders' homes and seriously considered buying one of them.

While looking at these homes they found that this particular subdivision was financed by FHA and that both FHA and VA required builders to conform to certain standard specifications before they would insure the builder's loan. During construction of these houses FHA or VA officials make inspections to see that they are built according to plans filed with FHA or VA and according to the government specifications. This doesn't mean that the federal government is guaranteeing that the home will be satisfactory in every way, but only that it must conform to *minimum* building requirements. The owner's main reliance must be on the reputation and integrity of the builder chosen to build the house.

3 | CLOSING THE DEAL

Three more months of looking passed before the Walters found THEIR house. At least they *thought* it was the perfect house for their family; it seemed to pass all the tests they had created for judging houses. But they wondered if perhaps they were compromising or lowering their standards because they were tired of looking. Before making their final decision, before putting up "EARNEST MONEY" (the payment which said, "Hold the house for me till I see if I can get a loan"), *they wisely decided to contract for a lawyer*. They had never before needed any legal help, and they were wary of being tricked by an unscrupulous lawyer. They had heard stories about such people. In the neighborhood where they were living they knew there was a Legal Aid Office, so they went to it. Since their income was above the level which would allow them to be eligible for free service, the Legal Aid Office could not help them itself. It could and did, however, give them a list of names of reputable attorneys who would be willing to advise them for a reasonable fee. The Legal Aid Office told them that they were very wise in requesting this advice now. Their office had many clients who came in for help *AFTER* they had signed a contract —at a point when Legal Aid could be of no help since the agreement was already signed. Sue and Joe found a pleasant and patient attorney who told them that he would be happy to help them with the technicalities of home purchase. They arranged in advance what his fee would be, and the lawyer agreed to payments spread over three months.

Sue and Joe followed these precautions before deciding on their home:

☐ 1. LAWYER—They retained (or hired) an attorney to look after their interests. The lawyer made his own title search to double check the one made by the lending institution. He looked over the Walters' preliminary purchase agreement to buy the property, making sure that there was a clause which said their money would be returned in case they could not get the necessary loan. He drafted their loan note and mortgage since it was not done by the lender, but he would have examined the mortgage had it been drafted by the lender. And on the final day of the signing of the mortgage papers, he attended the meetings as the buyer's representative and read and approved all documents before the Walters signed. The cost of such services depends on the locality;

sometimes it is 1% of the total sale price. Joe wisely inquired first so that he would be prepared for this bill which was separate from the bill presented at closing of the transaction.

☐ 2. TITLE SEARCH — The examination of records and documents concerning previous ownership to make certain that the title (or deed of ownership) to the property does not have any debts against it. This is ordinarily part of the fee presented by the lending institution at closing and a necessary prelude to obtaining the title insurance which is usually required by the lender. The cost ranges between $50.00 to $100.00 and may be listed as part of the cost of the title insurance.

☐ 3. TITLE INSURANCE — The Walters knew they would have to pay a certain amount for insurance to protect the lender from loss should the title to the property prove defective because of a prior claim even after the most careful search. As they inquired about this insurance they realized that *their* part of the equity (that portion of the property they paid for through down payment and later increased by paying on the loan) would not be insured in this insurance. If a claim were brought, and the court did not rule in their favor, they would lose all they had invested. The Walters also found that it did not cost much more to buy additional insurance with the same company to cover their own equity. The insurance, which is paid only once and is part of the closing costs or lender's fees, usually runs several hundred dollars.

☐ 4. PROPERTY SURVEY — Ordinarily this is a part of the requirements of the lender and is billed to the borrower as part of his costs at closing. The land surveyor checks the boundary lines of the property to make sure they coincide with the description on the deed. He also determines whether the buildings are set back from the street and property lines the distance required by community law. The lender will insist that this be done before agreeing to lend the money, and Joe wanted to be sure that the land and house he intended to buy was the property which belonged with the contract. Survey fees range from $30 to $75.

☐ 5. APPRAISER — If the loan is FHA or VA underwritten, then government appraisers will look at the property and decide what is a fair evaluation of the property's worth. By law these valuations must be made known to the purchaser. Conventional lenders also have the property appraised and its value as a long-term investment determined. The amount they lend will depend on this appraisal and their limitation by law of per-cent-of-value (such as 80% of evaluation for a $15,000 home). These appraisals are not made known to the borrower-buyer although the fee for the ap-

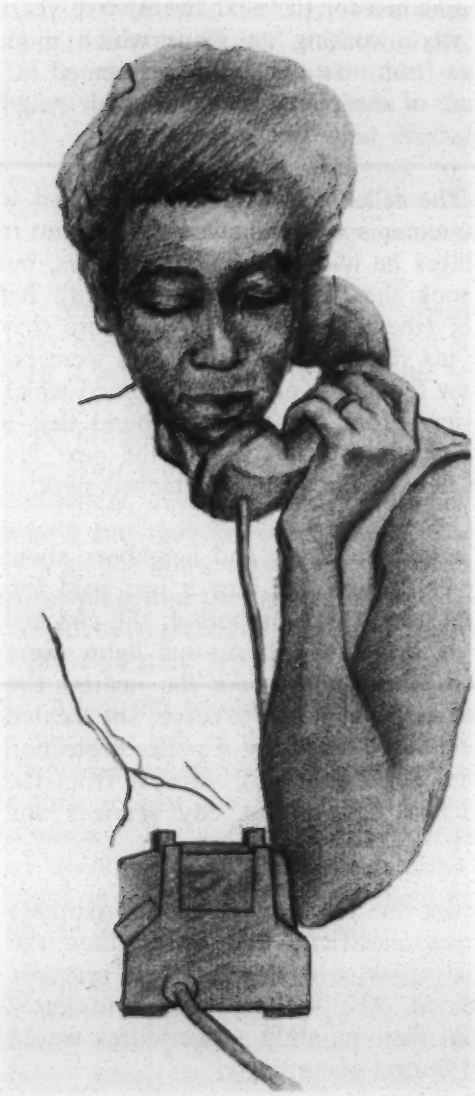
praisal is generally part of the closing costs. The FHA appraisal fee is paid by the seller. For a conventional loan, the charge, if any, is usually part of a general "lending charge." It may be that a first-time buyer like the Walters—or even an often-time buyer—may want to hire his own appraiser from a private firm to look over the property, inside and out. The appraiser considers neighborhood stability, analyzes the present housing market by checking the price of houses sold in the area recently after inspecting them and comparing them with the house the buyer is interested in and the price he is being asked for it. Sue and Joe felt that it would be money well spent to hire an appraiser. They found that for a detailed analysis the price range would probably be $75 to $100 and for a less detailed study about $30. The man they hired was an experienced appraiser who belonged to the Society of Residential Appraisers; he was also a member of the Appraisal Institute. They made certain that he was a member of these organizations; the Walters had been told that such men were usually reasonable and well-trained professionals who knew their business. They found out about these organizations by asking questions of real estate agents and at a near-by consumer education facility.

☐ 6. EXPERT'S ADVICE — Joe was still concerned about aspects of the house which required an expert's eye to evaluate. How sound was it structurally? Was the roof in good condition? What was the state of the plumbing and electrical wiring? He learned that an architect might be able to answer these questions. Joe's attorney suggested he ask the local branch of the American Institute of Architects, the Chamber of Commerce or various lending institutions to recommend architects to make this survey. He was able to locate a willing and well-thought-of architect who agreed to the fee of $15.00 per hour for his inspection. The architect looked at the exterior and landscaping as well as basic construction (foundation, beams, roof supports, flooring, windows, doors, insulation, wiring, plumbing and floor plan). Joe could have engaged for a small fee separate roof, electrical and flooring experts to do the same sort of job the architect did. He decided on the architect for his own convenience. Although Joe's lawyer said that the payment of the fees was negotiable with the seller, Joe said and his lawyer agreed that it was better to have the experts on the buyer's payroll where their opinions would not be influenced by another's interest.

☐ 7. TERMITE INSPECTION — To make sure that the house was free from termites the Walters contacted an exterminating company which gave the house a free inspection. It was agreed that

if termites were found the seller would pay the exterminating fee, which generally amounted to several hundred dollars, and contract for permanent bonding. The permanent bond meant the exterminating company would check for termites each year for a small continuing fee.

While the Walters were paying for advice from various people with specific training, they had set up for themselves a check list to make their own inquiries about their possible future home and its neighborhood.



☐ 1. ZONING — Sue was concerned about the zoning regulations for the neighborhood, whether they allowed for industrial sites, businesses and construction of multi-family dwellings. Besides that she wanted to know for herself how far back from the street property had to be set, whether it would be possible for Joe to have an office or small workshop at home when the time came for setting up his own business, and what, if any, other restrictions were on the use of the property. To find out about zoning, Sue first had to get the "legal description" of the property which means the *lot number and addition*. She finally found that she could get this "legal description" either from a copy of the tax receipt (which the seller had) or by calling the local auditor's office or city engineer and giving him the street address of the house they wanted to buy. Once she had the "legal description," Sue called the city zoning office (or planning commission) which gave her the regulations applicable to the property the Walters were considering buying. Sue also asked in the neighborhood whether these zoning regulations were strictly enforced or whether

people with political influence could obtain special exceptions. She was glad to find that the property was protected by uniform application of the regulations.

☐ 2. FREEWAY CONSTRUCTION — With "legal description" in hand Sue went to the local planning commission and asked about future highway construction in that area. She inquired further about city plans for urban renewal areas, municipal facility construction, school construction and university expansion, anything which might affect the neighborhood where they wanted to buy. Although the planning commission couldn't guarantee that the neighborhood would be untouched for the next twenty-five years, Sue could see that they were working on plans which might take effect five or ten years from now. Their house seemed safe for the next ten years; none of the plans related to their neighborhood.

☐ 3. PROPERTY TAXES — The seller was willing when asked to show the Walters his tax statements which showed the amount of city and county property taxes he had paid in recent years, but to check once more Sue took the "legal description" with her and went to the tax *offices* (there turned out to be more than one). She asked about the tax rate, what use the taxes were put to in that area and what new facilities were being planned which would require new tax levies. From this trip she found that it would be likely that property taxes would rise in the next few years to pay for building a new school with an attached park.

☐ 4. CITY SERVICES — Sue asked the seller and neighbors about how efficient the garbage pick-up was and how it was paid for, about the sewage service and how it was supported; she checked street lights and inquired if broken or burnt-out lights were quickly repaired or replaced. She found where the nearest fire station was and how large the area was it had to serve. She located the nearest police precinct and asked neighbors if police protection were routine and satisfactory. After collecting answers from the seller and neighbors Sue called the various city services and inquired directly.

☐ 5. UTILITIES — From the seller Sue found what the approximate bills were per month for gas, electricity and water; then she checked with the utility companies to find what their rate per unit was for that neighborhood. The Walters wanted to know as definitely as possible what their monthly expenditures would be for utilities so they could budget accordingly.

☐ 6. INSURANCE — Joe knew that the lender required "hazard insurance," and he was curious about the rates for this insurance from various companies. The lender had suggested that the insurance be bought from a certain company, apparently an affiliated company, but Joe decided he would see if he could get the same coverage elsewhere for less. This was his privilege. Joe also wanted his own equity in the house covered and not just that part of the value of the house which was the lender's. Joe found that different locations meant different insurance rates—that the distance from the house to the nearest fire hydrant, the location and service area of the nearest fire station, and the construction of the house (frame, brick or stone) along with other factors all had a part in determining this rate. Joe also found that with just a little added to the monthly premiums for hazard insurance he could have a "homeowner's policy" which included not only fire and wind insurance but also insurance on personal belongings and insurance to cover liability for injuries others might suffer while on the Walters' property. Joe was still able to have the insurance premium prepaid as part of the monthly note on the house.

After checking off all these questions, Sue and Joe felt they had a pretty good idea of the true state of the house they wanted to buy, how much it would cost to live there and what might happen to the neighborhood over the next ten years or so. Finally they took a good *hard* look at the prospects of continued maintenance. They knew they would have to set aside a little each month for the maintenance jobs when they came. Fortunately, Joe was handy with tools and could do many repair jobs himself, but they knew the house would have to be repainted every few years for the house was frame, not brick. The yard needed some additional landscaping, and they would have to buy gardening tools. The roof would have to be replaced within the next ten years, and parts of the interior would soon need repainting.

All of this would not be cheap. And they had no intention of falling for the sales talk of the bogus repairmen who tricked people out of their money and sometimes their homes by pretending they would make repairs for little money and long terms but actually doing no work and taking the money. Joe said when they needed help on repairs for the house they would go to an old and established firm—after they had checked its reputation and called to see if there were any complaints filed against it with the Better Business Bureau.

With that last thought about the responsibilities for maintenance the Walters were ready to go ahead with the sale. They signed the preliminary sales papers and made their partial down payment (the "earnest money" which would be applied to the full down payment once the loan

was approved) AFTER THEIR ATTORNEY HAD LOOKED OVER THE PAPERS. They applied for and secured an FHA-insured loan; they could not afford a very large down payment.

On the big day for the final settlement, the seller and his attorney met with the Walters and their attorney and the lender. The Walters' attorney read over the mortgage agreement and loan note and advised them to sign both. This done, the lender handed the seller a large check. Then a list of closing costs was presented to the Walters which included:

— fee for recording the deed
— fee for registering the title
— fee for recording the mortgage
— real estate transfer tax
— part of real estate tax remaining for the rest of the year (if prepaid by the seller)
— part of insurance payments for the remainder of the year (if prepaid by the seller)
— gas or water bills (that part, if any, prepaid by the seller)
— title insurance (includes charge for title search; the premium is paid only once)
— mortgage service charge (charge to pay for such expenses as inspections, preparing loan papers, lender's attorney's services, photographs, notary fees, processing fees, commission and such overhead as stationery and postage); usually 1% to 2½% of the sum borrowed
— property survey (to determine lot lines and usually required by lender)
— credit report (required by lender with charge passed on to borrower; cost about $10.00 for long-term residents of a town).

In total the closing costs for the Walters were about $500.00. They paid them along with the rest of the down payment from their savings and were told that the house would be theirs—in only 25 more years!

That evening the Walters celebrated with just the family. They had worked hard to select a house which would serve their needs, retain its value over the years of the loan and afterwards, grow with the family and be sound and comfortable and pretty. They had found such a house, they believed, and now it was theirs. Certainly, they knew they would have to be responsible, keep the house well painted and repaired, make their monthly payments on time. All this would mean careful budgeting. But they had considered the disadvantages and demands in advance and were willing to devote the time, thought and money required of home owners for the sake of a better home.

4 | BREAKING BARRIERS

After the Walters were settled in their new home they were considered local experts on house buying among their old friends. When asked for advice, when friends wondered if they should expect any trouble if they bought or built in a neighborhood of another race, Sue and Joe gave them some suggestions. They understood the problems since they, too, were Negroes.

1. Although there is not a national fair housing law which requires that a seller not discriminate against a prospective buyer because of race or color, creed or national origin, there are some houses which *must* be sold on a non-discriminatory basis. These houses are those which have received FHA or VA assistance in construction (one-or two-family dwellings which have been occupied by the owner are not under this ruling) or those which have FHA or VA financing. The FHA or VA repossessed houses are often good buys. Anyone interested can obtain a list of properties acquired by FHA for resale in their state by contacting their state FHA office. For VA repossessed houses the buyer must contact a real estate agent to learn which properties are available.

2. Sometimes builders and sellers try to impose a "color tax" on non-white buyers. Checking to determine the truth of suspected discriminatory treatment could be organized through the state Council on Human Relations or the nearest Urban League office. After an interested Negro couple looked at a house, learned whether it was for sale, what price was asked, what financing terms were suggested by the seller, they would turn this information over to their white checking couple. This couple would give information very similar to that given by the Negro couple as to number in family, job, length of time working, financing needs, housing requirements, age, etc. The white couple, giving the seller this similar information, would then find out if the house were for sale, the price, financing, etc. If the answers varied considerably for the two couples, then their careful documentation of the questions, answers and treatment might constitute a strong

case to prove that discrimination existed or that a "color tax" (higher price for the Negro prospective buyer) was being exacted. This information would only be useful directly for that property which is under the President's Executive Order 11063 forbidding discrimination in government aided or financed housing.

3. If the seller or builder or lender is seen to be discriminating where there is a legal basis to sustain a complaint, those being discriminated against should write the regional VA or FHA office, the national VA or FHA office, the regional U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and the state Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights. Any results follow long delays and continued prodding by the aggrieved party; even if no action is taken in time to assure that the minority group buyer is able to buy the property against which the complaint was filed, the complaint will probably make it easier for a Negro to buy similar property next time.

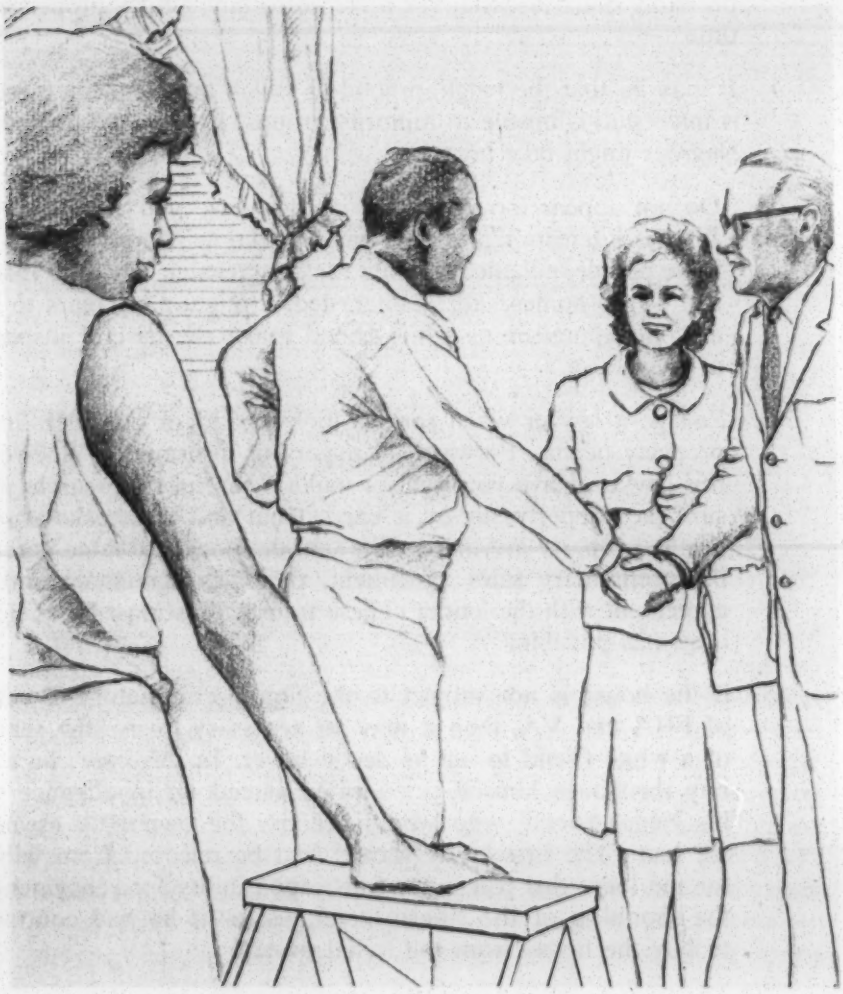
4. It may be that the neighborhood in which the Negro homeseeker is interested is hostile to minority groups. If so, some precautions Negroes might take are:

A. Do not appear too interested in the house you are looking at. Intense interest might cause panic in the neighborhood and give these people a chance to unite for disagreeable hostility. Instead, if a Negro homeseeker is interested, it might allay fears to have a white appraiser or white friend make the careful inspection of the house.

B. Engage a lawyer when serious looking and/or consideration of property begins. Forward all papers or information received to this lawyer. Have your lawyer make a careful title search; make sure the property survey is carried out and all checks possible on the property are made. The lawyer should examine carefully the preliminary sales agreement, the sales agreement and the agreement with the lender. These transactions must be as tightly drawn as possible.

C. If the house is not subject to the non-discriminatory directives of FHA and VA, then it may be necessary to use the services of a white friend to act as decoy buyer. In this case, he could buy the house himself for a price agreed on in advance with his Negro friend, who would become the owner by assuming the loan. The first buyer should first be released from liability for the loan; this places the full responsibility for repayment on the shoulders of the Negro buyer just as if he had contracted to buy the house from the initial owner.

D. Once the house is purchased and it appears that there is hostility in the neighborhood, notify the local law enforcement officials of any fears so that they may provide protection of property and person. In areas where the local police have not given equal protection to Negroes, then it would be wise to notify the nearest state and federal officials. It is unlikely that these officers will provide actual protection, but they would be alerted to the possibility of violence. Although violence is less likely now than in the past, even in the South, the new Negro resident in a predominantly white neighborhood should be prepared for its eventuality. Besides law enforcement authorities the new home-owner should contact the nearest Council on Human Relations or similar group and clergymen in the new neighborhood. The clergy especially could be of great help in reducing tension.



E. On moving day, use a moving van if at all possible. It costs more than the move-it-yourself method, but movers can move the new family much quicker, and the van out front gives a look of stability and ordinariness to the operation. The first job inside the house should be to put up some kind of curtain over the windows to cut out curious neighborhood watchfulness. Once this is done, continue the unpacking operations quietly and proceed with ordinary activities, staying indoors if possible.

F. In the following weeks, entertain a minimum of visitors. Give the neighbors time to get used to the new family. White friends, clergy or white members of the local Council on Human Relations (bringing their children along to play) should call and be seen going in and out of the house. This could do much to relieve neighbors' fears and establish a pattern of behavior for the neighborhood.

Sue and Joe were glad to make these suggestions. They were not meant to alarm their friends or discourage them from moving into a neighborhood of another race. The Walters felt that they had a right to live where they could find the best housing for the money they could spend, in a neighborhood which best fitted their needs. If the neighborhood happened to be white, they knew difficulties could arise, and they thought ahead about how to cope with them.

HERE'S HOW HOME LOANS COMPARE

	FHA LOANS	VA LOANS	CONVENTIONAL LOANS
What's the interest rate?	Currently 5¾%. With the ½% premium for FHA insurance, you pay an effective rate of 6¼%. On loans of $8,000 or less, there may be a service charge, too, up to ½%.	Currently 5¾%.	Varies with lenders, locality and time. Also may vary by type of property and size of your down payment. Rates are in the 6½% minimum range.
How long to repay?	10, 15, 20, 25, 30 or 35 years, but no longer than three-fourths of FHA's estimate of the remaining economic life of the structure.	Up to 30 years, but no longer than the estimated economic life of the structure.	Generally 20 to 30 years, but sometimes under 15 years.
What's the most you can borrow?	On a home you live in yourself, $30,000.	No limit as such. But you cannot pay more than VA estimate of "reasonable value."	No dollar limits. But there are percent-of-value limits. See below.
How much of house value can you borrow?	For a house okayed by FHA before construction or one completed longer than one year: 97% of $15,000 plus 90% of the next $5,000, plus 75% of value over $20,000. For other houses, use 90% of the first $20,000 plus 75% of value above $20,000.	VA allows 100% loans. Actually, how much you can get depends on how much a lender will risk on the strength of VA's maximum guarantee of $7,500.	Depends on the lender. Usual limits: Insurance companies 66⅔%-75% Savings & loan associations 80%-90% Most banks 75%
How big a down payment?	For homes valued $8,400 to $10,000, at least $300 down. For those valued $11,700 to $13,300, at least $400 down. Others more.	May be nothing but closing costs.	Difference between maximum loans as above and purchase price.
Prepay (paying the loan ahead of schedule) without penalty?	Yes, up to 15% in any one year.	Yes.	Some restrictions on prepayment likely.
Put a second mortgage with it?	No.	No.	Yes.

FHA AND VA REPOSSESSED HOUSES

Repossessed houses are those houses which have been foreclosed (or taken back) by the lender because the borrower has failed to repay the loan (or money borrowed). FHA and VA loans mean the federal government backs up the loan and assures the lender repayment. After the government's obligation to the lender is satisfied by paying off the loan, the government (the Federal Housing Administration or the Veterans Administration) takes possession of the house and resells it. VA and FHA repossessed houses come under President Kennedy's Executive Order 11063 forbidding discrimination in the sale and rental of houses. Much of this property is well built and can be purchased for a reasonable price.

FHA REPOSSESSIONS: When the FHA repossesses a house, it takes a number of steps which eventually lead to the house's resale:

1. The repossessed house is APPRAISED and a reasonable selling price is fixed. The appraiser tells FHA what repairs, if any, need to be made to make it conform to FHA standards.
2. These repairs are made.
3. If there are many repossessed properties in an area, a MANAGEMENT BROKER is hired. This man (or firm of real estate agents) supervises the repairs and keeps the house in shape while it is on the market.
4. After the house is fully repaired, it is publically advertised for sale (in Atlanta, Georgia, in the Sunday *Journal-Constitution*) and listed in the monthly FHA-ACQUIRED PROPERTIES mailing list. (This list may be obtained by writing the nearest state FHA office and requesting it.)
5. Only after public notice is given can the property be shown or sold.*

Interested persons must deal through a real estate agent or the management broker. This agent or broker contacts the state FHA office to make the offer to buy. In cases where there is a management broker, the real estate agent must contact him and deal through him.

After the public listing in the paper, offers may be presented to the FHA office. Usually several offers are received at the same time. When

*The management broker knows in advance which houses are FHA repossessions and what progress has been made on repairs. He has the key to the house. Sometimes he shows the house prematurely before the public listing, which is contrary to FHA policy. With the management broker's advantage of prior knowledge of property and approximate time of its sale, his clients are often able to have their bids in first. This means that the Negro buyer may have to contend with double discrimination if the agent of his choice is not the management broker.

this occurs the FHA decides which offer to consider first by seeing which ones show a willingness to buy the house at the FHA-appraised price and for the necessary down payment (usually 3% of the sales price). If the offers all indicate willingness to accept the appraised price and submit the necessary down payment and are accompanied by an appropriate earnest money deposit in the form of a certified or cashiers check made payable to the FHA, then the order of the offers is decided by lot. Only after drawing for order of consideration does the FHA run a credit check on the applicants.

FINANCING for FHA-acquired properties may be any one of three ways:

1. Purchaser pays all cash.
2. Purchaser obtains a conventional loan.
3. If private financing is unavailable under the first two means, then the FHA may accept a mortgage given by the purchaser.

VA REPOSSESSED HOUSES are handled in approximately the same way as the FHA repossessions.

The houses are appraised before foreclosure and a fair market value is assigned to the property. Repairs are made if necessary, but the houses can be bought "as is." If they are bought "as is" then the prospective buyer may, with VA approval, occupy the house for rent during the closing of the sale. The houses must be bought through management brokers; a buyer's broker must place his offer for the property through the management broker if there is one. The management broker cannot sell the house until the price has been established and the list of available properties with price and minimum down payment sent to all real estate agents requesting it. (The list is not ordinarily available to private individuals.) After this list is published, offers may be submitted to the VA (through the management broker), and all offers submitted during the first 48 hours are considered as having arrived at the same time. The VA then considers the offers in order of being most advantageous for the government; that is, which offer is willing to make the largest down payment, requires the shortest repayment time and is the best credit risk. Offers are considered in order of their risk, with minimum risk being considered first. In all cases, a veteran's offer comes first. After the first 48 hours, offers are considered in the order they are received.

If a prospective Negro home buyer is interested in the FHA-repossessed properties and he feels that he is being discriminated against by the real estate agents in the area or by the management broker, he may make a complaint to the FHA field office. "Discrimination" could be refusal to show an FHA-acquired house, or refusal to sell such a house. Proof of discrimination may come through the use of "checkers" or white "buyers" who go to the same real estate agent who has told a Negro buyer that no FHA-acquired property is available. If the checkers are told that

repossessed property is indeed on the market, that woud constitute discrimination. Another proof of discrimination would be if a real estate agent told a Negro buyer that the FHA-acquired house he was interested in had an "offer in process." The Negro buyer could check with the FHA field office to see if for that property an offer *was* in process. If it were not and the real estate agent had lied, then that would be proof that the agent was discriminating. The complaint of discrimination should be backed with as much evidence as possible, something more than just a "feeling." To prove discrimination is often difficult; it requires a knowledge of real estate practices and legal rights which the layman often does not have. The home buyer could turn for help in building his case to his local Legal Aid Society, NAACP chapter, Urban League office or Council on Human Relations. (See page 42 for addresses).

Researchers who worked on this pamphlet found it very difficult to extract from FHA a written description of complaint procedures in cases of alleged discrimination. The VA could not provide any such written description at all. FHA procedures apparently have not been given wide distribution and anyone asking the agency is likely to be given the impression that the procedure is, at best, vaguely defined, involving only that a written complaint be submitted to the local field office.

In reality, Executive Order 11063, sections 51601-51612 (which outline these procedures) is very specific. These sections provide, in part, that: (1) all complaints be submitted in writing by the individual or an officer of the organization on whose behalf it is filed, using FHA form 797 where possible; (2) that the responsibility for processing the complaint rests with the Insuring Office Director having jurisdiction over the housing involved; (3) that FHA must make every effort to properly dispose of the complaint within 30 days and that when more time is needed preliminary reports should be submitted giving reasons for the delay and establishing a new terminal day; (4) that no public statement be made concerning the details of a complaint pending a final decision on its merits; (5) that acknowledgement of the complaint be made by the Insuring Office Director within two working days of its receipt; (6) that the alleged violator after first being informed of the complaint against him, also be notified not to take any action that would cause the housing accommodations which are the subject of the complaint to become unavailable to the complainant until the matter is properly settled; (7) that where the Director has found evidence of discrimination no further FHA applications of the violator be accepted for processing and any applications that he has in process shall be discontinued until either (A) the discriminatory practice has been eliminated and satisfactory assurances of future compliance have been received or (b) the findings of discrimination are reversed by the commissioner.

Complaint procedures through the VA—as already stated—were not available in written form. Through conversations with VA spokesmen,

however, the process seems essentially to amount to this: If real estate agents in the area and the management broker will not show to a prospective Negro buyer the VA-acquired properties, then that buyer may appeal directly to the VA which may then sell the house to him without dealing through the broker. The complaint should be submitted to the local VA office in writing together with all other documents to prove the discriminatory act.

Both FHA and VA indicate that they have had few complaints; both were extremely cautious in discussing their procedures. Whatever the reason for such an attitude, this much is certain: complaint procedures should be adequately defined by both agencies and should be readily available at all local and field offices. In filing a complaint with either agency it would be advisable to send a copy to the regional U. S. Commission on Civil Rights and the state Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Redress for complaints in any event will probably be slow and reluctant. But if rights under the President's Executive Order are not used then they are really meaningless. And unless those who have been discriminated against are willing to file a complaint and to carry it through with persistence there likely will never be adequate complaint procedures.

PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER 11063

On November 20, 1962, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 11063 which forbids housing discrimination in federally aided housing programs. The housing affected by the order is that:

1. owned or operated by the federal government (homes repossessed under FHA or VA programs fall in this group);
2. provided in whole or in part with the aid of federal loans, grants, advances or contributions;
3. provided in whole or in part by loans insured, guaranteed or otherwise secured by the credit of the federal government (all homes financed through the Federal Housing Administration or the Veterans Administration);
4. provided by the development or redevelopment of real property made available by a state or local public agency through federal financial assistance for slum clearance and urban renewal.

The order applies to all housing and related facilities provided with federal assistance made available *after November 20, 1962*. It also applies to all housing that is owned or operated by the federal government, no matter when provided (such as FHA and VA foreclosures). The order also covers all housing owned or operated by the Defense Department, as well as any housing that is financed with the aid of FHA mortgage insurance for defense personnel.

BUILDERS AND DEVELOPERS OF NEW HOUSING PRODUCED UNDER THE FEDERAL LOAN INSURANCE (FHA) OR GUARANTEE PROGRAM (VA) ARE PROHIBITED FROM DISCRIMINATING in the sale or rental of this housing if their applications for government assistance were filed after November 20, 1962, the time of the executive order.

HOME FINANCING INSTITUTIONS ARE PROHIBITED FROM DISCRIMINATING on the basis of race, color, creed or national origin in their lending practices with respect to housing loans which are insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the federal government as the result of applications filed after November 20, 1962.

AN INDIVIDUAL HOMEOWNER SELLING HIS OWN HOME IS NOT COVERED BY THIS ORDER. The Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration have exempted owner-occupants of one- or two-family houses from the regulations issued by these agencies to implement the executive order. Lenders, however, doing business under FHA or VA programs may not refuse a loan to a qualified buyer in such cases because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS

CLOSING COSTS: Charges to the buyer presented at the time of purchase. The charges are usually unexpected, and they must be paid for at the time of purchase in *CASH*. They include the cost of title insurance and the amount of hazard insurance due for the remainder of the year (if prepaid by previous owner), the amount of real estate tax due for the rest of the year, recording fees charged by state and sometimes city offices to record the change of ownership, recording tax fees for states which require revenue stamps (tax stamps) to be attached to the documents filed. Besides these charges are the fees the lending institution may pass on to the borrower for the services of experts used to check the investment value of the property and the position of the borrower before making a loan (title search or the check to see that the title to the property is in good order; property survey or the check on the dimensions of the property; appraisal of the value of the property to guide the lender in deciding how much to lend; personal credit report on the borrower to see if he is a good credit risk, has a steady job and pays his debts). A fee for the outside lawyer who is attending to the seller's interest may be charged to the buyer. In FHA loans closing costs also include a discount percentage which is, in effect, a service fee paid the lending institution for handling the loan. The items charged to the buyer at closing are negotiable. Sometimes the seller may pay part of them. In all cases the buyer can find out a few days in advance the approximate sum necessary for these costs by telephoning the lender or the real estate agent or by having the buyer's lawyer do so.

DOWN PAYMENT: The money given as partial payment for the house at the time of purchase.

EARNEST MONEY: The money given by a possible buyer to the seller to show that he intends to buy the house. With this money as promise to buy, the seller holds the house for the buyer while he is arranging for a loan. Usually in a preliminary sales agreement (have a lawyer check this agreement before signing), the possible buyer has his earnest money returned if he is not able to get the necessary loan.

EQUITY: The actual dollars and cents value that an owner has in his home; in effect, his investment once all fees and charges against his property have been paid.

HAZARD INSURANCE: Insurance against fire, windstorm and other specified natural hazards. This insurance is required by the lender and is usually part of the payment each month to the lender.

INTEREST: The fee paid lending institution for the loan; the amount of money the lender charges the borrower for the use of the lender's

money. Interest is usually given as a per cent. The borrower must pay that per cent per year for the money not repaid the lender.

LOAN: The money borrowed to buy a house; the money lent either by a lending institution (such as a bank) alone or lent by a lending institution and backed by the Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration for buying a house.

Conventional Loan: Two-party loans between the borrower and lender. The loan is "secured" or backed by the value of the house being bought and by the credit evaluation on the borrower. This credit evaluation depends on the borrower's job, salary and prospects of remaining at the job and his record in paying past debts.

FHA Loans: Three-party loans where the Federal Housing Administration is involved as well as the lender and borrower. The FHA insures the lender against loss if the borrower fails to repay the loan. For this insurance the borrower pays ½ of 1% of the total loan. This money goes into a common pool to pay the losses when borrowers default.

VA Loans: Three-party agreement where the Veterans Administration guarantees repayment of part (60%) of the loan up to a maximum of $7500.00.

MORTGAGE: Agreement for a long-term loan where the lender has a claim on the property as security for the money he has lent and may foreclose or take back the property if the borrower does not pay the amount borrowed according to a time schedule.

MORTGAGEE: Another name for the lender.

MORTGAGOR: Another name for the borrower.

PRINCIPAL: The sum borrowed. When the borrower repays the loan, he pays each month a certain amount for interest on the money lent and for insurance and taxes; the rest of the payment is paid on the principal or the money borrowed.

TITLE: The right to exclusive or sole ownership.

TITLE DEED: Legal document stating that a piece of property belongs to the owner and was transferred to him from the previous owner with no legitimate claim remaining unsatisfied.

TITLE INSURANCE: Insurance to make sure that the lender experiences no loss if the title to a property has earlier claims to it. This insurance provides funds to defend the insured title against any claims (such as a forged deed or an undisclosed heir) and to compensate the insured party against loss. The buyer, for a small additional fee, may cover his own equity with title insurance. The insurance is paid *only once*, at the time of sale, and is a per cent of sales price.

TITLE SEARCH: The examination of records and documents concerning previous ownership to make certain that the title (or deed of ownership) to the property has no claims or debts against it.

HELPFUL ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS

General discussion as to how to determine a good house and a good value:

"Buying a House—Is the Price Right?," *Changing Times,* Vol. 18, November, 1964, pp. 30 - 32. This article points out ways to try to determine whether or not a house's price represents "true market value"; it suggests that if the prospective buyer hasn't the time himself for determining the value then he should hire a professional appraiser.

"How to Take the Questions out of Buying or Selling a House," *Better Homes and Gardens,* Vol. 41, March, 1963, pp. 117 - 120. Discusses with detail the problems of home financing, finding a good location, checking construction, determining the condition of the house and true market value and how to make an offer.

Before You Buy A House by Robert A. Marshall, *Changing Times.* Published by Kiplinger Washington Editors, Inc., 1729 H Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
This 96 page paperback booklet discusses in detail and in an interesting manner the many questions a buyer has when deciding on a new home. It helps the buyer select a house which suits him and explains in simple but precise language the intricacies of financing. Although it was published in 1964, very little of the material is dated. It would be $1.95 well spent by any serious home buyer.

Discussion of specific topics related to homes, sound efficient construction and lasting beauty and comfort:

Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 20402.
"Homes: Construction, Maintenance, Community Development," a bibliography of government pamphlets available on the home. This bibliography lists pamphlets on such topics as better lawns, plumbing, interior decoration, floors, roofing and termites. Prices for the pamphlets range from $3.00 to 5¢ with most available at a cost of 40¢ to 5¢.

Consumers All: The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1965. Each year the Agriculture Department publishes this practical book of facts dealing with every part of the home and home management. It discusses how to landscape a garden, select a good fabric for curtains or protect a house from decay and termite damage. The cost of this

512 book is $2.75 and may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. 20402. The local library in a town will probably have a copy.

Plumbing-Heating-Cooling Information Bureau, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60601. Information on the above topics.

Agricultural Information Office, College Station, Texas 77840. Safety information on the home.

Small Homes Council-Building Research Council, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Basic facts on equipment and materials and advice to the buyer on what to look for to suit his needs.

Money Management Institute, Household Finance Corporation, Prudential Plaza, Chicago, Illinois 60601. Information on how to select furniture and appliances to get the best service for the money.

American Home Lighting Institute, 360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60601. Gives basic requirements and plans for lighting a home adequately.

Information on Veterans Administration or Federal Housing Administration loans may be obtained from these two agencies:

Veterans Administration, Washington, D. C. 20420

"To the Home-Buying Veteran: A Guide for Veterans Planning to Buy or Build Homes with a GI Loan," pamphlet # VA 26-6 Revised.

"Questions and Answers on Guaranteed and Direct Loans for Veterans," pamphlet # 26-4 Revised.

"Pointers for the Veteran Homeowner: A Guide for Veterans Whose Home Mortgage is Guaranteed or Insured under the GI Bill," pamphlet # VA 26-5 Revised.

Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C. 20411

"FHA Financing for Home Purchases and Home Improvements," Pamphlet # FHA 428.

"FHA Home Mortgage Insurance," pamphlet # FHA 208.

"An FHA 'Quick Guide' to Buying a Home," pamphlet # FHA 428-A.

"Loan Closing Costs on Single-Family Homes."

HELPFUL ORGANIZATIONS

State Councils on Human Relations
For the address of the Council in your state, write Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Write Jacques Wilmore, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Mid-South Field Office, 167 North Main Street, Memphis, Tenn. 31803, for contact in your state Advisory Committee.

National Urban League
The Southern Regional Office of the Urban League, 78 Marietta St., N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303, will send you the address of the local Urban League nearest you.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
The address of your state NAACP may be obtained from the Southeastern Regional National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 859½ Hunter St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Veterans Administration Loan Guaranty Division
S. E. Regional Office: 449 W. Peachtree Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

Federal Housing Administration
Home office: Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C. 20425.

Urban America
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036.

American Civil Liberties Union
S. E. Regional Office: 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303. (ACLU's program centers around legal services and lawsuits.)

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Southern Field Office: 1046 Baronne St., New Orleans, La.

Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith
Southeastern Regional Office: 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office: 1818 S. Main St., Highpoint, N. C.

American Jewish Committee
Southeastern Regional Office: 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

A HOME OF OUR OWN: A Guide for Home Buyers

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. / 1966

Block Voting

☆

by

GEORGIA COMMITTEE ON

INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

Block Voting

Politicians, columnists, and a host of dubiously authoritative observers — most of them resembling stone-throwing people who live in glass houses — have had a lot to say these past two years about "the Negro bloc" in Georgia.

Some of their talk has ben malicious, some oi it well meaning, some of it no more sinister than bridge club gossip. With few exceptions, however, such talk has been based on no more than superficial knowledge of the facts.

Negroes do vote in blocs, of course. There is as much a Negro bloc as there is a labor bloc, a farm bloc, or a Southern bloc. But this bloc is not formed on the signal of corrupt Negro leaders, as some people would have us believe. In the main, Georgia's Negro leadership has been responsible, sensible, and admirably restrained. Rather, the bloc has been merely the Negro's inevitable reaction to the vicious race baiting of some politicians and to a long history of cultural, economic, and political discrimination.

Since March 6, 1946, when the U. S. fifth circuit court of appeals granted Negroes the right to participate in Democratic primaries, Georgia Negroes have voted in about a dozen elections, including the 1946 state primary. The record is not complete on Negro voting, neither as to its extent nor character. In some counties, purposely, no separate count has been made of Negro ballots. In others, Negro ballots have been deliberately miscounted. In still others, Negroes haven't been permitted to vote at all. Nevertheless, from the record as it stands one can draw a highly significant judgement: to date, the chief result of Negro enfranchisement has been to stimulate the dormant white electorate to a more serious concern for politics, and to aid immeasurably in the accomplishment of needed political reforms.

Perhaps more pertinently, the Negros' voting history of the past two years shows these things about bloc voting:

1. In state elections the solidifying factor almost invariably is the Negro's right to vote. Negroes will vote in a bloc only when white supremacy is the issue.

2. In county and municipal elections Negroes tend to vote in a bloc against candidates who have demonstrated a disregard for Negro rights and aspirations, and for those who have proved themselves sympathetic. Sometimes, too, local issues may force them into a bloc vote, especially when those issues relate directly to the welfare of the Negro communities.

3. In those few counties where the Negro's right to vote has come to be accepted, and it is the practice for all candidates to bid for the Negro vote as earnestly as they do for the white, there is no Negro bloc.

The first Georgia primary to which Negroes were admitted was held in Glynn County in March, 1946, less than a month after the Primus King decision. It was in this election, it will be recalled, that all but one of seven incumbent commissioners were turned out of office.

Even without the not unexpected enfranchisement of the Negro, Glynn County politics would have been in ferment that spring. Very simply, people had grown tired of county commissioners who, in the words of one citizen, had acted for too long "as if the county and the court house belonged to them."

A total of 7,200 persons voted in that election — 2,160 Negroes and 5,040 whites. Except in the election of one Commissioner who had a particularly strong following in the Negro community, white and Negro votes were cast on about the same percentage. The majority of Negroes opposed the old commissioners; so did the majority of whites.

Four months later, when the State Democratic primary was held, Negroes again went to the polls in Glynn County. This time, they cast what probably will become a typical Negro vote. They voted in a bloc against a gubernatorial candidate. who had used white supremacy as his rallying cry. But in the election of Representatives to the General Assembly, they voted proportionately as white citizens voted, scattering their votes among all candidates; in this race no candidate had pitched his appeal to prejudice.

The Richmond County primary of April, 1946, was in many ways similar to the earlier

primary in Glynn. Here, however, the reform movement was rooted in more than resentment against incumbent office-holders. In opposition to the entrenched Cracker Party, which had dominated the city of Augusta for 34 years, a well-organized Independent party had sprung up with a long-range program for municipal progress.

The extraordinary interest with which Richmond County Negroes viewed the campaign was considerably heightened during its last ten days by the injection of the Negro issue. In posters, leaflets, and speeches, the Crackers repeated that the Independents were a bunch of "niggers" and "nigger-lovers", whose election was sure to bring a mixing of the races on public vehicles and in the schools. This was a lot of nonsense, of course. The Negroes, quite intelligently, sided with the insurgents, but how little the Independents owed them for victory was shown conclusively when the ballots were counted. The total number of votes cast was 20,241, of which only about 2,500 were cast by Negroes. The three Independent candidates for the legislature won with an average majority of 5,022 votes — a white majority of 3,526, a Negro majority of 1,497. Cracker Party candidates, to whom in times past many Negroes had looked for jobs, received an average of 474 Negro votes, and actually carried the Negro vote in Augusta's Fourth Ward. Thus, the Independents won with a white majority that was greater by a thousand-odd votes than the total number of Negroes voting. They would have won even if every Negro vote had gone for the Crackers.

In Chatham County, coincident with the 1946 state primary, the Negro bloc expressed itself similarly in a local election that saw the successful beginning of a movement to replace the oldline Administration machine with the Citizens' Progressive League. It was not so much the race issue that caused Negroes to oppose the Administration, although they had ample reason to distrust an Administration tax collector who had tried, unsuccessfully, to block Negro registration. Savannah Negroes had been plugging for some specific benefits for a long time, and they figured merely that their chances for getting them were better with the CPL.

Both the CPL and Administration made bids for the Negro vote. The Administration, though, got a polite turndown. Negro leaders had little faith in the promises of Administration forces who in 25 years had failed to provide anything more than bare minimum services to the Negro community. With the Citizens Progressive League however, they talked straight politics. The Negroes would like some Negro policemen to patrol colored residential districts, several Negro matrons in the city jail, some paved roads, more street lights, better schools, and better health facilities. The CPL said it would do its best.

As it turned out, Negroes voted in a bloc for CPL candidates for the legislature, who won, and voted in a bloc for an independent candidate for judge (a woman lawyer who had declared herself unequivocally in favor of the Negro's right of ballot), who lost. In the legislative race, CPL candidates polled an average of 23,005 votes, and against 13,359 for the Administration slate, giving a total majority of 9,646. The CPL's white majority was 4,542, its Negro majority 5,106. Administration candidates received an average of 1,463 colored votes. The majority of Negroes did vote for the Citizens Progressive League, but, significantly, so did the majority of whites.

Despite the irrefutable evidence of the returns, there is a persistent opinion, encouraged by some of the defeated candidates, that the Negro vote alone was responsible for the reform victories in Chatham, Glynn, and Richmond Counties. Negro participation was an important factor in those victories, but for an entirely different reason. It was important because, in each instance, it brought to the whole electorate — predominantly white — a new sense of civic responsibliity.

This was manifested particularly by some phenomenal increases in registration. The result was that in all three counties registration lists soared far beyond the limits of machine control. In Glynn, registration went from 3,500 to 9,157 (2,400 Negroes); in Richmond, from 9,000 to 26,541 (4,716 Negroes); in Chatham, from 15,000 to nearly 60,000 (19,000 Negroes). Then, sometimes to their mutual surprise, the newly franchised Negro and the newly registered white found themselves on the same side of the political fence.

Since present Georgia laws do not provide for educational qualifications for voting, since most rural Negroes are poorly educated and kept in poverty, it is undeniably true that in some Counties Negroes, like many whites, can be controlled and "voted" — just as in others they can be controlled and not allowed to vote. They can be bought exactly as any oppressed, dependent people can be bought — by threats, by cash, by deceptive promises, sometimes by a simple display of kindliness.

The Georgia Association of Democratic Clubs, the statewide Negro group for political action, has recognized this danger and has consistently fought to avert it. From the beginning the Association has resisted the impulse to rush the Negro population politically beyond the natural limits of its preparedness for citizenship. Wherever feasible, the Association has set up regular orientation classes, their purpose being to acquaint eligible colored voters with the mechanics of the election process and to teach them some simple principles of democracy. It has insisted that Negroes look to their own leaders for political guidance, rather than to white politicians. To further reduce the Negroes' vulnerability, it has maintained that all programs with political implications be financed exclusively by the Negro communities. To preclude the charge of "outside control", the Association has scrupulously avoided taking any partisan stand in local elections.

Yet it has been charged, not without substance, that a recent election in Liberty County was swung by a Negro bloc controlled by a white politician.

Liberty County is one of the 39 Georgia counties where Negroes outnumber whites. It is a coastal county, however, and unlike that of most counties in the Black Belt, in recent years its dominant political temperament has been pro-Rivers, or anti-Talmadge. In 1946 it was perhaps the only county in the Black Belt where no effort was made to purge Negroes illegally from the registration lists. It is the only such county where Negroes have voted in strength.

The outstanding political figure in Liberty is Sheriff Paul Sikes, part owner of the Lilberty Oil Company and an employer of many Negroes. Whether his reasons were laudable or not, it was he who championed the Negro's

right to vote in 1946. Liberty County Negroes have been grateful ever since.

When Sikes came up for reelection last January, his reputation as a law enforcement officer was hardly exemplary. A citizens' committee had charged him with having conspired in the illegal operation of slot machines and had filed a petition seeking to remove him from office. Nevertheless, he was reelected by an overwhelming majority. He polled 1,500 of the 2,316 votes cast. His nearest opponent received 449.

The Liberty County election seems to be a unique instance in Georgia where a candidate has won entirely on the strength of a Negro majority. It is reported that of the 2,316 voters, between 1,200 and 1,500 were Negroes and between 800 and 1,100 were whites. It is impossible to know exactly how, or in what percentage, votes were cast, but in Liberty County it is generally believed that all but a few Negroes voted for Sikes—so many that he would have won even if all the white voters in the county had united solidly behind one of his three opponents. Besides the evidence of the election count, indignant white citizens cite the fact that for weeks before the election Sikes had been appealing directly to the Negro population.

Negro leaders do not deny that Sikes actively courted the Negro vote. They do resent the inference that Negroes were "voted." They say that the Negroes supported Sikes primarily because two years earlier, at a crucial time in their political growth, he had defended their right of franchise. Their voting for him indicated only that) they recognized where and with whom their fundamental interests lay. To them, the slot machine scandal—as deplorable as it was—was strictly a side issue.

Such has been the character of local elections during the past two years that Negroes frequently have viewed candidates simply as friend or foe. It may be regrettable that in their support of a friend they have sometimes overlooked what to other people seem to be the superior merits of opposition candidates, but it's nonetheless understandable.

In voting solidly for Lewis Wilson for mayor of Macon last summer, Negroes were voting for a proven friend. Wilson is a progressive-

minded grocer who through the years has demonstrated a generous understanding of his Negro customers. They would have voted for him in a bloc, even if his opponent hadn't solidified their loyalties by raising the race issue. "After all he'd done for us," one Negro man said, "we had to back Mr. Wilson. Why, if we hadn't, no white man running would ever again have any faith in us."

In Albany last November, Negroes voted in a bloc against the winning candidate for mayor, because, in their minds, he had proved himself "foe." Of 864 Negro votes cast, 819 were cast against him, a fact The Albany Herald decried as evidence of "thoughtless leadership." On the contrary, Albany's Negro leaders were quite thoughtful. In 1946 Smith had managed Eugene Talmadge's campaign in Dougherty County. On several occasions he had taken the stump for Talmadge and employed the Talmadge brand of race baiting. At a rally in Mitchell County he had presented Talmadge a check for $500. Negroes simply did not have it in them to support such a man, no matter how many worthy municipal reforms he might advocate.

It was this same psychology, of course, that caused some 100,000 Negroes throughout the state to vote in a bloc against Eugene Talmadge for governor. Talmadge ran in 1946 on a white primary platform, and, undisputably, Negroes opposed him with all the strength they could muster. As one legislator has explained it, "They voted against him for the same reason that I would have voted against him if my name were Knucklehammer and he'd said that if elected he would see to it that nobody named Knucklehammer would be allowed to vote."

For Georgia Negroes, these past two years have been a severely taxing transition period. Having finally won a fundamental political right, that of the ballot, they have had to exercise it in a segment of society which had taught them from birth to regard citizenship as the special prerogative of the white man. The amazing fact is that, despite their own unpreparedness and the prevalent hostility of election officials, they have, on the whole, handled themselves in such a way as to be a healthful and constructive influence. That influence promises to be more and more healthful as the fact

of Negro participation becomes less and less restricted.

Considering the terribly irresponsible attitude of all too many white voters, it would be impertinent to make any special apology for the voting conduct of Negroes. With respect to bloc voting, the experience of the past two years would seem merely to confirm a verity: the trouble with Negroes is the trouble with whites - and that is, simply, that they're human beings.

FOREWORD

The first study in this series was of Houston, Texas and was published in November, 1961. A note at the beginning of that pamphlet indicated the purpose of the series. We know of no better introductory statement to this second report than the following paragraphs from an editorial in the *Durham Morning Herald,* September 19, 1961:

> Every obstacle which keeps Negroes from fitting themselves for skilled jobs must be paid for over and over again by every one of us. Indeed, the price mounts each year.
>
> For by discouraging the training of more skilled Negro workers, the state is promoting the very technological unemployment the nation as a whole is trying to combat. It is ironic in the extreme to figure out ways of promoting new skills among workers in depressed areas while blocking others from learning skills that would keep them from joining the ranks of the chronically unemployed.
>
> . . . We condemn a significant percentage of our labor force to scramble for the ever dwindling proportion of laborers' jobs. Their requests for training toward higher skills are often ignored, or worse turned down with the fatuous claim that it is no good training them because there would be no openings for Negroes even if they were skilled.
>
> The results of this self-defeating response to the Negro's need for job training are abundantly clear. They are clear in the out-migration of North Carolina's most able and intelligent Negroes. They are clear in the wasted capabilities of other Negroes who, for one reason or another, choose to remain despite the lack of opportunities. They are clear in many other ways.
>
> And in each one it is also clear that the Negro is not the only loser. For so long as he makes an artificially small contribution toward the development of the state, the entire state is poorer.

The material in this report is based upon interviews carried out during the summer of 1961. The Southern Regional Council and the co-sponsor of this study, the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, not only acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Major J. Jones but also that of the 28 member organizations of CCCA and its president, Rev. Horace Traylor, and of the many citizens of Chattanooga without whose cooperation this study would not have been possible.

James A. Moss

Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

NO PLACE AT HOME

Last spring 300 young men and women were graduated from Chattanooga's Howard High School. They were a class of normal American youth. They liked football, dancing, movies, television, popular music. They came from all walks of life, all religious faiths. Some aspired to professional careers. Some wanted to be housewives; some, to learn trades.

There was, in brief, nothing extraordinary about the situation except one thing: these young people were Negroes.

What does this mean?

To the 30% who wanted to go to college it meant that they had to enroll in schools at least 100 miles away, despite the existence of a fully accredited university in their home town; for this university bars members of their race.

And what of the remaining number?

Thirty-two per cent left Chattanooga altogether to seek employment in other cities.

Three per cent entered the armed forces.

Thus, 65% of a graduating class of 300 for one reason or another migrated elsewhere.

Of the more than a third who remained in Chattanooga, 14% have since married and established new households.

Twenty per cent were forced to take menial jobs with little or no opportunity for advancement.

One per cent were employed as apprentices in skilled trades.

The record can be verified by statistics on file at the high school.

Taken out of context — without being aware that the young people were Negroes — one might suppose that the city of Chattanooga is in the midst of an economic recession. Aware of the race, one familiar with

employment practices in the South regards the situation as standard operating procedure.

The evidence strongly indicates that discrimination in employment against Negroes is practiced in a wholesale manner throughout the entire South. This fact being acknowledged, it seems pertinent to inquire if there are any evidences of change on the way. If so, in what areas? Let us explore the Chattanooga employment scene in more detail.

UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY BEGINS AT SCHOOL

Essential to such an investigation is an analysis of educational and training opportunities.

Vocational training at all-white Kirkman High School encompasses a range of course. Here the white student may learn automotive mechanics, auto motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, drafting, electricity, industrial chemistry, industrial electricity, industrial instrumentation, machine drafting, basic and advanced machine shop procedures, printing, radio and television repair, refrigeration, air conditioning, sheet metal, welding, practical nursing, photography, pre-flight aeronautics, and assorted business subjects, including office machine operations, commercial arithmetic, and salesmanship. Of these courses, only automotive mechanics, automotive motors, commercial arts, cosmetology, practical nursing, and basic business courses are taught in the city's two Negro high schools. In addition, all-Negro Howard High offers tailoring, shoe repair, carpentry, commercial baking, and bricklaying, courses that are not available to white students.

The disparity here is palpably evident, as is the over-all pattern. Negro youth, observers say, are offered training only in fields currently open to them in the labor market. The lack of accessibility to an open job market negatively affects both students and teachers. Negro teachers are denied the knowledge that comes from direct participation in meaningful roles in industry as well as the opportunity for placing their students in the more highly skilled and better paid jobs. Coupled with these disadvantages is the inadequate and often outdated equipment provided in the Negro schools. Because of this, Negro leaders maintain that the quality of training at Howard High in courses seemingly comparable to those taught at Kirkman is inferior to that in courses offered white students. Furthermore, they state, vocational guidance programs are geared more toward disciplining of delinquent students than counseling toward vocational opportunities.

The majority of guidance personnel, in fact, is reportedly not even in contact with the job market.

Opportunities for Negro adults to gain additional training are limited to some of the previously mentioned courses offered in the two Negro high schools, plus classes in electronics, welding, sewing, rug making, and cake decorating. These courses are taught in the evenings, when the high school facilities may be used. No other vocational training is available to Negroes in the entire city.

All money supporting public school vocational training in the state of Tennessee for both white and Negro schools comes from the Federal Government.

CUSTOM-BUILT DISCRIMINATION IN PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT

In approaching the subject of Negro employment in the South one inevitably encounters almost a fixation among white employers against breaching "local custom." It is local custom that Negroes in white-owned industries work in menial roles. It is local custom that Negroes do not work on an equal basis with whites. It is local custom that Negroes, with few exceptions, do not supervise whites. Few will insist that the situation is morally justifiable or consistent with democratic and Christian ethics; some will admit privately, in fact, that it goes against their individual convictions. Rare, however, is the white employer who will take voluntary action to bring about change. In Chattanooga, such employers are so rare as to be practically nonexistent.

The results of several interviews illustrate the point.

- A furniture store employs a total of five Negroes. Three are truck drivers; one is a truck helper; one is an elevator operator. There is no written policy against upgrading Negroes, and an official states that "a Negro could become a salesman, but it would depend on the situation at the particular time." No Negroes, he says, have ever filed applications for jobs above the menial level.

- A department store which estimates its Negro trade at between 20% and 30% employs 87 Negroes, approximately 90% of whom are in "maintenance and service jobs." It has one Negro display assistant and

six stock clerks, who are actually classified as porters. Some maids assist salesclerks. The president of this store at one time thought of hiring a Negro salesclerk, but feared adverse reaction from white customers. The store has no policy for upgrading Negroes.

● Recently a downtown grocery store employed one Negro in its meat market, promoted another from cleaner to stock room worker, and hired a third for stock room work. The transition — hardly a breakthrough of major proportions — is regarded as "successful" by the store manager.

● A large bank which does 15% of its business with Negroes employs no Negroes in any capacity whatever. An official says that its Negro customers pay their bills better than many whites, and in the past 13 years it has never foreclosed on a Negro home. Somewhat curiously, the reason given for not employing Negroes is the bank's policy of employee recruitment from people "known" to it. One might, it seems, inquire if its Negro customers do not fit into this category.

● Officials at another bank will not reveal the volume of its Negro business and state only that it employs eight Negroes, all as porters with no opportunity for training leading to higher level jobs.

● A third bank employs no Negroes directly but has Negro janitors and maids supplied through a janitorial service. A spokesman here maintains that he has "liberal views on racial matters," but feels bound by local custom in employing Negroes.

● A major department store employs 100 Negroes, all as maids, janitors, or porters. The highest job level obtained by a Negro here is head porter. The store has no immediate plans to promote Negroes to higher level jobs due to local custom and tradition. However, it concedes that "a gradual approach to upgrading might be feasible." A store official estimates that more than a quarter of its business is with Negroes.

● A spokesman for a utility firm refused to answer questions put to him which he deemed "controversial" or designed "to create tension." His company, he responded, hires "those compatible with others in a work group." Promotion of Negroes, he says, is governed by "traditions and customs of the community."

● Another utility company employs more than 40 Negroes, all of

them in the category of laborers. Three, however, are truck drivers, and one assists a white machinist. There are no Negro supervisors.

● A major pipe company with a total of 682 persons on its payroll employs 250 Negroes. Eight of these hold jobs classified as molder finishers and utility men. But, according to a management spokesman, none is able to qualify for promotion. The remaining Negroes are classified as laborers.

● An intrastate bus line has 11 Negro and more than 200 white employees. Its Negro employees are all in maintenance service, but none has been advanced beyond the level of mechanic's helper.

● Local offices of two large insurance companies employ no Negroes above custodial rank. Fifty per cent of the life insurance business of one is with Negroes; yet all of its 200 agents are white.

● Of 600 employees at a hosiery mill, 10 are Negro, and all hold jobs as either janitors or maids.

● A variety chain store which reports "good experience" with Negro employees has one Negro who works as a general utility man. He installs and repairs air conditioners, does building cleaning, and supervises other janitors. His official classification is "porter." At one time the store had a Negro window decorator and currently has a Negro stock boy. Its one Negro maid "does other work" which was not specified.

● Another variety store — part of a nationwide chain — employs a Negro window decorator and a maid in its stock room. The management of this store "fears repercussions" if it upgrades Negroes to sales or supervisory roles.

● A major egg processor with more than two thirds of its total work staff Negro has no Negro supervisors, nor any Negroes working in a clerical or middle management capacity. Neither does it have any policy for Negroes of in-plant training leading to promotion. The work week here is six days, and the minimum wage is $1.03 per hour.

● A local pharmaceutical firm employing 16 Negroes out of a work force of 175 has one Negro who holds a semiskilled post as steam fitter and another who is supervisor of the remaining Negroes, all of whom work in menial capacities. A company official here says Negroes are not con-

sidered for advancement into jobs on a level with whites due to "personality conflicts."

● The Chattanooga plant of a national coffee processing company employs two Negroes who work as maintenance men, coffee roasters, and coffee blenders. A spokesman for the company says that, although qualified Negroes may be upgraded to foremen, none has yet been promoted to this position. Queried as to the likelihood of a Negro's being added to the sales force, the official says that the matter has never been considered, but it is not entirely out of the question. A Negro salesman working with Negro customers might, he feels, be quite effective.

Firms operating under Federal Government contracts were most reluctant to participate in the survey. Some refused to cooperate at all, and most were evasive in their responses. From information finally elicited their hesitancy is not difficult to understand, for it is manifest that few practice the nondiscriminatory ideal outlined in President Kennedy's executive order on employment policies in firms operating under Federal Government contracts.

Consider a few examples:

● A large iron foundry with nearly a thousand employees — half of whom are Negro — has no Negro foremen, even in a supervisory capacity over other Negro workers. The base pay for white employees is 25¢ an hour more than for Negroes. White employees start at a job and pay classification two steps above the Negro. There is a dual seniority system — one for employees of each race. Some Negro employees allege that union and management work together to keep the Negro level of employment low and also to bar Negroes from machine-shop apprenticeships. Whatever the reason, Negroes hold only menial and "heavy" jobs and have never been accepted as apprentice machinists.

● The situation is similar at another and larger foundry. Here, too, Negroes are relegated to menial work. Here, too, workers feel that union and management are working together to keep from upgrading Negroes to jobs with better pay and higher responsibility. The company once had an in-plant training program for Negro "blue caps," but those who participated were never upgraded. The program has since been abandoned. There is, similarly, a dual seniority list for white and Negro employees.

● The owner of a third large foundry refused to discuss the status of

Negroes employed at his company. Interviews with individual employees indicate, however, that few, if any, measures have been taken to comply with President Kennedy's fair employment practices directive. Negroes for the most part hold menial positions. Specific jobs include iron pourers, truck drivers, loaders, cupola workers, blasters, and grinders. Negroes are barred from apprenticeship training. There are no Negro foremen, administrators, or clerical workers. There is a feeling here that the union, which is an AFL-CIO affiliate, does little to upgrade Negroes; in fact, some Negroes state that the union actually dictates a policy of discrimination despite a nondiscrimination clause in its contract. To substantiate their claim they cite the fact that all jobs are classified by race and that there is never any overlapping of a Negro into a "white" job or a white into a "Negro" job.

● A smaller foundry appears to be somewhat more lenient. Here, Negro molders are classified as skilled or semiskilled, according to their experience. The management is considering employing Negro welders and has an informal apprenticeship program of "crew training" for Negroes working in semiskilled roles. It has, however, no Negro supervisors, foremen, nor any Negroes working in an administrative or clerical status.

● The employment practices of the local division of one of the country's largest chemical companies are described as "most conservative" by both white and Negro employees. No Negroes have been hired in five years. Those who are already employed hold jobs as truck drivers, waste handlers, clean-up men, and cutting- and lifting-machine operators. There is no union, and Negroes are not allowed to participate in apprentice training programs.

● Conflicting pictures emerge from interviews with employees and management of the local division of a national producer of enameled iron and sanitary ware. A company official says that his firm, whose total work staff is 28% Negro, hires strictly on the basis of individual qualification. This official reports that employees have equal opportunity for promotion. Negroes, he says, are selected by qualification and seniority for training programs leading to promotion; however, as a rule, he insists, they do not "follow through" on the training given them. Upgrading of all employees, he reports, is made only with union agreement. Of interest is his statement that Negroes are not barred from supervisory roles, but that the company is reluctant to promote them "for obvious reasons." Negroes and whites do work side by side on many jobs, he states, and good relations exist between

members of the two races. Negroes, the official adds, work at all type jobs in the company "except technical and engineering."

Employees present a different view. Training programs, it is alleged, are not open to Negroes, and an "unwritten law" bars Negroes from becoming machinists. An instance is cited of a Negro machinist trainee who was given a tryout and was transferred as being "too slow" after only six days on the job. White trainees in the same shop have been given as much as two years to acquire the speed and skill necessary to do the same job. Another case is told of a Negro who was about to qualify as a highly skilled enameler and at the last moment was transferred to another department in a menial role at far less pay and with no opportunity for advancement. Allegations are also made that the union blocks Negroes from moving into more skilled jobs.

Both informants agree that the highest level job held by a Negro at this company is brickmason.

● Negro employees at a textile chemical firm hold more than their share of jobs at the unskilled level — as appears to be the case with numerous firms holding Federal contracts in the Chattanooga area. The company employs no Negro clerical workers, chemists, laboratory technicians, or supervisors on any level. A Negro was once offered a supervisory role over other Negroes; but he declined, because the pay was not as much as he earned as a laborer.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT: THE GREAT ILLUSION

In the field of public employment Negro job opportunities in Chattanooga are somewhat brighter than in private industry, but there is still vast room for improvement.

Exclusive of the teaching profession Negroes employed by the city hold 16 jobs which may be considered above menial status. Ten of these are city policemen; one is a license inspector; three are juvenile court officers assigned to Negro cases only; and two are caseworkers in the Negro division of the Bureau of Relief.

The 10 Negro policemen actually do not have full status as they are assigned only to Negro neighborhoods and are prohibited from arresting white law violators within their jurisdiction. There are no Negro supervisors

in the police department. Over the years a few white officers have been sent for further training; no Negro patrolmen have ever been chosen to attend police institutes or FBI schools.

In the Hamilton County courthouse, Negro employment for the most part is janitorial. One Negro holds a post as a semi-inventory clerk, and another is employed as a plumber's helper. A court official, denying any personal bias, reports that Negroes are not upgraded because of "local custom." Although this official appears to recognize that local custom is dictating an essentially immoral situation, he hesitates to take steps in opposition to prevailing white sentiment. At the close of the interview, however, he indicated that he would give consideration to placing qualified Negroes in jobs above their present level of employment.

The city administration says it would like to hire several engineers without regard to race and also would like to staff fire stations in the Negro community with Negro firemen. Queried as to his position on Negro employment in city government, the mayor of Chattanooga makes this comment: "I will cooperate with efforts in this city for its betterment by setting an example."

Basic educational requirement for employment by the city-owned Electric Power Board is a high school diploma. Vocational training of Negro high school graduates is considered by Power Board officials to be well below that of white high schools — not surprising in view of inadequate training facilities at the two Negro high schools. Job placement in theory is based on an applicant's qualifications. Yet when three young Negroes trained in commercial subjects recently sought to fill openings in secretarial and clerical work, their qualifications were judged "unimpressive," and the jobs went to white applicants. Of 34 Negroes employed by the Power Board, 16 are classified as janitors, four as hostlers, two as truck drivers, five as laborers, two as helpers, and five as elevator operators. An official of the board admits that, although all jobs supposedly are open to qualified members of both races, Negroes have no chance at all of becoming foremen. Local custom would forbid it.

The Chattanooga School Board employs no Negro carpenters, painters, electricians, mechanics, plumbers, plumber's helpers, or steam fitters, although there are Negroes in the city qualified to hold such jobs.

Of 50 school custodians 40 are Negro. Here Negroes appear to be

losing out in a field they once dominated. Ten years ago all 50 were Negro, but as the Negroes have retired they have been replaced by whites, whose jobs are reclassified as "building managers," with higher pay than that received by their Negro predecessors.

The Chattanooga Housing Authority employs no Negroes at the policy making level, and, in its central offices, Negroes are working only as janitors. Elsewhere, the agency employs Negroes, for the most part, as laborers. However, three do hold semiskilled jobs — all classified as mechanics or supervisors but performing higher level tasks such as electricians, painters, and plumbers. All are nonunion men, because trade unions in the city bar Negroes from membership. These men are paid on a lower scale than called for by the skills they are performing.

Urban renewal projects are first let to the general contractor, who then subcontracts various phases of construction. The selection of subcontractors is the decision of the general contractor. An official admits that unless Negro contractors know in advance about a particular job they would have no chance to bid for it, as subcontracts are not advertised.

It is reported by some Negro laborers that while working for white contractors they frequently do skilled work but do not draw additional pay.

The Negro division of the State Employment Service is under the supervision of a white director. The reason for this, a spokesman says, is that no Negro can be found in the city of Chattanooga who has the proper qualifications, *i.e.,* a college degree plus civil service supervisory experience. The agency feels no obligation to seek out jobs for Negroes; however, it reportedly does perform this service for whites. At the central offices jobs are not referred to the Negro division unless the employer specifically requests Negroes. Most such requests are for work in menial roles.

In contrast, interviewers noted some concern on the part of a Social Security official that no Negroes work in his office on any level. He was disturbed lest the national administration think the office practices racial discrimination. The truth is, the official insists, that few Negroes take Civil Service examinations in the city.

An interview with personnel administrators at the Tennessee Valley Authority revealed that 112 Negroes are employed out of a total work force of 600. Of the Negroes employed, 52 are janitors, nine are messen-

gers, four are garage attendants, three are linemen, two are lineman apprentices, two are truck drivers, four are bindery workers, and two are building guards. There are 22 Negroes employed in various clerical roles, including 11 file clerks, two typists, seven mail clerks, and two store clerks. In addition, four Negroes are duplicating machine operators, one a computing machine operator, and one is a collating machine operator. Two Negroes hold jobs as engineers — one, a civil engineer; the other, electrical. There is one Negro electrical engineer trainee, one Negro draftsman, one photographer, and one Negro personnel administrator.

Officials of the agency feel that many Negroes seeking employment at TVA have inadequate vocational training.

At the Chattanooga post office no Negroes are employed as supervisors.

BARRIERS TO PROFESSIONAL PRIDE

Even on the professional level Negroes find discrimination. Negro doctors are barred from membership in the local medical association; they are denied admittance to practice in the city's two major hospitals and rarely have any contact with white colleagues, except on rare occasions when one calls upon the other for consultation.

Negro teachers are in the particularly frustrating position of having no local educational outlet and must travel at least 100 miles to Negro colleges to do advanced work in summer teacher seminars. The highest position held by a Negro in the city school system is that of principal.

The city's one Negro lawyer feels that he is handicapped in his practice by a general feeling within the Negro community that a white lawyer can more successfully handle their affairs in an all-white courtroom. Their thinking seems to be that the mere presence of an educated Negro lawyer would inflame white prejudices against them.

There are a few Negro registered nurses on the staffs of two city hospitals; Negro leaders feel, however, that the number is inadequate in view of the fact that the two segregated wings of an otherwise all-white hospital are manned almost entirely by semiprofessionals — practical nurses and nurses aides.

KNOCKING — BUT THEY CAN'T GET IN

Researchers discovered few instances of actual job breakthroughs for Negroes into all-white categories. Jobs considered "unusual" for Negroes appear to be isolated cases with no attempt made permanently to erase racial barriers in these roles. A few such examples, however, are noteworthy.

- A mail-order house employs a Negro mail-order clerk.

- A leading flower farm with a large southeastern clientele employs a Negro flower designer who works on equal status with her white colleagues.

- An automobile dealer has a Negro salesman on its staff. (It is perhaps pertinent to note here that all other dealers employ Negroes as clean-up and grease men, although many of these men, it is said, know enough about automobiles to hold mechanic's jobs.)

- The local outlet of a nationwide variety store has recently upgraded a maid with 15 years seniority to the level of clerk. This woman feels that she has been well accepted by both white customers and her fellow white clerks. Her salary is the same as that of other clerks with the same amount of seniority.

But as has been observed, instances such as these (insignificant really when one considers the vast waste of Negro labor potential in Chattanooga) are exceptions. Employment of Negroes at levels below their training, Negro leaders say, is most certainly the rule.

An index of the extent to which this is true may be gauged by a look at the responses of college-trained Negro substitute teachers, questioned as to the type of jobs they are able to find other than teaching.

One baby-sits. One operates a department store elevator. One carries baggage at the airport. One works as floor sweeper in a bakery. Another works as a household domestic. Many say they are unable to find other jobs at all.

SUMMARY

In almost any discussion with a segregationist a statement somewhat like this will occur: "I don't dislike Negroes personally, but they should seek to raise their economic level first before pressing for integration."

The conclusions of this survey make it obvious that there is more involved here than an effort of will on the part of Negroes. Discrimination begins long before a Negro youth files his first job application. He is denied equal training opportunities, and when he seeks skilled jobs he is rejected — ostensibly at least — because he is inadequately trained. If he does acquire trade skills, he is barred from most trade unions and apprentice programs. He is likewise barred from admission to the only college within 100 miles. Almost without exception, industries with Federal contracts fill their required Negro quotas at the lowest level of employment. Local custom works as a brake on the few white employers who might desire to upgrade their Negro employees to positions of greater responsibility.

Is there any wonder, then, that 65% of a local Negro high school graduating class seek opportunities outside Chattanooga? The wonder is that as many remain as do.

Governor Buford Ellington, campaigning for election in 1958, stated: "All of us are fighting youth migration. We need to be in the position to stretch our arms toward these youths who have left our state and say: 'Come home, come home. The opportunities are here.'

"And we need to expand the system of trade schools so that we can say to our youths remaining with us: 'Stay home, stay home. The opportunities will be here. You will be trained to take advantage of them.' "

Whether he intended to do so or not, the governor summed up the plight of the Negro youth in the city of Chattanooga. And this raises the most pertinent question of all.

How much longer can Chattanooga afford to sustain and support a policy that fosters youth migration and forces those who stay at home to accept a permanent rung at the bottom of the employment ladder? It is not too late — even in Chattanooga — to do something about it. But as Governor Ellington indicated four years ago — time is running short.

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES:

IN THE NATION AND IN THE SOUTH

by

Vivian W. Henderson

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM

NO. 3

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

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The Economic Status of Negroes: in the Nation and in the South

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I

Introduction: The State of Optimism

By most measurements, Negroes in the United States appeared to be moving from perennial poverty to relative prosperity at the beginning of the postwar era. Forces at work promised to liberate them from the imbalance that had historically characterized their position in the economy. National economic expansion, technology, and southern economic reorganization had generated new opportunities and higher incomes. There was, in fact, cause for high expectations of basic and accelerated change.

Likewise, the South* had cause to be optimistic. Historically, it had lagged behind the rest of the nation and was generally looked upon as the "nation's number one economic problem," dependent for development upon slow-growth industries and agriculture. The region, since 1940, had been shedding itself of its relative homogeneity of economic structure; it had been moving away from economic backwardness and, as a result of national expansion and reallocation of resources, had been moving toward parity with the rest of the nation.

These developments—southern economic reorganization and improvement in the economic status of Negroes—are two of the principal results of national economic expansion since World War II.

Yet, despite the gains made, both the South and the Negro remain the most depressed segments of the economy and the population. There is some cause for continued optimism about southern economic growth and progress in general. *But there is, in reality, little cause for optimism regarding rapid change in the status of Negroes in the near future.* Unless unforseeable, "revolutionary," changes take place in Negro manpower utilization and development, the Negro citizen will remain the "forgotten man" in America's affluent society.

The situation of southern Negroes is less favorable than that of Negroes in the rest of the nation because the South has failed to extend the benefits of economic progress to them at a rate comparable to those extended to Negroes in other sections of the country. Personal per capita income in the South has quadrupled since 1940, but it is still less than three-fourths that of the rest of the nation. The income of Negro families and individuals nationally has grown over five times since 1940, but it is still little more than one-half that of white families and individuals; and in the South Negro families have an income of less than one-half (46%) that of white families and only one-half the income of their non-southern counterparts.

Gains have been made in employment, but unemployment is twice as extensive among Negro members of the labor force as among whites. Negroes are still concentrated in jobs of the lowest categories, with limited mobility and a high vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations and adverse consequences of technological changes.

Racial discrimination in employment is still as widespread as segregation and discrimination in education. This latter practice, particularly in vocational and technical training, helps to perpetuate a relatively poor job distribution of Negroes.

Thus, while it cannot be denied that important change has occurred in the economic status of Negroes during the past 20 years, critical questions must be considered regarding the rapidity of this change. Basically, the question facing the nation, the South, and Negroes today is whether Negroes are narrowing the gaps in their economic status. The issue is not whether Negroes have been making progress, but whether it has been rapid enough to enable them to adjust to an economy whose rate of change is cumulative and intense. The issue is whether the momentum of change is great enough, and deep enough, to generate an economic base among Negroes which will guarantee their continued movement up the economic ladder.

Traditional patterns of race relations have never worked in the best interest of the economy of the South or of the nation. Indeed, poor race relations have helped to depress growth.* Thus, the manner and extent to which Negroes are absorbed into the economy will strongly determine the pace with which the South reaches parity of income and economic well-being with the nation. Economic progress of the region is increasingly influenced by its urban and racial climate. And, we may add, pressure for change in southern race relations is increasingly generated by forces imbedded in the region's industrial-urban development.

Even this brief examination of southern economic change and the economic status of Negroes will, there-

*Unless otherwise indicated, throughout this report the "South" means the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Since Negroes make up about 97% of the nonwhites in the country, census and other data on nonwhites will be considered as applicable to Negroes.

*See William Nicholls, *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress.* Chapel Hill, 1960.

fore, show also why Negroes have stepped up their efforts to speed school desegregation, which, in large part, derives from efforts to secure a better break economically in the nation and in the region. Hopefully, this study may also bring into focus certain aspects of the challenge to the South, if it is to continue its progress.

TABLE 1. NONWHITE POPULATION FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	Year 1960	Year 1950	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1960	Nonwhite as a Percent of Total Population 1950	Increase or Decrease Nonwhite 1950-1960	Percent of Increase or Decrease Over 1950 1950-1960
Alabama	983,123	980,950	30.1	32.1	2,173	0.2
Arkansas	390,079	427,555	21.8	22.4	—37,476	—8.8
Florida	887,679	605,254	17.9	21.8	282,425	46.7
Georgia	1,124,898	1,064,890	28.5	31.0	60,018	5.6
Kentucky	217,999	202,560	7.1	6.9	15,439	7.6
Louisiana	1,045,068	885,065	32.1	33.1	160,003	18.1
Mississippi	920,734	991,795	42.3	45.6	—71,061	—7.2
North Carolina	1,156,707	1,078,945	25.4	26.2	77,762	7.2
South Carolina	834,962	824,870	34.9	39.0	7,092	0.9
Tennessee	589,136	531,461	16.4	16.2	57,675	10.9
Virginia	822,426	736,665	20.8	22.2	85,761	11.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Population Estimates, Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

II

Structural Reorganization of the South

Economic progress is best evidenced by upward changes in the real per capita income of individuals (and, to a lesser extent, in the income of families). Income determines the spending and saving power of people, while at the same time it provides a measure of the earning capacity of the whole economy and an indicator of individual contributions to the production of goods and services.

On the other hand, structural changes and economic reorganization are best shown by change in industry sources of employment and income, shifts in occupational distribution of employed persons, growth in "value-added" by manufacturing, and characteristics of population change.

The South Loses Its People

Beyond the size of the population (see Table 1) two aspects of population change are of interest here: the patterns of migration between the South and the non-South; and the patterns of migration between rural-farm areas and the city, both within and outside the South.

In the 1950's, the South's population grew 14%. But Table 2 shows that

—most of this gain, however, resulted from "natural increase," *i.e.*, an excess of births over deaths.

—only in Florida and Virginia was there a migration gain.

—all other southern states had more people moving out than moving in.

—Arkansas and Mississippi exported so many people that the former actually declined in population in the 1950's and the latter was stationary.

—Negroes were leaving the area in larger numbers than whites.

Another depressing fact: the South's export of people included a high proportion of its youth and its well-educated.

For Negroes this is shown by such facts as

—in 1950, 55% of Negroes with four or more years of college were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

—in 1950, 67% of Negro professional and technical workers were in the South; in 1960, only 48%.

During the decade 1940-50, more than 1.5 million Negroes left the South, and another 1.5 million left during the decade 1950-60. These movements involved 16% and 14% of the Negroes in the region in each of the two periods respectively. In 1940, 77% of all Negroes in the United States resided in the South compared with 51% today.

The leading exporters of people were Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Patterns of migration by Negroes among southern states have varied. Florida, for example, is the only state which had an excess of inmigration by Negroes over outmigration in both decades since 1940: a 3% net inmigration between 1940 and 1950 and 17% be-between 1950 and 1960 (see Table 2). Georgia and Louisiana are the only states in which outmigration by Negroes slowed itself after 1950 and began to show a downward trend. In each of the other states, included in Table 2, the upward trend in Negro outmigration continued throughout the 1940-1960 period. Mississippi lost the largest number of Negroes, 326,000, or 30%, between 1940 and 1950, and 323,000, or 32%, between 1950 and 1960.

The movement of Negroes out of the South is both helpful and harmful. By moving out of the South in pursuit of jobs created by national economic expansion, Negroes, as well as whites, find new job opportunities. Simultaneously, the South is being relieved of a sizeable portion of the population which over the years has depended on low-income agriculture for a livelihood.

On the other hand, losses in population drain away much of the best developed and trained manpower, and these losses are from the most productive age group, which has received the benefit of substantial investment by the South in education and training. The loss of these persons from the region is a drain on the economy's human capital.

TABLE 2. POPULATION CHANGE AND TOTAL NET MIGRATION 1950-1960 AND NET MIGRATION OF NONWHITES 1940-1960 FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES (PERCENT)

State	Total Net Change 1950-1960	Total Net Migration 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1950-1960	Net Migration of Nonwhites 1940-1950
Alabama	+ 6.7	−12.0	−22.8	−20.5
Arkansas	− 6.5	−22.7	−35.0	−32.4
Florida	+78.5	+58.3	+16.6	+ 2.7
Georgia	+14.5	− 6.2	−19.2	−22.2
Kentucky	+ 3.2	−13.2	− 7.6	− 7.9
Louisiana	+21.4	− 1.9	−10.4	−17.0
Mississippi	(a)	−19.9	−32.2	−30.2
North Carolina	+12.2	− 8.1	−19.2	−16.2
South Carolina	+12.5	−10.5	−26.5	−25.3
Tennessee	+ 8.4	− 8.3	−10.7	− 9.2
Virginia	+19.5	+ 0.4	− 9.5	− 3.9

(a) Less than 1 percent.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 247, April 2, 1962.

Negroes Move to the Central Cities

Another population shift is the movement of people to cities and urban areas, both within and outside the South.

By 1960, three-fourths of the Negroes of Florida were urban dwellers (see Table 3). The proportion in Kentucky and Tennessee was about as high, and in Louisiana three out of five Negroes were urban. By 1960, in only four states—Arkansas, Mississippi, North and South Carolina—did the majority of Negroes live where once they overwhelmingly had: on the land, or close to it.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL FOR ELEVEN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

States	White						Nonwhite					
	1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60		1960		1950		Percent Increase or Decrease 1950-60	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Alabama	54.2	45.8	42.6	57.4	39.9	−12.2	56.8	43.2	46.2	53.8	+23.1	−19.4
Arkansas	42.4	57.6	32.6	67.4	22.7	−19.2	44.6	55.4	34.2	65.8	+18.6	−23.0
Florida	73.4	26.6	65.5	34.5	111.6	+44.8	76.5	23.5	65.6	34.4	+71.3	+ 1.2
Georgia	54.4	45.6	44.9	55.2	44.1	− 1.9	57.5	42.5	46.8	53.8	+31.4	−16.5
Kentucky	42.5	57.5	34.8	65.2	26.2	− 9.1	70.6	29.4	62.9	37.1	+20.8	−18.6
Louisiana	64.0	36.0	70.3	29.7	12.4	+ 3.1	61.7	38.3	23.5	76.6	+210.7	− 8.6
Mississippi	41.8	58.2	31.5	68.5	40.9	−10.0	32.1	67.9	23.4	76.6	+27.6	−17.7
North Carolina	39.6	60.4	33.6	66.4	34.4	+ 4.1	39.5	60.5	33.5	66.5	+26.4	− 2.5
South Carolina	45.2	54.8	42.0	58.1	29.5	+13.6	33.9	66.1	28.5	71.5	+19.7	− 6.5
Tennessee	48.4	51.6	40.3	59.7	29.7	− 6.8	71.8	28.2	64.1	35.9	+24.1	−12.8
Virginia	56.4	43.6	47.4	52.6	44.9	+ 0.7	53.4	46.8	45.8	58.3	+29.8	− 3.6

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of the Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics and *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.

The movement of people to the cities and metropolitan areas of the South symbolizes a basic change in the economic structure of the region, sealing an end to the region's traditional economy.

Negroes have also concentrated in the central cities rather than the suburbs. Charles Silberman has suggested that this ranks as one of the great population movements in modern history.* In the last decade, the twelve largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas —New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco-Oakland, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland, and Baltimore — lost over two million white residents and gained nearly two million Negro residents, while the central cities of all Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas in the nation had an increase of 3.5 million in the Negro population.

However, the influx of Negroes to the large cities of the North and West should not obscure the fact that Negroes have been moving into southern cities as well.

Between 1950 and 1960, the number of whites in the central cities of the South increased only 26%; the number of Negroes in the central city increased 37%. Whereas just a few years ago the large majority of Negroes lived on farms, today about 72% live in urban areas and about one-half live in the central cities of those urban areas. Table 4 shows population data for selected southern cities.

These patterns underscore the fact that Negroes are becoming more urbanized than whites, in the South as well as in the North. The trends are not as great in the South as in the North, but it is clear that Negroes and whites have been moving in opposite directions, *i.e.*, Negroes toward the central city and whites toward the suburbs.

Population redistribution within the South and between regions reflects the momentum of economic change and opportunity. The greatest single factor underlying population migration is economic, or employment, opportunity. The denial of opportunity to Negroes within the South and the attraction of such opportunity elsewhere has been the major motivation.

Employment and Sources of Income

The principal factor determining the distribution of population over broad regions is economic opportunity and the principal dimension of economic opportunity is employment opportunity.

While farming continues to occupy a big place in southern economic life, its relative role over the past 20 years has decreased. Farm employment declined by about 45% in the South between 1940 and 1960. During the same period manufacturing employment increased 23%, and as a source of income by 27%.

These changes have not only meant more factory jobs in the South. They have also involved diversification in employment. For example, the textile industry, once the backbone of manufacturing in the South and responsible for 25% of all manufacturing employment, is now the source of only 18%. Chemicals, transportation equipment, electrical machinery, and fabricated metals have grown as sources of factory employment, and other non-agriculture industries are increasingly

*See his article, "The City and the Negro," in *Fortune*, March, 1962.

TABLE 4. POPULATION OF SELECTED URBANIZED AREAS BY COLOR, 1950-1960

Urbanized Areas	White 1960	White 1950	White Increase 1950-1960	White Percent Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite 1960	Nonwhite Percent Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite 1950	Nonwhite Increase Nonwhite of Total	Nonwhite Increase 1950-1960	Nonwhite Percent Increase 1950-1960
Atlanta	560,124	210,055	350,069	166.7	207,821	27.1	130,055	36.6	86,666	71.5
Birmingham	320,302	195,690	124,612	63.7	201,028	23.2	130,055	39.9	70,973	54.6
Charleston, S. C.*	137,471	96,130	41,341	43.0	78,911	36.5	68,055	41.4	10,856	16.0
Dallas	794,411	395,145	419,266	111.76	137,938	14.8	57,825	13.4	80,113	138.5
Durham*	75,955	67,520	8,435	12.5	36,040	32.2	33,530	33.2	2,510	7.5
Houston	900,817	469,825	430,992	91.7	238,861	21.0	124,760	21.0	114,101	91.5
Jackson, Miss.*	112,093	77,890	34,203	43.1	74,952	40.1	63,830	45.0	11,122	17.4
Little Rock	142,423	78,650	63,773	81.1	42,594	23.0	23,425	23.0	19,169	81.8
Louisville	527,,420	309,940	217,480	70.2	79,239	13.1	57,435	15.6	21,804	38.0
Memphis	344,487	255,273	89,214	35.0	200,018	36.7	150,761	37.1	49,257	32.7
Miami	737,146	208,935	528,211	252.8	115,559	13.6	40,035	16.1	75,524	188.6
Nashville	273,928	200,198	73,736	36.8	72,801	21.0	58,695	22.7	14,106	24.0
New Orleans	579,640	210,055	192,080	49.6	265,597	31.4	181,120	31.9	84,477	46.6
Oklahoma City	385,777	221,195	164,582	74.4	43,411	10.1	20,890	8.6	22,521	107.8
Richmond	238,226	156,625	81,601	52.1	95,212	28.6	73,030	31.8	22,182	30.4

*Cities.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 53. *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, by state, Table 72.

providing more and better jobs for southern workers.

Unquestionably, the South has reduced its poverty. Since 1940, the region has made progress toward achieving a balance between its share of the nation's income and its share of the nation's population. The South had one-fifth of the population in 1930 but received only one-tenth of the income; in 1961, although its proportion of the population had remained at about 20%, its share of personal income had advanced from 10 to 15% (see Table 5).

The figures in Table 6 show per capita personal income. Clearly, the progression in the South since 1940 has been greater than for the nation as a whole. Perhaps the most illuminating figures are those on the bottom line: in 1940, southern personal income was only 58% of the national average; by 1962, it had reached 72%.

TABLE 5. INCOME AND POPULATION OF THE SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930-1961

Year	Population of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.	Income of South as a Percent of Total for U. S.
1961	20.5	15.0
1960	20.6	14.8
1959	20.6	14.9
1958	20.7	14.9
1940	21.4	12.2
1930	20.8	10.2

SOURCE: Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Economic Characteristics of the South*, January 1959.
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, *Statistics on the Growing South*, November 1962.

These indices, as shown in Tables 5 and 6, indicate the economic progress of the South. A different impression is obtained, however, if dollars and cents, rather than percentages, are used.

In 1940 per capita personal income amounted to $595 in the United States as a whole, only $252 more than that of the South. By 1950 the national figure had grown to $1,494, but the South's per capita income was only $1,011, or $482 lower. By 1961, when the national figure had reached $2,263, the South had a per capita income of $1,652, or $611 lower.

In other words, the South has had large growth in personal income and has made impressive gains in the percentage relationship of its income to that of the rest of the nation. *At the same time, there has been an increase in the dollar gap, a gap that is more than twice greater than two decades ago.*

The South is, nevertheless, now experiencing substantial improvements in its well-being. The economic lag which kept the region at the rear of American industrialization is being eroded. But Earl Rauber and Harry Brandt, both of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, placed the "new South" in its best perspective. Rauber put it this way: "for better or worse the inexorable march of economic history has abolished the South as an economic entity." Brandt said, "with the old rural-agriculture economy gone, the Mississippi Delta farmer has less in common with the Atlanta fac-

TABLE 6. PER CAPITA PERSONAL INCOME FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1940-1962

States	Years				Percent Change		
	1962	1961	1950	1940	1940-1950	1950-1961	1961-1962
Alabama	$1,538	$1,492	$ 869	$ 282	208.2	71.7	3
Arkansas	1,533	1,446	807	256	215.2	79.2	6
Florida	1,997	1,965	1,287	513	150.9	52.7	2
Georgia	1,714	1,645	1,017	340	199.1	62.1	4
Kentucky	1,705	1,625	958	320	199.4	69.6	5
Louisiana	1,715	1,626	1,087	363	199.4	49.6	5
Mississippi	1,282	1,229	733	218	236.2	67.7	4
North Carolina	1,709	1,642	1,012	328	208.5	62.3	4
South Carolina	1,516	1,433	882	307	187.3	62.5	6
Tennessee	1,679	1,605	995	339	193.5	61.3	5
Virginia	2,004	1,908	1,234	466	164.8	54.6	5
UNITED STATES	2,375	2,263	1,491	595	150.6	51.8	4
(1) South*	1,724	1,652	1,011	343	194.8	63.4	4
					Percent Change in Ratio		
South as Percent of U.S.	72.0	73.0	67.7	57.6	1940-1950	1950-1960	1940-1961
					+17.7	+7.8	+26.3

*Eleven States included above plus West Virginia.
SOURCE: 1940-1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *Personal Income by States, Since 1929.*
1961, *Survey of Current Business*, August, 1962.
1962, *Survey of Current Business*, April, 1963.

tory worker or sales representative than the latter has with his counterparts in the rest of the country."

The region can no longer be characterized by a relatively homogeneous set of basic economic characteristics and pursuits different from those of the rest of the United States. It may be assumed, therefore, that southern economic growth and organization will be constantly linked to patterns of change in the total economy. Therefore, whatever forces shape the economy as a whole will tend to shape the future of the South, particularly if the region will emancipate itself from traditional race relations, a formidable barrier to its economic progress.

III

Negro Gain Has Been Slight

The Negro population of this country has jumped from about 13 to 20 million since 1940, and it has become predominantly urban. The number of Negroes in better paying semi-skilled and white collar jobs has doubled.

These advances have been important because they represent a new beginning and provide the basis for optimism about the continuing economic improvement of the Negro population. Three aspects of the situation should be observed, however, at this point:

(1) Negroes in the South have not shared proportionately in these advances. Differentials in economic progress by Negroes in the South and the non-South persist. They reflect not only the southern lag in general, but also a substantial lag in employment and occupational opportunity for Negroes in the South in comparison with opportunity in other regions.

(2) Not only have the improvements failed to close substantially the historic gap between Negroes and others, but in dollars and cents the position of Negroes has deteriorated.

(3) There are signs which suggest that the momentum underlying improvements in the position of Negroes has not been sufficient to allow Negroes to overcome their marginal position in the work force, nor sufficient to generate change at rates

significant enough to guarantee continuous progress. One of the forces which generated positive change in the position of Negroes in the immediate postwar period was technology. Today it is exerting a negative impact.

Progress appears, at present, to be occurring at a decreasing rate when compared with progress of other Americans. New forces must be vigorously brought into play if the relative gains of the past 20 years are not to be eliminated or wiped out during the immediate years ahead. These forces will have to include intensified training and development of Negro manpower. But, above all, there is a need for vigorous application of public policy in eliminating racial discrimination in education, training, and manpower utilization or employment.

Income: Negroes Running Fast to Stand Still

Income analysis suggests that Negroes are on a treadmill and time is in reality "running out" on them, as a group, in their pursuit of parity with whites. The group has to run exceptionally fast in order to stand still. And Negroes in the South have more difficulty in sustaining their relative and absolute positions than those in other sections of the country.

Undoubtedly the position of Negroes as income recipients and consumers has improved. Three times more Negroes were employed in 1960 than in 1940 in income producing, non-agriculture jobs; thus there are more Negroes with money. Change has occurred in the distribution of income among Negroes, and the huge migration of the Negro population from rural to urban areas and to the central cities has resulted in a large concentration of Negro purchasing power in these areas.

For example, Table 7 sets forth estimates of participation in retail sales by Negroes in ten cities, ranging from $26 million, or 21% of the total, in Durham to $512 million, or 15%, in Houston. In none of these cities did Negroes represent this much sales volume 20 years ago. This is not only suggestive of the impact of aggregate and concentrated purchasing power in the Negro market, but it is also indicative of the kind of economic potential to which southern race relations must adjust.

Not only are there more Negroes with income, but also, in comparison with 20 years ago, fewer of them are in the lowest income brackets and more of them are in the middle and upper income categories. Obviously, this suggests a higher participation by Negroes in the market place.

For example, Table 8 shows a tripling in the proportion of Negro families with incomes between $4,000 and $6,000 between 1945 and 1961, while the number

TABLE 7. ESTIMATED PURCHASING POWER OF NEGROES IN TEN SELECTED STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS, 1961

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Total Retail Sale Estimate	Estimated Negro Participation*	Percent Negro
Atlanta	$1,800,000,000	$306,000,000	17.0
Birmingham	897,000,000	206,000,000	23.0
Durham	125,000,000	26,250,000	21.0
Charleston, S. C.	220,000,000	50,600,000	23.0
Houston	2,050,000,000	512,500,000	15.0
Miami	1,700,000,000	153,000,000	9.0
New Orleans	1,200,000,000	252,000,000	21.0
Nashville	610,000,000	91,500,000	15.0
Memphis	850,000,000	204,000,000	24.0
Richmond	790,000,000	142,200,000	18.0

*Estimate of retail sales made to Negroes trading in central trading areas of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area; includes Negroes from contiguous counties or total market area.

SOURCE: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, *Census Tracts.* U. S. Department of Commerce, 1958 Bureau of Census.
J. Walter Thompson Company, *Population and Its Distribution, The United States Markets,* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961).

of families with income over $6,000 has grown from 4% to 20% of the total during the same period. These gains are impressive, but

—the rate of participation in the labor force of Negro women and younger people is much higher than among whites;

—60% of the Negro families in this country today still have incomes of less than $4,000 annually, compared with 28% of the white families;*

—white families are abandoning the lower income brackets at a much faster rate than Negroes (a decline of 63% for whites and 33% for Negroes);

—Negroes are reaching the higher income brackets at a slower rate than whites.

Moreover, about 75% of the Negro families in the United States have incomes less than the median income of $5,981 for white families (see Table 10).

Beginning in 1940, the income of Negroes grew at unprecedented rates. It was marked by a growth of approximately 700% in aggregate personal income between 1939 and 1961, an income which is now estimated to be well over $22 billion per year, 5% of the personal income of the nation. In direct contrast to the situation before 1940, when Negroes as income recipients, or consumers, commanded little or no respect in the national and regional economy, they have since 1945 attracted serious competitive attention in the market places of the nation. The power of the Negro market has meaning in the area of race relations, as a "new" force underlying efforts on the part of Negroes

*See also the more detailed Tables 21, 22, 23, and 24 in the Appendix.

TABLE 8. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES BY COLOR FOR UNITED STATES, 1945-1961

Total Money Income Level	1961		1945		Percent Increase or Decrease in Ratio Over 1945	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Per Cent	100	100	100	100		
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	75.5	90.1	−63.3	−33.1
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	16.8	6.1	+33.3	+223.0
$6,000 and Over	49.9	20.1	7.7	3.8	+548.0	+429.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Consumers Income, Series P-60, No. 2, March 2, 1948 and No. 38, August 28, 1962.

to eliminate discrimination and segregation and obtain better employment in retail trade, industry, and finance.

But, *Negroes made their greatest income gains between 1940 and 1954. Since 1954, they have not progressed in income as well.*

In 1939, for example, the median wage and salary income of Negro males was $460, the equivalent of 41% that of white males. Between then and 1955, Negro men substantially gained. Since 1955, Negro males have barely held on to those gains, losing, as Table 9 shows, 3.5 percentage points between 1955 and 1957 and gaining only one point between 1955 and 1960. As of 1960, the wage and salary income of Negro males was still only three-fifths that of white males, just about the same as in 1955 when progress toward closing the income gap between Negroes and whites began to level off.

Similar developments occurred regarding family income. As shown in Table 10, Negro families and unrelated individuals gained 19% on white families and individuals between 1940 and 1954, moving from a ratio of 37% to 56%. Since the beginning of 1955, the percentage relationship has just barely held its own, dropping 5.3 points between 1954 and 1959, reversing itself in 1960 and again reaching 56%, and dropping again in 1961 to 52%.

Two characteristics stand out. On the one hand, relative growth in wage and salary income of Negroes since 1940 has been greater than that of whites; on the other hand, the absolute, or *dollar*, difference has widened considerably.

White males have stretched the "dollar gap" between their earnings and that of Negroes over three times since 1939. White families similarly have increased the differential between their employment income and that of Negro families.

People spend and save dollars. It is this dollar difference that counts. Pronouncements regarding economic progress which are confined to acceleration concepts and percentage change obscure the real predica-

TABLE 9. MEDIAN WAGE AND SALARY INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR AND SEX FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1939-1960

Color and Sex	Year						Percent Change 1939-1960	
	1960	1958	1957	1955	1954	1939		
White								
Male	$5,137	$4,569	$4,396	$3,986	$3,754	$1,112	+461	
Female	2,537	2,364	2,240	2,065	2,046	676	+375	
Nonwhite								
Male	3,075	2,652	2,436	2,342	2,131	460	+668	
Female	1,276	1,055	1,019	894	914	246	+518	
Pecent Nonwhite of White							Percent Change in Ratio	
Male	59.8	58.0	55.4	58.8	56.8	41.3	+44.8	
Female	50.2	44.6	45.5	43.3	44.7	38.7	+29.7	
Dollar Differences Between White and Nonwhite							Increase 1939-1960	
Male	−$2,062	−$1,917	−$1,960	−$1,644	−$1,623	−$652	+$1,410	+216 percent
Female	−$1,261	−$1,307	−$1,221	−$1,171	−$1,132	−$430	+$1,221	+193 percent

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 37, January 17, 1962; Table 37, No. 33, January 15, 1960. No. 32, September 22, 1957, No. 23, November 1956; Table 11, No. 19, October 1955; Table 11.

TABLE 10. MEDIAN WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF PRIMARY FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS WITH WAGE AND SALARY INCOME BY COLOR, 1940-1961

Families and Individuals	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1950	1940
White	$5,570	$5,424	$5,252	$4,882	$4,831	$4,685	$4,331	$4,150	$4,201	$3,390	$1,325
Nonwhite	2,908	3,058	2,672	2,437	2,536	2,429	2,418	2,333	2,357	1,671	489
Dollar Difference Between Whites and Nonwhites	−2,662	−2,336	−2,580	−2,445	−2,295	−2,256	−2,113	−1,817	−1,944	−1,519	− 836
Nonwhite Income as a Percent of White	52.2	56.3	50.9	49.9	52.5	51.8	55.8	56.2	56.1	49.3	37.0
Percent Change in Ratio	1950-1960		1940-1960		1957-1959		1953-1957		1950-1953		1940-1950
	+14.1		+52.2		−3.0		−6.4		+13.8		+33.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1962.
U. S. Department of Commerce, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 27, No. 33, January 15, 1960, No. 37, January 17, 1962, No. 38, August 28, 1962, No. 27, Table 15 No. 39, Table 22 dated February 28, 1963.

ment—*Negroes are losing ground rapidly in gaining dollar parity with whites.* The "dollar gap" trend shown in Tables 9 and 10 means very simply that earnings are increasing for whites at a faster pace than for Negroes.

This is explained in two ways. First, earnings of Negroes have been low over a long period of time. Thus, a smaller gain yields a striking percentage increase. The second explanation is more serious. Notwithstanding their real gains, Negroes are not finding enough jobs in areas where wages and salaries tend to be higher and to increase faster.

Whites are acquiring the highest paying jobs in the higher occupational classifications. The benefits of general economic expansion and technology, therefore, have only "trickled down" to the Negroes, putting more of them into wage and salary jobs. These benefits automatically produced high acceleration in income change, but were restricted tightly to lower occupational classifications.

Thus, despite the unprecedented growth of income among Negroes and the percentage gains made, the fact remains that income progress of Negroes has leveled off. The percent of Negro families in lower income brackets is twice as high as whites, and the differential in earnings of whites and Negroes continues to widen, largely offsetting percentage gains. Accordingly, it is still difficult for Negroes to purchase health, education, and the amenities of life on the same level as other members of the population.

Southern Negroes at the Bottom of Economic Ladder

The individual income of Negroes in the South is only two-fifths that of comparable whites. In other regions, the income of Negro citizens is about three-fourths and that of whites (see Table 11).

The table also shows that southern Negroes have incomes of about two-fifths that of non-southern Ne-

TABLE 11. MEDIAN INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1950-1960

	1960				1950			
Region	White	Nonwhite	Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite	Nonwhite Percent of White	White	Nonwhite	Dollar Differences White and Nonwhite	Nonwhite Percent of White
Northeast	$3,304	$2,441	−$ 863	73.9	$2,246	$1,622	−$584	72.2
North Central	3,090	2,263	− 827	73.2	2,143	1,652	− 491	77.1
South*	2,473	995	− 1,478	40.2	1,647	739	− 908	44.9
West	3,298	2,474	− 824	75.0	2,114	1,445	− 669	68.9

SOUTH AS A PERCENT OF OTHER REGIONS

	1960		1950	
Northeast	74.8	40.8	73.3	45.6
North Central	80.0	44.2	76.9	44.7
West	74.9	40.2	77.9	51.1

*Includes Maryland, Delaware, Texas, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and District of Columbia.
SOURCE: 1960, U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103.
1950, U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics, Table 175 and Table 97.

groes (females in the South, incidentally, do slightly better). On the other hand, white persons in the South have incomes close to four-fifths that of white persons in the non-South.

The family income situation is slightly better for Negroes. But here, also, the non-southern Negro family enjoys an income at least 50% greater than that of its southern counterpart (see Table 12 and, for more detail, Table 13).

Table 14 shows that in 1960 there was $1,522 separating the median incomes of whites and non-white persons in this country; in 1950, the difference had been only $1,080. Negroes had fallen farther behind. In the South, the 1960 median income of Negroes was $1,478 below that of whites; in 1950, the difference had been only $908. Negroes had fallen farther behind.

In only one southern state, Florida, have the earnings of Negro male workers gained in relation to those of white male workers (see Table 15). In each of the other ten states, not only did the dollar gap increase, but Negroes also lost percentage ground, ranging from a 6% negative change in Virginia to a 25% negative change in Arkansas for male *workers;* and a negative change in the income of all *persons* (see Table 14) ranging from a low 7% in Georgia to 21% in Tennessee. In other words, although Negro income between 1950-60 increased sharply, the gap between white and Negro income was growing.

It seems clear that Negroes in the South have not kept pace with the income progress of the region, and that little change is occurring in their income position visa-vis non-southern Negroes.

One may conclude, therefore, that unless greater efforts are vigorously applied to absorb Negroes into the industrial-commercial life of the urban South these trends will continue. They suggest that, in the ab-

TABLE 12. MEDIAN INCOME OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BY REGION AND COLOR, 1960

	White	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Dollar Difference White and Nonwhite
Northeast	$6,318	$4,371	69.2	—$1,947
North Central	5,994	4,371	72.0	—$1,674
South*	5,009	2,322	46.4	—$2,687
West	6,444	4,937	76.6	—$1,507
Percent South of:				
Northeast	79.3	53.4		
North Central	83.6	53.8		
West	77.7	47.0		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*South includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 13. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE FAMILIES FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960		Pecent Nonwhite of White	1950		Pecent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change 1950-1960	
	White	Nonwhite		White	Nonwhite		Increase or Decrease	Ratio
Alabama	$4,764	$2,009	41.8	$2,056	$ 882	43.0	+127.7	—2.7
Arkansas	3,678	1,636	44.4	1,571	726	46.2	+225	—3.8
Florida	5,147	2,798	54.4	2,323	1,444	49.2	+244.5	+1.5
Georgia	5,027	2,188	43.5	2,159	909	42.1	+240.7	+3.3
Kentucky	4,193	2,570	61.3	1,856	1,110	59.8	+231.5	+2.5
Louisiana	5,288	2,238	42.0	2,434	1,023	42.0	+218.7	No Change
Mississippi	4,209	1,444	34.3	1,614	601	37.2	+240	—7.7
North Carolina	4,588	1,992	43.4	2,215	1,056	47.6	+188.6	—8.8
South Carolina	4,893	1,699	34.7	2,391	790	33.0	+215	+5.1
Tennessee	4,333	2,292	52.9	1,946	1,106	56.8	+207.2	—6.5
Virginia	5,522	2,780	50.3	2,519	1,233	48.9	+225	+2.9
United States	5,424	3,058	56.3					
South*	5,009	2,332	46.4					

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary Detailed.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 14. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE PERSONS FOURTEEN YEARS AND OVER FOR ELEVEN STATES, SOUTH, AND UNITED STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of White	Percent Change: Nonwhite Increase	Percent Change: Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites
Alabama	$2,371	$ 866	36.5	$1,455	$616	42.3	+48.6	−13.7
Arkansas	1,788	712	39.8	1,117	487	43.6	+46.2	− 7.8
Florida	2,628	1,352	51.5	1,737	847	48.8	+59.6	− 6.2
Georgia	2,470	927	37.5	1,515	610	40.3	+52.0	− 6.9
Kentucky	2,081	1,129	54.3	1,411	862	61.1	+31.0	−11.1
Louisiana	2,799	1,001	35.8	1,767	774	43.8	+29.3	−18.2
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,236	439	35.5	+47.1	− 9.0
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.5
South Carolina	2,447	742	30.3	1,684	525	31.9	+41.3	− 5.0
Tennessee	2,117	982	46.4	1,374	799	58.6	+22.9	−20.8
Virginia	2,765	1,247	45.1	1,880	919	48.9	+35.7	− 7.8
South*	2,473	995	40.2	1,647	739	44.9	+34.6	−10.6
United States	3,024	1,502	49.7	2,053	973	47.4		

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 15. MEDIAN INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALE WORKERS FOR ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES, 1950-1960

States	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite	1960 Nonwhite as Percent of White	1950 White	1950 Nonwhite	1950 Nonwhite as Percent of White	Percent: Nonwhite Increase	Percent: Change in Ratio of Nonwhites to Whites 1950-1960
Alabama	$3,367	$1,417	42.0	$1.809	$ 956	52.8	+48	−20
Arkansas	2,486	993	39.9	1,423	759	53.3	+30.8	−25.1
Florida	3,743	2,073	55.4	2,239	1,185	52.9	+74.5	+ 4.8
Georgia	3,374	1,489	44.1	1,870	919	49.1	+62.0	−10.0
Kentucky	2,928	1,764	60.3	1,701	1,199	70.4	+47.1	−14.4
Louisiana	4,001	1,565	39.1	2,228	997	44.8	+57.0	−14.4
Mississippi	2,757	890	32.3	1,462	605	41.4	+41.1	−21.9
North Carolina	3,035	1,286	42.4	1,872	999	53.4	+28.7	−20.6
South Carolina	3,195	1,135	35.5	2,043	801	39.2	+41.7	− 9.4
Tennessee	2,932	1,598	54.5	1,685	1,142	67.8	+39.9	−19.4
Virginia	3,734	1,906	51.0	2,255	1,221	54.1	+36.1	− 5.5

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population 1960, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

sence of better economic opportunity, loss through the migration of Negro manpower will continue.

Employment, Occupations, and Manpower Utilization

Four other factors exert a marked influence on the position of Negroes in the non-agriculture labor market. They are:

—technology;

—the degree of competition from whites;

—the quality and kind of education received as part of manpower development; and

—public policy regarding the elimination of racial discrimination in education, employment, and occupations.

The last factor is assuming a more important function as a result of court decisions to desegregate education and increases in "fair employment practices" programs at local, state, and federal levels.

Change in technology and manpower requirements and the changing patterns of industry expansion suggest that Negroes can no longer depend upon the forces of national economic expansion and technology to gen-

erate improvements in employment opportunity. Technology alone has drastically changed the kind of manpower needed by manufacturing industries. The need for unskilled workers has declined, whereas the demand for workers with skills and training has increased. This trend, coupled with a relatively slow pace of manpower development among Negroes, places them in an unfavorable position when it comes to supplying persons with skills who can compete favorably in today's labor markets.

Between 1947 and 1961, the number of employees in mining, manufacturing, contract construction, and agriculture decreased, while the number of employees absorbed by wholesaling and retailing, insurance, finance, the so-called services, and government increased. *Noteworthy is the fact that the industries with a declining rate of employment are the industries which have absorbed Negroes.* Actually, the source of improvement in the economic status of Negroes during past years has been their movement out of agriculture into mining, manufacturing, and construction where they found unskilled and semi-skilled jobs as laborers and operatives. These are the industries which since 1957 have had either declining employment or relatively little growth in employment. Excluding government, the areas of growth in employment are not the areas in which Negroes have traditionally found employment.

The second general development involves a shift in employment from plant to office in manufacturing industries. Between 1950 and 1961, the number of persons employed in manufacturing increased by more than one million while the number of production workers declined by almost one-half million. This means that increases in manufacturing employment were in nonplant and non-production jobs, a shift, in other words, to office work and white collar jobs, areas of employment which have never absorbed many Negroes.

Increased use of labor saving devices—"automation"—means that employment opportunity in semi-skilled and unskilled work will continue to decline. It will, therefore, become increasingly difficult for Negroes to attain higher or even retain previous levels of employment in those occupations and industries which they had penetrated during the 1940's and 1950's.

Unemployment among Negroes today amounts to more than 10%, twice that of whites. In heavily industrialized areas such as Chicago and Detroit, the differential is even more striking. *Furthermore, the duration of unemployment is longer for Negroes than for whites.*

In September 1958 the average duration of unemployment for Negroes was 17.8 weeks and for white workers 13.3 weeks. The average length of unemployment in September 1962 for Negroes was 18.0 weeks while that for whites had dropped to 13.0 weeks. Negroes accounted for about one-fourth of all the long term unemployed, but for only about 11% of the labor force. About 29% of the very long term unemployed in September 1962 were Negroes compared with 21% in September 1961. Long term joblessness among Negroes results from discrimination in hiring and inadequate training and inadequate manpower development.

Since 1940, white collar employment among Negro males has gone up 144% and blue collar skilled and semi-skilled employment by 101% in contrast to 31% and 14% among whites in the respective groups. In the same period, Negro females employed in white collar positions increased by 169% and in blue collar positions by 132% in comparison with a white increase of 18% in white collar jobs and a decline of 23% in the number represented in blue collar occupations.

TABLE 16. NONWHITE EMPLOYMENT AS PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT IN EACH MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUP, BY SEX, APRIL 1940 AND APRIL 1960

Major Occupation Group	Nonwhite Men as Percent of All Men		Increase or Decrease in Percent	Nonwhite Women as Percent of All Women		Increase or Decrease in Percent
	1940	1960	1940-1960	1940	1960	1940-1960
Total Employed	9.0	9.3		13.9	12.6	
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	3.1	3.5	+0.5	4.6	5.6	+ 1.0
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors except Farm	1.5	1.9	+0.4	2.8	4.8	+ 2.0
Clerical and Kindred Workers	1.6	6.7	+5.1	0.7	3.8	+ 2.1
Sales Workers	1.4	3.0	+1.6	1.1	2.4	+ 1.3
Craftsmen, Foreman, and Kindred Workers	2.7	4.4	+1.7	2.3	8.0	+ 5.7
Operatives and Kindred Workers	6.1	11.6	+5.5	5.0	12.4	+ 7.4
Laborers, except farm and Mine	21.2	27.6	+6.4	*	*	
Service workers, except Private Household	17.4	21.1	+3.7	13.1	19.2	+ 6.1
Private Household	(1)	(1)		46.5	47.5	+ 1.0
Farmers and Farm Managers	13.1	8.6	—4.5	30.2	16.4	—13.8
Farm Laborers and Foremen	22.5	23.6	+1.1	62.9	22.6	—40.3

*Not Available.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

These percentage gains are impressive, but the fact remains that Negroes have penetrated only to a limited extent job categories above semi-skilled levels.

For example (see Table 16), Negro females make up 12.6% of the total females employed, but they comprise almost one-half, 48%, of all the domestic servants in the economy and only 2% of all the sales workers; this is not substantially different from the situation in 1940. Negro males comprise slightly in excess of 9% of the employed males in the economy, but they are only 2% of the total number of men employed as nonfarm managers, proprietors, and officials, only four-tenths of a percentage point better than the situation in 1940. Yet they are 28% of the laborers.

Table 17 shows similar data for the South only. *There has not been a large penetration by Negroes into the growth sectors of employment. Those industries and occupations where Negroes have gained in employment represent the slow growth areas of the economy and labor market.*

It has already been suggested that regional differences in employment account in large measure for differences between the income of Negroes in the South and in the rest of the nation, as well as for high rates of migration by Negroes from southern states. Indeed, in none of the major industry categories shown in Table 18 do Negroes in the South keep pace with Negroes in the non-South. Study the last column of Table 18. In every category except "government" Negroes had a smaller share of the jobs in 1960 than in 1950 in the South. Of course there were fewer Negroes living in the South in 1960. But this is a chicken and the egg question. Fewer jobs because of fewer people? Or did people leave because jobs were not there?

But the fact is, Negroes make up only slightly less of the southern labor force today, 19%, than they did a decade ago, when they were 21% of the labor force. In each area of industry employment, the decline in Negro employment exceeds the decline in the Negro labor force.

Table 19 shows how Negroes are represented in various job categories. These tables reveal important contrasts between the percent of the total labor force and the percent of occupations held by Negroes.

We see, for example, in Table 19 that

—in the non-South, 6% of the employed Negroes are in professional and technical positions;

—of all professional and technical positions, Negroes hold only 3%;

—in the South, the percentages are 5 and 9.

We also see that Negroes of the South have almost all the household jobs and nearly half of the laborers jobs, both on and off the farm. We see that very few of the clerical and sales jobs are held by Negroes either in or out of the South. In the non-South, however, a good percentage of employed Negroes (10%) are in clerical spots, whereas only 3% of the employed Negroes in the South are so employed.

TABLE 17. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN THE SOUTH* BY COLOR AND SEX AND MAJOR OCCUPATION GROUPS, 1950-1960 (PERCENT)

	White				Nonwhite			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Occupation Group	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	36.9	30.9	59.8	58.8	8.3	5.8	13.2	10.6
Professional, Technical and Related Workers	10.0	6.8	14.0	13.3	2.9	2.0	7.5	6.2
Managers, Proprietors, Officials, Nonfarm	12.6	11.4	4.7	5.4	1.5	1.4	1.0	1.2
Clerical and Related Workers	6.6	5.8	31.5	29.3	2.9	1.6	3.6	2.2
Sales Workers	7.7	6.9	9.6	10.8	1.0	0.8	1.1	1.0
BLUE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS	39.7	36.7	18.6	20.6	30.8	24.6	9.0	9.6
Craftsmen, Foremen (Skilled)	20.5	18.3	1.2	1.3	8.6	6.3	0.4	0.3
Operatives (Semi-skilled)	19.2	18.4	17.0	19.3	22.2	18.3	8.6	9.3
UNSKILLED LABOR AND SERVICE OCCUPATIONS	9.8	9.8	15.1	13.8	36.3	34.3	66.4	64.0
Laborers (Unskilled) Except Farm and Mine	5.2	5.7	0.4	0.5	22.9	23.3	0.9	1.6
Service Workers Except Household	4.0	3.5	11.3	10.4	12.6	10.1	20.8	17.7
Private Household Workers	0.6	0.6	3.4	29.3	0.8	0.9	44.7	44.7
FARM OCCUPATIONS	10.2	21.5	1.7	3.8	18.6	33.8	5.9	13.9
Farmers and Farm Managers	7.2	15.5	0.7	0.9	7.2	19.3	1.0	2.5
Farm Laborers and Foremen	3.0	6.0	1.0	2.9	11.4	14.5	4.9	11.4
OCCUPATIONS NOT REPORTED	4.0	1.3	5.2	2.9	5.9	1.3	5.6	1.7

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce.
1950 U. S. Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics 216158.
U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics—216103.

In sum, it appears that penertation of higher echelons of the occupational scale by Negroes has been relatively limited, and much more so in the South than outside the region. Negroes have entered the mainstream of industrial and civil employment in non-southern communities to a greater degree than in the South. In so doing, they have filled jobs which make possible upgrading, training opportunity, and increased earning power on the basis of personal job qualifications. In the South, Negroes have not shared equitably in the rapid industrial expansion of the past two decades.

TABLE 18. NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL PERSONS EMPLOYED BY INDUSTRY, 1950-1960, UNITED STATES, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH

	United States			Non-South			South*		
	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60	1950	1960	Percent Change in Ratio 1950-60
Agriculture	15.6	14.2	− 8.9	2.8	2.8	0.	30.8	30.1	− 2.3
Mining	4.5	3.2	−28.9	3.5	2.1	−40.0	8.4	5.1	−39.2
Construction	5.5	8.5	+54.5	5.6	5.4	− 3.6	17.7	16.9	− 4.5
Manufacturing	6.5	6.8	+ 4.6	4.7	5.4	+14.9	16.4	12.9	−21.3
Transportation	7.6	7.7	+ 1.3	5.2	5.9	+ 1.3	16.1	13.9	−13.7
Trade	6.3	7.0	+11.1	4.2	5.2	+23.8	13.2	12.8	− 3.0
Finance	4.6	4.2	− 4.3	3.8	3.7	− 2.6	9.1	6.6	−21.4
Service	17.1	16.9	− 1.2	11.6	12.1	+ 4.3	36.0	32.4	−10.4
Government	7.9	10.0	+26.5	5.8	8.4	+44.8	10.8	11.6	+ 7.4

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.
SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 Census of Population*, U. S. Summary, Detailed Characteristics Table 16. *Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics Table 103.

TABLE 19. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITES AND NONWHITES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL EMPLOYED BY OCCUPATION, SOUTH AND NON-SOUTH, 1960

	Non-South		South*	
	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite of Total Employed in Occupation	Percent Nonwhite of Total Nonwhite
Total Employed	6.6	100.00	19.2	100.00
Professional and Technical	3.4	6.0	9.2	4.8
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	2.0	2.5	2.9	1.3
Clerical	4.4	10.1	5.0	3.2
Sales	2.1	2.3	2.8	1.0
Craftsmen, Foremen	3.7	7.7	8.1	5.3
Operatives	7.9	22.2	17.8	16.8
Private Household Workers	30.4	9.0	79.8	18.3
Service Workers	13.3	17.2	37.4	15.9
Farm Laborers	6.0	1.5	47.4	8.8
Farmers and Farm Managers	1.5	0.8	17.9	4.7
Laborers	14.5	9.7	47.6	14.1
Not Reported	14.6	11.1	24.0	5.8

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 103 by State.
*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

IV

What Price Discrimination?

An attempt has been made to show the position of Negroes in the economy of the nation and the South. Emerging from the presentation are several implications, a few of which will be dealt with as a conclusion to this report.

Education

Employment determines income; the level of income is related to the kind of job one is able to obtain; and jobs are related to education and training. Thus, to a great degree, the ability of Negroes to pass from poverty and deprivation to parity with the rest of the population depends not only upon removing barriers to employment and occupational mobility. It also depends upon better education through increased school desegregation and upon rapid adjustments and improvements in the process of Negro manpower development (see Table 20).

Not all present underemployment of Negroes can be attributed to discriminatory employment practices; limited opportunities are sometimes available to Negroes for which few exhibit any interest or can qualify. Nevertheless, Negroes face a two-pronged problem: discrimination in employment on one hand and, on the other, an inadequate flow of manpower to meet such limited opportunities as there are. This inadequacy is a cumulative product of segregation in education and manpower development and utilization. This is nowhere more true than in vocational and technical training.

Generally, vocational training available to Negroes is limited mainly to those occupations in which they have traditionally found employment: in the industrial trades, some of which are becoming obsolete, and in those areas where Negroes provide services to Negroes, such as barbering. Technical courses in electronics and tool design, the apprenticeable trades such as plumbing, steamfitting, and sheet metal work, and courses in blueprint reading and welding, are usually not available to Negroes.

Contrast between programs to develop white and Negro manpower can be seen by the course offerings of three southern metropolitan school systems: Atlanta, Houston, and Nashville.

TABLE 20. ANNUAL AVERAGE INCOME OF MALES 25 YEARS AND OVER BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, 1939-1958

Year of School Completed	Annual Average Income			
	1939	1946	1949	1958
Elementary:	$1,036	$2,041	$2,394	$3,096
Less Than 8 Years	*	1,738	2,062	2,551
8 Years	*	2,327	2,829	3,769
High School:				
1 to 3 Years	1,379	2,449	3,226	4,618
4 Years	1,661	2,939	3,784	5,567
College:				
1 to 3 Years	1,931	3,654	4,423	6,966
4 Years or More	2,607	4,527	8,490	9,206

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1962.*

Houston

In the only vocational and technical high school in the Houston Independent School System, an all white school, full three year courses are offered in: air conditioning and refrigeration mechanics, automobile mechanics, drafting, machine shop, photography, radio and television, and welding. None of these courses is taught in the five Negro schools.

Negroes are offered two years of training in commercial cooking and baking, cleaning and

pressing, and trade dressmaking, courses which are not taught in white schools.

Nashville

The only vocational and technical high school in Nashville is an all-white institution. Full courses are offered in commercial art, drafting, auto mechanics, electricity, general clerical, industrial chemistry, machine shop, refrigeration, secretarial training, and office machines; adult evening courses are taught in such areas as sheet metal layout, pipe-fitting, machine shop, welding, aircraft blueprint reading, electronics for office machines, and advanced projection.

Courses offered to Negroes (in only one of the four high schools) throughout the county are auto mechanics, commerce, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and woodworking. Evening courses are taught in sewing, millinery, auto mechanics, cosmetology, tailoring, trowel trades, and electronics.

Atlanta

The white vocational and technical school in Atlanta is the Smith-Hughes School.* Courses are offered in electronics, tool and die design, instrumentation, machine shop, refrigeration and air conditioning, electricity, iron-working, steam-fitting, plumbing, sheet metal, tool and die making, blueprint reading and drafting, gas fitting, and welding.

Negroes are offered at Carver Vocational School radio and television, industrial sewing, commercial cooking, short order cooking, shoe repairing, auto mechanics, tailoring, bricklaying, drycleaning, practical nursing, and catering.

The contrasts are obvious. Ninety percent of the Negro youth and 80% of the white youth do not go to college. Vocational and technical training at pre-college levels is a real concern. Neglecting the education of the majority of youth who do not go to college will reflect itself most seriously among Negroes, the group most vulnerable to unemployment and automation, because of the imbalance in job development and preparation. We do not need poor quality vocational and technical training programs which serve as dumping grounds for problem students, nor programs that prepare Negro youth for "traditional Negro jobs." We need vocational programs that give sound background in mathematics, science, and other academic subjects, as well as developing marketable skills.

Jobs for laborers and unskilled workers will undoubtedly be considerably reduced by 1970. On the other hand, the economy may well demand, according to some estimates,

—80% more managers
—25% more clerical personnel
—25% more sales personnel
—25% more banking, finance, and insurance personnel
—more blueprint readers, computer operators, metallurgical technicians, machine tool operators, industrial chemists, key punch and machine operators, and other highly skilled people.

But

—no increase is expected in the demand for laborers, and the demand for semi-skilled workers is not expected to rise above 15%.

Restricted vocational and technical training for Negroes is justified by southern school boards on the grounds that jobs in the crafts and technical areas as well as in sales, clerical, and other white collar positions are not generally open to Negroes; therefore, training would be costly and useless. This argument is invalid on its face. School systems have the moral and legal obligation to give all persons the best training and education possible. Moreover, changes in employment opportunity for Negroes in industry, commerce, and government further invalidate the position. President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925 forbidding racial discrimination in federal employment as well as in industries having government contracts has opened new areas of employment opportunity for Negroes. Negroes themselves are using economic and political pressures to achieve improvement in job opportunity. Rapid adjustments in the education of Negroes to meet the demands of new employment opportunity are both urgent and necessary.

Costs of Discrimination

The President's Council of Economic Advisers asserted in 1962 that losses to the economy through racial discrimination result from two factors: (1) inefficiencies in the use of the labor force resulting from failure to utilize fully the existing skills of our population; and (2) failure to develop potential skills fully. The Council estimated that the nation's economy is losing between $13 billion and $17 billion per year in national income and product as result of these two factors.

Fifty percent of the nation's Negroes are concentrated in the South, and the South receives approximately 20% of the nation's total income. A conservative estimate is that the South loses from $5 to $6 billion annually because of racial discrimination.

The South can no longer afford the luxury of wast-

*This school was desegregated on January 28, 1963, but only a token number of Negroes has been accepted for training.

ing a valuable human resource. It cannot continue to deny itself better markets for goods and services by failing to provide a climate of equal economic opportunity for all its citizens. It is equally clear that the nation can ill afford to lose $17 billion per year in income and product. To achieve full equality with other regions of the nation, the South must achieve full utilization of its manpower. For the nation as a whole, the continuing struggle of the cold war makes the full use of America's human resources imperative.

Race Relations and Economic Growth

Despite the relatively low income per person of Negroes, there are twice as many with income as there were a decade or so ago. Negroes have moved ahead educationally. More of them are concentrated in the cities. They are acquiring greater political strength in the urban areas, and they are more sensitive to their role in the politics and market place of the city and the state.

Political strength and purchasing power among urban Negroes can scarcely be ignored by government officials, city planners, business, and industry. With a new industrial-urban orientation, Negroes will increasingly apply political and economic pressures to bring about changes in southern race relations, to step up the momentum of school desegregation, to obtain better employment opportunity, and to obtain access to public facilities.

Rapid racial adjustments by the "new South" are vitally important to the economic health of the region. Tensions generated by poor race relations are not conducive to economic growth. *Chaos over school desegregation, boycotts to achieve employment opportunity, sit-in demonstrations, and picket lines, all are simply and tragically inimical to the economic life of the region.* Positive steps toward good race relations, the full absorption of Negroes into the mainstream of the region —these are imperative to leadership seeking a healthy South.

Public Policy

Clearly involved in the whole question of improving the economic position of Negroes is the influence of public policy on school desegregation, employment opportunity, and the elimination of segregation in housing and public places.

Low income Negroes and whites in large numbers are relocating themselves in the urban centers of the South just as they are in the North. Without extraordinary economic expansion and rapid improvement in the distribution of income, without swift changes in southern race relations, it is apparent that in the next decade the bulk of southern poverty will complete its shift from the country to the city.

Negro poverty will take its place in the urban slums of the South as a substitute for the traditional rural poverty—which, at least, was relatively self-sufficient. This concentration of low-income people in urban areas raises critical questions for southern city planners and officials.

The national expansion of the economy and technology, which began 20 years ago to alter the position of Negroes cannot be relied upon exclusively to bring about the level of improvement necessary in the future. Public policy will have to play an increased role. This means the expansion and strengthening of programs at local, state,* and federal levels to promote "fair employment practices"; the expansion of minimum wage coverage; more extensive area redevelopment programs; more extensive and inclusive programs of adult education and adult training and retraining programs. All these policies and programs must be advanced along with school desegregation. They will serve to reinforce change generated by normal economic forces.

That Negroes need improved economic opportunity is clear. That poverty among Negroes is being transferred from the rural South to the urban South is equally clear. Welfare dependency in urban areas will not solve the problem. Basically, the solution rests with full opportunity for the development of manpower potential and for employment and occupational mobility.

Employers, government officials, southern educators, southern school boards, and local communities must recognize what continued failure to meet the demands of Negro manpower development will mean. Not only will uneducated and inexperienced Negro manpower continue to contribute to labor surpluses, the very heart of the South's problem, but also the drain on urban economies in supporting undeveloped manpower will continue to impede the progress of both southern and national economic growth.

*On March 17, 1963 Kentucky Governor Bert Combs signed a code of fair practices, making Kentucky the first southern state to adopt such a measure. The code prohibits discrimination in employment and job opportunity, financial assistance, licensing, training programs, parks, and hospitals.

APPENDIX

TABLE 21. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND SOUTH* BY COLOR, 1954-1961

	1961				1954			
	United States		South		United States		South	
Family Income Level	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*	*White*	*Nonwhite*
Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under $4,000	27.7	60.2	38.7	80.0	44.1	78.2	53.9	87.0
$4,000-$5,999	22.4	19.7	23.3	13.0	28.7	14.5	24.8	8.7
$6,000 and Over	49.7	20.1	37.9	7.0	27.2	7.4	31.3	4.3
Percent of Change in Distribution Ratio 1954-1961								
Under $4,000	−37.1	−23.0	−28.2	− 8.0				
$4,000-$5,999	−18.4	+35.8	− 6.0	+51.1				
$6,000 and Over	+82.7	171.6	+21.0	+62.8				

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports, Consumers Income* Series P-60, No. 20, December 1955 Table 2 and No. 37, January 17, 1962 Table 16 P-60, No. 39, February 28, 1963 Table 18.

*Includes Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and West Virginia.

TABLE 22. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF FAMILIES, UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1960

	U.S.	*Ala.*	*Ark.*	*Fla.*	*Ga.*	*Ky.*	*La.*	*Miss.*	*N. C.*	*S. C.*	*Tenn.*	*Va.*
Under $2,000												
Nonwhite	32.4	49.9	61.1	32.1	45.9	39.8	45.1	66.2	50.2	57.7	44.3	35.5
White	11.0	18.9	26.4	13.6	15.3	25.1	14.6	22.0	17.3	14.0	22.4	7.8
$2,000-$2,999												
Nonwhite	15.5	17.9	18.4	22.3	21.8	17.9	20.7	16.7	19.9	19.3	19.5	18.6
White	7.6	10.7	14.6	10.5	10.4	11.6	9.6	12.4	11.5	10.5	11.8	5.9
$3,000-$3,999												
Nonwhite	13.5	12.4	9.5	18.7	13.0	15.1	13.3	8.0	12.8	10.4	14.3	15.6
White	9.1	11.4	13.4	12.0	11.8	11.1	10.8	13.0	13.6	13.7	12.0	8.1
$4,000-$4,999												
Nonwhite	11.4	8.4	4.8	11.6	7.7	11.6	3.5	4.2	7.3	5.5	9.3	11.5
White	10.9	11.7	11.5	12.1	12.2	11.3	11.6	12.2	13.0	13.2	11.4	10.2
$5,000 and Over												
Nonwhite	27.2	11.4	6.1	15.1	11.6	15.6	12.2	5.0	9.6	7.0	12.6	18.8
White	61.4	47.2	34.3	51.9	50.2	40.8	53.5	40.3	44.7	48.6	42.5	68.0

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population 1960*, U. S. Summary, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 65.

TABLE 23. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY FAMILIES FOR FIFTEEN SELECTED CITIES BY COLOR, 1960

City	Under $2,000		$2,000-$3,999		$4,000-$4,999		$5,000 and Over	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Atlanta	8.8	22.5	16.4	40.8	10.0	11.5	64.8	22.1
Birmingham	8.0	22.6	16.0	34.1	11.7	12.4	64.2	20.9
Charleston, S. C.	11.1	42.9	20.5	33.2	11.5	10.2	56.9	13.7
Dallas	7.0	26.7	13.7	40.3	9.9	13.7	69.4	19.3
Durham	8.0	30.2	18.3	42.3	13.1	11.6	60.6	15.9
Houston	7.2	24.9	12.9	36.0	9.9	14.4	70.0	24.7
Jackson, Miss.	5.7	34.2	13.3	44.5	10.9	9.7	70.0	11.6
Little Rock	8.8	31.7	18.7	42.1	11.3	9.8	61.2	16.4
Louisville	9.9	29.5	17.0	31.1	13.5	16.2	59.6	23.2
Memphis	7.5	22.5	24.0	43.0	12.3	15.2	48.4	19.3
Nashville	15.6	32.8	27.0	39.2	13.8	10.9	43.6	17.1
New Orleans	8.8	32.9	18.0	37.0	12.0	12.2	61.1	20.6
Oklahoma City	9.4	28.0	16.7	30.4	11.9	14.7	62.0	26.9
Richmond	6.9	25.4	14.7	35.2	11.2	13.5	67.1	26.0
Norfolk	16.4	30.3	15.4	34.9	10.0	13.6	58.2	21.2

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960.*

TABLE 24. DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME OF PERSONS 14 YEARS AND OVER WITH INCOME FOR UNITED STATES AND ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES BY COLOR, 1950-1960

	Under $2.000				$2,000-$2,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950
United States	38.0	48.8	58.2	77.4	11.7	21.2	14.8	15.8
Alabama	44.3	62.3	78.5	88.5	13.6	18.3	11.0	9.3
Arkansas	53.3	71.2	83.8	93.4	14.4	14.3	9.5	5.0
Florida	40.7	55.7	65.3	88.8	13.9	18.9	19.0	9.4
Georgia	42.1	62.0	76.0	93.5	15.1	18.9	13.6	5.2
Kentucky	48.7	64.1	69.2	84.2	12.9	18.2	13.2	12.4
Louisiana	40.2	54.8	73.8	89.3	12.0	18.2	12.8	8.2
Mississippi	49.6	69.2	86.5	96.1	14.7	14.4	8.2	3.1
North Carolina	44.1	61.9	74.8	90.1	17.3	21.2	12.9	7.9
South Carolina	41.9	59.0	80.7	94.8	17.3	22.9	11.8	4.2
Tennessee	48.0	65.0	72.2	87.7	14.5	16.8	13.7	9.9
Virginia	39.7	52.7	65.8	84.4	13.1	20.6	15.0	12.6

	$3,000-$3,999				$4,000-$4,999			
	White		Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite	
United States	11.4	15.5	10.9	5.1	10.6	6.6	7.9	0.9
Alabama	11.8	10.4	6.8	1.4	9.2	4.1	3.9	0.3
Arkansas	10.9	7.5	3.8	1.0	7.1	3.1	1.8	0.3
Florida	12.2	12.3	9.3	1.2	9.6	5.2	3.7	0.3
Georgia	13.3	9.8	5.8	0.8	9.5	3.8	2.7	0.3
Kentucky	11.0	9.6	8.4	2.6	8.8	3.8	5.3	0.4
Louisiana	11.4	12.6	6.6	1.9	9.8	6.4	3.7	0.3
Mississippi	11.5	8.3	3.0	0.5	7.8	3.5	1.4	0.1
North Carolina	14.8	8.9	6.0	1.3	9.1	3.4	2.8	0.3
South Carolina	15.7	10.2	4.5	0.7	9.2	3.5	1.7	0.1
Tennessee	11.5	9.6	7.5	1.7	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Virginia	12.2	13.4	9.5	2.2	10.4	5.3	5.9	0.4

	$5,000 and Over			
	White		Nonwhite	
United States	29.3	8.0	8.1	0.7
Alabama	21.2	5.2	2.6	0.2
Arkansas	14.3	4.1	1.3	0.3
Florida	23.6	7.8	2.6	0.3
Georgia	20.0	5.4	2.0	0.3
Kentucky	18.3	4.4	3.8	0.4
Louisiana	26.8	8.0	3.0	0.5
Mississippi	16.3	4.6	0.9	0.0
North Carolina	14.7	4.6	1.5	0.3
South Carolina	8.1	3.8	4.0	0.4
Tennessee	17.8	4.9	2.6	0.3
Virginia	24.6	7.7	3.9	0.4

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, *1950 U. S. Census of Population*, Detailed Characteristics.
U. S. Census of Population, 1960, General Social and Economic Characteriastics.

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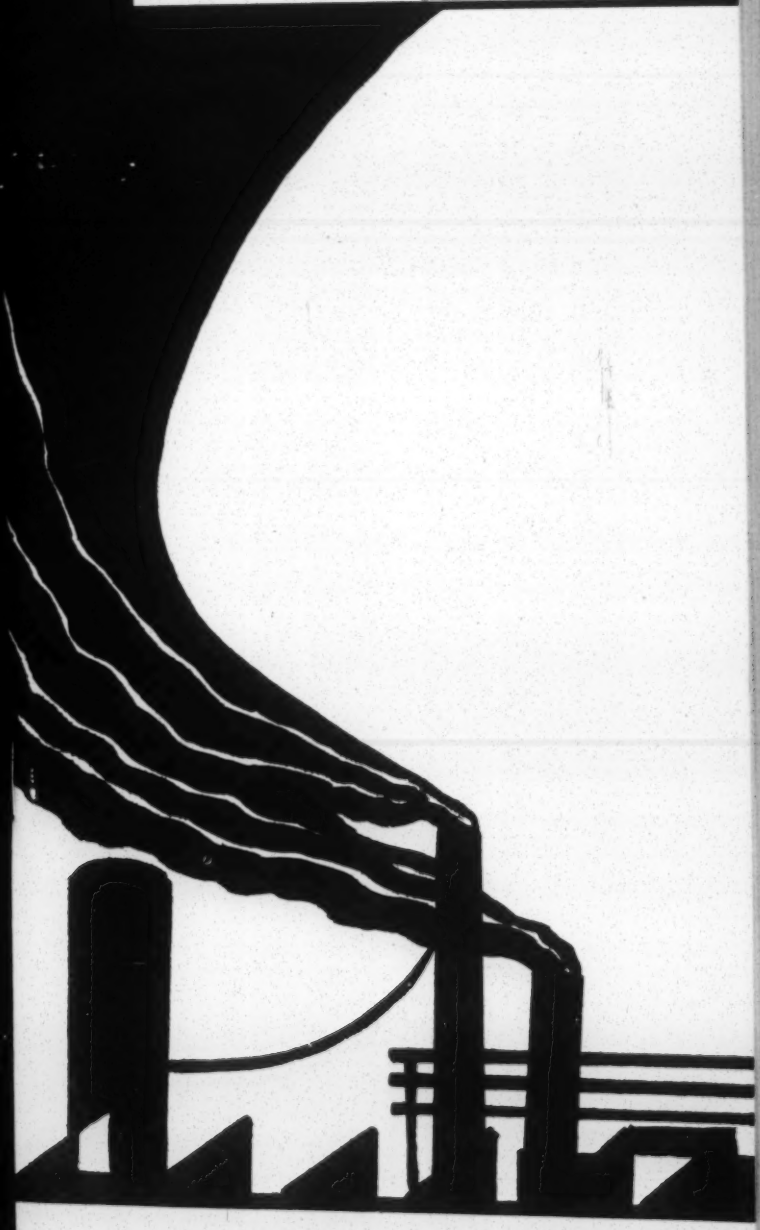

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ACCENT ON THE SOUTH

By BENJAMIN D. SEGAL

PART I

In September, 1957, the governors of the southern states gathered at a Sea Island, Georgia, resort for their annual conference. Mid-way during a discussion of industry in the South, Governor McKeldin of Maryland asked Governor Griffin of Georgia how labor unions are doing in the South.

The answer came in a single crisp word, "Bad."

Perhaps that wasn't a completely fair answer. But no one will deny that the South today, as it was 15 years ago, is organized labor's number one regional problem. The thorough organization of the South has been a dream in labor for years. Now, quietly, under the stormy headlines, basic changes are occurring in the economy of the South that must have vital impact on labor's plans.

To understand them, one must begin by scooping up a handful of the past.

'A Plan of a Machine'

"I wish you, sir, not to show this letter nor communicate anything of its contents to anybody except my brother and sister, enjoining it on them to keep the whole a PROFOUND SECRET."

So wrote a Massachusetts farm boy in a letter dated September 11, 1793. The subject of the mysterious letter was a new invention which the letter-writer, Eli Whitney, had conceived during a brief visit to a cotton plantation 12 miles from Savannah. Whitney, just out of college and hoping to get a teaching job in the Carolinas, was

startled to learn of the great difficulty slaves had in separating the seed out of the cotton.

"I involuntarily happened to be thinking on the subject," he wrote, "and struck out a plan of a machine in my mind."

The result was a revolution that swept across the American South like wind-whipped fire, a contradictory revolution that introduced modern machinery at the same time that it increased the need for that most ancient of machines, the human slave.

Two years before Whitney "happened to be thinking on the subject," cotton production in all of America was 4,000 bales a year. One year after his invention was no longer a "profound secret" that figure shot up to 16,000 bales. A decade later it had climbed crazily to over 128,000 bales a year.

Cotton became to the economy of the South what oxygen is to human life.

Droplets

Then a strange thing happened. Whitney's cotton gin hit the South like a shot of adrenalin. But technological progress thereupon almost came to a grinding, sickening halt.

In the North, by the 1850's, the industrial revolution was transforming the land. Roger Burlingame, in his book "Machines That Built America," tells how "the village blacksmith, butcher, miller were being supplanted by the factory, the stockyards, the huge grain elevators and powered flour mills. Standard products poured out from centers already celebrated for particular brands. Thus clocks and watches came from Waltham and Waterbury, New Haven and Plymouth, Connecticut; meat came from mechanical butchering and dressing plants in Cincinnati and Chicago, cloth from Lawrence and Lowell and Providence, shoes from

Salem and Lynn, machine tools from Hartford and Chicopee Falls and Windsor, Vermont.

"It was this industrial system," Burlingame wrote, "of which the plantation South knew almost nothing that enabled the northern armies, despite severe military setbacks, to win in 1865."

The South had and has many vital resources. Plentiful water power, endless timberland, bauxite for aluminum, natural gas, oil, phosphate rock, sulfur, zinc, coal, cement iron ore lead feldspar. But despite this the tidal wave of industrialization that thundered from New England through Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and on to the West splashed only little droplets over the South.

Late Start

As the United States Department of Labor put it in a special issue of its Monthly Labor Review some years ago, "From the colonial period to the present the South has remained predominantly agrarian. To agriculture must be added the economic activities that depend on the wealth, including petroleum, under the earth."

The South began its industrial development late and under unusual handicaps.

The lag in southern industrialization has been attributed to a wide variety of reasons. These range from assertions that southern workers just aren't "efficient" to complaints about unequal railroad freight rates, absentee ownership, lack of industrial research facilities, inadequate banking structure, not to speak of tariff policy.

Whatever the reason or the combination of reasons, the economic gap between the South and the rest of the country by the decade preceding World War II was prodigious.

The Gap

In 1929 if you made a list of all 48 states in the order of their average per capita income — good index to the general wealth of the state and its citizens — you would have found eight southern states solidly clustered at the bottom of the 48. Only Florida, Virginia and Louisiana escaped the bottom, though even Florida, the wealthiest of the southern states, was only 33rd in the nation.

As for the others: South Carolina was 48th; Mississippi 47th; Arkansas 46th; Alabama 45th; North Carolina 44th; Georgia 43rd; Tennessee 42nd; and Kentucky the 41st.

Thus in that year the average per capita income in South Carolina was $252 against a national average of $680. Florida, the best off of the 11 southern states, had an average of only $484, approximately two-thirds of the average for the nation as a whole.

In all, per capita income in the South was one-half what it was in the United States generally.

It comes as no shock then to know what the novelists of the 'thirties documented: that the South had fewer radios and cars, fewer farms with telephones, less life insurance, worse schools, worse hospitals, more illiteracy, more venereal disease, more infant mortality, etc., than the rest of America.

Under the cold statistics lay the painful realities of life.

Depression Years

In the depression years, the South, along with the rest of the nation, suffered. But, for a combination of economic reasons, it recovered more rapidly. Thus 1940 found the South with 57 per cent of the national average per capita income, an improvement of seven per cent in relative standing.

Even this improvement, however, left South Carolina, for example, with a per capita income figure of $286. Mississippi, which had replaced South Carolina as the 48th state, racked up a per capita figure of only $202. And Florida, still the wealthiest state in the South, still had only $471 as contrasted with the national average of $575.

What lay behind this persistent poverty? Only a thorough study of the social, economic and political history of the region would provide a full answer. But there is little doubt in anyone's mind that one of the most important keys to the situation was the snail's pace of industrial development below the Mason-Dixon Line.

In 1930, for example, the 11 southern states accounted for 21.4 per cent of the population of the United States. But they had only 17 per cent of the nation's manufacturing plants. And even this figure tells only a fraction of the story. For this industry was not merely small in quantity; it was poor in quality.

The 35,000 manufacturing establishments in the South employed only 14 per cent of the nation's production workers. They paid out only 10 per cent of the wages. They produced only 12.5 per cent of the total national output of manufactured goods. And they added only 10 per cent of the value added by all manufacture.

Ten years later the South's number of shops and factories had been reduced to 26,000. The dip reflected the havoc of the depression. Because the rest of the country pulled itself together a little more slowly than the South, the percentages looked a little better for the South. It now employed 17.3 per cent of the production workers, paid out 12.1 per cent of the wages and added 12.7 of the total value added by manufacture.

But during the decade the eleven southern states gained 9,000,000 in population. The number of production workers it employed had risen by only 11,000.

Then came World War II. With it came the clangour of steel, the blue glare of arc welding and a crucial chapter in the industrial history of the South.

PART II

The South had a long way to go to catch up with the living standards of the rest of the nation when Nazi bombers streaked across the dawn into Poland on September 1, 1939. These bombers ignited a chain of torturous events that writhed to a close six years later at Hiroshima. In the interval, American democracy hung in the balance.

The exact measure of the health of world democracy in those days might well have been read in the day to day reports that flowed into the big white building in Washington now occupied by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, but then headquarters of the War Production Board.

As in the Civil War, but more so, productivity was the telling artillery. Guns might thunder on a dozen fronts. But often the ultimate history was being written in American factories. The need for production strained the national economic machine to its bursting point. New facilities, resources, labor, skills and dreams were all urgently needed.

The result was that the underdeveloped South began to ring with the staccato sounds of modern industry. In 1527 the first ship ever built in the New World was put together by Panfilo de Narvaez at Apalachicola, Florida. Four hundred and fourteen year later, under pressure of war, the South began

to turn out ships again . . . and planes. When war broke out there were only 20,000 southern workers engaged in the construction of ships and planes. A few years later, in 1943, that number had skyrocketed to 500,000, a 2,400 per cent increase!

New Way of Life

Employment in all manufacturing industries rose in the South. This was especially true in iron, steel, non-ferrous metals and chemical manufacture as well as in the aircraft and shipbuilding already noted.

Between mid-1940 and mid-1945 the nation poured 4.5 billion dollars into industrial expansion in the South (Texas and Oklahoma included). The result: Jobs and a new way of life for hundreds of thousands of the South's people. Men who had until then known only the soil began carrying lunch buckets through the gates of newly built war plants. They learned the sounds and feel of machinery. They learned to work in organized groups. Many of them also learned, for the first time, what unions were for.

All in all, manufacturing employment in the region climbed from 1,650,000 to a peak of 2,835,000 in November, 1943. This high crest receded later to about 2,400,000. But this was still a substantial gain over the pre-war period.

The net result was a healthy boost to the South's per capita income, a bettering of its standard of living not only on a relative but also on an absolute basis.

Striking Advances

A report of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in 1956 declared: Between 1929 and 1955 the South's average per capita income rose by 257 per cent while

it climbed by only 141 per cent for the nation as a whole. "The most striking advances," the report emphasized, "were made during the World War II years. More than half the gains in the 26-year period was made during the five year period between 1940 and 1945."

Economists and sociologists viewing this change were hopeful. They believed that the tempo of wartime growth would continue after the guns stopped firing. However, peace and reconversion forced them to take a second, penetrating look.

This look, according to a report of the National Planning Association's Committee on the South, revealed that "the pattern of war manufacturing facilities expansion in the South was a great deal different from that in the entire country. The industries which had more sound reconversion possibilities and those which would aid particularly in further industrialization accounted for a relatively small part of the industrial expansion program in the South."

Thus, of all the plant expansion below the Mason-Dixon Line, less than a single per cent went for the production of vehicles; a similar fractional amount went for the manufacture of machinery and electrical equipment. This contrasted with figures of four and five per cent for the nation as a whole. Again, while in the United States as a whole the expansion of iron and steel producing equipment accounted for nine per cent of the total spent for expansion, in the South, this figure was only four per cent.

Shortchanged by History

What this means is that the South was short-changed on the quality of the industry it got. The higher-paying, more solid industries went elsewhere. This was

not the result of some dark conspiracy of men. Instead it was a conspiracy of history itself.

A Commerce Department study explains why: "The very magnitude and rapidity of this expansion required that full advantage be taken of existing facilities, concentrations of labor force, transportation routes, electric power availability and location of developed natural resources."

The immediate life and death need was for production. We didn't have time to consider the long-range effects of the distribution of new facilities.

As a result, it has been estimated that only 40 per cent of the new productive capacity added below the Mason-Dixon Line was useful after the war ended. The South had gained. But not as much as it might have from a well-planned, balanced program of peace-time expansion.

At war's end, the South's road to industrial equality with the rest of the nation still stretched off to the distant horizon. It is no easy thing to compensate for a century of under-development.

PART III

World War II made one big change in the relationship of the South to the rest of the country. When the smoke cleared, for the first time in history, the American South represented an important cash market. The wartime climb in per capita income meant that, for once, the southern customer, greenbacks in hand, would not be bypassed.

Between 1945 and the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, Southern income slid backwards. But the accumulated backlog of wartime consumer demand plus the general high level of economic

activity in the nation assured that the flow of new factories to the South would not dry up.

A private unpublished survey taken in 1956 for a leading southern organization described it this way: "Hundreds of new manufacturing, processing, assembling, wholesaling and distributing plants were built through which to fabricate and channel new products to new southern buyers. The new consumer market was undoubtedly the biggest single factor in the South's industrial expansion in the immediate post-war years."

Despite this expansion, the relative standing of the South, incomewise, began to drop. In 1945 at the end of the war, per capita income in the South hit its highest point in history, coming to approximately 70 per cent of the figure for the entire United States. By 1950 it had skidded back down to about 66 per cent.

Then came Korea. Once again, as in Warld War II the income pulse quickened. Once again the South began to outclimb the nation, struggling to catch up. Since then in an atmosphere of partial mobilization and high economic activity the industrialization of the South has accelerated and its relative per capita income figure stopped falling.

5,000 Factories

Between the beginning of 1946 and the end of 1955, the decade bracketing the pre-Korea lag and the post-Korea spurt, about 4,000 new plants, each employing 25 or more workers, were added to the southern scene. Two out of every three southern counties gained one or more new plants during the period. In 1956 another 1,060 factories were added (Texas and Oklahoma included.)

Southern industry spokesmen began to issue the most enthusias-

tic predictions of things to come. Frank J. Soday, president of the Southern Association of Science and Industry, put it this way in a recent article in Manufacturers Record: "Today the South is building her mighty industrial empire at an ever accelerating rate, and is leading the nation in overall manufacturing expansion." Soday outlined the plans of various well known corporations to expand in the South. Then he continued:

"To illustrate the rapidity with which the South has been building its manufacturing potential, the Gulf South area, which includes Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Northwest Florida, has accounted for one-sixth of all the industrial construction during the last ten years."

At the Southern Governors' Conference in 1955 Soday predicted that the South would have 30 per cent of the country's manufacturing industry by 1965. This year at the conference Soday boosted his estimate. The 30 per cent figure, he told newsmen, "may be a little conservative."

Reasons Why

There are varied reasons for this new burgeoning. Some have existed right along. There is nothing new about the rich profusion of natural resources in the South, or about its good land and river transportation facilities, its excellent harbors, etc. It has low power costs, due in significant measure to the existence of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Other factors, however, are relatively new. Thus in recent years it has become official policy in Washington to press for the dispersal of defense facilities. Businessmen are encouraged to build their new plants away from the likely bomb-target areas. Another factor has been the Supreme Court

decision on basing points. A southern plant that bought steel from Birmingham used to have to pay the same price as if it had been shipped from Pittsburgh. The court's ruling in this matter put the South at less of a disadvantage, as have other agency rulings which diminished rail rate differences.

The attraction of industry to particular states or localities has become a highly formalized science. According to Gordon E. Reckford, of the Office of Area Development, Department of Commerce, "Industrial development today is a matter of supporting logistics, battle strategy, precision tactics and all-out effort under skilled leadership."

If the terms are military it is because there is a war in progress. All but two of the 48 states have official programs aimed at luring industry. (The two exceptions are Texas and California.) Across the South, scores if not hundreds of communities each have their own "development" groups working in dozens of ways to allure the investor.

In Fayetteville, North Carolina, a special assessment is levied to raise funds for the program. Elsewhere other measures are adopted. Since 1950 planned "industrial parks" have cropped up in Fort Smith and Little Rock, Arkansas; Atlanta, Georgia; Columbia, South Carolina; and Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia.

Lest you don't know what an "industrial park" is, it is the "industrial counterpart of the high class residential subdivision," to use the words of another Commerce Department official. By government definition they are tracts of land subdivided and developed in line with a comprehensive plan for the use of a community of industries, with streets, rail tracks and utilities installed before the sites are even sold to prospective occupants.

Aggressive public relations are an integral part of the "precision tactics" referred to by Reckford. Any reader of the Wall Street Journal, Business Week and other such publications must be familiar with the "hard sell" advertising placed by plant-hungry communities.

Among the South's resources about which some of its public relations men brag is "cooperative" or "loyal" labor. To the investor this wordage is a readily recognized euphemism for "non-unionism" or "cheap labor."

Here is the way the mayor of Pelahatchie, Mississippi, wrote to a northern firm two years ago: "Then there is our wonderful labor . . . with lower average hourly industrial wages six to 49 cents below other southern states and from 50 to 95 cents below northern states." This labor, the good mayor continued, "is truly American labor, not inflicted with the 'something for nothing' idea and works together joyously with management."

What's more, the letter continues, the closed shop is outlawed in Mississippi.

The result of such community hucksterism has been a tragic growth in the number of "runaway shops" — factories which are padlocked in the North and reopened in the South . . . at lower wages. Unionists in textile, shoe and electrical industries can provide a lengthy list of unhappy case histories in which jobs have been kidnaped from Northern workers by communities in the South.

On the whole, though, it is fair to point out that runawayism accounts for only a small part of the South's gain. Responsible southern spokesmen do not want their communities to participate in the costly and anti-social game of job stealing. They want to attract new, not yet established, plants. Moreover, increasingly it is understood that runaway plants do not make the best kind of additions to the South's industrial community.

Unhealthy Guests

More often than not, the runaway plant is in an industry in which both profit and paychecks are marginal. This is not what the South needs. Runaways may bring immediate money to a community. But in the long run they take their toll. Sweatshop practices can destroy a community and make it unattractive to future potential investors.

Implicit here is the notion that different kinds of industry bring different results to the cities that win them. What kinds of industry have been most responsible for the new boom in the South? And what have they brought with them?

PART IV

Eli Whitney's cotton gin helped fasten the crown on King Cotton's head over a century-and-a-half ago. Its effects are still evident in the South today. For one thing, Whitney's gin assured that when industry began to move southward it would be spearheaded by textile. And, in fact, the textile mill has for generations been the symbol of southern industry.

Last year the textile industry was still the biggest employer of industrial labor in the South, with a work force estimated by the government to be over 600,000. According to Manufacturers Record, the South now has about 80 per cent of all cotton, rayon and acetate textile manufacture. Four hundred and forty-eight textile mills opened their gates in the South between 1946 and 1955. This represented 11 per cent of all the new plants employing over 25 each.

A check reveals also that one sector of the textile industry — the manufacture of synthetic fibers —is almost entirely a southern industry with new plants sprouting all over the map at present. New

synthetic fiber plants are now in operation at Martinsville and Hopewell, Virginia, Pensacola, Florida and Chattanooga, Tennessee (all nylon); Camden, South Carolina (orlon); Kinston, North Carolina (dacron); and Decatur, Alabama (acrilan).

Additional installations — either on the drawing boards or in construction — are spotted at Kingsport, Tennessee; Pensacola; Richmond and Jamestown, Virginia, and elsewhere.

Chemical Industry

This synthetic fiber industry is the "kissin' cousin" of the vast chemical industry, one of the fastest growing of all American industries. It is not surprising to learn that the chemical industry is also on the move — southward. The South is now estimated to have about 36 per cent of this industry. Optimistic forecasters say this will climb to 50 per cent in the next decade. Already there are 20,000 professional chemists and chemical engineers working below the Mason-Dixon Line.

According to Manufacturing Record, "Petrochemicals are the backbone of the southern chemical industry, and over 80 per cent of all the petrochemical plants in the country are located in the South particularly along the Texas-Louisiana Gulf Coast." Petrochemicals have a wide variety of uses, especially in the fast-growing plastics field.

Electronics is another increasingly significant industry in the South. The same magazine asserts that "A host of home-grown industries in the area are manufacturing such products as radio and television sets, geophysical prospecting equipment, magnetic recording tape, radar navigation equipment and a great variety of electronic components."

General Electric, for example, has put up 19 major plants in the South in the last decade, some over the violent protest of its northern workers who charged the giant company was attempting to take advantage of cheap labor. Western Electric, manufacturing arm of American Telegraph and Telephone, has five plants in North Carolina alone.

Atoms and Missiles

Two other major industries deserve special attention. Ever since Uncle Sam constructed his giant atomic energy installation at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, atomic industry has played an important role in the southern economy. Oak Ridge alone employs 22,000 workers who draw around $170,000,000 a year in paychecks. Total investment at Oak Ridge is over $1,250,000,000.

Other atomic operations are conducted at Aiken, South Carolina, Paducah, Kentucky and Plant City, Florida. Manufacturers Record estimates the total investment in nuclear energy installations in the South to be about $3,000,000,000. The magazine, however, normally includes Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Maryland and West Virginia in its southwide calculations, so the figure may be somewhat less. Whatever the broken down total is, there is little question that federal atomic expenditures have had significant impact on the southern economy.

Alongside this has been the skyrocketing expansion of the aircraft and missiles industry, also heavily dependent on large defense appropriations for its prosperity. Fairchild Aviation has a plant at St. Augustine, Florida. United Aircraft has engineering facilities at St. Petersburg, Florida, and Howard Hughes is reportedly planning to build jet passenger planes in southern Florida.

Florida Climate

Interestingly enough, the South's climate is an important asset in the race to attract investment. With engineers and technical personnel in short supply, companies have searched for popular locations. Thus when Pratt and Whitney Division of United Aircraft planned a $42,000,000 facility, the recruitment of trained personnel was the prime consideration in determining location.

The firm placed blind want ads in key newspapers. The ads offered work in different parts of the country ranging from California to New England. It found that responses to jobs offered in Florida outnumbered all others combined. The result was selection of a site in West Palm Beach, Florida.

Other major aircraft plants include the Lockheed factory at Marietta, Georgia. One of the biggest manufacturing shops in the entire South, this plant employs 19,000 workers for the production of B-47 jet bombers and other planes. Another Lockheed site is at Dawsonville, Georgia. Douglas Aircraft has a missile-making unit at Charlotte, North Carolina. Hayes Aircraft has a 6,000-worker plant in Birmingham. In addition, key missile research centers have been located in the South, including the Army's Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Alabama. Redstone employs 7,000.

The influx of federal folding money — direct or through the hands of defense contractors — is playing a crucial part in the industrialization of the region. In more ways than one, the South is beginning to enter the jet age.

PART V

About a year ago one of the South's leading organizations, the Southern Regional Council, hired a top flight surveying company to

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(In Thou

Industry	Total	Ala.	Ark.	Fla.	Ga.
Food	271	17	15	34	39
Tobacco	91	—	—	9	1
Textile	602	48	2	1	105
Apparel	240	22	7	8	42
Pulp Paper	113	11	5	13	16
Printing	93	7	4	13	10
Chemicals	190	11	7	12	11
Petrol. & Coal	25	4	1	1	—
Rubber	16	6	—	—	1
Leather	35	1	4	1	4
Lumber	292	33	27	19	39
Furniture	107	3	7	6	9
Stone Clay Glass	76	9	3	9	9
Primary Metals	100	50	4	1	5
Fabricated Metals	83	11	3	11	7
Machinery	84	9	2	4	9
Elec. Machinery	41	2	1	1	2
Transport Equip.	99	14	1	6	33
Instrument	14	—	2	—	1
Miscellaneous	31	1	2	3	5
TOTAL	2603	259	97	152	348

Based on U. S. Census Figures

WORKERS WORK—1956

Thousands)

Ga.	Ky.	La.	Miss.	NC	SC	Tenn.	Va.
39	28	32	13	24	9	29	31
1	11	1	—	45	2	2	20
105	3	3	5	229	135	34	37
42	20	7	26	25	25	36	22
16	2	18	9	11	7	10	11
10	9	7	3	10	5	15	10
11	12	18	7	13	16	48	35
—	2	16	—	—	—	1	—
1	—	—	—	1	—	6	2
4	3	—	1	2	—	13	6
39	12	24	26	40	20	23	29
9	6	2	5	37	4	12	16
9	6	4	4	8	6	10	8
5	10	4	1	3	1	16	5
7	12	2	2	6	1	18	10
9	26	2	3	9	3	11	6
2	11	2	1	11	1	8	1
33	6	9	6	2	1	4	17
1	1	1	—	1	—	6	2
5	2	2	1	4	2	5	4
348	182	154	113	481	238	307	272

prepare an analysis of industrialization in Dixie. The comprehensive study was drawn from information received from federal, state and local agencies, state and local chambers of commerce and local industrial development groups. In all, it represented a major sociological probe of what has been happening to Dixie in the last decade.

Among the things found in this and in a study by the Senate Banking and Currency Committee was that four out of ten of the South's new post-war industrial plants were in what might be defined as 'traditional' industries which were more or less indigenous to the region's economy. Three out out of ten were 'new type' industries in which the South was not strongly represented in the prewar years. The remaining three were in 'service' industries producing primarily (but not exclusively for local consumption.

The report broke down the various industries into the three categories: "Traditional" southern industries like textile, apparel, lumber, and furniture; "new type" industries like paper, chemical, primary metals, fabricated metals, transportation equipment, etc.; and the "service" industries like printing, food processing, and stone-clay-glass. Among these, the "traditionals" are the most difficult to organize, the least organized and the lowest paying industries.

Low Pay Industry

Forty-four per cent of the plants added to the South since 1945 fell into the "traditional" category. The remainder were equally divided: 28 per cent in "service" and 28 per cent in "new type" industries.

What this reveals, on closer study, is that "four relatively low-pay, low-profit industries—apparel,

food, textiles and lumber — accounted for nearly one half of all new post-war plants in the South." The industries with the lowest wages showed the greatest expansion.

The surveys disclosed certain other important patterns as well. First, over half of the new plants went into essentially rural counties which had little in the way of industry ten years ago. The others clustered around already industrialized urban centers. Secondly, all across the South, the tendency has been for "traditional" type industries to scatter in the rural counties, with the "new type" industries gravitating toward the urban centers. Third, the same low pay industries which have been seeking out the rural counties are the ones which employ fewest Negro workers.

Sobering Thought

Another way of measuring the "quality" of the South's new industry is to sample the ration of "durable goods" to "non-durable goods" industries. "Durables" are such products as machinery, autos, steel, electronic parts, etc. "Non-durables" include food, tobacco, textiles, apparel, etc. Generally, the durable goods industries pay higher wages, yield better profits and are more basic to the economy.

Before World War II, the South had two workers in non-durable goods production for every one in the durable goods sector of industry. This 2-1 ratio disappeared during World War II when, owing to war-time production patterns, it became evenly balanced.

By 1946, the ratio had dropped again, however, to its pre-war status, and today, a decade later, it has not varied more than a percentage point or two. The figure now stands at 35.6 per cent in durable, 64.4 per cent in non-durable goods production.

As a Senate Banking and Currency Committee report noted: "Employment in non-durable goods predominated in the South, while in the nation employment was greater in the production of durable goods, where income and the earnings of workers are substantially higher."

Still another sobering thought lies in a responsible evaluation of the role being played by the war industries. While the atomic installations that dot the South have potential peacetime application, this is less true of the missile-making plants. To the extent that industrial progress is based on strictly military demands, the foundations of that progress are shaky.

Unlikely as it may appear at present, it is possible that the world will one day decide that disarmament is a safer road to peace than armament. Or, perhaps even more possible, some striking new advance in military technology could conceiveably obsolete the defense plants overnight, as the "sputnik" may have done to conventional aircraft.

Rate Holds Own

Summing up, then, the progress in the South has been marked in the last decade. The rate of increase has, at times, been greater than the rate of increase in the nation as a whole. Today that rate is not ahead of the rest of the nation but is holding its own. This is a triumph of sorts for it is the first time that this has been true during a period of peacetime expansion.

Also, while the heavy predomnation of old-type, low-pay industries has continued, the recent development of metal fabricating, instrument, electronic and other new-type operations in the South augurs well for the future. The higher pay they bring with them means a bigger consumer market which, in turn, once again helps stimulate industrialization.

"Industry in this country is migrating westward and southward with quickening speed.... Old established centers . . . are lagging behind in the racing growth of industry. Younger, less developed areas are sprinting far ahead of the nation's average."

This excerpt is typical of the frothy prose that has been churned out in recent years about industrialization in the South. Is this exuberant journalese warranted by the facts?

The hard facts, boiled down to their essence, are these: (1) The South is building and building fast; (2) but it is not building anywhere near as fast as such articles would lead one to believe; (3) its pattern of growth has its encouraging side, but it has definite drawbacks, too.

Nations Moving Fast

That the South has been progressing industrially, pushing hard to make up for generations of underdevelopment, is well established. But what has been happening all around the South during this last decade of her development? The rest of the United States has been coming up, too. As a result, there is a real difference in the relative rates of growth and in the absolute progress.

A Commerce Department spokesman not long ago nailed this one-sided type of reporting. Citing the above quote, he declared: "It is likely that the above conclusions were reached on the basis of data compiled on the relative growth rates of the various regions. . . Thus it is reported that manufacturing employment in the South Atlantic States picked up by 7 per cent between 1947 and 1954 over 1947. These are impressive figures. But what do they mean?

"They mean that states which by and large have never been very high on the list of heavy industrial states have increased their industrial activities; but, of course, any improvement in these areas looks very good when contrasted with past performance."

The South is like the batter who has never averaged over .180. When, in a given season, he batted .250, the increase was remarkable. But even .250 is hardly anything to cheer about.

Setting the high claims of less responsible southerners into its proper perspective, this Commerce Department expert pointed out that since 1947 the growth of the single state of Ohio has been equal to the absolute growth of the East South Central and West South Central states combined!

Between 1947 and 1953, for example, Ohio picked up 225,497 new manufacturing jobs. The total gain in eight southern states — Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, as well as Texas and Oklahoma — was only 302,940 manufacturing jobs.

Measured in terms of how much value is added by the new manufacture, Ohio gained even more than the combined total of the eight states. (Ohio: $4,833,097,000. Eight states: $4,403,623,000.) This is a reflection on the "quality" of the industry gained by each section

Blunt Talk

There is some evidence that this pattern has been followed since 1953 also.

This blunt talk by government officials is not intended to disparage the very real progress that has been made below the Mason-Dixon Line. It is simply intended to straighten the record. Public relations "puff" is of no long-term help to the people of the South, who are much better off knowing

the truth. Furthermore, exaggerated talk about shifts in industry have on occasion made people in other regions of the country resentful toward the South.

The record is plain. There are plenty of reasons to avoid hollow boasting. And there are enough real gains to sustain southern pride without it.

PART VII

Despite all that has happened in the last 10 years, the average southern worker still gets paid less for doing the same amount of work as his northern brother.

The growth of industry has not erased this long-standing feature of the economy—a nasty feature that helps pull down the wages of workers in other regions as well. In union lingo it's called the Southern Differential.

The latest available figures from the Department of Labor show, for example, that the average hourly earnings in the eleven southern states in August, 1957, was $1.63. This contrasts with a national average of $2.07—a difference of 21 per cent or 44 cents per hour.

What's more, the southern worker also gets less in the form of fringe benefits—vacations, paid holidays, medical care, pensions, etc.

Furthermore, this figure of $1.63 tells only part of the story. In Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina the average is $1.42 and $1.43 cents an hour—a difference of 65 cents on hour from the national average.

Differential Varies

This gap not only varies from state to state, but from industry to industry and from occupation to occupation within the same in-

dustry. The biggest gaps occur in the lumber and apparel industries. A narrow gap exists in mining, for example, where unionism is relatively strong and where wages are often set on a national rather than local basis. The narrowest differentials exist for nonmanufacturing workers in insurance, real estate and finance since there is a relative scarcity of labor in these fields.

They are biggest in unskilled labor categories, smallest in office and maintenance classifications.

Official union policy is to eliminate the geographic differential altogether. The steelworkers, for example, have been largely successful in doing so. But, as the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has reported, "It is . doubtful whether bargaining, where done on a local basis has had any noticeable effects on decreasing wage differentials ..

"Union journeymen's rates in the South are normally much closer to the national average than the rates of their helpers. Studies of union wages in 1955 found that the hourly rate of journeymen in the building trades in the South were 88 per cent of the comparable rate in the country, while the rates of their helpers were only two-thirds of the average wage paid for comparable work in the U. S.

"Similar differentials," the report continued, "were found in other industries. The large supply of unskilled labor tends to depress the rates for this type of labor and the scarcity of skilled labor tends to pull up their wages."

Pocketbook Contrast

Behind this pocketbook contrast between North and South lie two vital factors: a) the relatively weak status of organized labor in the South; b) and the low "quality" of Southern industry, which is so heavily dominated by the low-pay, low-profit industries.

The geographical differential is, fortunately, narrowing as more industry moves South, reducing the labor pool and bringing unions with it. Another factor of top significance has been the increase of the federal minimum wage to a dollar an hour on March 1, 1956. This step, which unions campaigned for nationally, has eliminated some of the worst low-pay categories and raised the general level of earnings throughout the South.

Before the increase went into effect a study of wages as of April, 1954, revealed that 28 per cent of all workers in southern manufacturing (including Delaware, Texas, West Virginia and the District of Columbia) were earning less than a dollar an hour. This contrasted with comparable percentages in other regions ranging from two to eight per cent.

More in Agriculture

If one lumps the earnings of all non-agricultural workers in the South, rather than separating out those in manufacture, one finds that the average weekly salary or wage in the South in 1955 was more than 23 per cent below the average for the United States as a whole. How much below is hard to determine accurately.

The complex pattern of industrialization is, of course, causing shifts in occupational patterns. Thus the proportion of non-agricultural to agricultural workers is rising rapidly, more rapidly than in the nation as a whole. The biggest relative gains have been made in construction, real estate, finance and insurance which have tripled their employment in recent years. Nevertheless, despite these advances, the South still has a greater proportion of its workers engaged in agriculture than any other U. S. region.

These changes take place within a framework of population changes which also stand in contrast to the

national pattern. The United States is growing. Its population is booming at the rate of 8,300 per 24 hours. In the South, this is not true. Between 1940 and 1955 population in the whole country grew twice as fast as it has in the South. Mississippi and Arkansas actually saw a net loss of population during that period.

This is not because southern families have fewer children. In fact, the reverse is true. The reason for the lag in population is that there has been and continues to be a strong outward migration from the southern states. In the period April, 1950 to July, 1954 alone, the number of persons (exclusive of military personnel) who left the South was 1,191,000 greater than the number that moved in. In two states the departees represented fully one-tenth of the state's population.

The reasons behind this flow of population are numerous. But the Senate Committee found some very suggestive correlations: "The two states which made the highest gains in population also enjoyed the highest per capita income in the South, while the states whose population declined ranked at the bottom, both in the South and in the nation, in terms of per capita income."

Part of this huge out-migration has consisted of Negroes. At the same time there is a continuing movement of population — especially Negroes—out of the predominantly rural counties to the big cities. So marked has this been that the Negro population as a whole has been relatively untouched by industrialization in the rural counties.

This raises the question of a second type of differential, the race differential. For unchanged by the developments of the last few decades is the fact that Negroes earn substantially less than whites, both in the nation and especially

in the South. What's more, the higher the skill and the better education that a Negro has, the bigger the difference between what he will receive and what a similarly trained white man will receive. In 1949, for example, the average white southerner who lacked education entirely earned $1,120. The average unschooled Negro only received $962. This was a difference of 14 per cent.

Move up, though, to the college trained level, and the "race differential" has become much greater. Thus in 1949 the difference was a staggering 48 per cent. In a sense this reduces Negro incentive toward education.

This set of facts merely reflects the truism that the Negro is still not getting a crack at the best paying jobs. Rather, as the white workers move up into more skilled and better-paying work, they leave openings which Negroes have gradually been permitted to fill.

In the traditional southern industries, except for lumber, the Negro is still largely excluded from employment. There have been openings for him, however, in the unskilled categories at the newer type plants in fields like metal fabrication, paper, chemicals, transportation equipment, etc.

CONCLUSION

Will the South ever hit its economic target? Will it ever catch up with the rest of the nation in terms of the well-being, material and cultural, of its people?

The answer to this question hinges on how much and what kind of new industry springs up below the Mason-Dixon Line in the years to come. This, in turn, depends on a multitude of other factors. Nobody, not even the optimistic prophets of southern industry, has all the answers.

It is clear, though, that the economic and social fate of the South depends, as much as anything else, on the economic progress of the nation as a whole. A nation that is backsliding economically doesn't build new plants. In such a context, the South cannot hope for much.

Additionally, certain trends within the world of business will have their effect. For example, research and development activities are playing a vital role in more and more industries. New products are hitting the market with astonishing rapidity. Yet the South has historically lagged far behind in this area, more so, even, than in the general development of industry.

Research Shortage

In the 50 years from 1893 to 1942, only 3.9 per cent of all new patents were credited to citizens living in the nine southeastern states. In the last decade of that period the percentage was even smaller.

This reflects, among other things, a shortage of research facilities which are becoming of supreme importance to business. Southern economic experts are well aware of this failing. The state of North Carolina, for instance, has stood out in its efforts to meet this challenge by planning an integrated state-supported research center.

More important is the whole question of race relations. Race relations have affected the economic mesh of the South in countless ways. They may even, according to some experts, have a direct bearing on the very rate and distribution of industrialization. Take Arkansas:

On October 4, 1957, while the headlines were still focussed on the crisis in Little Rock, Winthrop Rockefeller, chairman of the Arkansas Industrial Development

Commission, charged that the race disturbance there had damaged the economic prospects of the state. Arkansas has been one of the most active of the industry-seeking southern states, and Rockefeller has been spearheading its drive. Now, he said, it would take six months to "accurately estimate the damage that has been done—and damage there has been."

Rockefeller was not alone in this assessment. Everett Tucker, industrial director of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce put it this way: "Now, and for the predictable future, whenever a company is planning a new factory, it will immediately think of Little Rock as a 'hot-bed' of segregation — which is not true at all. This is going to set our industrial program back considerably."

Another Little Rock businessman, Charles Carpenter, who is a consultant for companies seeking southern sites, explained that business looking for a new location wants "responsible" state government. "To an industrialist," Carpenter declared, "the question in Little Rock is simply whether there is to be law and order or no law and order."

This sentiment has been further reinforced by Leonard C. Yaseen, senior partner of the Fatus Factory Locating Service. According to Yaseen, a large metal products manufacturer who had been actively considering Little Rock for a new plant changed his mind after the disturbance began. He said several other clients had also eliminated Little Rock as a possibility. "Mob action and civic irresponsibility," Yaseen declared, "place a community on industry's blacklist."

According to Yaseen, industry has been diligently avoiding other racial hot spots like Montgomery, Alabama and Clinton, Tennessee. Earlier, the Chattanooga Times had reported that at least 20 corpora-

tion projects had been seriously reconsidered because of the flare-up of race troubles in potential locations. The New York Times has quoted a major electronics manufacturer as saying that it will open no new plants in the South until tension subsides.

One big mid-western firm picked Florida as the site for a new installation precisely because it liked the fact that Governor Leroy Collins is considered moderate on the race issue. In a wire to Collins it explained that it considered Collins' leadership as an aid to providing "a type of industrial climate which is essential for business stability and confidence."

Elsewhere in the South, reprisal boycotts by whites against Negro communities and vice-versa have disrupted "business as usual." The results cannot but be discouraging to potential investors.

Nevertheless, there is another side to this story, for nobody really knows yet to what extent such reports reflect the whole picture. North Carolina Governor Luther Hodges—and other southern governors—dispute such claims, say that industry is much more interested in other factors A Business Week survey recently found little evidence that race tension had had any impact on the economy. As one reporter commented, "The money angles are the ones that count."

The proof of the pudding will appear in the future. Plans for the creation of new plants are a long time in birth. The effect of Little Rock, as Rockefeller observed, will not show up for months, perhaps even for years.

Needless to say, there are many many other considerations that will affect the outcome. Economists have not yet determined, for example, what, if any, regional effects the spread of automation will have It is a subject that may require close, expert examination.

Population Shifts

The economic landscape of the South is different. New industry has come — both good and bad. Chemical plants, atomic installations, electronics manufacturing, metal fabrication and other new types of industry are giving the region a real lift. But textile, apparel and lumber, mainstays of the "old" southern industrial community, have increased in number, too.

Population has been shifting — out of the rural districts and out of the poorest states. Wage differentials — based on both geography and race—still prevail to the disadvantage of the southern worker.

Wages have been rising, but the average per capita income is still only two-thirds that in the nation as a whole.

Put them together and such changes add up to tremendous promise as well as a terrific challenge to unionism in America Today, as it was 15 years ago, the South remains organized labor's number one regional problem. The solution of that problem depends on how much imagination, background understanding, initiative and resources labor brings to its job of organizing. But whatever else may be said, that job must be done — for the good of the South and for the good of American workers everywhere.

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IN THEIR OWN WORDS

a student appraisal of what happened after school desegregation

In Their Own Words

A student appraisal of what happened
after school desegregation

Analysis by MARK A. CHESLER

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PREFACE

This study on the experiences of Negro children in school desegregation in Alabama was conducted by Dr. Mark A. Chesler, Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan.

We believe this study has the most serious implications for our hope of the possibilities of one people living together in a democratic society. Certainly, any society which subjects its children to cruelty is in desperate need of taking a new and critical look at itself.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

January, 1967

"What Happened After You Desegregated the White School?"

Everytime I get talking about my experience at the white school something happens to me. I can't really express myself and I can't really tell what happens. It's like I was kind of in a trance, I was just walking around from day to day and doing what I thought I was supposed to do and trying not to do what I wasn't supposed to do.

Sometimes you say things here and you don't mean it to be a particular insult, but you don't want to step on anybody's toes, so you just have to be careful of what you say and how you say it.

THESE COMMENTS REFLECT some Negro students' reactions to their experiences in newly desegregated white schools in the Deep South. It is clear that placing Negro youngsters into "white" schools is only the first—and in many ways the easiest—phase of the school desegregation process. In many cases real discomfort, overt discrimination, intimidation and insight begin only when young Negroes enter southern white schools. Physical proximity in the classroom sets the stage for young people of both races to cut through or restore myths, to learn about or hide from each other, to cooperate in friendship or separate in hostility. The hope that social interaction leads to growth is dependent upon the youngsters, their teachers, principals and communities.

This report records the comments of 20 Negro teenagers who were among the first members of their race to attend previously all-white public schools in the Deep South. These youngsters and their experiences are not necessarily typical of the South and the desegregation process. They live in three small rural communities in the black belt South, the most hard core areas of white resistance.* Several hours of tape recorded conversation have been abstracted with brief comments, and these direct words of Negro youngsters highlight some of the problems beyond desegregation—beyond the physical introduction of Negro students into previously all-white schools.

Several major themes stand out in these students' reflections and responses to our questions. The character of their teachers and principals seems to be the most important element in their early adjustment to the white school, and vice versa. The reactions of white peers and the lack of development of positive relations across racial lines seems to be a most pervasive issue in

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The author is Project Director, Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge, The University of Michigan. The recordings on which this study is based were made while Dr. Chesler was a Visiting Instructor at Tuskegee Institute, 1966. Appreciation is extended to Eric Krystall, Barbara Oppenheimer, and Marvin Burns for assistance in their collection and to Franklin Neff for critical comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

*A more representative interview study of several hundred such youngsters, their families, and a control sample of non-desegregating Negroes is currently in progress.

these rural communities. It is through experiences with their young white classmates that Negro students have now learned some of the practical realities of interracial harmony, trust and progress. Then, too, these youngsters had to deal with their "back-home" relations, with the Negro community's reaction to such pioneering efforts. These seem to be some of the most critical general issues documented by Negro "desegregators," and it is their feelings and perceptions about the school desegregation process, told in their own words, to which we turn for information.

The school staff

The adult whites with whom these Negro students had the greatest degree of contact were their teachers. More than police, vigilantes or roughnecks, who did call upon some of these youngsters, teachers met with them daily in relatively peaceful circumstances. As adult authority, as knowledge transmitter, as arbiter of classroom process, and as legitimate cultural representative, the teacher is in a position of considerable power and influence. He can encourage classroom norms of openness or resistance, of collaboration or isolation. In many ways the white teacher acts as a role model, often emulated by white students. How was this complex and influential role handled?

Teachers apparently defined their goals and designed their classroom approaches in a variety of ways. In some cases it appeared that teachers almost deliberately misunderstood or underestimated the potential problems facing youngsters attempting to bridge the cultural gap between the races.

> We were not accustomed to saying "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. If we made one mistake in English and said "yeah," she would write on a little piece of paper and say, "I am going to have you all put out of school for insubordination." It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yes" so she could make a big thing out of it. It seems like if you say "yes" one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes ma'am." She got fed up at me because I got tired of her trying to make me say "yes ma'am" and I started saying, "I think so," or "I don't really think so," or something like that just to keep from saying "ma'am," because I figured she was doing it on purpose.
>
> * * *
>
> I felt at first that they would expect us to say "yassum" and "noum." It was the idea that I just didn't want to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to a white woman. I found that this was the way they expected any of their students to address them.
>
> * * *
>
> One teacher, he felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much done. It was kind of difficult.
>
> * * *

I forgot I was supposed to say "yes ma'am" to her and was saying "yeah, sure," and so on. She said, "Have you forgotten about saying 'yes ma'am'?" I said, "No ma'am, I haven't." She said, "Now let's not forget that." She works around to try to get the opinion of most of the Negroes concerning race. Then she will tell you her opinion and ask you whether you shouldn't feel the same way. Most of the time you don't.

In a number of classrooms, however, it became more apparent that misunderstanding could not possibly be the case. There are many examples where teachers were perceived as abdicating part of their impartial classroom management role, deliberately colluding with white students in isolating or pressuring Negro youngsters, or sometimes taking the lead in such discriminatory treatment.

Some of the teachers will try to be funny. When they get to a word like Negro, they call it Nigger or else try to make fun.

* * *

When we got in there they started throwing rocks and crayons at us. I told the teacher and she went back there, and they all started laughing, and she was laughing with them. And then they went outside and they brought more rocks and they started throwing them.

* * *

Our home economics teacher would have the new machines on one side of the room and the old on the other side, and would put us into groups to let us use the old machines and the white girls use the new ones. And in cooking she would always give out the recipes and stuff and we would always get the small amount. And she would separate us into three groups so that the three Negro girls were in the same group together.

* * *

I had this teacher who divided the class up into groups. The Negroes sit on one side and the white students sit on the other side. She would teach the Negroes like on one half of the class and then she would go over to the white kids. If we came to anything about communism or something relating to civil rights, she would bring up King's name and say something like, "In a little time our freedom will be gone." Their freedom, the whites. She feels that just because she is a teacher she can talk about anything.

* * *

In history class it was very bad. There were always conversations going on between the teacher and the students about the Governor and integration and the President and the federal government and all such that. They were talking against the federal government because the government was for integration and like they were talking against integration because they don't see any sense to it. And the teacher was always saying some kind of wise crack just to hurt your feelings and like that. He was always praising the Governor. The students acted the same as the teacher

did in their class, you know, there was always something that they could say and try and hurt my feelings.

* * *

My history teacher would call on me to read mostly all the time, and because I couldn't read very well the children would laugh. The teacher would go out of the class almost every day so the kids could call on me and have fun on me. Every time I would call on someone to read the class would laugh. One of the other problems was my English teacher; he would make up jokes about me and some of the other Negro students said that he made jokes up about them.

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Our teacher was always calling on us when we wouldn't have our hands up, and when we did have our hands up she wouldn't call on us; when we'd take them down, that's when she would call on us. And then one morning in our first period class, my friend was at his desk, and she called him up in front of the class, trying to embarrass him. He had soap on his face that couldn't come off good and she told him that he had soap on his face and that he hadn't washed his face. Well, they'd make remarks about him and laugh at him.

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If I had a test or something, six-week test or something like that, she would get some of the dumbest children to grade my paper and they would put anything down. And when the children made a mistake she said that she couldn't do anything about it, so I just left them alone until the next day. They kept giving me F's on my paper when I made a B or something like that.

When these youngsters were asked to compare their white teachers with the Negro teachers they knew, there was considerable variation in reactions. Some felt the white teachers were intellectually superior, some not; some felt the white teachers were superior managers, some not. But almost all felt there were important differences, especially in the fairness of the teachers to them.

The Negro college is not a very good school for teachers. The white teachers have more opportunities and have more challenge than the teachers in the Negro college could have. And the school of the teacher makes a lot of difference.

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I gather that the teachers at the Negro school are more experienced but they are not up to date. Two or three years ago when they were in college they were, but now there are new techniques. Most of the teachers at the white school, well, they are fresh out of college and they know more and learn more by the modern way. Whereas, the teachers at the Negro school are sort of . . . like, old fashioned. The teachers there have been out of school for quite some time. Some of them don't bother about

going back. Here you can learn more because in the classroom you can get more over to the students when you can teach them individually. So therefore, well, both teachers have faults. One such as inexperience and the other who didn't know much about the modern way of work. But basically both teachers are trying to help.

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They're not teaching a lot of the time. They're often doing their monthly report instead of teaching us. And as far as incidents are concerned here, if something happens in the classroom most time it goes unnoticed unless the white students get the worst end of it. But at the old school incidents are always given the best consideration and both parties usually go to the office and get it settled. But the teachers at the white school see it different, and only the Negroes go to the office if the white person gets hurt bad enough to report it.

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I think the teachers at the new school are worse than the ones at the Negro school because they don't give you exactly what you make. At the Negro school they don't give you exactly what you make either, but they're worse here. If you make a good grade they'll give you a bad grade and if you make a bad grade then they still give it to you. But they also make it lower and they don't treat you equally. When something happens they put it all on us and they don't do anything about it. They do stay in their room longer but when something happens they still don't know about it because they don't try to find out about anything. At the old school the teachers stayed out of the room more, but still if you tell them about something they do something about it. But here they just don't treat us equally because we are Negroes and the other children are white.

In addition to the direct influence of the teachers, the school principal was often singled out for attention. More than the teachers, the southern principal is in a particularly vulnerable role vis-a-vis the school staff and the local community. In order to maintain an orderly school system he may have to defend racial desegregation against considerable white and perhaps even Negro resistance. If he disapproves strongly, he must try to resist desegregation without openly threatening or obviously endangering the lives of Negro and white youngsters. These role demands must be met regardless of his views; and when the system changes he must still represent it or resign. Furthermore, he must keep his teaching staff in relatively good order and humor, and support their efforts as far as he can without causing direct harm to youngsters of either race. In these turbulent situations he also has some special direct responsibility for creating a school atmosphere that either supports or denies standards of fair play, justice and peace. How were principals seen to perform these various and stressful roles?

Often these Negro youngsters showed remarkable acuity and insight into the principals' behavior and role conflict; at times they manifested criticism and impatience. When helpful things were done, they were often noted and

appreciated; and when harmful or unhelpful stances were taken they were decried. Consider:

> The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have many friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.
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> I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they were getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really rough and tight on them, but he begun to slack up on them and they began to get like they was the year before.
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> I went and reported it to the principal and he said, like the Governor said a long time ago, "Do it like you do it with mud, you let it dry and it will shake off better." He always had some slogan like that to say in every situation.
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> [These two girls] came into the bathroom and said, "Two of the Negroes in the hall were trying to fight and we told the principal about it but you know he didn't do anything about it, because they are privileged characters. I don't care, if I could paint my face black so I could be a privileged character too." Then they started talking, "You know we'll be going to the Negro schools this year," and the other girl said, "Yeah and I'm going to get myself one of those Negro boyfriends too." They didn't know I was there.
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> See, if something happened during the school hour a group of them would go to the office and tell him something, tell something was stolen and try to trip us all up. He didn't know what to believe most times so he just never paid any attention.
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> The principal got a refrigerator and put it in there for us. He went and got drinks for us also. He would ask us in the morning what we would like to have and would go out of his way to get it for us. He was pretty nice.
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> It's tough on the principal, although I really can't say why I think that. The girl cheerleaders say that the only thing he thinks about is sex going on in the school, but he hasn't said anything to me about that. I can't see he does that. They say that he's mean and forces things on them they don't want to do. Maybe we think differently because he does the things I want him to do and not what they want him to do. They want to get rid of him and talk about it a lot.
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> * * *

The atmosphere this year is very different from last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another.

Relations with white classmates

In addition to the classroom and building management personnel, the new Negro student learned from his constant interaction with white peers in the classroom. Educational research has demonstrated how important peer influences and associations are for student learning, and recent laboratory research has emphasized some of the important threat and reward influences of white peers upon Negro youngsters' learning performance. But academic lessons are only one part of the total learning that goes on in the classroom. What do Negro youngsters learn about their white peers; what do they learn about their friendship, their fears, their abilities and their potential for working together?

First, let us examine views of the way white students received and interacted with their new Negro classmates, and the ways these young Negroes felt about these reactions.

> [Kids with] real BB guns would stand around the bus and aim at us and threaten us. Boys would ride around on motorcycles and throw rocks at us from the outside. The elementary kids would throw rotten eggs at us. The police would ignore them.
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> You also get used to things written on the bathroom walls, a lot of stuff. But this is something you have to take. When you come to think about it, when kids call you a name you laugh and joke it off. When you get down there, it's a little different because it's white people.
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> Really I didn't know how I would take being called a Nigger because I had never been called a Nigger before. I just didn't know how I would take it. I couldn't tell anybody I wouldn't hit anybody when they called me Nigger. But after I got over there and had been called a Nigger about a thousand times during the first six-week period I'd feel a burning inside, and after the third six-week period I'd get over this burning inside, but really a Nigger still seems kind of like insulting to me.
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> Sometimes we be going down the hall and if any of the white students was standing in the hall and they see us coming they say here

come a black Nigger, you better stand back or something. They would get back up against the wall. In the morning sometime we'd be standing by our locker and they would get off the bus and come in and try to walk close up by the wall or something pretending that they didn't want to get close to touch us or anything.

* * *

For the most part those children over there want to be friendly, some of them do, but their parents tell them what to do and what not to do and all. You can tell that some of them want to say something to you but they are scared that if they say something to you then the other one is going to call them Nigger lover and all that kind of junk. They just go back and tell 'em and so they just don't want to get involved.

* * *

I found myself not acting myself. They expected a whole lot out of me. They expected me to be different. I had to go along with their crude jokes. They were no good but I laughed anyway. They would run things in the ground but I would keep laughing. Lately I have decided that I really shouldn't try to act different from what I really am. I have decided that I don't have to prove anything to anybody. I lost a few friends by doing that but I've gotten fed up with it. When I first came into the situation I wanted to be friendly. I guess anybody wants to be friends with everybody. We got along okay. We joked about the white and Negro relationship. This was good and okay, but I just got tired of it.

* * *

After you go back and look at both sides of the story, you can't blame them really because after all you don't want people to say, "Oh, no, I am scared to touch her because her black might rub off on me." If you were in their situation, you might feel the same way. You have to understand that they're not going to fall in love with you overnight. Nobody likes for his friends to turn their backs on him and laugh at him and all of that. More than likely that would be what would happen.

* * *

And when we'd be in Physical Education class the coach wouldn't be there, he had boys lead the class. We would be playing football. Every day they'd tell the boys to try to hurt us and knock us down and they would do it. One of them would pretend to act nice and tell them not to do it, but he didn't mean it anyway and this other one would tell them to keep on.

* * *

It turned out with three of the characters that were white in the book being played by three Negro girls. There was a scene in the opening part of the play where we had two uncles and the uncles were white boys. When they came in we were supposed to hug them. When we wrote this script, nobody knew who was going to play who so we wrote it just like it was supposed to be written. When the boys found out that we were

supposed to hug them, they weren't happy about it; they were pretty upset. One boy said, "I just can't do that." Well we laughed about it but they were pretty serious. I kept getting the impression that it was because of what would happen when their friends saw them do this, or when their fathers or their relatives saw them.

* * *

I was kind of shocked when two white boys and myself were backstage in the wings together and one of them had a gun that we were to use in the play. He said, "If I had to shoot all the Negroes in the school, I would shoot you last." I said, "Why?" He said, "I like you because you know how to cope with our white jokes."

* * *

This is the first thing that comes over them, intermarriage. Well it takes two to marry somebody. Nobody wants to marry them; you just want to be their friends, that's all.

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They have been led to believe that the Negro thinks about one thing, sex.

* * *

No, no, I don't think that. They know that they think about getting married. They are afraid that they may find a Negro that they like, not necessarily that a Negro likes them. Maybe they already got a crush on them. I just believe that they are afraid. If they were not afraid of us, maybe they could stand us a little better. But when you have a guilty conscience yourself, things get down on you a little worse.

These perceptions only begin to hint at the distance that typically separates Negro and white youngsters in many desegregated schools. Negroes report a range of experiences with young whites, from physical violence and threats to name calling, and from joking and teasing to awkward attempts at friendliness. The complicity of teachers in maintaining old patterns is again manifest. In some cases it seems that time and contact have decreased the social distance; in other cases contacts have made Negro youngsters wiser and warier. We were interested in knowing whether Negro students' perceptions of the intelligence and decorum of white youngsters had changed as a result of their contact.

After I got there I wasn't a bit surprised at the attitude of the students there because it had been said before that these kids are absolutely wild. They wouldn't listen to the principal and wouldn't mind the teachers and I wasn't a bit surprised. I was kind of prepared for some of the incidents that happened.

* * *

Some people think that white people are higher class than Negroes, but from the way the children did behave they are lower class people

than the Negro. We went in class one day and everybody sat down and when the teacher went out of the room some of the students had spit in the vacant seats that nobody sits in. And they put chewing gum all over the desks. I mean you didn't find too much chewing gum over at the Negro schools; they threw it out the window or trash can. But over there you find the desk packed with chewing gum and stuff like that.

* * *

Before we started school our principal at the Negro school told us to be quiet on the bus, "You should hear how quiet the white children are on the bus and everything." You can't hear anything on that bus, you know, from the time you get on the bus to when you get off.

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I was really surprised as I went to the white school. They say, "Oh, the Negroes are so dumb," but I really found out that the Negroes are not really dumb at all. If they really had the chance and opportunities they would be a lot smarter than the white children because the white children who went to that school ever since the first grade I had caught up with in the first six weeks I went there. Now I was kind of backward on some subjects, like math, because the only time I took that I was in seventh grade and I had a hard time with math. But in all my other subjects I caught up with most of the white children and passed them in the first six weeks. They really get hot with you when you get ahead of them and I really had lots of trouble with that because I was smarter than most of them, most of the other children in my room, especially in the tenth grade. I don't know about the other grades, but I do feel that the white race is not smarter than the Negro. If the Negro kids had the opportunity and would get down to it and work for it, the Negro race could get up with the white race anytime.

* * *

There is just one thing I would like to say. We have a lot of dumb people in our class—you know, dumb white people. It's true! They want to graduate, but they don't want to do anything.

* * *

Well, before I went to the white school I always did think that the white person was smarter than we are. I used to think that they were just born smarter, just because they were white, but I found out this year that this isn't true. There were a lot of them who had more trouble than I had in getting their lessons and they had been in this school and in this situation, maybe not in the same situation, but they had been around their friends and their teachers for eleven years before then. Some of them couldn't do half as good as I could, and I don't see how some of them even graduated. They failed some subjects and took an extra subject, and made D's in that subject and they still passed. I just don't understand it. I think that maybe the reason we think that we aren't as smart as they are is because they've made us feel like we don't know anything.

* * *

I feel that they made us feel that we don't know anything because they always keep us in jobs like in the kitchen or in the yard or on the farms. They never have made us feel like we should be anything; never made me feel like anything.

It is clear that there have been instances where interracial classroom contact has permitted Negroes to break down some of their traditional myths about the superiority of white people. They now see some of the differences among young whites, and can even account for some of their own prior assumptions. What of the other learnings about white people that have occurred? Does it appear that desegregating classrooms has led to cross-racial friendships? Has it led to greater Negro receptivity to white advances, and vice versa? Has it increased interracial trust?

I wouldn't invite a white person to my house unless I trusted them a lot because I wouldn't just invite anybody to my house. They could just be setting a trap by setting a bomb in the house or something, but if it was someone that I knew well and trusted a lot, I would.

* * *

Well, I trust white people less, because since I've been around them I am more familiar with them and their ways. The only thing I knew about white people was when they came around and they would be friendly and all that. When I started school some of those people who I thought would be friendly looked like they were my worst enemies. Everytime they smiled in your face they were just trying to get some information, that's all; and when they get that they are gone and they are just like any other white person. Therefore, I trust them less.

* * *

Like in our class, you see the same people every day and they have gotten used to the fact that they have got to talk to us. We have a nice conversation. We laugh at their jokes and everything and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking around with all day will look the other way and they won't speak. That kind of thing bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself or with just a few people, but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

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Sunday we stopped in at the dairy farm and two of the white boys that went to school last year drove up there and they went in. We was standing up there to the window getting waited on and they looked over and waved to us. That's the way they are when they are out of school; when they are in school they act all different.

* * *

I don't trust white people either because you may think that they are being friendly but come to think of it they are not. In other words,

when you get around them they'll be friendly, but if a white person is with me and then we see a group of other white people and they see him with me, they will call him a Nigger lover. So you be thinking that he'd be a friend and the white people get mad; so he just quit being friends. Sometimes he'd be friendly and sometimes he won't.

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They all seem to be afraid of what someone else might think. They can't seem to think for themselves. They can't even follow their own moral right. They are always afraid of what someone else might think. There are very few incidences of violence, killings, etc., but they are afraid to take me home after practice. They say, "Somebody might shoot me." "Take you home in broad daylight, you must be kidding." Sometimes they will take me home and sometimes they will make up excuses. They are just afraid. They are afraid of nothing; there's nothing to be afraid of. Sometimes I invite them to come over, but they think that the Negroes just hate white people; they think they will come over here and get killed. I try to explain to them that there are so many white people over here now that it's a thing that is accepted. One man is just another man that you pass on the street. They can't seem to understand that. The white people who associate with us here are what they refer to as "Nigger lovers."

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I feel that we have given the wrong impression that our relationship with the white kids at the high school is entirely a hostile one. This is wrong although sometimes we talk that way. We have conversations and all and often the boys talk about girls. But the thing is that sometimes you may say something and you don't know who you can trust, even those who look like they're being sincere. You don't know whether you can trust them or if they'll say something behind your back.

The Negro community

A number of critical issues developed in the Negro communities when youngsters decided to desegregate white schools. Some Negro community leaders feared white retaliation, and some deplored any desegregation efforts at all. Others encouraged these transfers and went out of their way to support them. When young Negro students changed to white schools they often left behind their old school and neighborhood peer groups. Were they able to return? Did old friends still receive them openly? Or did going to a white school mean isolation from friends as well as from traditions of the past? With regard to the Negro communities' reactions:

In our community all of them were very encouraging. We had been having small mass meetings around our community to try and encourage people to try to enroll students in this school because you get a better education there. Everyone was very glad that I was chosen to go there and they was trying to encourage me as much as possible to continue.

* * *

Well, the Negro people in my home community didn't seem as if they were at all for it. They would say that we aren't ready to be with the white people yet; "We should stay and try to get ourselves together first before we try and get with somebody else"; integrate the Negro first is what they were saying. But here in this town there were a lot of people who gave me a lot of encouragement and the encouragement enabled me to go on and graduate.

* * *

People in my neighborhood didn't like my going to the white school because they said that I was just trying to be popular and the white school wasn't any better than the Negro school. They said that the Negro school was the newest school. They said that our house was going to be burned and the Ku Klux Klan was going to get us and lots of people was going to get killed. They wasn't going and didn't want those people coming in their neighborhood. Our house did get burned, and when it did people said, "That's what I told you was going to happen."

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Well the colored people in my community, well some of the colored anyway, the Uncle Toms, would tell me to stay in my place and that they weren't going to sit near us over there and get throwed at and called Nigger.

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The way I see it is that people want things to happen but they are waiting for somebody else to do it. They will not realize that those who do something have to sacrifice. They don't realize that those who first went down had to sacrifice. They didn't have all the opportunities and all the extracurricular activities that the Negro school had, like ball games, etc. Another thing, a lot of kids came up to me and told me they would like to come but they would like to be on the basketball team. But we don't have a football or basketball team. They are just plain scared and they don't want to give up anything.

Friends appeared and disappeared throughout the semester. The crucible of change fragmented many superficial relationships, but it also seemed to anneal and highlight others. Some Negro peers were jealous, others threatened; some were interested and asked what was going on, others projected their fears and attacked. This seemed to be one of the areas of greatest surprise and hurt for the desegregating students.

And when I'd come home from school the children would come up to me and ask me, "Well, who did you get into a fight with today?" "What white girl did you beat up?" "And who's your white boyfriend?" They never did try to help us; all they did was try to get funny.

* * *

I noticed that some of the kids at the Negro school would say that we were stuck up. I asked one person why did she think this and she said that because they expect so much out of us, that we are supposed to be

smart and have our names on the honor roll and everything. It seems as if they are the first to say you won't speak to them anymore. But they won't give you a chance. They turn away or make some snide remark and that discourages you. They say, "You think you are so big or so important that you can't be around your old friends anymore."

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It's the same way with some of your friends who go to the Negro school. Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "You think you are so good because you go to an integrated school; you think you are white." I found that you are not going to ever get around this. This is one of the things that you are going to have to accept!

* * *

She told her friend, "Guess what, I am over to the 'big Niggers' house." I was wondering how could she say "big Niggers." Just because I went to the white school didn't mean that we were "big Niggers." She got the impression that we were "big Niggers" and had a lot of money and everything which we don't.

* * *

I didn't really lose any friends. The people who were not my friends but acted close to me soon stopped speaking. This year it was pretty bad during basketball season. A group of girls said that we thought we were white. They said that we come to their basketball games and sit up and try to act intelligent because we thought we were white. It was just that group of people because our friends are still our friends and close friends and they don't think that way.

And what of the future?

In reflecting about their experiences, these youngsters indicate something of what we may expect about the future of change in the South. As classrooms and schools change, other major institutions will be forced to keep pace. In the face of these prospects and current debates over civil rights activity and strategy it is illuminating to inquire into these youngsters' feelings about the future. It appears that many of these young Negroes will be followed by more of their race in the school desegregation process. What would be likely to happen if more young Negroes joined them?

To make the school a better place I think it will take courageous Negro students and some large Negro boys that are big and that has lots of courage, and an integrated faculty, and that's about all I think it would take.

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I think the situation would be better if more Negro students went be-

cause a lot of the students just pick on you because they think they can get by with it. I don't think a student would hit a Negro student if he thought somebody was behind him to give him just that much more. He wouldn't do it even if he thought somebody was behind him that would see him and tell the student who it was.

* * *

They would be afraid to bother you if they knew somebody else was with you, if they knew somebody else was with you and on your side and would help you if you needed that help. But like it is now with so many whites, they can just pick on you and there are not enough Negroes to do them enough harm back.

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I wish I was going back; I just want some of them to pick at me like they did last year so I can get them back. When we have about an equal number of students we'll see if we can get in a fight over there. We will have the same number in our color as they got in their color so we probably have a better chance of fighting. If they're looking for a fight this year then I'm going to fight.

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You have to be in an area where you can be accepted together. It's not like that down here. That's what's wrong, and it'll take time, a long time, to change.

A long, long time indeed. Will we find new means besides getting bigger Negroes and bigger whites? No one knows now, but it is our hope that this sort of constant public examination of the deeds and processes of change may help us learn how to shorten that time, how to make it more peaceful and less painful. Clearly, changes in schools will not come about without change in other social institutions; just as clearly, school change sets the pace and tone for community change. One certainty is the need to develop, experiment with, and document new change strategies. We need to develop new support systems in Negro and white communities; new ways of encouraging white and Negro youngsters to face one another squarely and without fear of external sanctions. Youngsters who are willing to reach out to one another must be fortified against the familial and communal pressures that promote separation. We need to find new ways to help the principal deal with changing school-community and teacher-pupil relations. Finally we need to develop new ways of helping teachers cope with their own ambivalences, with Negro reluctance and white resistance; teachers need new designs to explore the never-never land of social contact between students. The barriers to growth explored in this paper need to be turned into facilitators of justice, peace and progress. The development of such change strategies requires the best minds and bodies of the South and the nation; it extends the process of change beyond the initial physical desegregation of educational facilities.

Reflections on School Integration: I.

(This is a transcript of a three-hour session with eight Negro youngsters who desegregated and are attending a predominantly white school in the Deep South. All students are in the tenth through twelfth grades. 5/66)

QUESTION: Who made the decision for you to go to a white school and how was it made? What were the first days like?

GIRL NO. 1: The first year my parents didn't decide whether they wanted me to go or not. In fact, they didn't want me to go. While on our vacation we heard on the news that teachers were petitioning the county board of education for desegregating the schools in the county. I decided that I wanted to go down and apply. I took it down to the superintendent's office. In about two days they called and asked that some kids come down and take a test in the school library. It took about a half day. Two or three days later we heard on the news that we students had been accepted. They told the number of boys and the number of girls but didn't give any names. The first day we went down in a block, for they wouldn't let us go to the school at first. They passed out papers from the governor stating that we couldn't come. We went back to the superintendent's office and had a little conference with him. We also had a conference with the principal to get our schedules worked out. As soon as we did get in school some of the kids started checking out and some of the teachers approached some of the students and asked them if they had made their phone calls yet. So there were only us left. About the second semester the school closed. We went to the superintendent's office to get things straight. We asked the superintendent if we could apply to go to other schools in the county. He said it was possible; so, we had a conference with the families involved and six decided to go to _____ and six decided to go to _____. One boy didn't go because he was expelled for insubordination. My mother decided I would go to _____ because she was afraid something might happen at _____. That's really where all the excitement was. When we went we had people constantly following us from the Justice Department. They would escort us back and forth. When we got there we had a nice reception with the confederate flag and state troopers standing all around. The first day we went they stopped the bus. They had each of us to stand up as they called our names so they could count us. As soon as we got off the bus at school, the students inside started calling us names. The first two or three days we stayed in the library and didn't go to class. The principal had to give us a conference one by one. He gave us the rules we had to go by. The first thing he asked us was why we wanted to come there. We all said basically the same thing; that we thought it was our constitutional right to go to any school we wanted to, and that we wanted to further our education. He then told us the regulations of the school. He said there would be no corn chunking (throwing corn kernels in the class) and no smoking. He said that

any day he might ask a girl to let him see her pocketbook and if he found any cigarettes or liquor, he would throw her out of school. Then he told us that we were to get cups for the water fountain and we had a separate restroom for the girls. I asked him why we were to drink out of cups and he said that students were leaving the school and that he wanted to keep them there; so he suggested that we drink out of paper cups for the time being. Nobody drank out of the cups and nobody went to the bathrooms. When we went to the other bathrooms, to see what separate booth we had, we saw that on the first day they had written "Private." The next day they had written on a big white sign "Nigger" in red lipstick. They tore up the snack machines and everything. Soon everybody left and there were about ten teachers and six students. The lunch program was cut out so we had to bring our lunches. The teachers taught at two schools and they would leave anytime they wanted to. They went to teach at the elementary school and when we had a class they would come down there. They didn't want to stay in class with us but they felt they had an obligation and, of course, they wanted to get paid. Soon we were subpoenaed to go to court. My teacher approached me and asked me to ask my lawyer not to do anything that would hinder the income of the teachers. I told her I didn't have anything to do with that; but still she told me to be sure to tell him. We went to court and the principal told us that he couldn't excuse us because we didn't have a legal excuse from the school. He said we would have to get an excuse from our lawyer. We had a verbal subpoena, and so did the principal. We all went down to court that Friday morning. All the people who were to appear in court stood around in a circle. The next day the principal told us that it was good we told the truth, but he couldn't excuse us for that day from school. We brought an excuse from our lawyer and finally he accepted it.

When school was out the principal came to each of our houses individually. During this time we had received some threats so we told him about them. He told us that one of the teachers at the school was also threatened. He said he had notified the police; but the police didn't do anything. The sheriff came down to the school and he interviewed us and told us that he knew all of our parents and they were nice and everything.

GIRL NO. 2: My experiences were somewhat different. The first day a news reporter rode the bus with us. All around us were state troopers. In front of them were federal marshals. When we got to town there were lines of people and cars all along the road. A man without a badge or anything got on the bus and started beating up the newspaper reporter. You could tell he was hurt because he was crying. They threw the camera all over the bus and broke it, and they threw the reporter all over the floor. Then they picked him up by the feet and took him to the door and threw him out on the ground. He was crying and bleeding. When we got to the school the students were all around looking through the windows and everything. The mayor made a little speech about fire hazards and all that. He said we couldn't come there because the school was already filled to capacity. He indicated that if six of us

came in it would be a fire hazard. He told us to turn around and go back. We turned around and the students started yelling and clapping and everything. We went back to the office of the board of education. When I got home, my parents were at work and I got this call from my lawyer saying I was not to go back. It was quite a while before we went back because we had to go to court. After we got there we were called to the stand. At first it was kind of frightening; they asked us what happened. After court they told us that the decision was that we could go back. When we went back there were no students there at all. There were only two teachers left. The rest of the teachers left so they had to bring a couple of teachers from other places to teach. They were very nice considering what had happened. Very often when we came to school we would see things written all over the front of the building and pictures were drawn all over the walls. They would always draw a little black man with a lynch rope around his head. As you go up the stairs you would see stuff written like, "get rid of Robert Kennedy." Our lawyer had told us to take note of these things that went on but the teacher would tell us to come in and not bother about it. He said the people on the other side of the street were taking note of how we acted and we wouldn't want to make it difficult. The principal was pretty nice. He would let us go about things casually. He wouldn't distrust us. They didn't have a milk machine and he would go out of his way to go to the store to buy cookies and things and would just bring them out and tell us to get them and put our money in the box. He didn't stand around and watch us or anything. One day in April we got a call that said the school would be burned and that there would be no school. We had to go back to court. We decided after court to go back to school. Since nothing was burned but the high school department, we had school in the auditorium. We had classes on each side of the stage, in dressing rooms and wings. The principal got a refrigerator and put it in there for us. He went and got drinks for us also. He would ask us in the morning what we would like to have and would go out of his way to get it for us. He was pretty nice. They told us that they had gotten threats during the last part of the year saying that if they gave diplomas to the three seniors that they would kill them or something. They decided to let us get out of school a day early and give the diplomas to us then. The shocking thing was during the graduation ceremonies. All six of the students got together to make a speech. After we finished, I looked around and saw three teachers crying. The principal had tears in his eyes and he got up to make a little speech about us. He told the truth for he said at first he didn't think he would enjoy being around us. You could see in his face that he was really touched. We said something like we really enjoyed school together and that we were glad they stuck it out and all that kind of stuff. There was one boy who constantly bothered our bus driver. We always got out one period early. He would wait for school to get out and get up on his truck and wait for us and when the light turned green he would just sit there and wouldn't move. The police station was right down the street but they wouldn't do anything about it. This continued until our bus driver told him off. Several times

when we would come through town in the morning they would have guns out in the hobby shop. One girl on the bus would always get upset and start crying. They were really BB guns and they would stand around the bus and aim at us and threaten us. Boys would ride around on motorcycles and throw rocks at us from the outside. The elementary kids would throw rotten eggs at us. The police would ignore them. The first day at school here there were not many students but there were some. The principal was not very nice. I'm sure everybody had something to say about him. The students in class were having fake reactions, but I guess everybody had those at first. But later in the year we got to know each other pretty well and got into good discussions with teachers.

GIRL NO. 1: Last year, maybe because of the principal, wasn't a good year at all. Maybe, because we didn't have many activities like we had this year. The principal was just teaching there because he couldn't find a better job somewhere else, for he didn't do very much for the school. The first day there was marching and cameramen taking pictures. The teachers were pretty good for most of them were young graduates of the University. I guess they were pretty nice and everything. It was just that we didn't have any activities and that made it a sorry year. The principal never brought up the question of integration; if he did, he tried to hide it. So the kids kind of rejected us. I didn't have many friends; maybe this was because of the principal also.

GIRL NO. 3: We had this strange teacher. In the first part of the year he didn't say anything to us about our grades. Some of us had pretty good grades on tests and everything. I had the feeling that he didn't want us to do that; he wanted them to do better than we did. He seemed to make the tests harder for he figured that if we failed, it actually was difficult. He never wanted us to say that what he said was wrong. In one case he got mad because he was wrong and we said he was wrong. It was a case concerning the male part of the flower and he said they were the pistil. On the chart the name of the thing was stamen. A couple of the white students agreed with him. As far as he was concerned he was right and there was nothing else to say about it. He felt that we were just trying to start things. But we were just trying to get things straight. We ended up arguing most of the time instead of getting much done. It was kind of difficult.

GIRL NO. 4: This year seemed to be entirely different for me, for it was my first year. It was actually almost like any other first day at a new school. We didn't know anybody and couldn't expect for everybody to come up and kiss us and all of that. The teachers seemed to accept me as well as the rest of the students. Although I didn't have any close friends, I never found anybody who acted like they would die if I got close to them. It has been almost a normal year for me.

GIRL NO. 1: The atmosphere this year is very different than last year, I guess, because of the change in principals. Last year we didn't have as many students come up to us and talk. It wasn't the matter of having so many

friends but they wouldn't approach you in any way. I guess this year the new principal doesn't try to hide the situation that is involved like the old one did. You who came in this year are fortunate because he will talk to you about anything you want. He is trying to get the two races to come together. I think that may be what changed the atmosphere. When you hide things it makes people go around not saying things to each other. Now everybody can talk to one another. Most of the students are afraid of their parents.

GIRL No. 3: I had this teacher who divided the class up into groups. The Negroes sit on one side and the white students sit on the other side. She would teach the Negroes like on half of the class and then she would go over to the white kids. If we came to anything about communism or something relating to civil rights, she would bring up King's name and say something like, "In a little time our freedom will be gone," their freedom, the whites. She feels that just because she is a teacher she can talk about anything.

GIRL No. 1: When I first came down she compelled me to say, "yes, ma'am." I realize that it is a way of showing respect and adults like children to show respect. But when somebody compels you to say that, and my parents don't require me to say that to them, it kinds of gets on me. If you didn't say it she would take off points from your grades. I also notice that she didn't like people from the East, West, and North. She doesn't like redheads, for they give her the impression that they are mean. Don't let a person have green eyes because to her they are fierce. If there is anything she wants to know about the race problem, she will call you. She used to call me to see what was going on during the summer. I forgot I was supposed to say "yes ma'am" to her and was saying "yeah, sure," and so on. She said, "Have you forgotten about saying 'yes ma'am'?" I said, "no, ma'am, I haven't." She said, "Now let's not forget that." She works around to try to get the opinion of most of the Negroes concerning race. Then she will tell you her opinion and ask you whether you shouldn't feel the same way. Most of the time you don't.

BOY No. 1: Concerning answering, "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am," I find that this is the way almost any teacher will expect their students to address them. If you think about it, if you were someplace else, you would probably address the teachers the same. In our situation, being Negro, I felt at first that they would expect us to say "yassum" and "noam." It was the idea that I just didn't want to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to a white woman. I found that this was the way they expected any of their students to address them.

GIRL No. 2: I remember the first year one teacher threatened to have him put out of school because he wouldn't say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to her. We were not accustomed to saying it and she wouldn't realize that we couldn't do it overnight. If we made one mistake in English and said "yeah," she would write on a little piece of paper and say, "I am going to

have you all put out of school for insubordination." It seemed as if all she did the whole time was to just wait for us to say "yes" so she could make a big thing out of it. It seems like if you say "yes" one time, she won't miss it. She will ask you right away, "What's that you say?" She will ask you questions to try to make you say "yes ma'am." She got fed up at me because I got tired of her trying to make me say "yes ma'am" and I started saying, "I think so," or "I don't really think so," or something like that just to keep from saying "ma'am," because I figured she was doing it on purpose.

GIRL NO. 1: When I first went there, I ran sort of a little test on all of my teachers to see how many wanted me to say "yes ma'am." I found that she was the only one who tried to compel me to say it. She asked me, "Don't you say 'yes ma'am' to your mother and father?" I said, "No, sometimes I might say, 'yes mother' or 'yes father,' or something like that." She thought it was just terrible. That's the reason she thought I was a bad girl.

BOY NO. 2: The first day at school the teacher made it a point that we would say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am" to her. One day she asked me something and I said, "Yes." She told me that the correct way to speak to her was to say "yes ma'am" and "no ma'am." About three or four days after school had started, a white student came into our class. She was from the North and had an accent to prove it. She had to drop the course because the teacher was very partial toward her. She would stick with us instead of the white kids and the teacher didn't appreciate that. When we were in class doing something, she would ask the white kids questions and if they couldn't answer them she would ask us, "What do you all have to say?" She could not teach. She would ask us to read certain things in economics and the next day she would come and say the very same thing that was in the book. We didn't need to take that over again because we read it that night. What was the use of reading the same thing over again? Actually we didn't learn anything except what was in the book.

BOY NO. 1: Speaking of the inability of the teachers to teach, what do you think about the teachers down there, do you think they are any better or what?

GIRL NO. 1: Personally, I like the teachers in the white school better than any of the teachers I have ever had. From the sixth grade down, my teachers always called me by my first name; from the seventh grade on they called me by my last name. I feel that it is very impersonal. Maybe it is because my classes were very crowded and my teachers didn't have time to help us as it is in a smaller classroom. When I got to the white school, the teachers were much more personal. None of them have ever called me by my last name. They take, or some take, more time with you; therefore, I feel that they are better.

GIRL NO. 3: I don't think they are any better or any worse than any other teacher I have had. People are people and some teachers are good and some are bad. I find that some of the teachers there are better and some are worse.

You can't put the teachers together and say, "These teachers are better," or "These teachers are worse."

BOY NO. 1: What I had reference to was, I found at the Negro school there is much more strictness of discipline or many more strict teachers. The teachers are more experienced and their teaching techniques are different and their presentation of the lesson plan is better.

GIRL NO. 2: It's not necessarily that they are more experienced in teaching techniques, it's just that they have techniques of their own. You are used to their techniques and you have just got to get used to other teachers' techniques. You can't just say that this teacher's techniques are better because he has a better teaching technique because you are used to them. Maybe, after and if, you get used to the teaching techniques that are unfamiliar to you, you might like them.

BOY NO. 1: Once before we did mention teachers being better or worse and everybody else said that you could not compare the teachers actually because every teacher has his own teaching technique. But I would disagree; I would say our teachers at the Negro high school are better. The teachers here are inexperienced—most of them are just out of college and they are not, just do not have the technique. Wait, let me! No, let me finish. At the Negro school, there are teachers who have more class activities, the teacher explains things and we have more class discussions, whereas at our high school, we read the book and have a test. That's about all there is to it. Some people may say that is the teacher's technique, his own technique. You can't say he is worse or better, that's just his technique, but I would say there is a difference.

GIRL NO. 1: Now, mainly he was speaking about just one teacher who is an individual. Again, you can't compare science with English; you will always give illustrations with slides and visual aids and things like that. I feel that English is usually a most boring subject.

BOY NO. 1: But both as far as teaching techniques and what goes on in the classroom, and how the teacher gets lessons over to the students, that's how you tell a good teacher.

GIRL NO. 1: Maybe she is better to you because she was teaching a difficult subject. Take for instance, science, you can always give movies, any visual aid—anything is interesting in science. Those things will always be more interesting to most people. But English is usually boring. Grammar, and how to punctuate, verbs and things like that. And it's usually nothing to worry about too much. Then if the teacher can make him interested, then she is a good teacher.

BOY NO. 1: What I'm saying is that you said you have never been to any other school except the high school and you cannot compare other means and ways of teaching techniques. What I'm saying is that you haven't been a student at the high school so you couldn't compare.

GIRL NO. 4: Now, during the time I was at the Negro high school, we used to go to one man and the classrooms were overcrowded and I'm not saying that the teachers were bad, but we didn't do anything that was not customary. And when I changed schools that was when I found that the work was harder. I guess because classes were smaller and it's according to how the teacher lectures—whether it's boring or whether it's interesting.

BOY NO. 2: I gather that the teachers at the Negro school are more experienced but they are not up-to-date. Two or three years ago, when they were in college they were, but now there are new techniques. Most of the teachers at the white school, well, they are fresh out of college and they are sure they will know more and learn more by the modern way. Whereas, the teachers at the Negro school are sort of . . . like, old fashioned. The teachers there have been out of school for quite some time. Some of them don't bother about going back. Here you can learn more because in the classroom you can get more over to the students when you can teach them individually. So therefore, well, both teachers have faults. One such as inexperience and the other who didn't know much about the modern way of work. But basically both teachers are trying to help.

GIRL NO. 3: The Negro college there is not a very good school for teachers. The white teachers have more opportunities and have more challenge than the teachers in the Negro college could have. And the school of the teacher makes a lot of difference.

BOY NO. 1: Well, what would you rather have, an "A" student with a "B" character or a "B" student with an "A" character? The teachers at the Negro school have more experience, well, they've done it every year. They learn by experience. Each time they make a mistake, they're warned that that's one they've made. Even though these teachers in the white school are new they have just gotten out of college—that doesn't mean too much.

GIRL NO. 1: They have to learn by experience also. So, you've got to give them time to learn too. We just can't say A character or B character and teachers with an A character are better teachers than those with B character. You also have to grade B character over a period of time. You just have to give them time too.

GIRL NO. 1: I knew a lot of teachers at the Negro school before I came here. It seemed to me they were trying to maintain a reputation they had for being tough and for putting students out of class and sending them to the office and all of that. A lot of times things we should have discussed in homeroom, we'd discuss at our English period because we didn't have enough time in homeroom. A lot of teachers at the white school go to a lot of trouble trying to figure out ways of staying out of class so late by taking long coffee breaks. One time our history teacher was out of class so late that he came in at almost the end of the class period and gave us half an hour of notes to be taken in ten minutes. I don't think this is fair.

GIRL NO. 1: The impression that I got of the Negro teachers, maybe be-

cause so many students go there, is that they try to build up some sort of big impression for themselves. When I went to the white school it didn't seem that way. I guess because the classes were so small. Everybody has a pretty good impression and the teachers wouldn't go out of their way to help you just to make an impression or practice some discipline just to get back at you.

GIRL No. 3: I kind of think the way you do. At the Negro school some of the teachers seem to have a complex. They seem to want to show you that they are just as good as the white teachers at any other place. I want to show you I'm great too. They go all out of their way to do little things that really don't help you learn anything; but they think they are making an impression on you. That didn't help me any; I just wanted someone who could teach, who could help me without putting on an act.

GIRL No. 1: I found this too. When they wanted me to apply for the white school, I was happy and I told two of my teachers. One teacher constantly reminded me that I am a member of the Negro race and that since I was going to school with white children, I would have to change because they are different. She said that if I am going to school down there, I would have to stop being bad. Every time I'd do something she'd tell me I better change because that is why the whites didn't want us down there now because we are so bad. Things like this lead Negro children to think that they are actually in a minority and are different.

QUESTION: Why do you think she did that?

GIRL No. 1: I really don't know. I kind of think she really thought that. That they didn't want us because we're noisy. After I got over there I found out differently. They're as bad as we are. You just can't say that because we are Negroes and they are whites that we are different. Everything that my instructor told me to look out for was just the opposite of what she had led me to believe.

GIRL No. 3: The same thing happened to me. Whenever you tell somebody you want to do something different you get this. I told one of my teachers that I planned to apply to the white school and she told me what to do and what not to do. People really make you believe that you are different, you know, "little black girl is stupid," and that we have to act differently around white children. When you get into the situation children are children, they are going to do what they want to do anyway. It kind of makes you feel funny because you don't like to feel that you have to act in a different way because you want to make a good impression on the white kids. I want to be me.

GIRL No. 1: It's the same way with some of your friends who go to the Negro school. Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an

integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "You think you are so good because you go to an integrated school; you think you are white." I found that you are not going to ever get around this. This is one of the things that you are going to have to accept!

QUESTION: Have you lost any friends as a result?

GIRL NO. 1: The people that I had in mind were not my friends in the first place.

GIRL NO. 2: I didn't really lose any friends. The people who were not my friends but acted close to me soon stopped speaking. This year it was pretty bad during basketball season. A group of girls said that we thought we were white. They said that we come to their basketball games and sit up and try to act intelligent because we thought we were white. It was just that group of people because our friends are still our friends and close friends and they don't think that way.

BOY NO. 2: The first year that I went down there, we had this friend who lived sort of out in the country. My father went and picked her up for dinner one day. After we finished eating dinner, she asked me how I was getting along at my new school. I told her. She asked my father if she could use the telephone and he said, "yes." She had known us for the six years that we have lived here and before. She was talking with one of her friends on the phone and she didn't know we were listening. She told her friend, "Guess what, I am over to the 'big Niggers' house." I was wondering how could she say "big Niggers." Just because I went to the white school didn't mean that we were "big Niggers." She got the impression that we were "big Niggers" and had a lot of money and everything which we don't. Actually my father didn't want me to go down there at first. Considering my going to school, I said that actually any Negro child can do this because all he has to do is fill out an application. She still couldn't get rid of the idea that we were "big Niggers." I just can't understand how they can say that. I said I'm no different than you are. Every time we would go over to her house, she would call some of her friends over and introduce them to the "big Niggers." I just stopped going over there. It's not only the children who are that way but it is the grownups also. A few neighbors around my house think it's a crime for me to rake or cut the lawn cause they think I'm so important. Once they learn that we are no different from them, and white people are no different from colored people, the situation will be much better. I'll be glad when that day comes.

GIRL NO. 2: That's the way a lady in our neighborhood is. She doesn't think that we are any better than she is but she thinks that we think we are. She will do anything to get us out of the neighborhood. She talks about me when I come down the street. You can tell when someone is talking about you because they look at you from the side and talk out of the corner of

their mouth. She told some of the neighbors that we think we are rich just because I was one of the first Negroes who integrated the school. She looked at me and watched me walk down the street and the lady she was talking with told me that she said, "You ought to see her when she gets off the bus, she throws her head up like she is so big." It used to hurt me and I talked with my mother about it and she and I decided to ignore it because you find people like that in every group. It's going to be hard, just as I'm reading a book by Sammy Davis, Jr., "Yes I Can." He didn't know anything about the difference between a Negro and a white because his father protected him. And that was wrong. When he got in the Army the men painted him white and rubbed him with turpentine. They said, "See the white paint comes off but your brown don't." They did awful things to him. He had the talent and wanted to make it big. When he did, the whites got mad at him because he did and the Negroes got mad at him because there weren't any Negroes at his party. That's the way it is here. The whites got mad at us for going to that school and the Negroes got mad too.

GIRL NO. 1: I noticed that some of the kids at the Negro school would say that we were stuck up. I asked one person why did she think this and she said that because they expect so much out of us, that we are supposed to be smart and have our names on the honor roll and everything. It seems as if they are the first to say you won't speak to them anymore. But they won't give you a chance. They turn away or make some snide remark and that discourages you. They say, "You think you are so big or so important that you can't be around your old friends anymore."

GIRL NO. 3: If you really look at it, I don't know if jealousy is the right word, but it seems as if they want to be a part of it too, and they are angry because you are in it. It doesn't make very much sense because they can do the same thing but nobody has the initiative to do it.

GIRL NO. 1: What I have noticed is that many of the kids say they want to change schools or they want to participate in the activities, but their parents say they can't. Some say they are scared or something like that. I believe that a lot of them wanted to but they feel that they don't have the opportunities we had. It was easy for us because we had help.

GIRL NO. 3: I was talking to one boy and I want someone to explain to me what he meant. He said he was thinking about applying to the white school but that he changed his mind because he said he thinks he will be intimidated for the school belongs to me now. I didn't understand him but I never got the chance to ask him what he meant. It just didn't make sense to me; I couldn't understand it.

BOY NO. 1: He probably felt that since you were among the first who integrated the school and since there was only a few of us that maybe he felt that he would be intruding on something that you had started, that you had begun.

GIRL NO. 3: Maybe that is how he felt, but I wish that we or that some-

body could make people see that we were not just going there to get our names in the papers. Somebody had to start it sometime. We were not just going to say that we are the only ones that go to the white school. We were going, or rather we were doing this to help everybody. Why can't they see that it's their school too? If they want to go, why don't they just go?

GIRL NO. 1: The way I see it is that people want things to happen but they are waiting for somebody else to do it. They will not realize that those who do something have to sacrifice. They don't realize that those who first went down had to sacrifice. They didn't have all the opportunities and all the extracurricular activities that the Negro school had, like ball games, etc. Another thing, a lot of kids came up to me and told me they would like to come but they would like to be on the basketball team. But we don't have a football or basketball team. They are just plain scared and they don't want to give up anything.

BOY NO. 1: Going back to what you said about representing everyone. A person really can represent no one but himself. When I went, I didn't go for what you might call the Negro cause.

GIRL NO. 3: I didn't mean like that. If I had been one of the first to go, maybe I would have felt different. I am glad I didn't go that first year because I don't think I would have been able to stand up the way you all did. I think that more people should go.

QUESTION: Talk a little about your association with white students.

GIRL NO. 1: Sometimes when we are sitting in assembly we have a few students who don't want to sit by us and they make insinuating remarks like, "I had better not get too close to you," or something like that. You go to the bathroom and you see little notes and everything.

BOY NO. 2: It turned out with us talking about the governor and his administration. They all said that he is doing a good thing. I said, "You are dang right. He is doing a good thing. Had it not been for him, the university wouldn't be as integrated as it is; if he hadn't made a fool of himself trying to defy the federal government." He is always talking about this sovereign state so I asked them what did "sovereign state" mean, and would they refer to our state as being sovereign. They said yes. I asked them how they could possibly think this when we are getting money from the federal government; we are getting food from the federal government; the federal government is practically supporting you. If it were not for the federal government, we really couldn't have anything, schools or anything.

GIRL NO. 3: When I first decided to come to the white school I got a lot of suggestions from teachers and friends; but the best suggestion I got was to be open minded. I had no idea how it would be; I could only come and find out. You tend to form impressions or ideas of what it's going to be like. They are going to think you are going to be a certain way so don't try to be that way. They are going to think you are like this because all Negroes are

like this so you have got to try to be different. Negroes can be prejudiced too and can have ideas about whites too. It's just as simple as not knowing what it's going to be like so you got to be open minded. If you are not going to be open minded and try to learn together you can't want to progress. Not being open minded is going to hinder you.

GIRL No. 2: In our English class we had to try out for all kinds of parts in the play. We got upset at first because our English teacher didn't try out the Negro boys for anything but the part of the Negro. She didn't try any of the white boys out for that part either. We got upset because even though they were Negroes, and they have to be in the part, she could have thought of making us feel a little better by letting the white boys try for the part.

QUESTION: Well, what did you do about it?

BOY No. 1: We went to the principal and asked him about it. He said that the part did call for a Negro. Well, I agree with this. The part called for a Negro and there were two Negro boys in the class so both of us tried out for the part. However, she might have let us try out for some other parts also. The principal said that if we did let a white person play the part then the thing would become a comedy and everyone would sit up and laugh and the actual meaning of the play wouldn't come out. The play is supposed to build up a better relationship between the whites and the Negroes. The principal suggested that we go on and do it. We never said anything to the instructor about it.

GIRL No. 2: After the two Negro boys tried out, I began to think that the Negro girls could only play the parts of colored women and Negro slaves. I sort of got a little frustrated. But she had all of the girls both white and Negro to try out for the other parts. It turned out with three of the characters that were white in the book being played by three Negro girls. There was a scene in the opening part of the play where we had two uncles and the uncles were white boys. When they came in we were supposed to hug them. When we wrote this script, nobody knew who was going to play who so we wrote it just like it was supposed to be written. When the boys found out that we were supposed to hug them, they weren't happy about it; they were pretty upset. One boy said, "I just can't do that." Well we laughed about it but they were pretty serious. I kept getting the impression that it was because of what would happen when their friends saw them do this, or when their fathers or their relatives saw them.

QUESTION: Would you have done it?

GIRL No. 2: I don't think I would have been any less embarrassed than they, but I would have done it. You see I don't really care about what anybody is going to say if they see me hug him. They just gave me the impression that it was more what would happen when their friends saw them do this. They just have to maintain their relationship with their white friends.

Now they have us shaking hands. At first they didn't want us to do anything but just wave at each other. One of the boys was making a big scene knocking down chairs and everything saying, "No, no, I can't do that." One of them was supposed to rub his sister's hair. "No I can't do that." Then he changed his mind and said he might be able to rub her hair but I can't hug her. The other one wouldn't say anything. He said it didn't make any difference with him.

GIRL NO. 1: After you go back and look at both sides of the story, you can't blame them really because after all you don't want people to say, "Oh no, I am scared to touch her because her black might rub off on me." If you were in their situation, you might feel the same way. You have to understand that they're not going to fall in love with you overnight. Nobody likes for his friends to turn their backs on him and laugh at him and all of that. More than likely that would be what would happen.

GIRL NO. 2: In the play I was the daughter and I was the only Negro in the whole family. They go around and call everybody brother and sister and mom and dad and they get to me and call me sister. When we sat around the table, I was expecting them to move their chairs over but they didn't do that. I was kind of shocked when two white boys and myself were backstage in the wings together and one of them had a gun that we were to use in the play. He said "If I had to shoot all the Negroes in the school, I would shoot you last." I said, "Why?" He said, "I like you because you know how to cope with our white jokes." I asked him what he meant and he said that when he tells us jokes we just laugh about them and don't get upset. I didn't know whether to take it as a compliment or not.

BOY NO. 1: I found myself not acting myself. They expected a whole lot out of me. They expected me to be different. I had to go along with their crude jokes. They were no good but I laughed anyway. They would run things in the ground but I would keep laughing. Lately I have decided that I really shouldn't try to act different from what I really am. I have decided that I don't have to prove anything to anybody. I lost a few friends by doing that but I've gotten fed up with it. When I first came into the situation, I wanted to be friendly. I guess anybody wants to be friends with everybody. We got along okay. We joked about the white and Negro relationship. This was good and okay but I just got tired of it.

GIRL NO. 4: What about the junior and senior banquet?

GIRL NO. 2: We had a meeting and the instructor asked how many of us thought we were coming. All of the Negroes' hands went up. There was one white girl whose hand went up. After she looked around and saw all of the other white students who didn't raise their hands, hers went down again. She was the main one who wanted to have it. Just when she saw their reactions, I think she was afraid she might lose her friends if she came. She keeps avoiding the principal so he won't ask her if she's coming. She keeps saying that

she is not sure. The instructor said, "Well why don't you want to come?" She said, "I am not sure now." She's not sure but she might be out of town.

GIRL NO. 1: You talk about the reason they don't want to come is maybe because they didn't want to sit next to us. One day we were sitting around talking and I asked some white girls just why they didn't want Negroes to sit next to them or touch them or anything. They came up with the reason that they don't believe in intermarriage. Now, what does marriage have to do with sitting by somebody?

BOY NO. 1: Maybe they feel that if they get friendly with us and sit beside us and talk that might lead to something.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, it takes two to marry somebody. This is the first thing that comes over them, intermarriage. Nobody wants to marry them; you just want to be their friends, that's all.

BOY NO. 1: They have been led to believe that the Negro thinks about one thing, sex.

GIRL NO. 2: No, no, I don't think that. They know that they think about getting married. They are afraid that they may find a Negro that they like, not necessarily that a Negro likes them. Maybe they already got a crush on them. I just believe that they are afraid. If they were not afraid of us, maybe they could stand us a little better. But when you have a guilty conscience yourself, things get down on you a little worse.

GIRL NO. 1: I think they get many of these ideas from their parents. Most of the adults feel that integration results in intermarriage, especially in the elementary school.

GIRL NO. 2: There was one girl in my homeroom who is okay. She would talk to us and when we are in some kind of trouble, she will help us out. I found that she likes a lot of things that I like. She doesn't sit around and keep it to herself and her white friends. Like when we are doing something and you have to pick someone to be on your team, a lot of white students will pick some white students first because they are white. She is different, she will pick you because she thinks you are good.

GIRL NO. 3: As part of being somebody you aren't, I have trouble, because you don't want to be over nice, yet you want to be nice. In one class I have, there are only five of us in there. There are two white boys, two white girls, and myself. Usually, I don't sit with anyone. If we are going to talk or anything our teacher tells us to be quiet. They will start their conversation about anything. It is just boring to me. Someone might say, "Why don't you come and sit with us?" I can't tell them that I don't want to sit with you because I don't enjoy talking with them. I have to laugh at their stupid jokes or they'll think I'm square. It's just that you can't act yourself around them. You want to be with your friends, the Negroes. I can be me more then. If it were a place where whites and Negroes lived together and did things together it'd be different. I guess it's just the situation that makes it that way.

GIRL NO. 2: Like when we had our first party, everybody started running all over the building. It ended up with all of the Negroes having a party in one room and all the whites having a party in another. Everybody enjoyed this because we wanted our music and they wanted theirs. We just couldn't all be together and enjoy the same music. I like to do the "Dog" but to their music all you can do is jump around. Their music has a louder and faster beat than ours. We would end up playing one record that they liked and they would end up playing one record that we liked. I only like one record out of their collection and that was "Hang on Snoopy" and that wasn't too much. So we just ended up having two parties. We all enjoyed it.

GIRL NO. 3: Something else concerning the divided society. There is a girl that goes to choir practice with me. We have something to talk about together sometimes away from school. She is a friend of mine but not that close. If the town were arranged differently, the situation would probably be different.

GIRL NO. 1: We need more activities together so we'll have more in common. Maybe gradually in two or three years we'll do more things together like proms and dances.

GIRL NO. 2: It's tough on the principal, although I really can't say why I think that. The girl cheerleaders say that the only thing he thinks about is sex going on in the school, but he hasn't said anything to me about that. I can't see he does that. They say that he's mean and forces things on them they don't want to do. Maybe we think differently because he does the things I want him to do and not what they want him to do. They want to get rid of him and talk about it a lot.

GIRL NO. 1: Those who say that always break the rules anyway, like smoking. Last year they got away with some of it, but this year it's different. If you get caught, you got to pay the consequences.

QUESTION: Tell us some more about the kids in your classes. Are they friendly . . . are they as smart as you thought they were?

ALL: No! (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 3: In our class one of the white boys decided that he is not going to do anything. He isn't going to cooperate. The teacher asked him to read a poem and he said he would rather not. She would just call on somebody else.

GIRL NO. 1: There's a lot of white students who act like they think they are doing you a favor if they let you be their friends. It's like it is a privilege for you to be their friend. Well, that's not the kind of friend I need. If you are going to be my friend I don't care what you are or what you claim to be. This one girl acts as if it is a privilege, and that you ought to be glad that she is going to be your friend. She acts like a counselor over you. There's a lot more like this too. They will talk to their friends about you, then they

will come and get your opinion about something, then they will turn what you said to just the opposite and start something.

GIRL No. 3: What makes me feel sort of bad is when you go to a place out of the South, where there is integration and it is so perfect. People seem wonderful and you just forget about what you are, about your color and everything. Then when you come back you see that it is just the opposite. It makes you sick. You realize how perfect society can be but people just don't care enough to try to start it. It just makes you think. You see a way that you would like for things to be but it just can't be.

GIRL No. 2: I'm so used to white people objecting to many of the things that I do that I think I'll leave. I kind of question myself: "Here is a friend but does she really mean it?" I don't want to be that kind of person. I want to accept someone to be my friend without this kind of doubt. I think it's just being here. I get somewhere else and find white people being very nice and kind and I say to myself: "Look what they're doing." I don't want to feel that, I want to accept it.

GIRL No. 1: Like in our class, you see the same people every day and they have gotten used to the fact that they have got to talk to us. We have a nice conversation. We laugh at their jokes and everything and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking around with all day will look the other way and they won't speak. That kind of thing bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself or with just a few people but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

QUESTION: Are you girls saying that you are more distrustful of white people now than you were a few years ago? Is that the common reaction or not?

GIRL No. 2: If I had been around them all of my days and know how they react with me in school is different from the way that they react with me out, I could go along with it. When I was in the North I went to an integrated group and I didn't think anything about it. Now when some of them are being nice to me I find myself saying: "Look what they are doing for me, going out of their way to do it."

BOY No. 1: I don't know if this is representative of everyone, but I find that in our schools, the white kids will turn on each other. They will be friends and then when something happens, they always point the thing to the other. Even though they are friends, they can't seem to trust each other.

QUESTION: That doesn't happen among Negro friends?

BOY No. 1: I would say it was not as prevalent.

QUESTION: What other things do you see down there among the white kids?

BOY NO. 1: They all seem to be afraid of what someone else might think. They can't seem to think for themselves. They can't even follow their own moral right. They are always afraid of what someone else might think. There are very few incidences of violence, killings, etc., but they are afraid to take me home after practice. They say, "somebody might shoot me," "take you home in broad daylight, you must be kidding." Sometimes they will take me home and sometimes they will make up excuses. They are just afraid. They are afraid of nothing; there's nothing to be afraid of. Sometimes I invite them to come over to some of the activities. But they think that the Negroes just hate white people, they think they will come over here and get killed. I try to explain to them that it is a thing that is accepted. One man is just another man that you pass on the street. They can't seem to understand that. The white people who associate with us are what they refer to as "nigger lovers." I find that this is not only at the school but is characteristic of the entire white population. All of them are afraid of what others will think. I don't know very much about the city council but I think this exists in the city council.

GIRL NO. 2: We were talking about the junior-senior banquet, and —— asked whether the whites and the Negroes would want to avoid each other at the banquet. I said, "Why don't you sit next to me and we'll set an example." He said to me later, "Do you really want to sit by me?" I'm always joking around so I said, "Oh yes, sure, you know I want to sit by you." I was only joking, but maybe he took it seriously. He said to me later, "Do you want to sit next to me because I can't do that—my friends wouldn't like it?" I said, "Oh, that's all right. I will bring my date and we can sit on the other side of you." I was just joking around. I didn't know whether he was taking me serious or not but he asked me again and I said, "No, that's all right."

BOY NO. 1: He was serious—because he asked me. (LAUGHTER.) What do you think about this desegregation for next year? How will it work? That's between Negroes and whites.

GIRL NO. 1: All kids coming down here, they are going to be this, on that and on the other thing. If the whites hear all this half of them will drop out. Many of them have left already. But you can't just turn down the Negroes because parents say, you picked the best kids, you didn't pick my son or daughter and they start this rejection toward the school. Then next year you beg them to come down and they won't. They say you said you picked the best ones and you didn't pick my son or daughter then. I don't know what we are going to do about it. We got problems here.

QUESTION: What kind of reactions do you think white teachers would get from predominantly all Negro schools?

GIRL NO. 2: I know of one teacher who left, but she wasn't a good teacher, that's why.

GIRL NO. 3: They have one now. They said he was accepted fairly well.

You just have to think about personality. I don't know—can't be much worse.

GIRL No. 2: From what I've heard from students about the white teacher that was just the excuse she gave for leaving, that Negro kids don't know how to respect white teachers. Wherever you go kids are going to act like this. Maybe she felt funny teaching a class of all Negroes and not any whites.

GIRL No. 4: Well I think I would have felt the same way had I been in her place. At least some will try to show her we're bad, we don't need you. Negroes are prejudiced too, at least some are. Make her feel different. Nobody wants to feel that way, you know. She is going to think she is different, and she *is* different. She *would* think she had a special reason for leaving. I think I would have left too.

GIRL No. 1: Why did she come? She should have gone. Children are going to be children, and they will act like this! I guess it's just the way the teacher has to handle the class. Maybe the way she presents her work. If you send down a Negro teacher to an all-white school, or an integrated school, you send your best Negro teacher and if you send a white teacher to an all Negro school, you send your best white teacher. I don't think that she was their best. If she couldn't cope with the students like the Negro teacher can, she wasn't that good. I heard that she sat around in her chair all of the time. You know most teachers walk around in a classroom. She would still have to discipline her class. If she just didn't make it seem like "I'm white." She wasn't their best teacher. They should have sent one of their better white teachers and it would have worked out.

GIRL No. 3: There is just one thing I would like to say. . . . We have a lot of dumb people in our class . . . you know, dumb, white people. (LAUGHTER) It's true! They want to graduate, but they don't want to do anything. I noticed this before. I was absent a lot and I was behind, had a lot of back work to do in order to catch up. There was one time I didn't finish my short stories. I had seventeen and I turned in sixteen. I noticed that she didn't give me credit but for the sixteen. I know that there are some white kids . . . well this one boy, he never does his homework, he doesn't even bring books to class. He could get an "I" and he can make it up. It should be the same for all. The teacher would always say, "Did you understand it?" and he would say, "No, I didn't." She would say, "Well, see me after class and bring it in later at the sixth period." He is just far behind and yet, he is going to graduate. It's the same way with another girl.

GIRL No. 1: I guess they expect a lot from you. I kind of noticed that when they are in class they don't recite and can't answer questions right. The majority of the white kids in our classroom have a don't-carish attitude. They say I don't care about school. Maybe they feel that they are going to graduate without much trouble anyway, they'll get a passing grade and it seems that they aren't going to college. Probably they are going to get married so it doesn't really matter just so long as "I get my degree."

BOY No. 1: Last night the superintendent, myself, and the coach were

discussing this attitude that was in the school and it seems to be the problem with the team. These kids seem to have the idea that if they can't win, they don't care. Coach was saying that actually they don't care and that in home games, this attitude was prevalent in the parents and it rubs off on the kids. It's been like this since she has been here, the white people act like they don't care. They have never been together and they just have an "I don't care" attitude.

BOY NO. 2: What about the boy who comes to class unprepared and has no excuse, does exactly nothing and the teacher asks him why he doesn't have his work? And he answers, "I was sick," "I had to work" or "go to band practice." And she says bring it in tomorrow. Tomorrow comes, then the next tomorrow—all day—and then he still doesn't turn it in. And actually he doesn't do anything in class but yet, he could be making good grades. She is actually giving him grades. She is just doing it, just to pass him. He thinks, I am doing you a favor just by coming to school when he actually isn't doing anyone any good because the time she takes up with him trying to explain things to him, he is actually hindering everybody instead of trying to help them because he actually does nothing in the classroom. He just sits there occupying space. That's all he is doing.

GIRL NO. 1: If he doesn't graduate I think maybe he will go into the armed services. If he doesn't graduate he is not coming back to school another year. He just doesn't care.

QUESTION: What are you people going to do after you finish classes, when you finish high school?

BOY NO. 1: Our plans after we graduate from school . . . I think all of us plan to go to college.

BOY NO. 2: The white kids always talk about getting married or joining the armed services, so I asked one what he is going to do when he gets out of the armed services. He tells me he is going to get a job somewhere. I say get a job doing what? I try to tell him that the world is becoming more mechanized day by day; I mean it's going to be hard to make a living. He tells me that he is going to do this and he is going to do that. I say he's going to be lost. But he says he can find something and I try to tell him that it's not going to work. Then he thinks I am being uppity and all this, so he gets mad and walks off.

GIRL NO. 1: Oh, I think most kids feel that college isn't for everyone—which is true, and that some people are better off in trade school, better off married, some are better off lost.

GIRL NO. 4: In our English class, I believe it was at the end of the semester, our teacher divided the class into two groups—the group that was planning to go to college and the group that was not. And it seems to me that the majority of the kids, well, the kids in college preparatory groups are the

ones that have a closer relationship than the ones in the other group. I feel that, they don't have anything to say to the other group. I mean, this was before the division was made as well as now. There is only one girl in the non-college group and the other girls are in the college prep group. This seems to have some relationship to the atmosphere in our class.

QUESTION: You said not many of you were friendly with the white kids after school, I'm wondering if you are friendly with each other?

BOY NO. 1: Yes!! That's all we can do. We have to talk to somebody, so we just have to talk to each other.

GIRL NO. 1: One thing we have different in the white school, we don't have dances. Our main activity should be the high school. The white kids have to go outside and maybe that's why they are not more together. You see, we can go to the other school.

QUESTION: Suppose you were approached and asked for suggestions about going to a white school? What would you tell them?

GIRL NO. 1: I would say that there are really no activities, you should be willing to take the insults they sometimes make, and you won't really be accepted as best friends all the time because sometimes that's not true. But I realize that myself.

BOY NO. 2: I would tell them to be prepared for a change because it's a great change from the other school to this high school and don't form any opinions about the school. Just come and more or less observe. One thing is the change in social atmosphere. I mean that you can joke around, just more freedom. But down here, sometimes you can say things here and you don't mean it to be a particular insult but—you don't want to step on anybody's toes, so you just have to be careful of what you say and how you say it. Really, there's a strain. There also seems to be more homework here.

GIRL NO. 1: You see, there seems to be more activities to take up school periods and I find I talked to one of my old friends and they say that they are way behind in their books. It's just that we don't have so many activities. I think it's up to anyone to come and make their own suggestions because like I found people gave me advice and it was different advice that they gave me even though they weren't in the situation. I don't think I can because I am in the situation and right now if I were to give advice it'd be different from others in this room. I think that the only thing I could tell them would be to make up their minds to want to come and when they get here to be themselves and don't put on a big show. This is not to say you have to be different in order to get along with other people. It's not that way at all. You find that people judge you by your group without getting to know you at first. The Negro group is such and such. After that they get to know you as the individual as you are.

BOY NO. 2: Another thing about impressions, when I was down here a year ago I got the impression that they were trying to push me around and I was called a show-off. I was called this often and constantly. I got to the point where I believed it. So my first year down there I got the attitude, you know, that I don't care about this and that. Well, when I got down there I found out in a couple of months that it wasn't like this. But after I had practiced this for so long, then after I started changing myself it was difficult to change and I couldn't really start changing until this year. I lost quite a few friends that I really didn't mean to, because of my attitude last year. So far as giving people advice on what to do down there, I hardly know how to react myself in certain situations. I would tell them just don't and use your own discretion as far as possible. But I would not tell them, you know, especially, they did this and they did that to me, because this really proves to be a handicap and it's very hard to correct the mistake that you have gotten influenced beforehand.

GIRL NO. 2: I find that you should watch out for a couple of things. My advice is for you not to do things in class that would impress the teacher or impress the students—or maybe impress yourself. And that's one of the things you find later on, just do your job and don't try to impress anybody, and you will get a little better reaction, where you wouldn't try to impress anybody.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, I would like to offer a few suggestions—give them my reaction. Tell them what to expect and maybe some of the things I came in contact with may cause them to be separated and things like that. But they can use it or not.

QUESTION: Do people call you names to your face?

GIRL NO. 1: Yes, not regularly, but maybe after a person gets angry with you and they call you names every week or pass you by without speaking. This makes you angry.

GIRL NO. 2: It's not as much as it was before.

BOY NO. 2: You also get used to things written on the bathroom walls, a lot of stuff. But this is something you have to take. When you come to think about it, when kids call you a name you laugh and joke it off. When you get down there, it's a little different because it's white people.

GIRL NO. 2: I find myself, I don't think about it now. We call each other a nigger right off, y'know we joke about it. But you turn around and a white person call me a nigger I don't know how to take it. When the whites see Negroes calling each other nigger then they use it. So I catch myself and when I'm joking around in the halls I don't say it down there.

GIRL NO. 1: I had this white friend this summer. We were just talking about things, the school situation and stuff, and she asked me what did I think if she called me a nigger. I told her I'd be offended. So she said she

could see this because where she went to school some of her friends call her a peck or a cracker and they laugh it off. But if I called her a name like that she'd be offended too.

BOY NO. 1: Well, I'd like to say this. I feel that we have given the wrong impression that our relationship with the white kids at the high school is entirely a hostile one. This is wrong although sometimes we talk that way. We have conversations and all and often the boys talk about girls. But the thing is that sometimes you may say something and you don't know who you can trust, even those who look like they're being sincere. You don't know whether you can trust them or if they'll say something behind your back.

GIRL NO. 2: All in all the situation is not bad. There always is a rotten apple but we expected this. Some people ask what it's like down there and they expect me to say it's tough and mean. But it's not like that at all. It's nice, considering the situation. Things are better than they were last year.

QUESTION: Have any of you had any of your white classmates to your homes, or have you gone to any of theirs?

BOY NO. 1: I've been to the front door. (LAUGHTER) When I invited one over he was cautious about it. I had four or five over on some business to check on some studies. After the first visit the ice was broken and some of them came by again. And once he was cautious about going into the house. I said, "C'mon, nobody else will know." (LAUGHTER) I got him into the house and we had a good time. He came by once on a friendly visit, and they stay outside sometimes and blow their horns.

GIRL NO. 2: One day this girl took me home and when we got there she just sat in the car and I said, "If you want to come in, come in." She said, "Sure." She walked in through the house and looked into every room. So I took her around and told her this was the living room, and this was the kitchen, and this was the bedroom and so on. She just looked and stared. She said, "Your house is really nice," in a surprised tone. I said, "Thank you." There was another girl who associated with us last year when things were pretty hot. Sometime later I saw her in school and she said she wanted to come over but it was hard. I invited her and didn't tell anybody. So she came and we talked and joked. She brought all her brothers and everything.

BOY NO. 1: A lot of them were surprised to find that I lived in a better house than they did. I almost got into a fight one day over this visiting bit. I asked _____ about would he invite me over for a visit. He said, "No!" And I asked, "Why not?" He said, "Going to school is okay, but that's the limit." I said, "What do you mean?" At first I was joking around because I didn't expect him to invite me to his house. But I said, "I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll come over and pretend like I'm cutting the hedges and I'll go around the back and come in the back door." (LAUGHTER) Well, we got serious about it and he said he just couldn't invite me to his house. So I said, "Well, I invite you to come to my house anytime you want." He said, "I won't do that either." And I said, "Well, why not?" He finally said, "Let's

face it, a spade is a spade." I swear I almost hit him. I was mad. I stopped the conversation and walked away right there. If I had said anything else I would have hit him. Ooooh! (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 2: You see, a lot of things start off joking around and digging about race and stuff and then it suddenly gets serious. They sometimes do things just to see my reactions; and I try to keep them to myself. They once in a while come up behind me and say, "Boo! I'm a segregationist."

BOY NO. 1: I think actually some of them are trying to make fools of us. They make a joke out of race and are grinning and laughing at us. It's not a joke. But I don't get sucked in, I know what it is. I go along, because I go out of my way to make somebody happy. But I tell them, I know what's going on and nobody's pulling the wool over me.

GIRL NO. 1: We were sitting in class one day and a boy said, "White for the right." I said, "What makes you say that?" He said, "Don't take me seriously. I'm only fooling." But he wasn't laughing or even smiling.

BOY NO. 1: Sometimes we come back from a weekend and talk about girls and stuff. Then we have a regular conversation. Then sometimes it goes back to joking about race like, "Hey, nigger boy, c'mere and shine my shoes." And then I joke right back.

GIRL NO. 2: One day in the school bus we were going on a trip. Most of us got in the front and the white kids were in the back. And someone said, "Hey, isn't it supposed to be the other way around?"

GIRL NO. 1: Then some of them really express how they feel, and they don't hide it from us. I like them better because you know what to expect from them. Like there's one boy, he'll tell you he likes the governor and believes in the governor. He says it in a joking way but he means it. He's telling the truth and you know what to expect from him.

GIRL NO. 3: There's a problem when you talk about the society again. I have a close white friend. She was in camp with me, and camp is different y'know; we were tight together there. I was thinking of inviting her down here but I can't because our society wouldn't accept her here. And I can't go to her society because she lives with white folks . . . I guess that's right because she is white folk. (LAUGHTER) You have to be in an area where you can be accepted together. It's not like that down here. That's what's wrong, and it'll take time, a long time, to change.

Reflections on School Integration: II.

(This is a transcript of an hour and one-half session with seven Negro youngsters who desegregated and are attending a predominantly white school in the Deep South. All students are in the ninth through twelfth grades. 8/66)

QUESTION: Who made the decision for you to go to a white school and how was it made? What were the first days like?

GIRL No. 1: Well, last year we got these applications to fill out, it was a freedom of choice thing, and you chose the school that you wanted to go to the next year. I chose to go because I felt that I could get a better education here. I knew that the school that I was then attending wasn't giving me exactly what I should have had. We needed more materials and things there that we didn't have. As far as the Science Department was concerned, it just didn't have the chemicals we needed and I just decided to change. When I went over the students there weren't very friendly and when I graduated they still weren't. They didn't want us there and they made that plain, but we went there anyway and we stuck it out. The lessons there were harder, lots harder, but I studied and I managed to pass all my subjects. I had the most trouble in Physical Education, that's where we'd play games. They'd get dirty in the games and try to hurt us. I was outside one day, as a typical example; we were playing and the teacher had gone inside. The boys started calling names and I tried to ignore them, I had been instructed to do so by my parents. I tried to ignore them, but you know there's only so much you can take. So when they called me nigger or black nigger, well I just called them yellow nigger or something back. And that just leads from one word to another and pretty soon we had a pretty heated argument started and, you know, I just tried to forget it, just forget that they were talking, ignore them again. That's when they started throwing green pecans, they were on the trees there. I reported it to the teacher and she acted as if it wasn't anything. I went and reported it to the principal and he said, like the Governor said a long time ago, "Do it like you do it with mud, you let it dry and it will shake off better." He always had some slogan like this to say to us. I would always get into a lot of trouble in P.E. but I don't think that I would get into the trouble really, the trouble would come to me. They'd always start something, throwing something at me, or calling me names. In Physical Education, I was the only Negro in their class. It was a class of three grades, kids out of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades. And everytime I reported something to the teacher she acted as if it wasn't anything, so then I just started hitting them back if they hit me. One day this girl and I started throwing books, she hit me with a book and I picked it up and I hit her back, then she threw a purse and I picked it up and threw it back, and everything she threw I hit it back. Then the next thing the P.E. teacher heard about it and called us into the shower room, and I don't think this other girl liked that. So we went into the shower

room and she talked to us and she told me that I brought a lot of these things on myself and she talked as if it was my fault that the girl hit me. Well, I told her that I didn't think it was my fault. She got real angry with me that day and at the end of that six week period I had a D. I got a D. in P.E., the easiest subject there was; when I got an A in Biology for the same six weeks, and B in Chemistry and like this.

GIRL No. 2: One of our worst problems was the lunch system. Our cooks were very rough; I would go through the lunch line and they would fix my food up sloppy. We reported this to some of the people in the community and they talked with the principal about it. One of my other problems was that my history teacher would call on me to read mostly all the time, and because I couldn't read very well the children would laugh. Everytime I would call on someone to read the class would laugh. The teacher would go out of the class almost everyday so the kids could call on me and have fun on me. One of the other problems was my English teacher; he would make jokes up about me and some of the other students said that he made jokes up about them. I decided to go because I had no experience with going to school with white children before and a few of my friends were doing it so I decided I would too.

GIRL No. 3: I made my decision to go for one main reason, even though I was kind of popular at my old school. Most of the children who were valedictorian or salutatorian at the old school went to college. They had to study very hard and some of them couldn't even pass their entrance examination. I decided I wanted to go to college after I finished high school, so what I wanted to do was go to a school so I could get the proper education so when I went to college I wouldn't be embarrassed by my fellow students who thought I was so smart. That was the reason I made this decision to go to a white school and I think that is my main reason for going. After I got there I wasn't a bit surprised at the attitude of the students there because it had been said before that these kids are absolutely wild. They wouldn't listen to the principal and wouldn't mind the teachers and I wasn't a bit surprised. I was kind of prepared for some of the incidents that happened. Really, I didn't know how I would take being called a Nigger because I had never been called a Nigger before. I just didn't know how I would take it. I couldn't tell anybody I wouldn't hit anybody when they called me Nigger. But after I got over there and had been called a Nigger about a thousand times during the first six-week period I'd feel a burning inside, and after the third six-week period I'd get over this burning inside, but really a Nigger still seems kind of like insulting to me. Anyway I got over being called a Nigger but I didn't get over being hit with paper. I just couldn't take that. I had one very mild and calm teacher. Well one reason I say this was he didn't want me to tell him anything out loud and I had to be sure to go back and whisper to him if I was telling him anything about the students. One day I had to call him and tell him the students were hitting me with paper and but he didn't hear, so I called to him louder and he answered, but he still didn't make any mention of the kids

throwing paper. I also heard that all the children had to do was get used to you and they would get better, but toward the end of the school term instead of getting better they were getting worse. I would say that the reason for this was because at the beginning of the school term the principal was really rough and tight on them but he began to slack up on them and they began to get like they were the year before. Well, we went to the graduation and there were incidents at the graduation, and it was just like the students said. The principal wouldn't take anything serious; everything would go so calm with him. He would make some joke about it or have some kind of slogan or motto to make about every incident. My sister was in that one incident and we went to the office and I think that was pretty serious, blood on the coats and shirts and everything and he took it so calmly. He told us that everything would pass over easy, well, we just could leave it there. Well, we could see that he wanted to rest there, because he said that that would be the end of it. But later he decided he wanted to go further because he called the superintendent's office, but he didn't know who was in the superintendent's office and that's why he got into it, because some men from Washington were down asking questions and going on and they came right over to the situation. But, in all, I think I got what I was going there for, even if it was only for one year. I think if I was sent back to school this year I don't think it would do any good because what I wanted to go there for would be the whole three years, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. I think that's the only way it would help me in college. I did get a great deal of what I was going for. The lessons are harder, especially our English and Literature. The school is better than the old school, for instance, the library and the typing room. They have more typewriters and more books in the library; you could double it from the school we went to before. In the home economics classroom they have more machines; and this is another place that we found that we were discriminated against. Our home economics teacher would have the new machines on one side of the room and the old on the other side, and would put us into groups to let us use the old machines and the white girls use the new ones. And in cooking she would always give out the recipes and stuff and we would always get the small amount. And she would separate us into three groups so that the three Negro girls were in the same group together. In the lunch room we had trouble also. Near the end of the school term a girl's plate was shattered with something a boy threw in it. The principal just looked at that and I think just passed it over. Anyway it was a great experience for me and I think all the other children that went.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, I decided to go because I figured that I could get a better education there and there would be better facilities for me than at the other school I went to. When I started it seemed as though it was going to be pretty nice. At least the first day the students and instructors were pretty friendly, but after about two weeks of school trouble began for me. The first of the week I just ignored everything as I had been instructed to do, but one day about the last of the week I was hit in my back by a rubber band. I

turned around and I didn't see anything, everyone looked so innocent. There were two Negro girls sitting in back of me so I asked them "Who hit me?" and they told me the boy who hit me. I hit him back, and it went on. We were going to a pep rally, and the pep rally was pretty nasty, for me at least, because the students were throwing spit balls around, shooting rubber bands that would hit you in the back, and sailing airplanes in the bleachers. They were at the top of the bleachers and they would sail things down that would hit you in the back of the head and everything. The instructors were down there but they were acting like nothing was going on, so we just ignored it. I missed school on Monday because the busses that had been picking us up at our home had been stopped because of the man that lived next door to us. He owned the land and said the bus was travelling over his private property, so we didn't go to school because the bus didn't come for us. But Tuesday I was in school, and after lunch I was going to my class and one of the students shot me and hit me in my back with a rubber band, so I turned around and hit him back. I went to my classroom and approximately fifteen minutes after I got into the classroom the principal came and asked the instructor if he could speak to me. So after I went into the office I found that this boy that I hit was in the office too. The principal asked me if I hit this boy, and I said yes. Then he asked me why and I told him why — all the trouble that I had had with this boy in the beginning — and so he asked this boy had he had any trouble out of me. This boy said no, he had never seen me before. I knew that that was untrue because I was an unusual person over there, he would have noticed me before just because of the color of my skin and all. Another way I found out he was telling a story is that I had hit this boy back once before and then he still told the principal that he had never seen me before. So the principal told me that it was settled, and I went back to my classroom. The next day at school I was called out of my classroom during the first period and we went to the counseling room. They told me that they wanted to talk to me and wanted me to tell them what happened. So I told them and they wanted to know whether I was telling the truth. They also wanted to know whether I was being paid to do the things that I did — such as go to that school — and was I being informed by anyone to do those things. I told them no. They were also recording the things I said on a tape recorder. All the other Negro students were called in and they were taped too about this incident and asked if they knew about this boy hitting me and anything. Some of the students said no but they knew about them being hit themselves; well, they told them that that wasn't the point. And so they told me first period that it was settled, but third period I was called into the office again. I went into the office and the principal told me that I was suspended by him for five days and he said after that it was out of his hands, but it might be further suspended by the board of education. So after my five day suspension was up I thought I would come back to school, but I never did, not during that semester. As I was leaving the office there was a deputy standing there; as I started to go down the hall he said, "Hey," so I just kept on walking because my name wasn't hey. He said come

and go with me for you are under arrest. I said for what. He said for assault and battery. I said who was the arrest made by and all and he told me. So I went along and stayed all night in jail; my parents tried to get me out but they failed; it wasn't possible for them to do so. At first they were not going to let my parents sign the bond, then they were going to let people who were eligible sign the bond. So my parents went home and they were back early next morning and they got me out of jail. I had to go on trial too so the lawyer that we got told us that we would have to go on trial. When the day of the trial came and we went into the courthouse, the counselor said that there wouldn't be any need of going through a trial since my main point was getting back into school. So they didn't have the trial and I thought I was going to get back into school pretty soon, and my mother kept trying to catch up with the superintendent. My mother made several trips to his office but never could get in touch with the superintendent to find out when I was going to go back to school. He never was there, and she also make an appointment but he wasn't there at the time of the appointment. So by this time it was near the end of November, I think, the first of December, when a man from Washington came and interviewed me. He told me that I would get back to school pretty soon and I was informed by the superintendent of the school that I could come back in school in January. He said there wouldn't be any need of me coming in the first semester because I wouldn't get any grades for it. So I started school January 3rd and tension was high there. The students were still yelling and everything and some of the instructors were pretty nasty but some of them were pretty nice. This typing instructor was real bad. When my books would be misplaced or put in the trash can and I would ask her about them she would say you should keep them in your own place, I'm not responsible for them. I couldn't even turn my back and some of my books were missing and moved. I'd have to go around the room and she doesn't even know anything about it. For an example, one day I was carrying my books to the room and I had to go out. When I came back my books were gone and my bag also. I didn't say anything, I asked her if I could go to the office. She said is it important and I said yes it is, and she said well what do you want. I said I want my books and she said oh, your books, I think they are in the trash can. She left the room before the class period was all done and I assumed that she had gone to the office, because by the time the bell sounded and I went to the principal's office the principal was already informed about what happened. He said you'll just have to ignore those things, the best way to solve the problem is to ignore those things. That was his usual saying. So, some more incidents that I had in typing was that everytime I would come in the room the typewriter would have a staple in the machine or my desk would have powder from the eraser. I went back to the principal and he must have called the instructor about it because it didn't happen any more. Another incident I had after I got back in school was a terrible fight I had. I was getting off the bus and one of the guys hit me in the face and of course I got off the bus behind him and he just turned, that's what he said. But he later changed it and said

that I pushed him and so that's why he hit me. I went into the office myself, and the principal had to send for this boy. When he got into the office he acted like he still wanted to fight me and wanted to jump on me then. The principal had to talk to him and then sent him out for a few minutes to get control of himself but I still was in the office telling him what happened. When this boy came back he told his side of the story and the principal asked him what he called me. He told him he wouldn't like to repeat what he said so the principal told him that he knew what he said anyway. Well, I wanted to call my mother but the principal insisted that I shouldn't call my mother because he didn't want any trouble aroused. If it was, he said, it probably would be in Washington by tomorrow that I called my mother. I said I still wanted to call my mother because the first time that I got in trouble things were done over her head and she didn't know anything about it. I said that I just insist that I call my mother. He said no don't call her so I didn't call my mother. So about third period the superintendent and two men from Washington were there and they interviewed all of us and asked what had happened. So this time both of the students were suspended for three days. Those were about the worse incidents that I had, after that I still decided that I would go back because it had been a great experience.

Boy No. 1: Well, when they gave out the choice to decide on which school you would go to I decided I would go because I would get a better education. When school opened a group of us went over there into the auditorium and we stayed in there for a while until they made out the forms and things for which class we were going to go to. Our teacher was always calling on us when we wouldn't have our hands up, and when we did have our hands up she wouldn't call on us, when we'd take them down that's when she would call on us. And then one morning in our first period class, my friend was at his desk, and she called him up in front of the class, trying to embarrass him. He had soap on his face that couldn't come off good and she told him that he had soap on his face and that he hadn't washed his face. Well they'd make remarks about him and laugh at him. And then he went and took his seat. And when we'd be in P.E. class the coach wouldn't be there, he had boys lead the class. We would be playing football. Every day they'd tell the boys to try to hurt us and knock us down and they would do it. One of them would pretend to act nice and tell them not to do it, but he didn't mean it anyway and this other one would tell them to keep on. So one day, we was playing football and this one boy hit me and I hit him back and then I wouldn't play football no more that day. I told him that I wanted to go see the coach and he told me to run five laps around, and I ran five laps, and then he took me to the coach's office. He wasn't in so he told me to come back and run the rest of the period and I wouldn't run. He told me that if I didn't run he was going to whup me and I told him he wasn't going to whup me and I wasn't going to run. The period was nearly up then so we changed classes and he told me to come back the next day. So I went back the next day and then he asked me what I had to tell him. I told him that I didn't have nothing to tell him today

since he didn't want to listen to what I had to say yesterday. So then when my card came up I had an F in P.E.

Boy No. 2: Well, I thought I would get a better education here and learn more. The first day I went here and I had trouble with the teachers. She would call on me all the time and when I wouldn't be ready she would call on me. Like if I had a test or something, six week test or something like that, she would get some of the dumbest children to grade my paper and they would put anything down. And when the children made a mistake she said that she couldn't do anything about it, so I just left them alone until the next day. They kept giving me F's on my paper when I made a B or something like that, so I went and told the principal. He said that he had to look into it, so he looked into it and told the teacher that from now on she's suppose to grade the paper. And then another problem I had was when I was going to the lunch room after I got my arm broken playing P.E. You see my arm was broken and I couldn't pick up nothing with one hand. When she gave me something I didn't want she'd say get what I give you and go ahead on. And when I see the white kids get in they say to her that they don't want that and she doesn't give it to them. When I sit down, sometimes I would be the only one in there and they'd throw cups and everything. Once when I was with a group of other Negroes someone threw something in a girl's plate next to me and I went and told the principal. He stood up and that next afternoon those boys who I told on trailed me all the way home and stopped me and asked me why I told on their friend. I said because I wanted to and they pulled out a knife and said if you tell again we gonna cut your neck off, and then I just went off. And then the next day they started saying that's the nigger that I'm going to cut his head off and all that. I went and told the principal and he said there was nothing he could do about it. Everyday when I come home they follow me and try to run me off the road or something like that.

Girl No. 5: I went because I knew that the curriculum was greater and they had more equipment and better facilities. When I first went I had trouble with Physical Ed; I was the only Negro in that class because I was the only Negro in my grade. When I was playing, the teacher, the coach would tell the P.E. instructor that he would let the boys play with the girls. We were playing bombard, and all the boys said they must all try and get the nigger. They would throw the ball and always hit me, so next time I said I wasn't going to play. I went back and sat down on the bleachers and the teacher said for me to go back out there and play. I said that I wasn't going to play because they kept hitting me with the ball too hard. She said that they weren't hitting me any harder than they were hitting the white children. So I went back out there and played and the next thing this white girl hit me real bad. And when we first started school we didn't have a bus to ride, so we had to walk, and my brother would take me in his car. Then his car stopped working then and we had to walk home. And this one evening some boys followed us home and he tried to run over one of my sisters. We told the principal the next day and he said that he couldn't do anything about it. And when we were walking

home my mother picked me up and she called these Washington people and they came down and he told me to write a report on it and send it to Washington. I told them about everything but my letter didn't get to Washington because people in the post office did something to it. When these men came back they asked me why I didn't write to them and I told them I did, but they said that they didn't get my letter. I guess they went to the post office and checked on it. They would hold up a lot of our mail and it would never get to us. One day I was walking down the hall and this boy shot me in the back with a rubber band. I went to the office and told the principal. He asked me who did it, and I said that there were lots of kids walking behind me and I didn't know. He said that there wasn't anything he could do about it. When we went to court and I had to testify about this girl who stuck this boy with a pencil, I told him that I didn't know anything about that but that they had shot me. He said he didn't ask me about that and he had asked me about this girl and this other boy. And one day I was the only person in my class and this boy threw a pencil and it hit me. This policeman's boy was picking up these pencils and crayons and handing it to this boy. He threw and he hit me and I told the teacher. She asked me if it hurt and I said no, but this boy shouldn't have hit me with it anyway. She said well, just forget about it then. When I was going to study hall this boy was throwing rocks at me and this other girl. This Negro girl was already in the study hall and they locked me out of the class and she couldn't open the door. When we got in there they started throwing rocks and crayons at us. I told the teacher and she went back there, and they all started laughing, and she was laughing with them. And then they went outside and they brought more rocks and they started throwing them.

QUESTION: Are the teachers at your new school any different, any better or worse, than at your old school?

GIRL NO. 5: I think the teachers at the new school are worse than the ones at the Negro school because they don't give you exactly what you make. At the Negro school they don't give you exactly what you make either, but they're worse here. If you make a good grade they'll give you a bad grade and if you make a bad grade then they still give it to you. But they also make it lower and they don't treat you equally. When something happens they put it all on us and they don't do anything about it. They do stay in their room longer but when something happens they still don't know about it because they don't try to find out about anything. At the old school the teachers stayed out of the room more, but still if you tell them about something they do something about it. But here they just don't treat us equally because we are Negroes and the other children are white.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, I don't know what teachers are the best but I know the teachers over at the old school, some of them, do the best of their ability. They teach us what they can, some of them, and the white teachers over here are better educated and they have better ability to teach us than some of the Negro teachers. That's the only way that I can say that the teachers are better

at the white school than at the Negro school. The grading system was that if you make a high grade, like if you made an A you would get an A. But over here you would get a B, and if you made a B you might get a D minus or an F. I know in one class that I thought I got a B and this one teacher always gave me C's, and I improved in my class but still the highest mark in that class was a C minus.

BOY No. 2: Well, I think the teachers are worse here because they don't give you what you make. When you have a test one teacher gives some of the students your paper to grade and then she would go over it and she would take off for spelling. I had a teacher who was real nice; she helped you out with your lesson and if they was bothering you she would make them stop and punish them. She would give you what you make, and if you didn't make it then she would help you out and give you a few points to make you pass.

GIRL No. 4: I think the teachers at the white school are better than the ones at the Negro school because they teach you better and they do stay in the classroom.

GIRL No. 5: I think its hard to say which teachers are better because teachers here and at the old school both have their bad points. For that matter at any Negro or white school they all have some good points and some bad points. The teachers at the Negro school could teach more than they do, but like it has been said, they don't spend enough time in their classroom. When they do they're not teaching a lot of the time. They're often doing their monthly report instead of teaching us. And as far as incidents are concerned here, if something happens in the classroom most time it goes unnoticed unless the white students get the worse end of it. But at the old school incidents are always given the best consideration and both parties usually go to the office and get it settled. But the teachers at the white school see it different, and only the Negroes go to the office if the white person gets hurt bad enough to report it.

GIRL No. 3: It is kind of hard to compare the teachers at the school because each has their bad points. I think at the old school the teachers would do better if they'd get more education and more facilities and equipment to work with. They don't have these things and just don't care. I think that they would prefer to be in the lounge. And at the white school they do stay in the room more. I had a few just teachers over here, about two, that would give you just what you make. They really were better teachers, especially, as I said before, in English; they had more materials because they would send out for these work books and they could explain the lessons better than the Negro teachers. But as far as their personalities was concerned the teachers at the old school were the best and I think everybody should know that and the reason for that. But there are some things that can improve at the Negro school I went to, because I think they'd do better if the teachers had stricter rules they would go by. But at this school now we went a great deal further in our books than we did in the former Negro school I went to.

QUESTION: How did the Negro community react to your going to a previously all-white school?

GIRL NO. 2: I think the Negro people in our community gave us quite a deal of encouragement because when our house was bombed they really went in and helped us a great deal. But I guess you can see there the whites' attitude from our house getting bombed; they weren't too cooperative in our going to the white school. But the Negro people were really cooperative because when we had problems in school they got a civic leader and went together and formed this committee to go and see the principal at school about some incidents that happened in the lunch room and that really improved.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, the Negro people in my home community didn't seem as if they were at all for it. They would say that we aren't ready to be with the white people yet; we should stay and try and get ourselves together first before we try and get with somebody else; integrate the Negro first is what they were saying. But here in this town there were a lot of people who gave me a lot of encouragement and the encouragement enabled me to go on and graduate and be the first Negro girl to graduate from a previously all-white school. They were very nice to me because I had a very hard time getting to school and I had to catch ways of getting to school. The people in this community drove me to school and then I could catch the Negro school's bus back. But in my community they weren't at all for it, and now that I've graduated they still say I don't see any good that you've done, any reason why you went there. Talking about my graduation, everything inside went fine but after I stepped out the door after the line marched out somebody hit me with a raw egg and the egg slid down my gown. I didn't know what to do then. I didn't want to run because they would say that I was afraid but I should have, I just stood there. I just had to think and get myself together and then I walked around to the car and waited to meet my mother, but she got mixed up and went to the wrong door looking for me. So I went to the car and she saw what had happened so she, my father, and my aunt took the robe to the principal and the senior advisor and showed it to them so they couldn't say that I just said it happened. They saw what was on the robe and he said I sure do hate it that that happened, that's all he could say, the principal, we sure are sorry about that. Commencement exercises, well, things weren't too bad; a man from the Health, Education and Welfare Department in Washington drove me to the exercises. He was waiting at the door of my dressing room to get me, and he and my mother and this white lady who's working with group desegregation were waiting for me. I didn't have any trouble getting out of there.

GIRL NO. 1: The Negroes in my community didn't have too much to do with it but the whites would ask the older heads of the community who was the girl. I don't think that they ever found my house, but no one would tell them who it was. But they were picketing my uncle's house because that was where I caught the bus. My uncle stays at the end of the road from my

house, and my house is sort of back up in the hills. That's why they never found my house. And the whites would watch the bus every morning when I went to school, and this man who runs the store, he would watch the bus every morning and I would turn my head so he couldn't see me.

BOY NO. 1: Well, in my community the people was all for me going to the white school, but in other parts of town they would say we shouldn't be going over there and they would be frightened to send their children because they would be afraid that their house would get burned, or bombed, or either they would hurt their children. So they wouldn't send them over there. But even though in my community they was all for me going, only a few still sent their children to the white school.

GIRL NO. 2: Well, in comparing the opinions of the two races the Negroes in my community gave me a lot of encouragement but still they didn't want to send their children. They would want to wait until the barriers were broken down, and then I think they would send their children. But yet they thought it was nice that I was going and they hoped that I didn't have any trouble. That was in the community where I stayed, but the people in the city and around here gave me a lot of encouragement and also helped and also tried to do things like having us get to school and helping us solve problems that arose. The white people, well, they stopped speaking and just looked at you real hard and they didn't say anything. And as I said we had hard stares and they stopped speaking to us, like we had committed a crime, I guess.

BOY NO. 2: Well the colored people in my community, well some of the colored anyway, the Uncle Toms, would tell me to stay in my place and they weren't going to sit near us over there and get throwed at and called Nigger. The white people would pass by at night and throw bombs like the fourth of July. One time a carload of white people passed by and throwed a cherry bomb up on the house and this scared us.

GIRL NO. 5: Well, people in my neighborhood didn't like my going cause they said that I was just trying to be popular and the white school wasn't any better than the Negro school. They said that the Negro was the newest school. They said that our house was going to be burned and the Ku Klux Klan was going to get us and lots of people was going to get killed. They wasn't going and didn't want those people coming in their neighborhood. Our house did get burned, and when it did people said that's what I told you was going to happen. And when I'd come home from school the children would come up to me and ask me, well, who did you get into a fight with today? What white girl did you beat up? And who's your white boyfriend? They never did try to help us, all they did was try to get funny. They would ask well, who rode the Negro bus yesterday, you just ride your white bus and stay off our bus. There aren't many more people going to the white school this year, and there's only two going; the others stayed up at the Negro school.

GIRL NO. 1: The only trouble we were having was the first day the bus

brought us home. Our mother carried us to school that morning but the bus brought us back that afternoon. The next week this man in front of us told us that he didn't want the bus coming over on his property even though the Negro bus had been coming over it for two years and he hadn't mentioned it. He said this bus, because it was supposed to be a white bus, was destroying his land. So we had to meet the bus out the road after that, it was about a mile and a half out there. We had quite a few incidents on the bus, like throwing paper. We sat in the front of the bus because he said we would be more protected because we would be sitting closer to the bus driver and it would be safer for us to sit in the front seat. But I think that was just another disadvantage because we couldn't see behind us and we was just a target up there in front. The bus driver couldn't keep his eyes in the mirror all the time because he had to watch the road. He was a nice bus driver and everything but he was quite nervous, and when he got mad he really got nervous, and he would drive all across the road. But he was real good and tried to help us solve our problems, because he carried some of the children to the office. After the white children get off we was just afraid and we was just the first ones that got on. It kind of improved from the first term on the bus, it kind of improved.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, at the beginning of the school year the bus driver was an old white friend of my family and he was very nice, but some of the white kids made a report that he couldn't control the children. So they took him off and they put a horrible bus driver on.

QUESTION: How was he horrible?

GIRL NO. 4: Well, she never did bother the kids when they bothered me but she just would say that she wished that these Niggers would get a bus of their own or something like that.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, the first day of school I rode the formerly all-white bus and it wasn't any trouble at all for me. Well, in about two weeks we had to walk to the road because the bus was transporting over private property. The Negro bus had been going over it for two years and I don't see how the white bus could have been doing any more damage to the property than the Negro bus, unless it, the reason it was doing damage, was that it was better than the Negro bus. So in other words, we had to walk to the road. They stopped both busses and we had to walk to the road and ride it.

QUESTION: Do you trust white people more or less now that you've been to school with them?

GIRL NO. 5: Well, I trust white people less now because you can never tell about them. They try and act friendly but when they get behind your back they'll start talking and they'll stretch everything you said farther and they'll add more to it and they'll take it around until it gets to their parents. Then the parents will take it to their friends and their friends might be Ku Klux

Klan. You can't hardly say much to the white students because they are slick and sly and you can't hardly trust them.

BOY NO. 2: Well, I don't trust white people either because you may think that they are being friendly but come to think of it they are not. In other words, when you get around them they'll be friendly, but if a white person is with me and then we see a group of other white people and they see him with me, they will call him a Nigger lover. So you be thinking that he'd be a friend and the white people get mad; so he just quit being friends. Sometimes he'd be friendly and sometimes he won't.

GIRL NO. 4: Well, I trust white people less, because since I've been around them I am more familiar with them and their ways. The only thing I knew about white people was when they came around they would be friendly and all that. When I started school some of those people who I thought would be friendly looked like they were my worst enemies. Everytime they smiled in your face they were just trying to get some information, that's all, and when they get that they are gone and they are just like any other white person. Therefore, I trust them less.

BOY NO. 1: Well, I don't trust white people at all, because they'll pretend that they are your friend and when you turn your back then they'll hit you and call you some silly name. They'll turn their back and pretend that they don't know nothing about it.

GIRL NO. 1: I trust white people less because there was this white lady that my mother knew and she had promised to send my sister to college, but after I attended the white school she wouldn't have anything to do with my mother.

GIRL NO. 2: Well, I trust white people less now than I did before and it's just that you can't be sure about them. You can't be sure where you stand with them ever. Some of them will smile in your face, and some of them really mean it, I think, but they don't want any other white person seeing them talk to you because they are afraid that they'll be called Nigger lover or something. Then, too, there are very few Negroes now that you can trust.

GIRL NO. 3: Well, I don't know whether I'd trust them less or more than I did before because the white people in our community wasn't really close with us but you really found out what the white people's attitude was by going to school with them. I don't trust too many white people and I don't think that they trust me either. For instance, I don't say anything to them. Like this teacher asked me one question but to get the whole information she had to ask me five more and that really made her mad with me. I wouldn't tell them anything but yes and no and sometimes not that. But you really know how to act more intelligent around a white person if you are with them every day. I think some Negroes just get excited when they are around a white and they laugh in his face, and at his little funny jokes, and at what he says. He can give you the twinkle in his eye so that it makes

Negroes go crazy. Well, I think you really find out when you go to a white school that when I see one do that it makes me mad instead of friendly. I know that now I get madder quicker with a white person since I went to this school. You really find out his attitude; you know that he didn't mean anything he says because he smiles at you one minute and he's ready to cut your neck off the next. So it really makes you mad when you really find out about him. They really try to take advantage of you with their smiles and their funny words, they really try to take advantage of you.

QUESTION: Are the white kids in your classes as smart as you thought they were?

GIRL NO. 3: On that question, I was really surprised as I went to the white school. They say, "Oh, the Negroes are so dumb," but I really found out that the Negroes are not really dumb at all. If they really had the chance and opportunities they would be a lot smarter than the white children because the white children who went to that school ever since the first grade I had caught up with in the first six weeks I went there. Now I was kind of backward on some subjects, like math, because the only time I took that I was in seventh grade and I had a hard time with math. But in all my other subjects I caught up with most of the white children and passed them in the first six weeks. And I was so surprised with the white children that made F's, and they would be thinking that the teachers were so hard. Most of the children hated my English teacher because she was hard and I think a great many more white children made F's than I did. They really get hot with you when you get ahead of them and I really had lots of trouble with that because I was smarter than most of them, most of the other children in my room, especially in the tenth grade. I don't know about other grades, but I do feel that the white race is not smarter than the Negro. If the Negro kids had the opportunity and would get down to it and work for it the Negro race could get up with the white race any time.

GIRL NO. 1: Well, before I went to the white school I always did think that the white person was smarter than we were. I used to think that they were just born smarter, just because they were white, but I found out this year that this isn't true. There were a lot of them who had more trouble than I had in getting their lesson and they had been in this school and in this situation, maybe not in the same situation, but they had been around their friends and their teachers for eleven years before then. Some of them couldn't do half as good as I could, and I don't see how some of them even graduated. They failed some subject and took an extra subject, and make D's in that subject and they still passed. I just don't understand it. I think that may be the reason we think that we aren't as smart as they are because they've made us feel like we don't know anything.

GIRL NO. 4: I feel that they made us feel that we don't know anything because they always keep us in the kitchen or on the yard or on the farms.

They never have made us feel like we should be anything; never made me feel like anything.

GIRL No. 4: Before I went to the white school I had a feeling that white students were smarter than I; I don't know why, maybe I heard that white people are so smart. But after I went to school with them I learned that the white students really aren't as smart as we are. Comparing the chance that the Negro has had and the chance that the white has had they aren't as smart as the Negro. If the Negro had had the same opportunity as the white has had I would say that they would be smarter than the white. But as it stands the Negro is just as smart as the white if he really gets right down to it.

QUESTION: Why do you think it is that some white people don't want you to go to school with them?

GIRL No. 5: I think they don't want us over here because they have better equipment and they have more facilities and things and they know that we can catch on real fast. When we catch on then we can get better jobs and we will be up with them and maybe we'll pass them. Like they want us under them now and they want to be over us; later on in the future we might be over them and they'd be under us and they are afraid of that.

GIRL No. 1: Well I think it's just a deeply rooted custom in their bones that the Negroes are and should be under them. I guess when they brought our foreparents from Africa they just don't ever think we'd be compared with them. It's hard to get in their heads that the Negro will be equal to them one day.

GIRL No. 2: I think that the whites don't want us to be in school with them because they think or have read in the Bible that one day a black nation will rise up from the East and conquer the world. I think that they think that we might be that black nation. And I think that they think that we think we might be that black nation.

GIRL No. 4: The only reason that I can see is that they think that we will excell over them. They don't understand the Negro and naturally when you don't understand something you're afraid of it. They are afraid of us and don't want us with them. They're afraid of what we can do if we just get what they have—you know the opportunities they have, the facilities they have—just think what we could do.

GIRL No. 3: I think the whites don't want us at the white school because after we get through telling them all our business and doing everything that they want us to do, if we are not doing that then they don't understand it. And if we're not working in the kitchen or in the yard, and if we get up and want an education, well, they just don't understand this. They just won't know what else we'll be wanting to do after we get over here so they really don't want us over here to find out. They want us to stay in our place and they don't want us to get out of our place; they think our place is in their yard or their kitchen or something like that.

QUESTION: What do you think about Negro fellows being drafted to serve in the army in Vietnam?

GIRL NO. 3: Well, that is a confusing subject, but I know that the Negro is improving in the United States, he's getting more now than he has been getting, and I think that if a person is getting what he's supposed to, if he's being treated fairly, he's supposed to help defend his country. Say, for instance, if a parent is feeding a child in a house and is giving the child the correct amount of food and not neglecting it, the child should be able to help defend the household. He should help do the things around the household and obey his parents and I think that's the way it is with the Negro being drafted into the army. I wouldn't say it would have been fair a while back, but if the Negro really gets what he should in America, then he should help defend his country. On the same subject I think that they should give the Negro more than they are now. For instance they are helping the Vietnamese people and those people aren't even in America. They should spend all the money they are spending, as Senator Kennedy said, on the Negro people to help them improve their race. I do think that they should be giving them more than they are now.

GIRL NO. 1: I think that the Negro should be drafted into the army as well as the white man. I mean the Negro is living in this country and he's just beginning to get some of the things he's supposed to have and he should want to fight for his country. But that's not enough, because the Negro people have been behind for so long in this country that they should draft all the white people and let us catch up. (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 3: Well, you have to look at it both ways. For a long time the Negro has been deprived of opportunities that should have been given to him a long time ago. If he couldn't go to a restaurant and eat here in America then he shouldn't go somewhere else and fight for his country. But if he's going to fight for his country then he should be able to eat where he wanted and sit anywhere he wanted. I think he should defend his country if it's necessary, but I think he should be defended in his country also before he goes to try and help defend people outside of his country.

BOY NO. 1: Well, I don't think the Negro should be drafted. The white people want to rule the world and I think they should go and draft all the white people if they want to rule the world.

GIRL NO. 5: I think that the Negro should be drafted into the army, because it's like when you go to school, you have to participate in the activities. The army is like activity and he should participate in it. He should because he's fighting for his country and if he don't fight then they might say that its not his country. He should go into the army and prove to them that it is his country. He should go and fight.

QUESTION: What kind of reactions do you think white teachers would get from predominantly Negro schools?

GIRL NO. 5: I think that if a white teacher went to the Negro school that

we would have to give them the best courtesy. We would have to respect them, probably more than we did the colored people. I guess because the teacher would go back and say that we were ignorant, the principal would probably be saying that we would have to respect them and show our courtesy and show how intelligent we are because they go back and tell these other people. Probably if a colored teacher goes to the white school then they treat this teacher the same way.

BOY No. 2: Well, if a white teacher came then they would have a great respect for them. They won't holler and they will be saying Yes Ma'am and all that and the place will be so quiet.

GIRL No. 3: I think that if a white teacher would go to a Negro school they'd be accepted in a bundle of arms, because the Negroes so easily accept a white person. You know Negroes do accept white people quicker than white people accept Negroes. Look at the Negro as a whole, if they hadn't been affiliated with the white man they think they just won't get the white person to like them and they do just anything if they can get them to like them. That's why I think a white teacher would be accepted readily in a Negro school by most students.

GIRL No. 1: I think a white teacher wouldn't be accepted with the students any more than any other instructor. It has been stated that Negroes don't know how to react to white people, but I think as the generation grows older and the students are more familiar with this racial problem that they would know how to react toward her. I think they would react toward her no more than any other teacher.

QUESTION: Do you see, or are you friendly with, your white classmates outside of school?

GIRL No. 5: I received a telephone call when I went to school and this girl asked me to meet them in front of the school. When I went back to school I told the principal about it and they said she hadn't called, that it was somebody playing a joke. When I went to school in Physical Education class this girl wrote me a note and told me to come to a party. I didn't know where so I told her something and then this other girl wrote me a note and told me that they were telling stories, that they weren't having this party. I wouldn't invite a white person to my house unless I trusted them a lot because I wouldn't just invite anybody to my house. They could just be setting a trap by setting a bomb in the house or something, but if it was someone that I knew well and trusted a lot I would.

QUESTION: What are your plans after you finish high school?

GIRL No. 1: Now that I have graduated I plan to enter college in September. I don't know as of yet what my major will be, I'll probably decide that in my second year.

GIRL No. 3: When I finish high school I'm not sure what college I would

go to, I'm not decided but I am decided on my career. I want to be a social worker, that's why I want to take up social work in college after I finish high school.

GIRL No. 4: After I finish high school I would like to go to the white college and I would like to major in math and in science.

BOY No. 2: After I finish high school I haven't decided which college I want to go to but I would like to major in Engineering.

GIRL No. 1: I am definitely undecided on what I'd like to be but I have thought about being a social worker in and around the community after I finish school. Lately I've been thinking about the Peace Corps and working in foreign countries.

QUESTION: What do you think it will take for race relations to get better down here?

GIRL No. 1: Well, what I think it would take to improve the condition is more students and integrated faculty and that most Negro students act like they know what they're doing. They should not be afraid and act like they're down to business and then the situation will improve.

GIRL No. 5: I think to make school a better place I think it will take courageous Negro students and some large Negro boys that are big and that has lots of courage, and an integrated faculty, and that's about all I think it would take.

QUESTION: What do you think would happen if more Negro students went to the white school?

GIRL No. 4: I think the situation would be better if more Negro students went because a lot of the students just pick on you because they think they can get by with it. I don't think a student would hit a Negro student if he thought somebody was behind him to give him just that much more. He wouldn't do it even if he thought somebody was behind him that would see him and tell the student who it was.

GIRL No. 1: I think it would be better if more Negro students were at school because, like she said, they would be afraid to bother you if they knew somebody else was with you, if they knew somebody else was with you and on your side and would help you if you needed that help. But like it is now with so many whites, they can just pick on you and there are not enough Negroes to do them enough harm back.

QUESTION: Were you allowed to join any of the organizations this year?

GIRL No. 1: When we got there they already had the cheering squad and the band picked out and they had been practicing during the summer. If you want to do anything you really got to start on it this year, you know sign up this year before and you get on it the next year.

GIRL No. 3: Most of the clubs and organizations they have, most of the students were elected in these clubs and organizations and you know I wouldn't be nominated, not last year anyway. To go back to the question on changes down here I think that depends. Now some of them you can change by nonviolence but some of them you just going to show them that you're going to knock something out of them before they'll let you alone. It just depends on the kind of student it is.

GIRL No. 1: Well, as before stated I think that depends; at first they have to try you and find out what kind of person you are and after they find out what type of person you is well then they will leave you alone. It doesn't matter whether it be violent or nonviolent after they find out what type of person you is.

GIRL No. 3: Referring to Negro students going to white schools, if they want to play they can stay over at the Negro school, but if they want to make the grade they're going to work when they come. If they're ready to work then they can come but if they're ready to play on every football team every game that comes up and every dance, well then they can stay because they give you time to do it.

QUESTION: How have your Negro friends reacted? Have you gone back to see them at school?

GIRL No. 1: Well, some of my friends made a lot of wise cracks like, you know, why don't you go over there and play with your little white boyfriend, are you talking to me, golly. But I don't think they really meant anything, if they were really my friends I'd think that they were, you know, just kidding. Most of them around my age were still nice to me, it was just the adults in my neighborhood that acted real snobbish and everything.

GIRL No. 4: Well, from some of the people I got real encouraging words and that helped me to go on over. In some cases some of the old people that didn't know any better, they felt that we were out of our place. Some cases stated they felt that it was all right. "You can be the first to go on but I wouldn't want my child to go. I think it's nice that you're going and I hope you have a nice time and all."

GIRL No. 5: Around my neighborhood my friends would call me "Cracker," and they would say "go on little white girl" and I would tell them that the color hadn't rubbed off me yet. They'd be telling me to go down the road and play with my white friends and asking me who I was going to the prom with, what white boy was taking me to the prom. And when they see a white boy up the road they'd say come up here and get your girlfriend, here she is and all that.

GIRL No. 4: Everytime I get talking about my experience at the white school something happens to me. I can't really express myself and I can't really tell what happens. It's like I was kind of in a trance. I was just walking around from day to day and doing what I thought I was supposed to do and

trying not to do what I wasn't supposed to do. As far as the things that I was studying, I won't know until this year after I enter college whether I really learned them or whether I just memorized them.

GIRL NO. 1: I went away up North and there I attended school. There it's already integrated and everything. I have an inferior complex toward some Negro and some white. While I was there in school, you know when you're down South you don't want to get too close to a white person for fear that they'll turn on you or something and you feel kind of like you got to stay by yourself. When a white person talks to you it kind of strikes you kind of hard. Up there they aren't trying to ask you anything or anything like that. They aren't trying to get any information from you, you are just going to school. But anyway, after I left this school I still felt the same way, that these white children were prejudiced toward me, that they didn't want to be around me, even though they were friendly. I just couldn't get it through my head that they were just being nice without trying to get anything from me.

GIRL NO. 4: I can be a witness to her experience, but it's not only with the whites, it's with Negroes too. I had a greater number of things than many of them—I feel that I don't know who to trust. Sometimes I don't know if someone's being nice and sincere or not. I guess its because when I was out the first semester so many people told me they were trying to get me back in school. The leading people in the community sometimes did things that leave me confused.

Reflections on School Integration: III.

(This is a transcript of an hour and one-half session with five Negro youngsters who desegregated and are attending a predominantly white school in the Deep South. All students are in the tenth through twelfth grades. 8/66)

QUESTION: How did you go about deciding to go to the white school, and what were some of the experiences you had there?

BOY No. 1: I heard it was a better school, and had better equipment and facilities than the Negro school that I was going to.

GIRL No. 1: Well, I understood that you had a chance to get better prepared, a better education than at the Negro school.

BOY No. 2: Not only that, it was a better equipped and higher educated school, an all around better school than the Negro one. My parents asked me if I wanted to go, what did I think about going to this school, and I told them I would like to go and they said I could go.

GIRL No. 1: I wanted to go and decided myself. My parents wouldn't make me go if I didn't want to. But I wanted to and then they let me go.

QUESTION: Did they call you any names?

BOY No. 2: Well not the first day, but later they called us names such as Niggers and all that.

GIRL No. 1: They would stare at you and look at you hard and they wouldn't say too much.

BOY No. 1: Most of the first day if the teachers asked you a question and you answered they mostly laugh.

QUESTION: How were the teachers compared to the teachers you had at the Negro school?

GIRL No. 1: I would say they were more prepared than some of the Negro teachers. I would say that most of them were nice, most of them. Some of them, about two or three, would always make a spectacle of Negroes, you know, would say something about Negroes. Especially one teacher would always try to say something to the kids and they would get a conversation up and all they would do is talk, look back at us and laugh.

BOY No. 1: Yeah, the first day of class I walked in the room and she said, "Have a seat." She said today we have a new student, today, today all day. It was different and that's all.

BOY No. 2: They are not better than Negroes. Most Negroes wear dresses but they are no better here. They may wear better things because they're

more able because they've taken all the Negroes' money and stuff from them.

Boy No. 1: Some of the teachers will try to be funny. When they get to a word like Negro, they call it Nigger or else try to make fun. When my father got a ticket for driving or something they talked about that and made wisecracks about it and asked how come they have to pay a ticket and he didn't have to pay out.

Boy No. 3: And again there is the problem of overcrowding classrooms in the Negro school; especially in the seventh grade there'd be about 60 students in the classroom. Over here our home-room teacher got mad at me the day after the election. The children started talking about the election and so we told them that we would have a colored sheriff and all that. We started talking about how many Negroes there were and the black camouflage and he got mad. The next day didn't nobody go to school but me and he told me he didn't want to hear no more about the election and no other kind of party, not in his room.

Boy No. 2: The same day the election was, he brought the same things up in his classroom while I was in it. He wanted to find out who was running for offices and things like that. He wanted to make out that he was now kind of intending to go with the Black Panther movement. And so that's why he is trying to find out everything — he's saying he might want to come down and decide if he'll vote in the party.

Boy No. 3: The history teacher had a little election in her room and the children voted. But we didn't vote because we didn't want to.

Girl No. 2: During the election the children would take stickers and stick them on our seats on the bus and when we got up off the bus they would start clapping their hands and stuff like that.

Boy No. 3: And they would trade their stickers for Black Power or Black Panther stickers.

Boy No. 2: I just gave him one and they would trade them. Except they won't trade with us.

Girl No. 3: In history class it was very bad. There were always conversations going on between the teacher and the students about the Governor and integration and the President and the federal government and all such that. They were talking against the federal government because the government was for integration and like they were talking against integration because they don't see any sense to it. And the teachers was always saying some kind of wisecrack just to hurt your feelings and like that. He was always praising the Governor. The students acted the same as the teacher did in their class; you know, there was always something that they could say and try and hurt my feelings. They said anything, like how they was 'feared of all of us, what they thought of the way things were running about integration, or anything like that. They would come right out and say it, especially in that class, because they knew that nothing could be done to them in that class.

GIRL No. 4: You asked why did I go to the white school. Well, I don't see why I shouldn't go there since we don't have a school that big to attend and they don't have anything in the Negro school for equipment. My parents were getting taxed and they planned to use most of that money in the white school and they get all that equipment. I don't see why I shouldn't go there and get some benefit from it. You know, that's the primary reason for going over there, to get a accurate education. But the students weren't friendly at all and I didn't have any white friends.

QUESTION: What about your friends in school, do you have any white friends in school? Do any of them try to be friendly with you?

BOY No. 3: If they try to be friendly then a gang of them get up and talk to that one and then they try and push him. Then he tries to be funny or smart, too.

BOY No. 2: And, you don't never have anything to say regardless of what he's doing.

BOY No. 1: I was in the bathroom one day and a boy pushed me down, I mean pushed me. He went running down the hall and I went to the principal. I also told you one day I was walking down the hall and a boy tripped me and my friend told the assistant principal. I got tripped and he told the assistant principal and he just didn't do anything about it and when the principal came the assistant told the principal.

BOY No. 2: The assistant just jumped me once and then told the principal that I would have killed him. I didn't want to fight him. He said I told him I'd kill his damn head and was cussing him or something. But I didn't cuss him. He made it much worse the way he told it to the principal. But he's a dirty man anyway. He told my friend straight out, "Nigger you go to the office for chewing gum." Another friend of mine went to this class he taught and she said that he was always trying to bring on all of this stuff about Negroes and stuff just so they could talk against us.

GIRL No. 2: Right after you got tripped in the hall that day I went to the bathroom and a lot of girls was talking. They said "You know this Nigger got knocked down in the hall." And some of them said "Yeah, somebody ought to knock all of them down." And one day, two of them went and told the principal that they were fighting in the hall but he didn't do anything about it. They came in the bathroom and said: "Two of the Negroes were in the hall trying to fight and we told the principal about it but you know he didn't do anything about it, because they are privileged characters, I don't care if I could paint my face black so I could be a privileged character too." Then they started talking, "You know we'll be going to the Negro schools this year" and the other girl said, "Yeah and I'm going to get myself one of those Negro boyfriends too." They didn't know I was there.

QUESTION: How did the principal seem? Did he seem fair toward you?

GIRL No. 1: He was nice.

BOY No. 1: The trouble was he was just as strict on the white children as he was on us.

GIRL No. 2: I think that he was more strict on them than on us.

BOY No. 2: That's what made it worse. See if something happened during the school hour a group of them would go to the office and tell him something, tell something was stolen and try to trip us all up. He didn't know what to believe most times so he just never paid any attention.

QUESTION: How did the teachers at the Negro school react when you told them that you were going to transfer to the white school?

BOY No. 2: Well, we didn't know that we were going to transfer until about the middle of June. We definitely went to register earlier but we didn't know that we were going to transfer until this part of last year. The Negro music teacher over there, he was friendly and he told me to try and get the best out of it and they was pretty nice to me.

GIRL No. 3: Yeah, all the teachers at the Negro school was very nice and they tried to encourage us and told us to do the best that we could.

QUESTION: Well, how did your friends react to you since you changed schools?

GIRL No. 3: Well, they were encouraging us too and trying to encourage us to do the best that we could. Some of them were trying to get into there too next year and they were trying to encourage me last year.

BOY No. 1: They used to play a lot and tell us don't let the white children whup us and all like that.

BOY No. 3: This year the principal wrote a paper to everyone that had attended another school and wanted to transfer school through the year of 1966-67. He told them they should come Friday and enroll. I went on the school bus but the school bus was packed with children and they turned the school bus around right after we got into town and I had to get off and go and enroll. They said that no Negro student could go in and enroll but those few that went last year. Everybody else that wanted to go didn't have to register. They were just supposed to go over there in September and start school.

GIRL No. 3: Then the principal told us that he wasn't registering any student that did not attend the school the previous year before and all the students that wanted to come over and register could come but he wasn't registering anyone until the board of education decided what number he could register to go over there. Everyone who came over there, except us, from the year before, he turned them around.

GIRL No. 2: The way the letter was written it could have been interpreted

that all the students that went last year and wanted to go this year, too, could come; but he really meant for ones that went last year. Then we read the letter over and mother interpreted it as being just the students that went last year.

BOY NO. 3: Yeah, and he told my mother that the children that had filled out the sheet to go said they were going to get them another sheet and if you didn't want to go you didn't have to go there but if you still wanted to go they could put it right down there.

QUESTION: Now you've told us about your schools, why don't you tell a little bit about your association with the white students?

BOY NO. 2: Some people think that white people are higher class than Negroes but from the way the children did behave they are lower class people than the Negro. We went in class one day and everybody sat down and when the teacher went out of the room some of the students had spit in the vacant seats that nobody sits in. And they put chewing gum all over the desks. I mean you didn't find too much chewing gum over at the Negro schools, they threw it out the window or trash can. But over there you find the desk packed with chewing gum and stuff like that.

GIRL NO. 2: My association with the white students, you know you can get along with them as long as they didn't have anything to do with us, until they called us names or something like that. They always pick at you and whenever they do something to you they always dare-devil you with a crowd behind you or something like that. Personally they never did anything to me. When all the Negroes was out together standing out in the hall, when they saw that none of us was looking they would throw something at us and like that. I remember once going to class and somebody put stickers all over my desk. When I got in there I found them all over the place, one down where I sit and one about where I write at and then I took it off and put it in the trash can. You know they are always putting something on my desk or doing something like that.

BOY NO. 1: Well, they usually stay away and just like she said if they are going to do anything they do it in a crowd just about. She told you about it, but one day in the halls just before the spring holidays in March I got off the school bus one Friday and I was a janitor in a church and was going to clean the church up. I saw two boys in the car and they had a girl friend of theirs with them and they stopped and asked me if I wanted to fight. I told them "Yeah I'll fight," if they fight why not? I had another friend with me too, and he picked up some rocks and started throwing them across the street. They said that they ain't playing with no rocks and so those kids talked and then they wouldn't get out. So I told them "Let's go" and the other reached for his seat and gave him a shotgun. He pointed it at us and all that. When we got back to school they didn't say anything about it. But on Tuesday or Wednesday they said, "We could have killed you." I said, "Yeah, you

all say if you all meet one of us in the road you'll blow our brains out but that's one you all missed." (LAUGHTER) You see I was brave after they missed me. The sheriff came over to the school to see about it and so they got so worried one of them just didn't say nothing after that. He kept quiet.

GIRL No. 1: There weren't too many friends but we were in gym class where we dress up every day. We took our shoes off and left them in the gym and we were playing. They hid them so we couldn't find but one of them, and they had the other one hid on their feet, and they pretended that none of them knew anything about it. The principal came over, finally, he must have talked to them about it. Another afternoon we were going to our history class. We would usually come up to the room everyday and start studying before classes began and one day they had spread some crayon dust in the seats that we sit in. I told the teacher and she didn't say anything to them, but she gave me this old nasty rag to clean it with and told us that that was all right. I got some tissue from my pocketbook to clean it with. I wanted to tell her about it before I said anything to anyone else. One morning we were standing in the hall and some of the boys brought some bee-bees, you know, shots, and we were standing by the lockers and they threw them all over the hall and mostly to the front by the principal's office. All the teachers came running down the hall and I think they found out who did it though . . . some of the boys.

BOY No. 1: I wouldn't exactly call them friendly but there was a sister and a brother that would ride our bus. They went to school in December. But when we came back they weren't there any more. The girl was in the same class we were in and the boy was a senior. But they were just about the only children that would try to talk to us and try to have anything to do with us. After they stopped nobody else did. One day they shipped all these clothes down to our place and I found an old hat and I sewed up the rim. I wore it to school. I just wore it for the devil of it. The teacher honked her horn and she got mad and she told me to leave it in my locker. So I put it in my locker and when I went to eat lunch and came back somebody had stolen the hat. I reported it to the principal and none of them wanted me to wear the hat to school. The principal told me he couldn't be responsible for it, the hat, because it was something that you weren't supposed to wear to school. He told me if I could get the hat all well and good, but if I couldn't there wasn't anything that he could do about it. And another day I went to school I was wearing a pin, it wasn't a "Black Panther" pin, it was an "End the War in Vietnam" pin. My teacher read what was on it and I think he didn't like what was on it, so he went and told the principal. The principal had been reading the pin for about five days every time when I went to lunch. Later that day I was in study hall and he called me into the office and told me not to wear the pin to school no more. He couldn't fine me for wearing the pin but he said he could punish me for not obeying him. Around the last part of school, when these boys say something we would say it back to them so they started cussing us. One day we started cussing them back and they thought we

were going to fight, at least the teacher did, and he went and told the principal and the principal called us to the office and he told us if he had any more trouble he would had to put us out of school.

QUESTION: Before you came to the white school did you think that most of the white students would be smarter than you? Tell me why and what about now?

BOY NO. 1: Well, I didn't have too much thought about it myself, some of them are smarter but they ain't all that smart. Some of them are real dumb.

GIRL NO. 1: You know, I thought some of them would be smart and some of them would be dumb and that's just the way it was. Some of them are smart and try to get the lesson and some of them are dumb just like the Negroes. I think that anyone could go over there if they studied and they could do just as well as the white children do.

BOY NO. 2: I did think at least the majority would be pretty smart except for one or two of them in the classroom. But in the class I was in about half of them was pretty bad.

GIRL NO. 2: Well I thought I could do just as well as most of them if I tried and I did try. Some of them are smarter and some of them are just as dumb as some of the Negroes are. I guess most of them just don't try. I think I did do just about as well as some of them did.

BOY NO. 3: Well, the teachers are very hard about the lesson because they would try to flunk you all they could and if a white person had the same answer as you had and it wasn't a full answer they took five points off your paper and like took off two off his paper.

QUESTION: Now that they are building a private school for the white students how do you think that would affect things at school?

GIRL NO. 1: Well, for myself I don't care if there be a private school for the whites; I wouldn't mind if all of them would go over there, but I know that all of them aren't going over there. Maybe the ones that have enough money will go but that's not going to be too many of them. Maybe some of them might go to other public schools. I don't think that too many of them are going to be going to the private school. I think over half of them that went over should be over there next year.

BOY NO. 1: Well, about my thought about private schools I don't know how it'll stack up. I wasn't too much for going to this school because it was a white school. I went because it was a better school and a higher school and we have accomplished what we was trying to accomplish. We wanted to get some colored students because it was better equipped. If they go to a private school it won't make too much difference because the Negroes will still be going to a higher school and a better equipped school.

BOY NO. 2: Well, I don't think that it will be too bad as it is, and it don't

make too much difference if they don't associate with us or anything. I believe that they may act a little better than they did last year. This would be because there aren't too many of us here and probably a lot of white friends left that made them not to say anything and pick at us. Some of them won't be here and they'll probably like the private school a lot better.

GIRL NO. 2: Well, I guess the white community, the ones that they would go, I guess they are glad that they can get their children out from around the Niggers as they call them. You know they can get them away from us but I guess those that are unable to send their children, they don't have any feelings toward it since it won't help them any. Around where I live the Negro community don't mind as long as they will be more for the Negroes to go and get a better education.

BOY NO. 2: The Negroes in my community hardly say too much about it but they are saying that the white people have been in the school of their own and they are entitled to go to school. That's what they say — let them be alone.

QUESTION: How did the people in your community and your neighbors react when you decided to transfer schools?

GIRL NO. 1: In our community all of them were very encouraging. We had been having small mass meetings around our community to try and encourage people to try to enroll students in this school because you could get a better education there. Everyone was very glad that I was chosen to go there and they was trying to encourage me as much as possible to continue.

BOY NO. 2: Everyone was encouraging me too and telling me that if I needed any help that I could come to them. If they could help they would. And they were kind of glad that I was going.

BOY NO. 1: During the time that we was told that we was eligible to go just about everybody was in the mass meeting movement. I was attending mass meetings and just about everybody I saw would shake my hand and encourage me. Just everybody was encouraging, there wasn't anybody discouraging me.

QUESTION: Why do you think the white folks don't want their children going to school with Negroes?

GIRL NO. 2: Well, myself, I have no idea. I've heard that they think their children are too good to go to school with us and we're a bad influence upon their children. That's some gossip I've heard; I really don't know.

BOY NO. 1: I just think they're stupid.

GIRL NO. 3: For the most part those children over there want to be friendly, some of them do, but their parents tell them what to do and what not to do and all. You can tell that some of them want to say something to you but they are scared that if they say something to you then the other one is going

to call them Nigger lover and all that kind of junk. They just go back and tell 'em and so they just don't want to get involved.

BOY No. 1: One day we found out it was mostly a big act because in the lunch room they had Negro cooks. They pretend they hated Negroes so bad but some of the girls would even help the Negro cooks serve the plates and all like that.

BOY No. 2: And they would be laughing and talking to the cooks and even having fun.

GIRL No. 1: A lot of the students that went last year, if you see any of them this summer around home in the fields working, they have Negro children working with them or people cooking for them and all that.

BOY No. 2: Yeah, and you see some go to Negro houses and play and Negroes go to their houses and play. But when you all go to school they are all different then.

GIRL No. 1: I just think they are stupid.

BOY No. 2: It's just that I haven't been brought up around too many white people myself and I never play with them. But from my part it don't make no difference if I play with them or not now, because they don't know any more than me. It don't make no difference if they don't speak to me, then I don't speak to them and that's just it.

GIRL No. 2: Well, Sunday we stopped in at the dairy farm and two of the white boys that went to school last year drove up there and they went in. We was standing up there to the window getting waited on and they looked over and waved to us. That's the way they are when they out of school; when they are in school they act all different.

QUESTION: Have any of your ideas changed any since you've been going to that school?

BOY No. 2: At least some of mine have because I thought they were all pretty close and clean, but the way the children act they are nasty. They're not trustful. If you turn your back you get knocked in the head or something and then you don't see some of them so you have to keep on the watch for some of them and find out who did it or what. I heard people say that Negro children don't act their age but the white children is the children that don't act their age. White boys in the eleventh and twelfth grade will be riding around playing and hollering and kicking like children in the first and second grade.

QUESTION: Did you all ride the bus? How were things on the bus?

GIRL No. 1: Noisy. Before we started school our principal at the Negro school told us to be quiet on the bus, "You should hear how quiet the white children are on the bus and everything." You can't hear anything on that bus, you know, from the time you get on the bus to when you get off.

BOY NO. 1: Just about twice every week the bus driver had to stop the bus to quiet everything down.

GIRL NO. 1: Fighting and doing everything else.

BOY NO. 2: On the bus I ride they just keep up so much fuss, they just throw paper and stuff like that. One afternoon they threw paper at me, they just kept hitting and hitting me with it so I didn't say anything. The next time I got on the bus things started balling up and I said if you hit me I going to fight you this evening. One boy threw and he hit me so I hit him back and we throwing paper by the hour. (LAUGHTER) I sat back down and he didn't say anything so I just went on back to the front of the bus. Once in the winter time when its gets real cold they'll try to let all the windows down in the back of the bus and freeze you. See, the bus driver asked me to sit on the back seat and he put all the girls up to the front and all the boys to the back.

GIRL NO. 2: We had special seats but it was a front seat. You know we couldn't see anything so when you get hit with a piece of paper we just look back.

GIRL NO. 1: I was getting most of the hits 'cause I was in the seat behind them and there wasn't anybody in the seat but me. When we first started school he told them to leave those two seats, don't let anybody sit in those seats. But probably the children would stop sitting there probably for about two evenings and then by third afternoon mostly the small children, they would come up front and sit there. I guess he would tell them not to sit there but they ended up sitting there. A lot of the children who lived near the school came home with a lot of white students and in the morning the bus was real crowded. Our bus would pick them up, in the morning our bus would be real crowded and this little white girl she came in and she sat down next to me. The bus driver was looking in the mirror and he saw that she was sitting there and he told her to take a seat in the back. When we got to school the children started talking about it and saying that the little girl sat down in the seat beside me.

GIRL NO. 2: And as someone sits down next to you everybody would holler here's a seat, come back down here and sit down. The bus driver would look up and see that she was sitting down beside her and he told her get up and go down back and find a seat. He tickled me and I laughed. When we first started school everyone on the bus would speak and say good morning and he would never say anything. We did this for about a week and he never said anything, so from then on we didn't say anything.

GIRL NO. 1: And then one morning our bus was broke down and all the parents took the children to school in their cars. He (the bus driver) came along in his car and picked us up and carried us to school and he opened the door just as nice for us, the back door. He spoke to us just as we spoke, nice good morning, and he spoke back. We didn't say anything. We got out

and went to school. He was talking about the bus, he didn't know what was wrong with the bus, but he was talking nice and all.

BOY NO. 2: Well, I go on the school bus, but the bus driver and I haven't spoke since I started riding the bus. I don't think I ever will speak to him. I think that if I speak to him I don't think he will return the answer, the way he reacts. One day I wanted to get off, and he said he don't let anybody off where they don't supposed to get off. And so I say that I see you letting children get off where they don't suppose to get off; they get off any place they want to get off when they tell you to stop.

QUESTION: What kind of reaction would white teachers get from predominantly Negro schools?

GIRL NO. 1: Well, I don't think any of them from around here would go to an all colored school to teach. Maybe one from up North would come down here and maybe he'd go over there to teach or something like that. Probably he'd be all right as far as the students are concerned, but I don't think any of them around here would. If the only school they could teach in was a colored school I don't think they'd teach around here. Honestly, I think they'd do him or her anyway they could, you know, to flunk them and anything like that. I think they'd do anything to her, or him, or whatever it would be.

BOY NO. 2: I think that it would be ordinary because most of the Negro children are used to the way white children act by the way we tell them and by the way the teachers act but last year there probably would have been a lot of fuss raising.

QUESTION: Were you allowed to participate in the organizations at school?

GIRL NO. 3: For most of the organizations they had in school you had to maintain a certain grade to be on it. I think if you had a high enough grade you could be on it.

BOY NO. 2: Most of the plays and that they had at night and you know, it wouldn't be too neat to go because you'd need a lot of bodyguards.

QUESTION: Did any of you ever go back to the Negro high school for anything? How did you feel?

ALL: Same way.

BOY NO. 1: Yeah, I went over there about four times.

BOY NO. 2: Well, you could go over there and sit in the classroom and the teacher probably wouldn't even know it.

BOY NO. 1: Most of them knows you and asks you how you are doing and they say get the best of it and do the best you can.

QUESTION: Suppose some friends at the Negro school asked you for some suggestions about the white school, what would you tell them?

Boy No. 1: It probably be all in their favor because there ought to be a hundred Negroes or more going.

Girl No. 3: I think that for myself I'd tell them something about the students, and the way the teachers treat them. I'd tell him maybe some of the teachers would treat him ordinary the way they treat the white students, but some of them try all they could to fail you. I'd encourage them to do the best they could and to study hard. There are many of these affairs or certain incidents, such as throwing paper at you, or calling you Nigger or talking from gossip, but they wouldn't do anything really big to you besides throwing paper or something at you. They wouldn't really hurt you in a big way.

Boy No. 1: I don't even believe in that this year myself. There will be about as many colored children going to school as white. Last year they did things because they outnumbered us about twenty to one, but I think now it will be a different story.

Boy No. 2: I wish I was going back; I just want some of them to pick at me like they did last year so I can get them back. When we have about an equal number of students we'll see if we can get in a fight over there. We will have the same number in our color as they got in their color so we probably have a better chance fighting, if they're looking for fight this year then I'm going to fight.

Boy No. 1: Some of the white children must respect a colored child as being more powerful and as stronger or something, because every time one of them come up to us to fight it wouldn't be one of us backing down.

Girl No. 2: You don't fight many small boys, most of them would be big and they walk over and they say you all boys want to fight?

Girl No. 1: Myself, I don't think they're going to let as many Negroes over there as the white. If they let any more go it would only be about five or ten. I don't think that they'll accept half as many Negroes as white.

Boy No. 2: I believe that they will accept as many because President Johnson said that they will cut out segregation this year. There will be integration this year and anybody can go to any school of his or her choice.

Girl No. 1: You see, the school isn't very large and they are going to say that the school is overcrowded and all this. They don't have that many white children over there and I don't believe that they're going to let that many colored children go there.

Boy No. 1: I mean the school will hold over five hundred students. I don't know about how many will register but there ought to be about a hundred Negro students over there.

Boy No. 2: For the school, they had some rooms in the school that they wasn't going to use. I believe that the school ought to hold about 500 students. There will be more room with children going to the private school.

GIRL No. 2: In the Negro school our classroom had mostly about sixty, just about the same number of students in each class.

BOY No. 2: We went for about three six-week periods this way with about 93 children in the classroom. When they divided it they had about 50 or 60 students in the class.

BOY No. 1: The Negro school is the largest but they don't have a gym, they don't have a cafeteria, they don't have a library, and they don't have no kind of equipment in the laboratory, and they don't have no kind of gym clothes to put on when you go in the gym or outdoors when you go out to practice football.

GIRL No. 1: Matter of fact they don't have anything in that gym but a wall and a few seats sitting in it and they have them broken down.

BOY No. 2: Sometime you have to stand up to take tests.

QUESTION: If the Negro candidate wins the election in November how do you think it will affect things in the community?

BOY No. 1: I would be so glad. I mean it would probably help the Negroes because there is a Negro running for sheriff and running for just everything in the county election. If the Negro wins for sheriff it probably be the first one in any county. They got some Negroes who call themselves deputies but they don't wear the clothes that other men wear, they wear khakis and are out in the field. If the Negro wins we probably will have it better, like now, if they catch you driving without a driver's license they will probably give you a twenty-five dollar ticket and if they catch a white person they will probably give him a ten or maybe a twelve dollar ticket.

BOY No. 2: They are not going to stop no white people. When they deputize them I think they told him you a Nigger sheriff, for the Niggers. Those Negro deputies even shot a Negro. They are not trustworthy, I'll tell you. I don't like them myself and I don't fool around with them, you may get shot right quick.

BOY No. 1: They had a bodyguard the first day that we went. When the white kids started fighting their canes started beating us, that's what they did. They wouldn't have the white kids. You know they thought they could fool the Negro people that they was doing something and that the people was on our side.

BOY No. 2: One night I think he was in one of the churches and they come out there and they asked what happened. And one of the leaders said they should get out there so he don't go back and tell his white folks there. One day we was in school in history class and the teacher started talking about the white children and she said that they ought to start thinking about the Negro, the day they came over and the first day and the second day. They had Negro guards and they had forgotten about that.

QUESTION: Well, how did the Negro deputies act while they were guarding people?

BOY NO. 1: They wasn't even on the school campus. They stood outside the road and three of us came in a car together, and we passed on by them. The two on the left looked and the two on the right looked and they turned their head and looked the other way and then we went on into the school. At least they didn't even come on campus, they just stand out there in the road. If everyone want to jump on us they would be behind on the road and we had to go to school.

GIRL NO. 2: I think if everyone wanted to jump on us they would have killed us, it wouldn't have done any good. That's what they wanted to do to us, beat us or jump on us or do what ever they wanted to do.

BOY NO. 2: Because we was on the other side and the guards was on the other side of the building.

BOY NO. 1: If the white kids had jumped up the deputies would have helped them maybe.

GIRL NO. 3: They might not have come.

BOY NO. 1: They might have come but you can bet that they wouldn't have hit anyone, because by the time I knowed I was going, until the day I went, I got discouraged one time. That was the time that they had that killing. People told me that you better not go. At least I didn't know that they was going to have deputies and all like that, and I didn't look for it the first day. The principal told us not to come the first day so we went the second day. I guess they wanted to tell the students what to do or how to act or something.

GIRL NO. 1: I heard the same thing, that he had conference with the children, told them just how he stood, what they could do and what they couldn't do. He said it might just be better if you all didn't come the first day. He told us he couldn't tell us not to come but it might be better if we waited to the second day.

QUESTION: Now you said the white kids would always do things behind your back but did any of them come up to your face and tell you things or call you names?

GIRL NO. 2: They may call you names to your face but they wouldn't hit you when you could see them. You know, they call you a Nigger or curse you or something like that.

BOY NO. 2: At least, every time one of them call me something I call him something back. When they call me Nigger I call them a cracker or something. You're not white, you're red.

GIRL NO. 2: Most times they call you something, you know, they curse

you and call you old damn Nigger or something, anything they want to call you.

BOY NO. 2: Yeah, they made a sling shot one morning and they shot pecans here on the bus. They actually shot pecans off a sling shot.

GIRL NO. 2: But you know in the hallways you would hardly ever see any boys their size come up to them and say you want to fight. You see these great big boys that are about this wide and all around are these great big old boys. Way bigger than you so they looking down on you asking you if you wanna fight.

BOY NO. 2: Even in the class and on the bus we didn't have no big boys that size. Well, in the cafeteria one day one big boy did ask me for my ice cream. Now sometime they will beg in the cafeteria, some of them. I gave it to him that day but they won't get nothing else from me though. (LAUGHTER)

GIRL NO. 3: Sometimes we be going down the hall and if any of the white students was standing in the hall and they see us coming they say here come a black Nigger, you better stand back, or something. They would get back up against the wall. In the morning sometime we'd be standing by our locker and they would get off the bus and come in and try to walk close up by the wall or something pretending that they didn't want to get close to touch us or anything.

BOY NO. 2: And when they did walk up side close to the wall we'd begin laughing and everything. They think they're so much that they can't walk beside us, but when they go down to the cafeteria they're standing and they'd be eating and the Negro cooks could be putting their hand all over the rolls, especially. And they'd be eating out of their hands.

BOY NO. 1: I know you been talking about a black power party if we get a Negro sheriff. I know they having a basketball game out to the school one night and some boys come up here to the store and get some beer, you know, under age. Somebody caught up with them, the sheriff or somebody, and he didn't do anything to the boy, but he took the lady's license and if it had been a Negro boy he probably would have them expelled from school and all.

QUESTION: Did any of you have any doubt whether you are going to pass to the next grade?

BOY NO. 2: I doubt it myself. I didn't study as hard as I should have.

BOY NO. 1: I doubted it myself the first part of it.

GIRL NO. 1: I failed.

BOY NO. 2: Well, none of the boys are promoted.

BOY NO. 1: I mean if we have a test and we get a 70 the teachers would bring it down to a 60 or 68½ on my card.

BOY NO. 1: At least in history, you see, we have about a week to study one subject but the teacher sit up there and talk about integration so much the four days. Then on Friday she come up and give one big whole week's lesson and have us get that and have a test on it that Monday. It's different for the white kids because they get the kids that had her last year and get the notes and you see they already know what happened and she would help them anyway.

BOY NO. 2: And they already know the majority of the questions on the test because they would go down to her house at night and she would tell them.

GIRL NO. 2: Walking down the hall some children out of their class would say what are you going to have on the test, is it going to be hard. She'd say, well you know those notes I gave you the other day, just study those real good, I heard her.

BOY NO. 2: Yeah, I've seen actually some students would have special notes and they'd be typed out by her. She'd say something about getting us some notes, the ones that failed, but she never said anything about giving me no notes and I was failing. I never asked her for no notes but I went and asked her some questions and she acted like she didn't want to answer them. She said what's the matter with you, what's you doing in class for the reason why you couldn't get it and all that.

GIRL NO. 2: I had a lot of trouble in history. That's the only class that I really doubted, you know, I flunked the first semester but I passed the last semester. I have to take my first semester over next year. I was kind of surprised he passed my last semester because I was kind of sure that he had flunked me.

BOY NO. 2: We could go to summer school and pay $15 a month to make it up.

BOY NO. 1: I mean I have to go next year and make that grade up and, you know, go and take it over.

GIRL NO. 1: If I was absent when I got back to school the next day the teacher would probably have my notes typed or written up for me and I didn't have to ask her for them.

QUESTION: Can anyone think of anything else that would happen if Negroes got elected?

GIRL NO. 1: I think things might be a little better in the school situation. It could do something about the Negro school especially; it could get equipment and at least they need to build another school if they are not going to let the colored children go to the white school. They need to build another school because that school is entirely overcrowded, I think. They can't do anything out there and they don't have the equipment either; they don't have anything out there.

BOY No. 2: Well, I'll feel more free to talk to the sheriff and tell him how I feel about certain things, you know. You may be afraid to tell a white person what you want to tell him, actually, you can hardly talk to a white person like you talk to a Negro person, you know someone from your own race. If we get all Negroes they probably wouldn't have too much to say neither. If we have control for many years then maybe the children come up being afraid of law like most Negro children being afraid of law.

GIRL No. 3: Probably everything would be better, you know, better schools and the board of education. Probably we can get some of the things that we want, you know, better schools and things that the whites have.

THE MOB STILL RIDES

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1931-1935

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
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FOREWORD

The twenty-one lynchings of 1930—as many as took place in the two previous years combined—gave rise to an exhaustive case study of the lynchings of that year by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching, an association of well-known citizens of the South who undertook the task at the request of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. The results of that study were summarized in an eighty-page pamphlet, "Lynchings and What They Mean," and later in a 500-page volume entitled "The Tragedy of Lynching." These were written and compiled by Dr. Arthur F. Raper, Research Secretary of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, who directed and in large part conducted the studies.

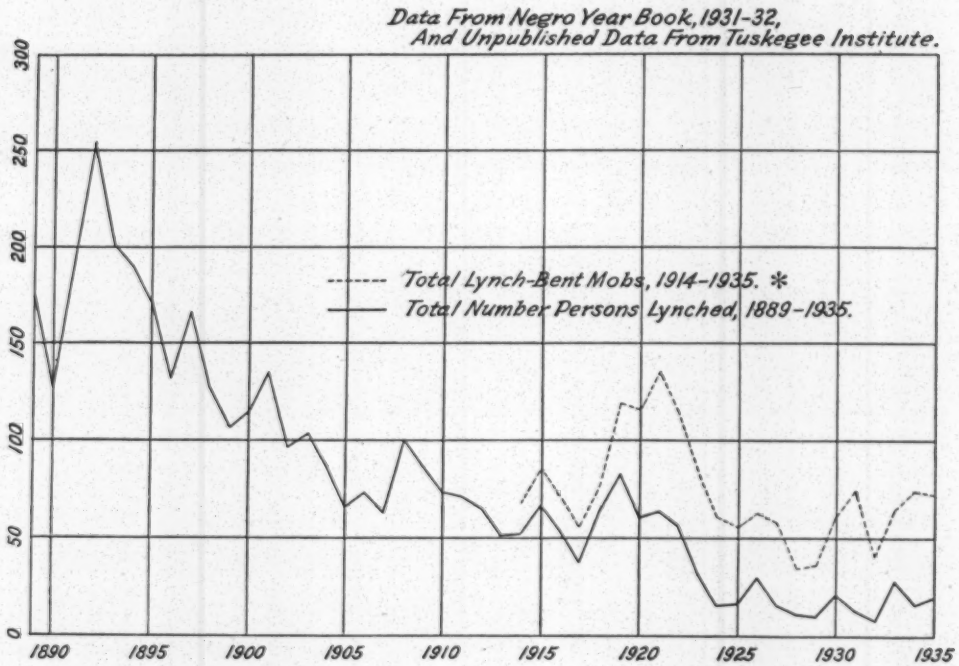
Five years have passed and the lynching habit seems as strongly entrenched as it was in 1930. The record, which meantime showed a most encouraging decrease to the "low" of eight in 1932, went up to twenty-eight the next year, and to twenty in 1935. Whatever the cause of this trend, it is most disquieting and indicates that the mob is still potentially and often actually in the saddle in large areas of our country.

Confident that society continues to endure these barbarities chiefly because of misapprehension as to their nature and results, we are convinced that the fundamental remedy is to bring the facts into the limelight and keep them there. That, in brief, is the purpose of this little volume, in which Dr. Raper summarizes the results of careful studies, made by himself and Prof. Walter Chivers, of the eighty-four lynchings of the past five years. It is confidently commended to all who wish to know the truth regarding these tragic occurrences.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

Atlanta, Georgia.
March, 1936.

MOB VIOLENCE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1889-1935



*The space between the two lines indicates the number of threatened lynchings prevented.

THE MOB STILL RIDES

A Review of the Lynching Record, 1931-1935

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A study of the eighty-four lynchings of the past five years reveals the following facts:

(1) A larger proportion of the lynchings of this period occurred in the South than ever before, and a larger proportion of the victims were Negroes.

(2) Eleven per cent of the mob victims were not accused of any crime; an additional thirty per cent were accused only of minor offenses. Of the other fifty-nine per cent, many were not guilty of the crimes with which they were charged.

(3) Contrary to the general impression that rape is the chief cause of lynching, only eleven per cent of the victims were even accused of this crime. Scarcely one-fourth were accused of rape and attempted rape combined.

(4) Courts rarely indict lynchers, more rarely convict, and almost never impose sentences commensurate with the crime. Indictments have been returned in but one lynching in twelve, and convictions in scarcely one in thirty.

(5) There is evidence that peace officers participated in several lynchings, and connived in many more.

(6) Over nine-tenths of the lynchings occurred in the open country, and a little over four-fifths in counties where the per capita income and taxable wealth were below those of their respective states. Over three-fourths of the threatened lynchings prevented were also in the poorer rural counties.

(7) When a mob does not lynch it sometimes dominates the court, and so brings about a "legal lynching."

(8) Nearly twenty per cent of the persons lynched and threatened by mobs were mental defectives.

(9) The number of lynchings declined from a yearly average of 124 between 1895 and 1905, to seventy between 1905 and 1915, to fifty-three between 1915 and 1925, and to seventeen between 1925 and 1935. The past decade, however, shows more lynchings in the latter half than in the first half—the only decade in which this was true.* The number of attempted lynchings also rose during the latter half of the decade.

The optimism of ten years ago is waning; lynchings are not fading naturally from the American scene; the mob still rides.

I. GEOGRAPHIC AND RACIAL FACTORS

The typical lynching is in the rural South, the mob victim is a Negro, the lynchers are native-born whites, and the courts punish no one. Though some lynchings occur outside the South and some victims are white, lynching is increasingly a Southern and a racial phenomenon. In the last decade of the last century nearly one-fifth of the nation's lynchings were outside the South and nearly one-third of the victims were white; during the past five

*This is for 1925-1934, inclusive. The record of twenty lynchings for 1935 exceeds the average for the preceding decade, or for either half of it.

Rex Scott, Negro, in Perry County, Kentucky,[22] for wounding a white man in an altercation; an unidentified Negro, in Jefferson County, Alabama,[23] for "insulting" a white woman; Dock Rogers, Negro, in Pender County, North Carolina,[24] for slightly wounding, by accident, the wife of a white bootlegger with whom he was quarreling over a purchase of liquor; Fell Jenkins, Negro, in Claiborne Parish, Louisiana,[25] for no crime; Luke Murray, Negro, in Lawrence County, Ohio,[26] for threatening a white man with a knife.

Lynchings on minor charges are not peculiar to the last five years. During the past half century more persons have been lynched on such charges than for any other cause, with the single exception of homicide. The fifty-year record runs thirty-seven per cent for homicide, six per cent for felonious assault, sixteen per cent for rape, seven per cent for attempted rape, seven per cent for theft, two per cent for insult to white persons, and twenty-five per cent for miscellaneous minor offenses, such as trying to act like a white man, bringing suit against a white man, refusing to pay a note, seeking employment in a restaurant, being boastful, and taking sides with a Negro in a fight with a white man. It should be noted that contrary to the common impression, less than one-sixth of the 3,798 persons lynched since 1889 have been accused of rape, and less than one-fourth have been accused of rape and attempted rape combined.

III. UNFOUNDED ACCUSATIONS

It should be observed also that there is often a marked difference between the reported and the real accusations against the person lynched. The following cases from recent years are by no means unique:

The lynching last fall of Elwood Higginbotham, Negro, at Oxford, Mississippi, forcibly illustrates this difference. According to the newspaper reports Higginbotham had "murdered" a white man. Higginbotham's trial, however, showed clearly that the charge against him should have been "justifiable homicide"—he had killed the white man in self-defense when the latter, in company with others, came to his house at night, broke down his door and pushed into his bedroom with a flashlight in one hand and a pistol in the other.

At Franklinton, Washington Parish, Louisiana, in January 1935, Jerome Wilson was lynched. Accused of shooting an officer, he had been tried, found guilty and sentenced to death. The case was then appealed to the Louisiana Supreme Court, which ordered a new trial. Three days later the mob took Wilson from the jail and lynched him. The original trouble had arisen when a range rider went to the home of the landowning Wilsons to check on the report that one of their mules had not been dipped. Since he made no explanation of his mission and exhibited no evidence of his legal right to inspect the stock, the Negroes demanded that he get out of the lot. He resented this independence, went away angry, and returned later with a number of armed officers. Shots were fired and returned and in the fusilade one of the officers was killed. There is reason to believe that he was shot by a fellow officer, since the Wilsons had only shotguns and the officer apparently was shot with a pistol. Nevertheless Jerome Wilson was accused of the crime and lynched for it before the courts had a chance finally to pass upon his guilt.

On the night of May 12, 1933, William Kinsey, Negro tenant farmer, was lynched in Warren County, Georgia. He was accused of "murder"; actually he had killed a white man in self-defense. The trouble had arisen during the

22. January 24, 1934.
23. August 23, 1934.
24. August 27, 1933.
25. January 10, 1933.
26. June 11, 1932.

day when a young white landlord upbraided the Negro for not plowing the cotton properly. The Negro, several years older, maintained that he knew how to plow cotton; the young man left the field, threatening to come to the Negro's house that night. This he did, accompanied by two cousins and his uncle who had a reputation for "putting niggers in their place." The four arrived shortly after dark and demanded that Kinsey come out. When he refused to do so the uncle fired into the house and killed Kinsey's brother. Kinsey returned the fire and killed the uncle, but was himself wounded by the young landlord. The white men fled; Kinsey crossed the field to the home of a white neighbor who took him to a doctor in Warrenton. Soon after his arrival he was taken from the doctor's office and lynched.

In December 1933, Cordie Cheek, Negro, was lynched in Maury County, Tennessee. He had been accused of attempted rape, but the grand jury investigating this charge found no ground for indicting him. An hour after his release from the Nashville prison, where he had been held for safekeeping, he was kidnapped and lynched.

There is reason to suspect that the Negro lynched at Caledonia, Mississippi, in July 1933, accused of insulting a white woman, had been falsely accused by persons desiring to get possession of his good cotton crop. Perhaps the most preposterous accusation of the whole five years was that against Dennis Cross, helpless Negro paralytic, who was lynched at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in September 1933, on the charge of attempted rape.

IV. LYNCHERS SELDOM PUNISHED

Though lynching is obviously a crime, violating both the Federal Constitution and the laws of the several states concerning murder, riot, assault, and the like, in many communities it is still regarded as an expression of popular justice. Hence only a few lynchers have been punished and most of these have received light sentences.

On the morning of November 13, 1935, following the double lynching of Ernest Collins and Bennie Mitchell, Negro juveniles, in Colorado County, Texas, the county attorney was quoted as saying, "I believe the lynching of these two youthful Negroes by a mob of seven hundred persons, including several women, was an expression of the will of the people." The county judge, after saying he was "strongly opposed to mob violence," declared: "The fact that the Negroes who so brutally murdered this girl could not be adequately punished by the law because of their ages prevents me from condemning the citizens who meted out justice to the ravishing murderers." The principal difference between official attitudes in this lynching and in most others is that in this instance the court officials announced publicly that they were sympathetic with the mob.

In most lynching cases it is impossible to find witnesses who will go before the grand jury with testimony fixing responsibility for the crime. When there are witnesses willing to testify, they are not always called. Even when witnesses appear before the grand jury and name members of the mob, it is often impossible to secure indictments. This is clearly illustrated by the unsuccessful attempts to indict persons identified by witnesses as participants in the Cordie Cheek and Norris Dendy lynchings.

On December 13, 1933, Cheek was released from the Davidson County jail at Nashville, and went immediately to the home of his uncle, near Fisk University. Shortly after he arrived there, a group of white men in two automobiles from Maury County came to the house and took him back to Maury County, where he was lynched. The license numbers of the cars were written down by witnesses to the abduction. A half dozen persons were located who were willing to give testimony to the grand jury. One of

them, a Negro woman who had formerly lived in Maury County, was acquainted with two of the men in the kidnapping party. The principal witnesses in this case were willing to assume the personal risk incurred by giving their testimony to the grand jury. The prosecuting attorney of Maury County took no notice of this evidence, while the Davidson County prosecutor failed to cooperate when the grand jury took up the case. The outcome was that no one was indicted.

On the evening of July 4, 1933, Norris Dendy was lynched in Laurens County, South Carolina. A number of eye-witnesses to the crime made affidavits as to the lynching and those responsible for it. Finally some of these witnesses, who had left the state for safety, were called back before the grand jury, but no indictments were returned. The attitude of the public prosecutor is suggested by the fact that he drew up a technical indictment against the weapons used by the lynchers, rather than against the persons using the weapons. A recent investigation as to the possibility of securing indictments in this case indicated that the prosecuting attorney is still unsympathetic with such efforts. The three lynchings at Tuscaloosa, Alabama, in 1933, further illustrate the unwillingness of court officials to utilize evidence available for the indictment of lynchers. Even when the judge and prosecuting attorney favor indictment, it is difficult to get a grand jury to act.

Indictments have been brought against lynchers in but two of last year's twenty lynchings—at White Bluff, Tennessee, and Tampa, Florida. Those at Tampa were not forthcoming until William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, threatened to cancel plans for a national convention there next summer unless responsibility was placed for the fatal flogging, tarring, and feathering of Joseph Shoemaker, white.

The case at White Bluff is also unusual, in fact unique, even in the checkered history of lynchings. A Negro man was accused of having slapped a white woman who was drinking beer in a Negro store. In broad daylight five white men took him from the custody of officers, at the same time taking a gun from one of the latter. They drove a few miles into another county and shot the Negro to death with the officer's gun. Then they came back to town and returned the gun to the officer, with the statement that they had meant only to whip the Negro, but had been forced to kill him when he attempted to pick up a rock.

Without delay the five were indicted, tried, and acquitted. The presiding judge was indignant. "I am astounded at your verdict," he told the jury. "By your action you will make Cheatham County the dumping ground for lawlessness in the future." He immediately issued a bench warrant and had the five defendants held on the charge of conspiracy to inflict corporal punishment. In Dickson County, where the abduction took place, the grand jury indicted them for interfering with officers. Unable to make bond, the five are in jail awaiting trial. In the other eighteen lynchings of 1935, no one has been arrested, indicted, or otherwise made to answer to the courts.

In the five years under review arrests were made in only thirteen of the eighty-four lynchings. Indictments were returned in only seven cases[27] and

27. The instances with indictments, arrests, or persons held for questioning were as follows: In 1935, at White Bluff, Tennessee, and at Tampa, Florida, already mentioned; in 1934, at Manchester, Tennessee, eight white men were indicted for lynching a Negro; at Newton, Texas, the white male escort of a white woman allegedly raped by a Negro was held in jail for questioning; at Hazard, Kentucky, seven white men were indicted for lynching a Negro. In 1933, at San Jose, California, one white man was arrested, but not indicted, for lynching two white men; at Princess Anne, Maryland, four white men were arrested, but not indicted, for lynching a Negro; at Greenville, South Carolina, seventeen white men were arrested, but not indicted, for lynching a Negro; at Ninety-six, South Carolina, four white men were indicted for lynching a Negro; at Louisville, Mississippi, seventeen white men were indicted for lynching a Negro. In 1932, under West Virginia's anti-lynch law, Greenbrier County was ordered to pay $5,000 to each of two Negro families. In 1931, at Ironton, Ohio, seven white men were indicted for lynching a Negro.

convictions were secured in only three.[28] It is obvious that in most communities where lynching occurs, it is not considered a crime, by public opinion or by the courts; state laws against murder, riot, assault, and abduction go for naught when lynchers are the offenders. Even South Carolina's legal provision of an indemnity of $2,000 for the family of a lynching victim has been denied to every one of the six families eligible for it in the last six years.

The Federal Kidnapping Law also has proved inoperative where lynchers are involved. This was clearly demonstrated in the case of Claude Neal, who on October 26, 1934, was taken by a mob across the state line from the jail at Brewton, Alabama, to Marianna, Florida, where he was lynched. Considerable publicity was given this interstate kidnap-lynching over the radio, which informed the public in advance relative to the proposed itinerary and plans of the mob. The lynching early in 1935 of Abe Young at Slayden, Mississippi, following his abduction from Rossville, Tennessee, also came under the Federal kidnap law, but the Federal courts took no notice of it. This lynching, too, was advertised—news hawks drove from Memphis, sixty miles away, to witness it. In both cases the interstate kidnappers have gone unpunished.

The punishment of lynchers between 1900 and 1930, as shown by Chadbourn in *Lynching and the Law* is as follows: In Texas, 1930, two lynchers received sentences of two years; Georgia, 1930, two lynchers, life; Georgia, 1926, two lynchers, four years to life; Virginia, 1923, two lynchers, one and two years; Oklahoma, 1922, seven lynchers, life; Georgia, 1922, three lynchers, one to four years; Alabama,* 1920, three lynchers, fifteen years to life; Alabama,* 1920, three lynchers, $100 to three months; Minnesota, 1920, one lyncher, sentence unknown; Texas, 1920, three lynchers, two years—suspended; Alabama,* 1919, twenty-eight lynchers, $100 to fifteen years;[29] Illinois, 1903, eleven lynchers, indeterminate sentences; Missouri, 1903, one or more lynchers, ten years; Alabama, 1900, three lynchers, ten years to life.

Thus goes the record over the decades: only a few convictions, and sentences seldom commensurate with the crime.

V. WHY LYNCHERS GO UNPUNISHED

Lynchers go unpunished because punishment of their crime depends upon the same peace officers and court officials whose impotence they demonstrated when they lynched; the officers of the law have already shown their unwillingness or inability to administer justice; and lynchers, in most cases, are responsible only to the local courts.

Expecting these officers and courts to arrest and punish lynchers is like expecting a dethroned government to punish those who overthrew it. It is a grim fact that lynching mobs which burn courthouses are not wholly illogical. They and their sympathizers constitute the effective majority in the community where a lynching occurs. The disapproving minority, white and colored, is deterred from taking steps against the mob by fear of personal violence, incendiarism, and boycotts.

Many a white planter, teacher, physician, doctor, merchant, or banker actually sympathizes with the Negro when a lynching occurs, but sooner or later finds himself compelled to subordinate his sympathy for the victim to his fear of the mob. The wealthier white families are often inconvenienced

28. Lynchers have been punished for only three of the eighty-four lynchings in the past five years, and in not one of these cases was the punishment commensurate with the crime: at Manchester, Tennessee, 1934, eight lynchers received sentences of three to five years; St. Joseph, Missouri, 1934, one lyncher received one year; Ironton, Ohio, 1931, one lyncher (a minor) received one to ten years in an industrial school.

*It should be observed that thirty-four lynchers were punished in Alabama in 1919-1920. These convictions were secured in response to the quick and determined action of Thomas E. Kilby, then Governor of Alabama.

29. No records are available for the period 1903-1919.

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convictions were secured in only three.[28] It is obvious that in most communities where lynching occurs, it is not considered a crime, by public opinion or by the courts; state laws against murder, riot, assault, and abduction go for naught when lynchers are the offenders. Even South Carolina's legal provision of an indemnity of $2,000 for the family of a lynching victim has been denied to every one of the six families eligible for it in the last six years.

The Federal Kidnapping Law also has proved inoperative where lynchers are involved. This was clearly demonstrated in the case of Claude Neal, who on October 26, 1934, was taken by a mob across the state line from the jail at Brewton, Alabama, to Marianna, Florida, where he was lynched. Considerable publicity was given this interstate kidnap-lynching over the radio, which informed the public in advance relative to the proposed itinerary and plans of the mob. The lynching early in 1935 of Abe Young at Slayden, Mississippi, following his abduction from Rossville, Tennessee, also came under the Federal kidnap law, but the Federal courts took no notice of it. This lynching, too, was advertised—news hawks drove from Memphis, sixty miles away, to witness it. In both cases the interstate kidnappers have gone unpunished.

The punishment of lynchers between 1900 and 1930, as shown by Chadbourn in *Lynching and the Law* is as follows: In Texas, 1930, two lynchers received sentences of two years; Georgia, 1930, two lynchers, life; Georgia, 1926, two lynchers, four years to life; Virginia, 1923, two lynchers, one and two years; Oklahoma, 1922, seven lynchers, life; Georgia, 1922, three lynchers, one to four years; Alabama,* 1920, three lynchers, fifteen years to life; Alabama,* 1920, three lynchers, $100 to three months; Minnesota, 1920, one lyncher, sentence unknown; Texas, 1920, three lynchers, two years—suspended; Alabama,* 1919, twenty-eight lynchers, $100 to fifteen years;[29] Illinois, 1903, eleven lynchers, indeterminate sentences; Missouri, 1903, one or more lynchers, ten years; Alabama, 1900, three lynchers, ten years to life.

Thus goes the record over the decades: only a few convictions, and sentences seldom commensurate with the crime.

V. WHY LYNCHERS GO UNPUNISHED

Lynchers go unpunished because punishment of their crime depends upon the same peace officers and court officials whose impotence they demonstrated when they lynched; the officers of the law have already shown their unwillingness or inability to administer justice; and lynchers, in most cases, are responsible only to the local courts.

Expecting these officers and courts to arrest and punish lynchers is like expecting a dethroned government to punish those who overthrew it. It is a grim fact that lynching mobs which burn courthouses are not wholly illogical. They and their sympathizers constitute the effective majority in the community where a lynching occurs. The disapproving minority, white and colored, is deterred from taking steps against the mob by fear of personal violence, incendiarism, and boycotts.

Many a white planter, teacher, physician, doctor, merchant, or banker actually sympathizes with the Negro when a lynching occurs, but sooner or later finds himself compelled to subordinate his sympathy for the victim to his fear of the mob. The wealthier white families are often inconvenienced

28. Lynchers have been punished for only three of the eighty-four lynchings in the past five years, and in not one of these cases was the punishment commensurate with the crime: at Manchester, Tennessee, 1934, eight lynchers received sentences of three to five years; St. Joseph, Missouri, 1934, one lyncher received one year; Ironton, Ohio, 1931, one lyncher (a minor) received one to ten years in an industrial school.

*It should be observed that thirty-four lynchers were punished in Alabama in 1919-1920. These convictions were secured in response to the quick and determined action of Thomas E. Kilby, then Governor of Alabama.

29. No records are available for the period 1903-1919.

by the disorganization of Negro labor which usually occurs as the result of a lynching. For example, in the fall of 1935, near Moultrie, Georgia, a plantation owner suffered considerable financial loss when his Negro laborers left the neighborhood after the lynching of "Bo" Brinson. The planter demanded that the sheriff restrain the mob from further violence against his workers, and at first thought that indictments against the lynchers were highly probable. In such cases, however, the white man soon decides that he cannot afford to risk the ill will of the lynchers and their friends. So nobody takes an aggressive part in the prosecution of the lynchers, and they go unindicted and unpunished.

A South Carolina attorney who had helped to indict a number of lynchers thus described the means by which they were acquitted: "To see jury lists packed, witnesses swearing lies, and defense lawyers capitalizing upon a lynched Negro as a potential rapist—all in a planned effort to acquit known lynch-murderers—leaves one with a feeling of helplessness." Said a Mississippi Baptist preacher about the lynchers in his community, "There would be no use to call them to the witness stand—any man who will lynch will lie!"

VI. PEACE OFFICERS AND MOBS

Very few peace officers defend their prisoners to the point of endangering themselves. The last case on record was that of the Sheriff of Oconee County, South Carolina, who was clubbed into unconsciousness by the mob that lynched Allen Greene in 1930. On the other hand, not a few officers cooperate in the lynchings, in some instances conniving, in others participating.

Now and then the sheriff is merely ignored, as at Wiggins, Stone County, Mississippi, last June, when a mob apprehended R. D. McGee, a Negro accused of rape, conducted a mock trial, found him guilty, and lynched him in broad daylight a short distance from the edge of town. When asked where the sheriff was while this was going on, a citizen replied, "He was around some place, but the mob just ignored him." A similar case was that of the lynching of Abe Young at Slayden, Mississippi, last spring—people came all the way from Memphis to witness the affair, but the county sheriff, a woman, arrived only in time to cut the body down.

The sheriff was ignored also by the mob which lynched Bodie Bates at Calhoun City, Mississippi, last fall. The sheriff was with the bloodhounds following a trail through the swamp when the accused Negro was apprehended in town and taken to the square, where he was publicly questioned by members of the mob. In the late afternoon the sheriff took the Negro to the county jail at Pittsboro, only to have the mob take him out and lynch him soon after dark.

In many instances peace officers connived with the mob or neglected to take obvious precautions against it. A recent example was the lynching of Elwood Higginbotham at Oxford, Mississippi, last September. In this case the Negro prisoner, who had killed a white man in self-defense, on order of the court had been placed in jail at Jackson for safekeeping. The court also ordered the sheriff to place extra guards around the defendant when he was brought back to Oxford for trial. However, after the evidence had been presented and the jury was deliberating, with two of the jurors holding out for acquittal, a mob went to the jail and, without meeting any determined resistance, took the prisoner out and lynched him. The officers said they were so "taken by surprise" that they were unable to identify any member of the mob.

A few days later, near Vienna, Georgia, a Negro, accused of drunkenness and of defying the sheriff, was taken from the latter while being transferred to a jail in an adjoining county. The circumstances were such that the *Vienna News*, of October 3, suggested official connivance in these words:

"It is unfortunate that an officer of such importance should be placed under the stigma of being unable to prevent the lynching of a prisoner whose crime is against the person of that officer. . . . If the affair were engineered by enemies of the sheriff, seeking to arouse suspicion of complicity and destroy him politically, then it is even more a diabolical plot."

There is good reason to believe that peace officers have participated actively in many lynchings, as in those of A. T. Hardin and Dan Pippin,[30] near Tuscaloosa, Alabama; in that of Cordie Cheek at Nashville-Columbia, Tennessee;[31] and in that of Norris Dendy at Clinton, South Carolina.[32] In the Tuscaloosa case a third intended victim, who was left for dead but recovered, swore that the three deputies who had the prisoners in charge actively participated in their lynching. This charge and supporting evidence were given to the district prosecuting attorney, to the Governor of Alabama, to the Attorney-General of the State, and to the Justices of the Alabama Supreme Court, but nothing ever came of it. In the case of Cordie Cheek, kidnapped in Nashville and carried to Columbia to be lynched, the participation of at least one peace officer was sworn to by an eye witness. In the lynching of Norris Dendy witnesses testified before the grand jury that a Clinton policeman took an active part.

Several Tampa policemen have been indicted for the death of Joseph Shoemaker, previously referred to; and officers shot to death two Negro prisoners in their jail cells at Gretna, Louisiana.[33] Thirteen of the twenty persons lynched in 1935 were taken from officers of the law. Apparently to be in the hands of officers very often affords little or no protection from the mob.

The generally sympathetic attitude of sheriffs and other peace officers toward lynchers is explained by the pressure of community excitement, the presence in the mob of their acquaintances and friends, the actual physical danger involved in effective efforts to oppose the mob, and the final fact that the political situation in the typical lynching community is such that the desires of the lynchers who are voters or potential voters are virtual instructions to the officers, while the enforced political impotence of the Negro leaves him without any effective claim upon them.

VII. PREVENTED THREATENED LYNCHINGS

From the chart on page four it will be seen that since 1921 the number of threatened lynchings prevented has exceeded the number of persons lynched, with the number of preventions tending to be larger when lynchings are most numerous and in the year immediately following, and smallest when lynchings are fewest.

Of the 243 preventions of threatened lynchings since 1930, over three-fourths were accomplished through the removal of the accused persons from the areas where the crimes occurred. Determined force was used in most of the remaining cases. In forty-two of the fifty-three reported preventions in 1935, "the prisoners were removed or the guard augmented or other precautions taken. In the eleven other instances, armed force was used."[34]

In a few cases the officers "out-talked" the mob. The sheriff of Pike County, Mississippi, pointed out that it is very difficult to defy a formidable

30. August 2, 1933.

31. December 15, 1933.

32. July 4, 1933.

33. At Gretna, Louisiana, on November 1, 1935, according to newspaper reports two Negro prisoners fired out of their cells on peace officers and were subsequently killed by them. As reported in the newspapers, these killings perhaps were incorrectly listed as lynchings by the Tuskegee reports.

34. From a news release given out by Tuskegee's Department of Records and Research at the close of 1935.

mob, but not very difficult to outwit it. During the past year this sheriff, with the assistance of his deputies, prevented two threatened lynchings. On September 19, at Summit, a Negro boy was accused of attempted rape. The sheriff questioned the boy, found that his alibi was false, and then came face to face with the mob which demanded that the accused be handed over. The sheriff told them he was sure he had the guilty man, but that the Negro had not yet made a confession and he believed they would like for the accused to do so. He reassured the mob of his belief that the Negro was guilty and that he would confess as soon as he was placed in jail. Thus the sheriff retained custody of the accused, took him to the local jail, secured a confession from him, and promptly removed him to the "mob-proof" jail at Jackson, where he remained until secretly brought back for trial. Immediately after he had been given the maximum sentence, twenty years, the sheriff whisked him away again to the strong jail at Jackson.

Shortly after this a Negro boy at McComb, in the same county, wounded a white man with a knife and was placed in the county jail at Magnolia. When the sheriff heard that a mob was forming, he put the accused in his car, eluded the mob and rushed him away to Jackson. A few days later the Negro was brought back to the county for trial. After receiving the maximum sentence for wielding a knife, he was held in the local jail. One evening two men came to the sheriff's home, one a relative of the injured white man and the other a sort of professional lyncher, who has accumulated a prized collection of ghoulish souvenirs of his numerous lynching exploits. They demanded the keys to the jail but were refused. Unable to get the keys, they said they would take the prisoner anyway. The sheriff reminded them that two heavily armed men were standing guard at the entrance of the jail, with instructions to shoot anyone who attempted to enter. "Well, when are you going to send the prisoner to Jackson?" they asked. The sheriff did not know the exact day. The men left saying, "We'll get that nigger anyway." Shortly after they were gone, an officer from the state prison arrived and arrangements were made to transfer the prisoner to the penitentiary early next morning. Soon after sunrise a car carrying him sped away toward Jackson. At nine o'clock the sheriff learned that the road to Jackson had been blockaded at several points since seven-thirty—but the car with the prisoner had gone through half an hour before the blockades were set up. Said the sheriff, late in 1935, "If I can out-think the mob for two more months my four years in Pike County will record no lynching."

In each of these cases, it will be observed, the threatened lynching was prevented by the merest margin. The sheriff frankly admitted that if the professional lyncher referred to above had been on hand in the first case, he doubted seriously whether he could have retained custody of the accused Negro.

Many other threatened lynchings in 1935 were barely prevented. At Blackshear, Georgia, on April 24, a Negro charged with attempted rape was moved to a jail in another county, after a relative of the woman involved had sent a mutual friend to the sheriff demanding the prisoner. The sheriff replied that he could not let him be taken from the jail. The man then suggested that they could take the prisoner while he was being transferred. The sheriff obligingly told him to which jail the Negro would be taken and by what route, and was surprised, he later reported, to find the road open all the way. What he would have done had a mob appeared he did not say. When he reached the designated jail, however, he decided that another move would be safer, so he took the prisoner to another county, whence he is to be brought back for trial.

Two threatened lynchings were barely prevented in Jackson County, Georgia, during the past year. On June 23 an escaped Negro convict raped a white woman. The sheriff, on the way to the scene, came upon a strange

Negro riding a bicycle. The Negro was taken back to the house of the victim and was identified. The men of the family, according to local reports, were given "ample opportunity to dispose of him." They failed to act, however, so the sheriff took charge of the prisoner, removed him to a distant county jail for safekeeping and brought him back for trial under the protection of the National Guard.

The second case was on the afternoon of August 2, when a Negro was accused, falsely it seems, of attempting to enter a white girl's room. He was taken in custody by local people who notified the officers. The sheriff placed him in the county jail. On the following evening a number of men came to the jail demanding the Negro. The sheriff steadfastly refused; he secured the active cooperation of the county and town peace officers; his wife hid the jail keys in a neighbor's stove. He then told the mob quite frankly that they could not take the man except over his dead body; that he had taken an oath to protect his prisoner, and that if they had wanted to lynch the Negro they should have done it before they asked him to take charge.

Two other threatened lynchings were barely prevented in Georgia during the year. In Oglethorpe County, in June, a demented Negro, accused of fatally beating and robbing two white farm women, was rushed by an alert deputy to the jail at Athens, then to Winder, then to Fulton Tower, Atlanta. Only then did the pursuing mob turn back. The other was at Moultrie, in November, when a mob came near taking from the National Guard a feeble-minded Negro who had just been given the death sentence for killing a white man.

The chief factors accounting for the prevention of threatened lynchings are: first, the determination and alertness of the peace officer to protect the prisoner in his charge, including his request for and use of the National Guard; second, local leadership, best illustrated in 1935 by the case at Cleveland, Mississippi, where the President of the Delta State Teachers College used his influence in averting a threatened lynching; and third, the influence which local Negroes may exercise, as at Moultrie where the defendant's counsel requested National Guard protection for the accused in response to the urgent appeal of a group of local Negroes, and as at Sparta, Georgia, a few days ago, when members of the Hubert family exercised effective tact in securing the cooperation of the leading white people to keep a Negro murderer from being lynched at his trial. In this latter case the presiding judge, the veteran James B. Park, instead of using the National Guard appealed to the crowded courtroom for support of the orderly process of law and received a unanimous standing vote.

The narrow margin by which many threatened lynchings have been prevented indicates that with any widespread agitation of the race situation, whether by politicians to gain votes or by secret organizations to secure paid memberships, the number of lynchings might easily have been doubled.

VIII. THE DISTRIBUTION OF LYNCHINGS AND THREATENED LYNCHINGS

A casual glance at a map showing the lynchings and the threatened lynchings of 1935, or those of the last five years, shows that they occur in the same areas, and are concentrated in the lower South. But what differences in economic and cultural conditions are there between the communities where lynchings have occurred and those where threatened lynchings have been prevented?

It has become common knowledge that lynchings occur most frequently in the most rural and poorest communities in the South. The single city lynching in 1935, at Tampa, Florida, was not representative: the victim

was a white man, accused of being a Communist; he was flogged, tarred, and feathered and died from exposure. Six other lynchings occurred in counties which had towns of eight to fourteen thousand population, but in every instance the lynching took place in smaller towns or in the open country.[35] With the exception of Tampa, the largest urban community involved was Oxford, Mississippi, with a population of 2,890. The other thirteen lynchings of the year took place in counties in which the largest towns have a population of 2,500 or less. In the seventy counties where occurred the eighty-four lynchings of the last five years,[36] the only cities appearing are Vicksburg, Jackson, Birmingham, Tampa, St. Joseph, and San Jose.

Specific measures show that most of these seventy counties are economically below the average of their respective states. The per capita value of products from farm and factory combined was below the state average in four-fifths of the counties, and in nearly four-fifths of them the per capita value of taxable property was below the state average. The per capita bank deposits and revenue receipts were below the state average in nine-tenths of the counties, and the per capita retail trade in over four-fifths. Three-fourths of the counties had relatively fewer automobiles than their states, four-fifths had fewer electric subscribers, five-sixths had fewer income tax returns and fewer telephones.

Most of the eighty-two counties with prevented lynchings in 1934 and 1935 are also below their state averages. In nearly three-fourths of these counties the per capita value of agriculture and industry was below the state average; about four-fifths were below the state average in per capita value of taxable property and per capita bank deposits; three-fourths were below the state average in per capita retail trade and nine-tenths in per capita revenue receipts; four-fifths had relatively fewer income tax returns, two-thirds had fewer automobiles and fewer homes with electricity, and nearly three-fourths had fewer automobiles.

Thus it is seen that counties with lynchings and those with prevented lynchings were much alike in economic status, with the prevention counties in general making a slightly better showing. A number of counties, in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Maryland, had both lynchings and preventions.

It is significant that practically all the counties outside the South with mobs fell below their state averages, while most of those within the South which reached their state averages were in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Arkansas—the lowest ranking states in the Union in wealth and culture.[37]

The figures emphasize a truth arrived at through case study of the mob outbreaks in the several states; namely, that in most of Mississippi and in considerable areas in other deep-South states the community leadership still considers lynchings necessary. These areas may be characterized as not yet above the lynching level. Here the leadership of the mob is commonly made up of the leading people of the community, as was the case in the recent Mississippi lynchings at Wiggins, Calhoun City, Slayden, and Oxford. On the other hand, in the areas where community leadership does not condone lynching, the mob is led by and composed of the less responsible elements of the community.

35. Bogalusa, Louisiana, population of 14,029, with the lynching in this county occurring at Franklinton, which has a population of less than a thousand; Columbus, Lowndes County, Mississippi, 10,731, with the double lynching in this county occurring six or eight miles from the town; Fort Lauderdale, Broward County, Florida, 8,666, with the lynching staged five miles away; Moultrie, Colquitt County, Georgia, 8,027, with the lynching ten miles from the town.

36. Fourteen of the eighty-four persons lynched were in counties where two or more persons have been lynched in the past five years.

37. See Vance, R. P., **Human Geography of the South**, p. 422 (U. N. C. Press, 1932).

The mob in the "lynch-level" area is usually small, comparatively orderly, going about its task in a businesslike way under recognized leaders, seldom mutilating its victim beyond hanging him by the neck and shooting the body full of holes. The mob in the community above the lynch-level is composed of scores, hundreds, or thousands of excited people with no recognized leaders, a seething mass which in milling about generates its own sense of power until some insignificant happening sets it in reckless motion. Then it is capable of destroying public and private property and of torturing the victim with extended mutilation or slow burning. The same sadistic savagery readily occurs in the lynch-level area if the recognized leaders of the community fail to maintain their leadership of the mob. Relatively, at least, there are orderly and disorderly mobs: an "orderly" mob supplants peace officers and the courts; a "disorderly" and leaderless mob recklessly defies peace officers and courts. The former is bourbon and plutocratic; the latter is proletarian and anarchistic.

Thus the economic and cultural factors of an area determine not only the probability of the emergence of a lynch-bent mob, but also the general character of the mob which forms. There is little comfort for good citizens in the realization that the "nicest" lynchings occur under the restraining hands of the best people of the community, and that the "worst" lynchings occur when the community leaders abdicate and the substrata elements come into power. This points to the real tragedy—the mob itself.

IX. THE HIGH COST OF LYNCH-BENT MOBS

Mob members readily and naturally repudiate the peace officers and court officials. Whether of the "orderly" or "disorderly" type, the mob insists upon its own desires. As a logical thing it either lynches the accused, or stands as a referee over his court trial, with the frank threat of lynching should the court fail to carry out its desires: no questioning of guilt will be countenanced, no element of mercy tolerated. Such mob-dominated court sentences are, of course, properly called "legal lynchings." In the instances in which the lynch-bent mob does not lynch and cannot dominate the court, it often exercises a galling surveillance over the Negro community, with frequent intimidations and ready threats of death. Once a mob has formed, the best thing that can happen is bad.

A lynching comes at a high price to the community: irresponsibility is winked at when deadly weapons are carried without license and used without reason; dogmatism is enthroned when mob members assume that the accused is guilty of the alleged crime, and that the man they have is the one they are looking for; prejudice dominates, for mob members do not weigh evidence, and do not deliberate, but proceed upon pre-conceived notions.

Lynchers kill and then defend their murderous action against any who would make them responsible for their deed. The typical lynching literally forces the local institutions and articulate persons to condone it. The local community pays the bill when it defends lynchers.[38] The court, in pretending that it is unable to find out who did the lynching, degrades itself to the point of protecting murderers. The ministry and members of the church, by their failure to be effective advocates of justice, compromise the church's position into practical protection to the mob members. Educational leaders, civic leaders, business men, in fact the whole community, by pretending that the

38. The whole region, too, pays for lynchings and mobs, for institutions which do little or nothing to punish lynchers naturally work out formulas to justify their actions, and so the wider community pays for defending mob violence. It becomes hypersensitive and resents comparisons with other areas. The result is that the majority of the people in the lynching area tend to turn from the disturbing facts of the present to the glamor of the past for status and security. And so a whole region fails to get at the fundamental causes which underlie the formation of the mob—the first and greatest factor in the lynching pattern.

lynchers cannot be identified, accommodate the community to their protection. Thus the institutions and leaders of the community become confederates in the high mockery of the court's inability to punish, and confederates in the debasement of citizenship which occurs when the mob forms, when it lynches, and when its members are allowed to go unpunished.

Just as the community in its very being pays for the formation of the mob, it also pays for what the mob does. Financial considerations alone are far from negligible. It costs money to replace courthouses—as at Sherman, Texas, in 1930, and at Shelbyville, Tennessee, in 1934—to repair jails, to replace private property destroyed, and to maintain martial law. The financial costs are smallest where the moral costs are largest—that is, where the "best people" are the mob members.

X. THE THREAT OF LEGAL LYNCHINGS

Convinced of the terrific price which the community pays for a lynching, it is sometimes felt that lynchings should be prevented by any possible means, even to the point of legal lynching by court sentences. Such a decision was frankly acknowledged by a juryman in the Jerome Wilson case at Franklinton, Louisiana, late in 1934, when the death sentence was imposed to prevent the mob from lynching the accused and other members of his family. Subsequently the case was appealed to the State Supreme Court, and when a new trial was granted early in 1935, the mob, fearing that it might be deprived of its intended victim, took him from jail and lynched him.

A mob may make a difference in the demands and methods of the state prosecutor. At Cleveland, Bolivar County, Mississippi, in 1935, the prosecuting attorney, hearing the hundreds who stood just outside the barbed wire enclosure of the National Guard around the courthouse, picked up a burlap sack under the table and exhibited to the jury what he claimed were chunks of flesh from the body of the woman the Negro on trial was accused of having murdered. Since when have prosecuting attorneys in Mississippi, or anywhere else, needed to bring human flesh into the courtroom to convict a Negro accused of murdering a white woman? Was it not the presence of the mob which led to this ghoulish exhibition?

Even the judge sometimes feels it is his duty to recognize mob pressure. In the recent trial of John Henry Sloan, at Moultrie, Georgia, the judge is reported to have requested a promise that the defense attorney would not move for a new trial, threatening otherwise to adjourn the court immediately after the trial to prevent such a motion. The promise was refused, and two days after the trial the judge adjourned the court, contrary to his usual practice of letting the term run until it expired by law. The defendant in this case, a mental defective,[39] was sentenced to die on December 10, 1935. In the

39. The defendant's low mentality was common knowledge and, except for the fear that such testimony might have caused a lynching, numerous witnesses would have given such testimony at his trial.

The Negro threatened by a mob near Lexington, Georgia, was definitely of low mentality; said the **Oglethorpe Echo**, September 19, 1935: "Forbearance of the public upon apprehension of the Negro and at his trial, as commendable as it is, may be attributed to some extent to the known low mentality of the Negro. . . . He is evidently hardly of sufficient mental capacity to know right from wrong." The Negro lynched last year at Louisburg, North Carolina, was mentally deranged.

The case of John Henry Sloan, at Moultrie, Georgia, also demonstrates the cost to the community of the Negro's defenselessness. This half-witted Negro could readily be "chased like a rabbit" by white people, even white boys. Such was the case leading up to the tragedy on the night of October 16, when he shot and killed Otis Gay, a young white man. "He had borrowed a gun from a white man," runs an account of his crime, "and he was returning home down the road and was set upon and chased by some white men and boys who threw rocks and sticks at him. He was thoroughly frightened and ran as hard as he could, finally outdistancing his pursuers. About a mile farther down the road Otis Gay, the man he killed, and a girl were sitting by the side of the road. Sloan was still thoroughly frightened. As he passed the place, the man suddenly rose. Sloan thought he was about to be attacked again and being scared he raised the gun almost involuntarily and shot and killed Otis Gay."

meantime the United States District Court granted a writ of habeas corpus and the case is now pending.

It is, indeed, a question whether a community is worse off when it has a lynching and defends it, or when it prevents a threatened lynching by prostituting its citizenship and institutions to the demands of the mob. Which would have been the better, for instance, for the jury sitting on the Elwood Higginbotham case in Oxford, Mississippi, in September 1935, to have agreed that they would send Higginbotham to the electric chair in order to prevent a lynching, or to attempt, as did some of the jurors, to give a verdict on the basis of the evidence and thus to precipitate a lynching?

Seemingly, the National Guard would have been the surest way to provide protection for the prisoner when in Oxford for his trial. Many able jurists, however, maintain that it is most difficult to have a fair and impartial trial in a community where the National Guard is necessary, holding that the very necessity for the Guard indicates that the community is unable or unwilling to deal with the case judicially.

It is straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel for a community to console itself with the fact that the mob was led by the "best people" and the lynching was "orderly," or that the court officials and leading citizens prevented a lynching by promising the mob that the man would be tried immediately, sentenced to death without fail, and executed just as soon as the law would permit.

XI. SOME SUGGESTIONS

There is urgent need that effective means be worked out for the punishment of lynchers, for the constructive prevention of threatened lynchings, and especially for the eradication of lynch-bent mobs.

It is self evident from the facts presented above that a community which will have a lynching will seldom punish its lynchers, while a community which would punish lynchers will seldom need to. The punishment of lynchers, in the very nature of the case, can be realized only by applying in the local community the standards of the wider community which does not countenance lynching. This may best be effected, first, by placing the responsibility for the apprehension and arrest of lynchers in the hands of state or federal police; second, by holding the trial of the lynchers outside the affected area; third, by arranging for state or federal prosecutors to share the responsibility of the prosecution. The added cost of these services are legitimate state or federal expenditures, since neither the state nor the federal government can afford to permit the collapse of the judicial system in any local area.

The application of state or federal authority to the problem of lynching raises several interesting questions: Would the community accept the state or federal assistance, or would it pit itself against the "outside" agency attempting to administer laws out of harmony with the local ideas of justice? In short, would the activities of a state or federal agency succeed in punishing the lynchers, or would they precipitate a miniature civil war? Would an organized local opposition to "outside" prosecutions, as at Princess Anne, Maryland, in 1933, be repeated in other lynch communities under similar circumstances? Even if lynchers can be punished, will their punishment tend to reduce the violence of white people toward the Negro, or will it merely shift the plane of violence from that of lynchings to premeditated private murder, which crime would be handled by the local court? Even so, might there be some gain in shifting the violence from lynching, which is commonly condoned, to private murder, for which there is public condemnation of long standing?

There is need, too, of devising effective means by which mobs that have formed can be kept from lynching, and from dominating the courts. The first and greatest need is for adequate police service, which means state policemen with authority as state officers rather than as assistants to local peace officers, to facilitate the immediate removal of the accused to a place of safekeeping. A second need is for strong jails, equipped and manned to withstand the onslaught of a mob; they could be built at strategic points throughout the state. A third need is that the trial of the accused person be conducted outside the affected area, lest it be dominated by the mob.

More adequate police service, stronger jails, and effective court procedures can be at best only restraining factors. In the long run, the real value in punishing lynchers, and in keeping mobs which have formed from lynching, will be measured largely by their influence in preventing the formation of mobs.

The more fundamental approaches will have to do with raising community standards above the lynching level in the areas of low economic and cultural rating, while in the areas with higher wealth and cultural rating the greatest need is that responsible employment and community participation be provided for the substrata elements of the population. The economic approach, to be effective, must include the reduction of the rural handicap, which now leaves the average rural dweller at a distinct disadvantage. In most Southern communities, where the relationships of man to land have been worked out on a basis of racial factors, it seems next to impossible to correct the rural handicap without extending to Negroes as well as to whites opportunities for the ownership of productive land. So long as the vast majority of rural dwellers, white as well as Negro, are forced to fit themselves into the chronic dependency of the present farm tenant pattern, they will have little incentive to apply themselves diligently and intelligently to their agricultural tasks.

An extension of the ownership of farms would facilitate the greater participation of the people in community affairs. In a large proportion of communities with lynchings and threatened lynchings practically no Negroes vote, and in many instances less than one-sixth of the whites. With such a centralized control, it is comparatively simple and almost natural for education, health, police, and other essential public agencies to render their services with such partiality as to perpetuate the present racial and class differentials out of which lynchings naturally come.

It is necessary, too, for city dwellers to realize that the impoverishment of rural people inevitably means an increase of unemployment and decreased wages for city dwellers. It is equally important that the white man, with or without property, in town or country, understand that enforcing dependence and subservience upon the Negro means that the great majority of white people, who by the very nature of the situation are in competition with the Negro, will occupy a place but little above him.

The religious approach, too, can be productive. Many of the most outspoken enemies of lynching are editors of religious papers, denominational leaders, and ministers in the largest and wealthiest churches. These church leaders will need to devise ways of infusing their abhorrence of mob violence into the local ministers and church leadership. This is a difficult task, for the local minister is under the same pressure to conform as are local editors, bankers, educators. Church study courses, conferences, and summer schools can help churchmen understand the causes and consequences of mob outbreaks. "The pastor," said a leading Southern churchman some time ago, "in the absence of passion and excitement should instill into the minds of his hearers reverence for human life and personality and the danger and crime of mob rule."

Fundamental to all these means is the educational approach, which has the responsibility of discovering and interpreting the conditions out of which mobs arise, the facts about lynchings, and the role of peace officers, court officials, and the general public in these breakdowns of law and order. The vastness of the educational task is suggested by the fact that the typical white Southerner, even of high school and college level, still assumes that the Negro is innately inferior, that he is predisposed to commit certain crimes, that most of the persons lynched are accused of rape, and that mob violence is necessary for the protection of the white woman. It is distressing to take a poll of college seniors in some of the better schools in the South and learn that the majority of them still believe these fallacies. The approach of the Southern Association of Women for the Prevention of Lynching is strategic —Southern white women are studying the facts about lynchings and by thousands are repudiating the mob and pledging themselves to its eradication.

The teachers in elementary and high schools, no less than in colleges, can do much to break down the unfounded prejudices and fears which fire the mind of the mob. Teachers of literature and the natural sciences, as well as of the social sciences, can readily integrate into their courses the facts about the accomplishments of Negro authors, artists, athletes, educators, patriots, and scientists.

Church and school programs can be effective in proportion as they help the people of the South, Negro and white, to understand the backgrounds out of which mob violence emerges, and the good sense of correcting these conditions. The teachers and preachers of the South would do much to free the region of mob outbreaks if they could make it clear that lynching is an outgrowth not only of the South's peculiar historical past, but also of an army of dependent farm tenants, low incomes, inadequate diet, disorganized plantation economy, depleted soil, and a tangled racial situation with its threads reaching in and paralyzing every effort of the white man to raise his own status, while keeping the Negro down.

XII. FACTUAL NEWSPAPER REPORTS NEEDED

The whole educational approach to the reduction of lynching is seriously handicapped by incomplete and frequently distorted reports of why lynchings occur. There is need for factual newspaper accounts in every case.

It should be borne in mind that lynchings occur most frequently in the poorest and least populous communities, where press service is least adequate and news writers are under the greatest subjection to local opinion. The local paper, except in rare instances, does the "safe" thing: it handles the story so as to remain acceptable to the community; it withholds facts unfavorable to the lynchers and paints the person lynched as the worst possible enemy of the community.

The central press services, in turn, nearly always receive the story from a local correspondent, frequently a person identified with the home paper. The result is that distant readers, as well as those at home, usually have opportunity of reading only the pro-lyncher's explanation of the affair.

The Higginbotham case at Oxford, Mississippi, serves to emphasize the need for factual reports. Said the local weekly, the *Oxford Eagle*, on May 23, 1935: "Capture of Elwood Higginbotham, negro, brutal murderer of Glenn D. Roberts, was thought to be near Thursday morning. . . . The slaying of Mr. Roberts, which occurred about ten o'clock Tuesday night, has shocked the entire community. Mr. Roberts had had some difficulty with the negro a few weeks previous but nothing serious was expected when he accosted the negro, who is a tenant on the farm of Glenn Baird, a near neighbor of Mr. Roberts. However, in an argument, the nature of which has not

been disclosed, Higginbotham shot Mr. Roberts in the face at close range with a shotgun killing him instantly."

The news items in the *Eagle* on May 30, and again those on September 12 and 19, which appeared immediately before and after Higginbotham was lynched, did not mention the well-established facts that the white man had started the trouble by driving cattle across the Negro's field; that he had armed himself and with other white men had gone to the Negro's house at night; that he had broken down an outside door to get into the hallway and then had knocked open the door of the bedroom where Higginbotham and his wife had retired, and that it was under these conditions that the Negro had shot him. When the editor of the *Eagle* was asked why he had not carried the actual facts, he answered frankly that he lived in Oxford, and that the race situation made it practically impossible to do so.

An Associated Press release appearing in the *Montgomery Advertiser* and other papers on September 18, 1935, said, ". . . . Witnesses testified at the trial that the white man was 'shot down in cold blood' when he went to Higginbotham's door to 'have a talk' with him." This story also made no mention of the unchallenged facts recited above.

Thus the people who read the *Oxford Eagle* and those who read the central press stories had no opportunity to know the really essential facts in this case.

On the other hand, the local paper and the press services might have carried the defense counsel's charge to the jury: "The court charges the jury for the defendant that if you believe from the evidence in this case that the deceased went to the home of the defendant on the night of the homicide and entered the home of the defendant in a rude and angry manner and then and there held a pistol pointing toward the defendant, and the defendant then and there had reasonable grounds to believe and did believe his life to be in immediate danger at the hands of the deceased, the defendant had the right to shoot and kill the deceased in his necessary self-defense, and the jury should find him not guilty." They might have included the comments of an ex-prosecutor of a near-by court, who expressed the opinion that no jury would convict the Negro on the known evidence, and that if one did the court would set aside the verdict, or an appeal to a higher court would bring a reversal. If the papers and press services had given these facts to the public, the people of Oxford, and of the South, could better have judged whether the community was protected or betrayed by the seventy-five men who smeared their faces with mud, took the law into their own hands, and lynched the accused.

In reporting the lynching of Bodie Bates at Calhoun City, Mississippi, the local paper carried the headline, "Attacker Is Hung by Mob," in spite of the fact that the Negro was accused only of threatening to break into a girl's room. The lynchings at Slayden, Wiggins, Hernando, and Columbus in Mississippi, at Franklinton, Maringouin, and Gretna in Louisiana, at Columbus in Texas, at Louisburg in North Carolina, and at Yreka in California were all reported by the local papers in routine pro-lyncher fashion—the lynching had occurred, the mob victim deserved his fate, the lynchers had expressed the will of the people.

At Fort Lauderdale, Florida, the newspaper "neither condemned nor condoned" the lynching; it merely pointed out that it had been caused by legal delay in the punishment of four other Negroes in the county. The small daily at Moultrie, Georgia, carried factual reports of the lynching of the unaccused "Bo" Brinson, but made no editorial comment. So the record shows that in seventeen out of twenty lynchings last year, the local newspapers justified or implicitly condoned them.

With the possible exception of the weekly papers of Dickson and Cheatham counties, Tennessee, the *News*, of Vienna, Georgia, has the distinction

of being the only small town paper to speak out editorially against a local lynching in 1935. On the other hand it should be noted that the daily papers of Raleigh, Nashville, and Miami vigorously denounced the lynchings at near-by Louisburg, White Bluff, and Fort Lauderdale, and that the year's single city lynching, at Tampa, was roundly condemned by the press of that city.

Most of the larger Southern dailies are definitely committed to the eradication of lynching, and they are not without responsibility to effect some arrangement with the press bureaus by which their readers may become acquainted with what actually happens when a lynching occurs in a remote rural community, rather than being permitted to read only what the lynching element in that community wants the public to know. This could easily be done if the press bureaus, representing the South's leading newspapers, would send a special correspondent into each community where a lynching occurs or is threatened. Thus a service of the greatest importance could be rendered.

XIII. LYNCHING AND RACIAL EXPLOITATION

With most lynchings occurring in the South and the Negro, "America's tenth man," furnishing ninety per cent of the victims in recent years, one logically looks to the Southern racial situation for the underlying causes of lynchings. Formerly an instrument of popular justice in frontier communities, and still retaining something of its frontier character, lynching and the threat of it are now primarily a technique of enforcing racial exploitation—economic, political, and cultural.

Economic exploitation of the Negro by the American white man is as old and as continuous as the Negro's presence on American soil. Slavery, peonage, low wages, restricted work opportunities, and inferior educational and other public welfare facilities record his principal economic handicaps in the developing American scene.

The exploitation of the Negro extends from its broad economic base into all the vital phases of political life. State, county, and municipal governments—the legal instruments of the whites—secure more money for white schools by diverting to them a portion of the public monies which belong to the Negro. For much the same reason the Negro has poorer public health service, poorer police protection, and frequently a smaller pauper allowance or relief order. He seldom sits on a jury, and almost never has a voice in the allocation of public funds.

Most insidious of all has been the cultural exploitation of the Negro. The typical popular story, from political platform and pulpit, commonly represents him as an amiable simpleton, lacking in morals, intelligence, and ambition. Black-faced characters are good drawing cards for white audiences, perhaps because white people like to see Negroes dependent and docile, and in ridiculous roles. All this rests on certain rationalizations, chief of which is the assumption that the Negro has been ordained to a position of subservience and servitude. Thus his political impotence and economic helplessness are enforced.

The exploitation of the black folk has been something of a profession. Many business men and politicians have capitalized race prejudice to gain larger profits through lower labor costs or to make their political and institutional leadership secure. The South's Watsons, Bleases, Heflins, and Vardamans in politics and other fields have not been mental dwarfs. They saw a harvest for themselves and reaped it. The success of the professional Negrophobe has rested in no small degree upon conditions which he has been instrumental in creating and maintaining.

In most communities of the South the role of the Negro is rigorously defined. He has the poorer schools and a disproportionate share of illiteracy, fewer public health nurses and greater morbidity, fewer parks and a higher

juvenile delinquency rate, smaller houses and more unmarried mothers, limited employment and longer bread lines, longer hours, smaller wages, and a higher death rate. The whites who thus define "his place" insist that he stay in it and promptly suppress any revolt against his economic dependence, political impotence, and cultural subservience.

The whole spotted fabric of lynching has one thread running through it: The Negro must be kept in his place. Lynchings and threats of violence are but the more extreme expressions of the white man's determination to continue his exploitation of the Negro, which is most thorough when the Negro knows that he chooses between subservience and annihilation. Rural whites may point out that it is about time for another lynching when they think the Negro no longer fears one.

To understand why the mob emerges most often in the rural Southern community with a low economic and cultural rank, it is well to remember that exploitation, prevalent in practically all communities, is often carried out by cruder methods in poorer communities than in richer ones. To maintain their control over Negro labor, the leading white people lynch in some communities. But it is the poorer rural whites, who live on about the same plane as the landless Negroes near-by, to whom man hunts, mock trials and lynchings prove most attractive. The racial dogma is precious to them because it is proof that they are superior. They find a welcomed reassurance in the color of their skins and the license it affords. Momentarily they escape the boredom of their restricted lives; for a time they are people of importance—they assume the role of society's protectors; they flourish weapons; they hunt down the accused; they determine his guilt; they destroy him, sometimes with protracted torture. In reality, lynchings come out of the state of mind of white people much more than out of the crimes committed by Negroes, just as witches were burned in Boston, not because there were witches in Boston but because of the state of mind of the people in Boston.

So Negroes are lynched, some accused of capital crimes, others of little or nothing. Most of the victims are hanged and then riddled with bullets, some are dismembered or burned; some of the bodies are removed at once, others are left as gory spectacles for men, women, and children to view—a topic of conversation in shop, sewing circle, and home. And native-born white lynchers, some with property and more with none, are seldom indicted and almost never convicted.

XIV. IN CONCLUSION

Local civilization has broken down when a mob forms; and there is no simple substitute for local civilization.

It should be emphasized that activities for ridding the American scene of lynching involve not only more adequate police service, stronger jails, more efficient court procedures, and the proper custodial care of mental cases. It is fundamentally important also that the poorer rural areas of the South be brought to share more equitably in the economic and cultural wealth of the nation. Any effective program must be geared to the task of lifting above the lynching level the poorest rural areas and the poorest elements in a yet larger region. In this task the county, state, and federal governments all have responsibility. It is, of course, the part of wisdom that the contributions of each be so correlated that whatever responsibility can be borne locally shall be left there. At the same time, in no instance should the local community be permitted to lynch and then protect its lynchers from punishment, and thus violate the essential nature of the state and nation of which it is a part.

OTHER BOOKS ON RACE RELATIONS

"The Tragedy of Lynching," by Arthur F. Raper. Detailed case studies of the twenty lynchings of 1930, made under auspices of Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching and published by University of North Carolina Press, 500 pages, $2.50.

"Lynchings and What They Mean," 80-page summary of findings of above study, 25 cents.

"Singers in the Dawn," a brief anthology of American Negro poetry. Sketches of forty American Negro poets, with selections from their work. Excellent for programs, classroom study, and personal use. 24 pages, 10 cents.

"The Quest for Understanding." What to teach children regarding race relations. Of special interest to teachers. 24 pages, 5 cents.

Ten assorted pamphlets—"America's Tenth Man," "Recent Trends," "Judge Lynch," "Southern Opinion," "Burnt Cork and Crime," "The Bible and Race Relations," and other titles, four to sixteen pages each. Entire assortment, 10 cents.

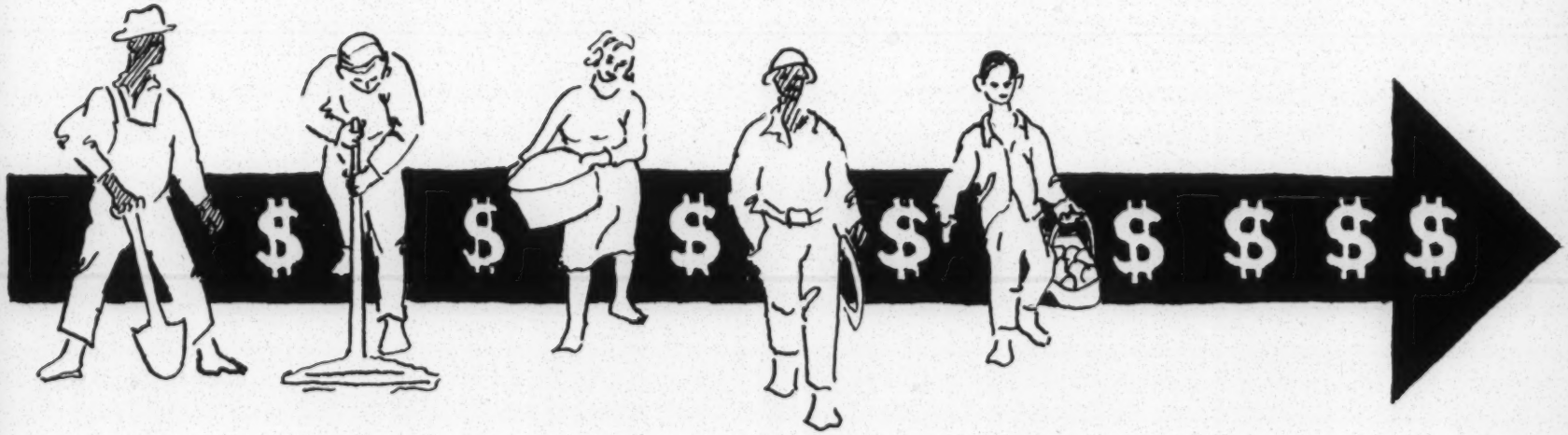
ORDER OF

Commission on Interracial Cooperation

710 STANDARD BUILDING

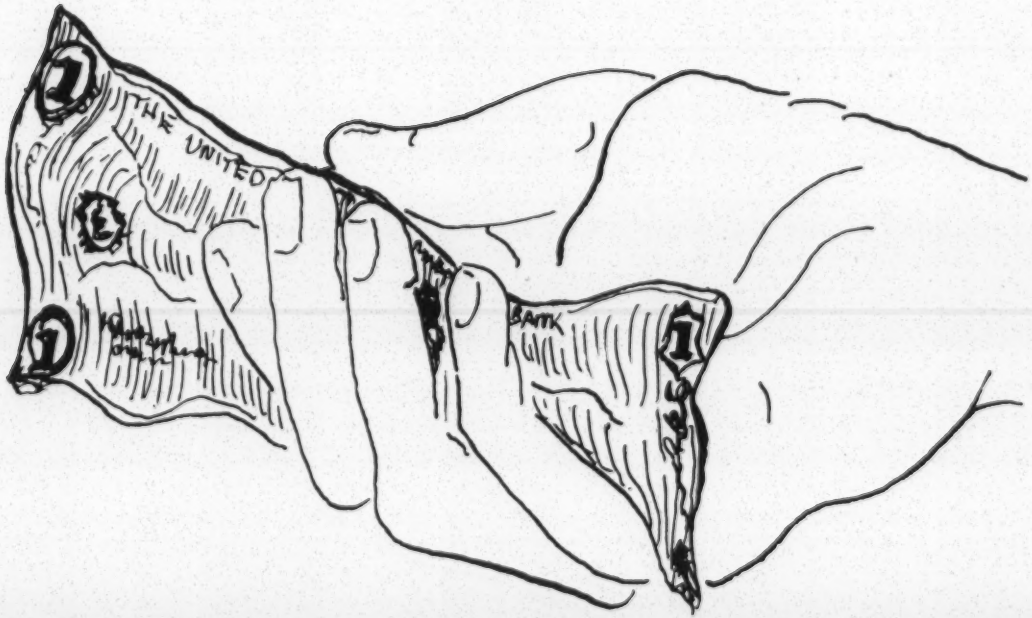
ATLANTA, GA.

MORE MONEY FOR YOU?



YOUR RIGHTS UNDER THE MINIMUM WAGE LAW

Labor Program
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303


THE UNITED
BANK

We have a new federal law that may mean
more pay for you.

It is called the Fair Labor Standards Act, or the
Minimum Wage Law.

You should know what the new Fair Labor Standards Act
says about your job.

You should know what to do to get the wages the law
says you are supposed to get.

Read this pamphlet for more information. See the back
of this pamphlet for the name of someone to help you.

$ 40 a week pay

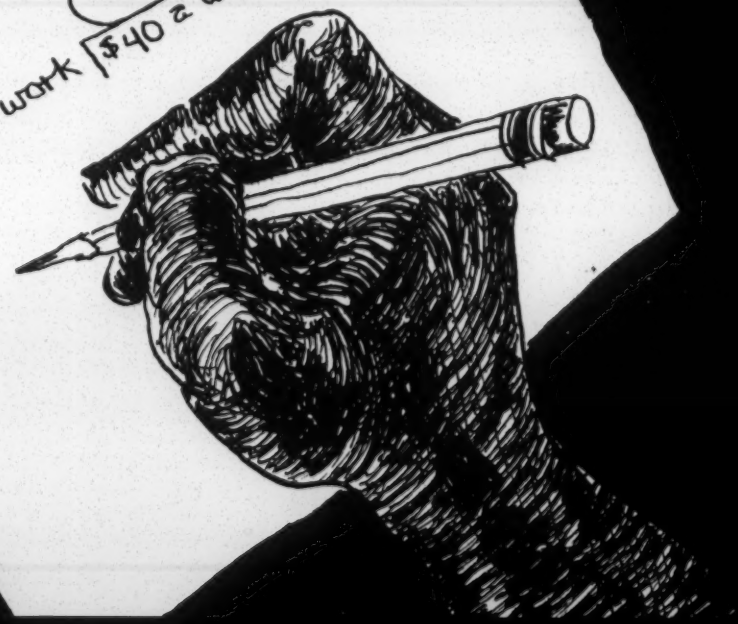
8 A.M – 12:00
1 P.M – 5:00 = 8 hrs. a day

½ hr. change clothes
and clean up = 8½ hrs. a day

work 5 days a week X5
42½ hrs. a week

$.94 an hour

42½ hrs. work | $40 a week pay



How much is your weekly pay before deductions?

If you don't know for sure, ask your boss.

How many hours a week do you work?

When you figure your hours count in —

- time to change your clothes where you work if you are required to wear a uniform or work clothes
- time to get your work ready
- time to clean up your work
- time spent doing errands for the boss even if it is on your lunch hour.

Now divide the hours you work into your weekly pay (before overtime is figured).

The figure you get is your hourly rate.

If your pay is less than $1 an hour—
or if your pay is exactly $1.25 an hour—

you may be entitled to
a raise in your hourly rate.

If you work more than 44 hours in a week
or if you work more than 40 hours in a week
you may be entitled to overtime pay.

Does your son work in the kitchen
of a big restaurant?

Are you a porter in a school?

Does your sister or daughter work in
a laundry or dry cleaners?

Is your wife a cook in a hospital?

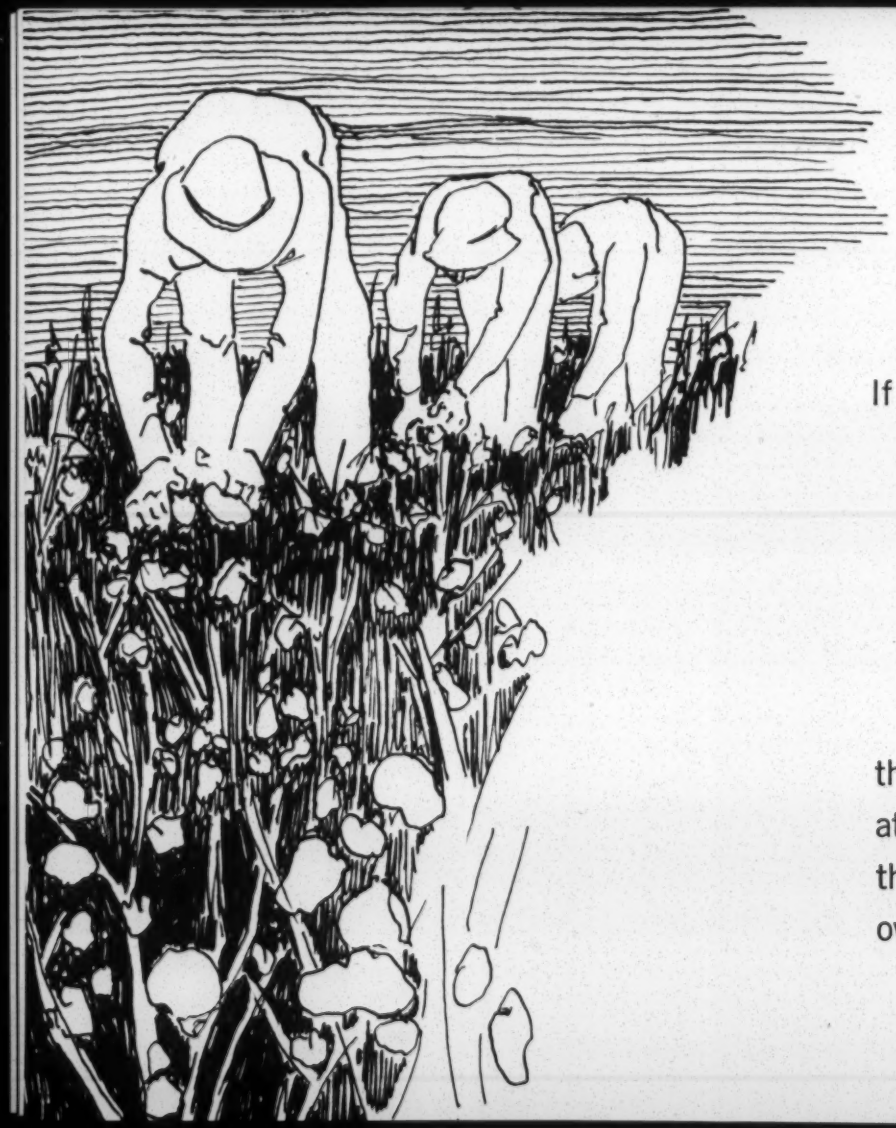
Anybody who has a job in any of these places probably should be earning at least

$1 an hour for 44 hours in a week

and at least

$1.50 an hour for all hours over 44 hours.

If you already earn more than $1.00 an hour, you should earn time and a half (one and a half times your regular rate) for hours over 44 anyway.



If you work on:

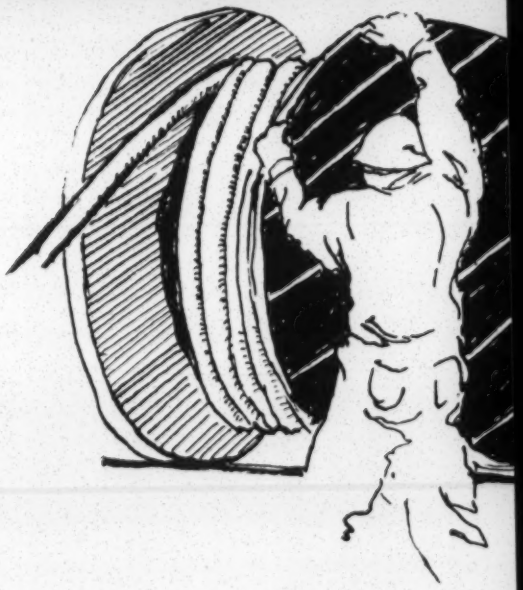
A big farm that has at least
7 or 8 regular full time
workers during the season

or

A big motel or hotel

then you probably should earn
at least $1.00 an hour, but
the law does not require
overtime pay.

Here are some places where you probably should earn at least $1 an hour for 44 hours plus time and a half for hours over 44 —



Construction company

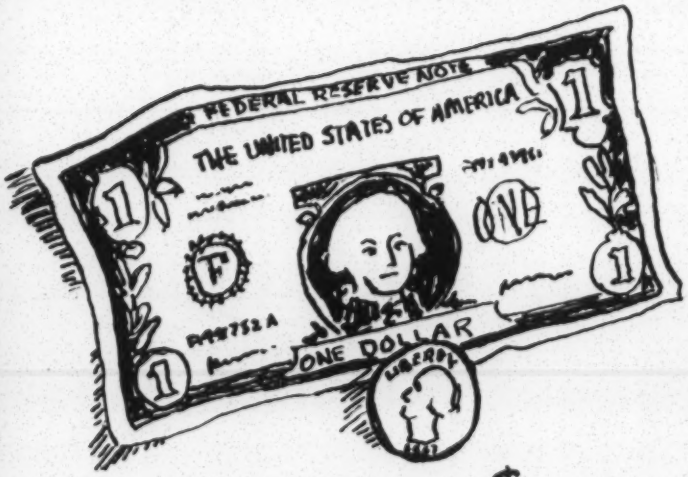
Big Retail store

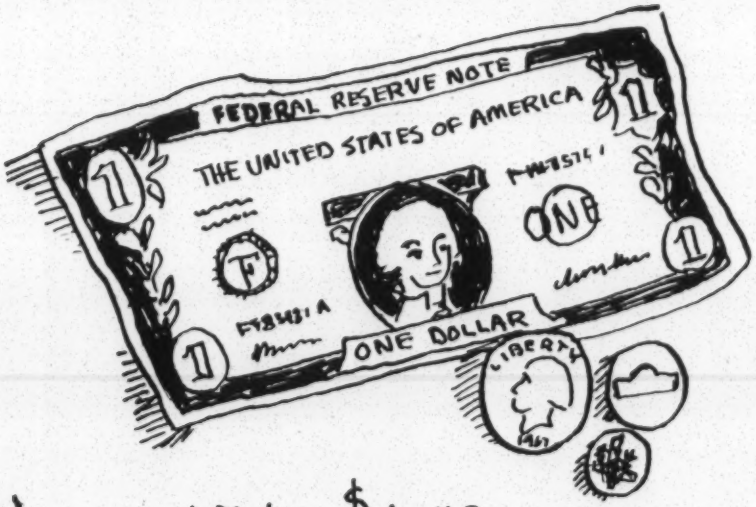
Big drug store

Big automobile, trailer, farm implement dealer

Big gas station

Bank





BEFORE $1.25 ⟶ NOW $1.40

and

FOR ALL HOURS OVER 40 HOURS

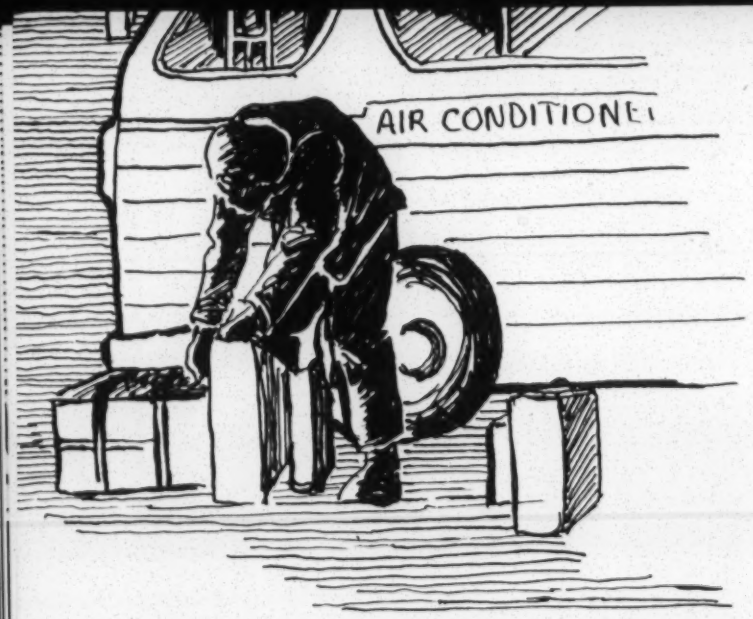
$2.10 an hour

Maybe you have been earning $1.25 an hour or
more for some time now.

If so, that may mean that you were covered by
the Minimum Wage Law before, and

beginning February, 1967, you should
be given a raise.

You should now get at least
$1.40 an hour for 40 hours work in a week
and at least
$2.10 an hour for all hours over 40 hours.



Do you work in a —

Bus company?

Department store?

Road repair crew?

Railroad station?

Wholesale company?

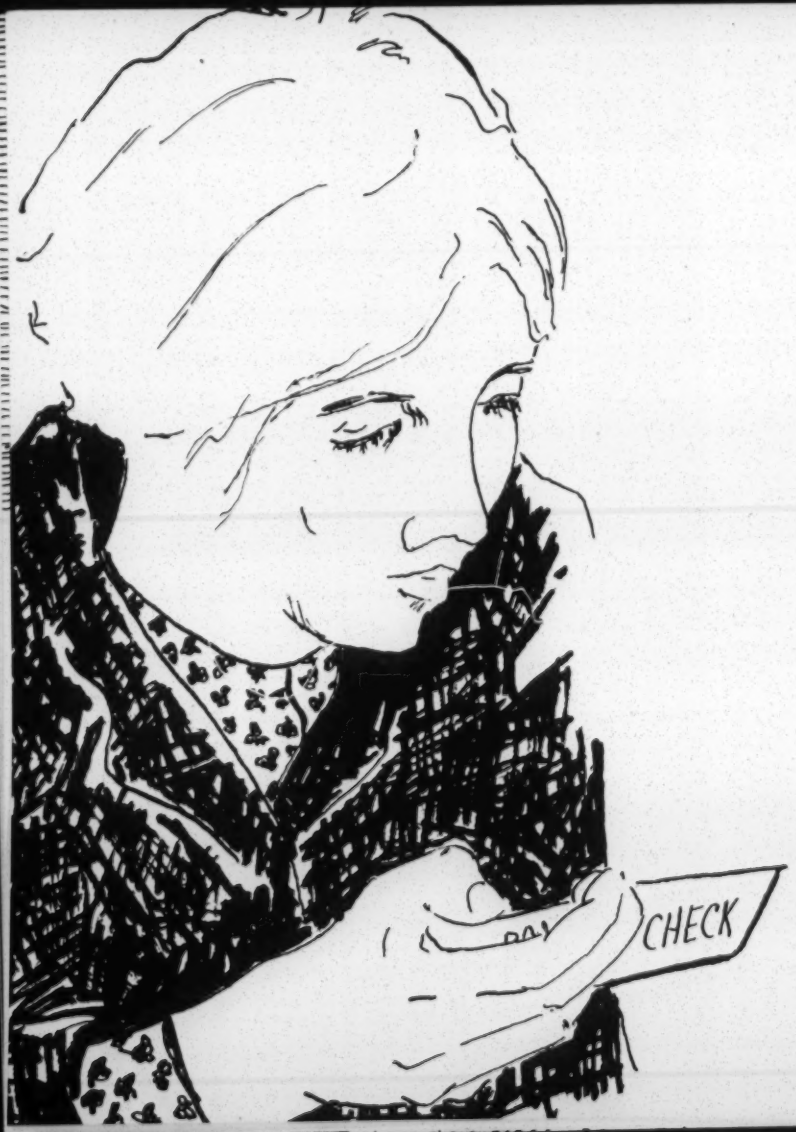
Big gas station?

If you do, and that job paid $1.25 an hour for

40 hours before February, 1967 —

then probably after February, you should

earn at least $1.40 an hour plus time and
a half (at least $2.10) for overtime.



If you are a woman worker—

and if you get paid less than

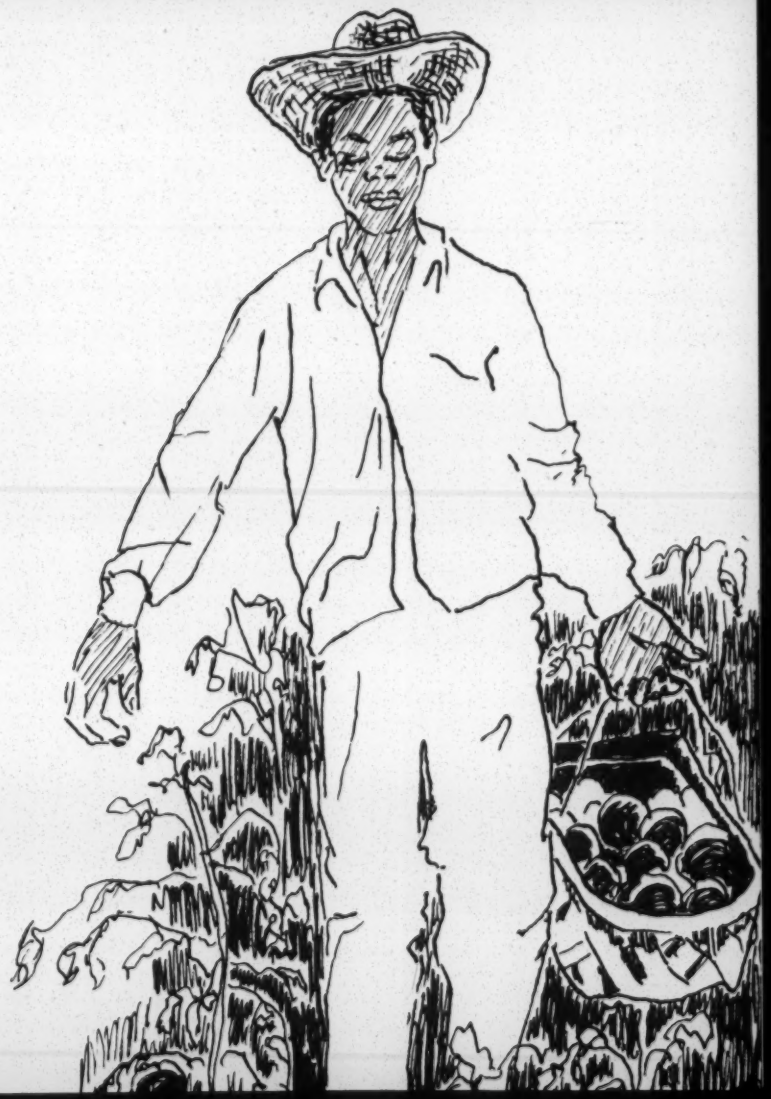
the men for the same work—

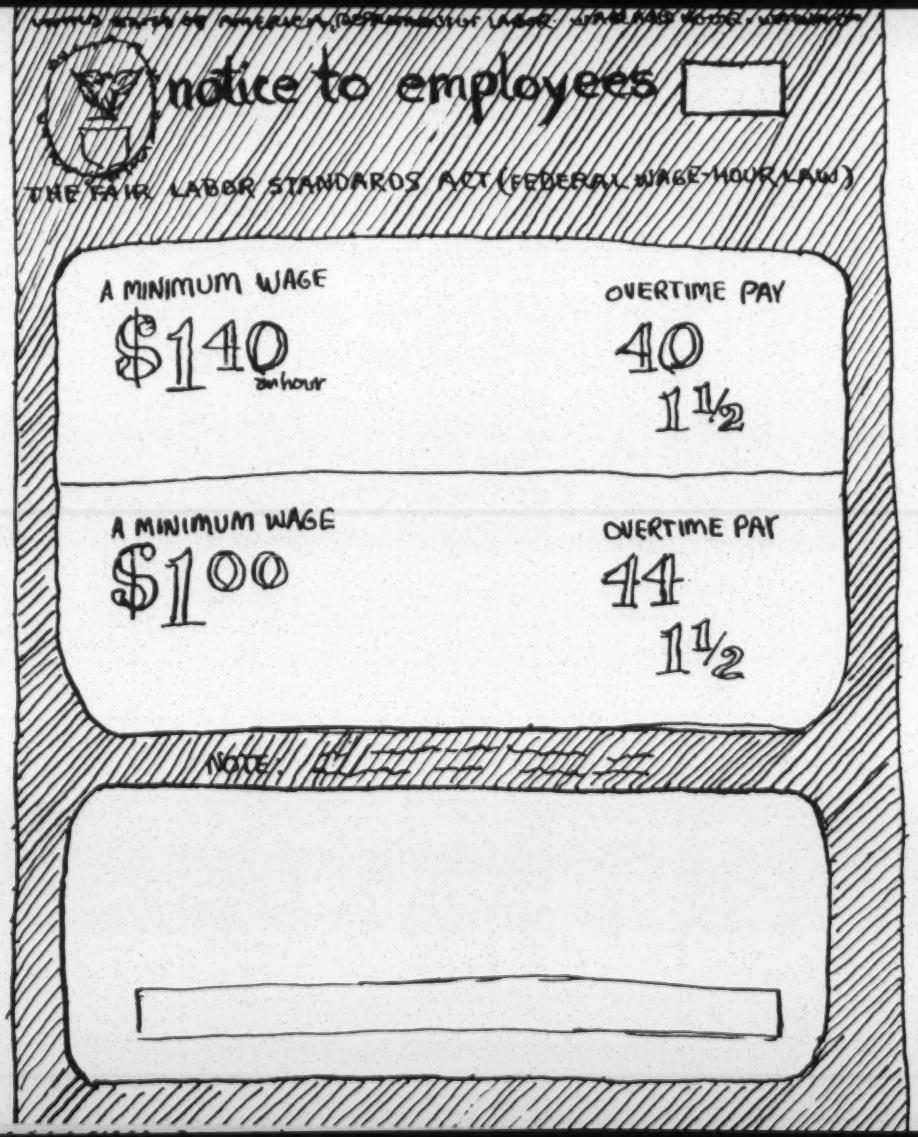
you may be entitled to earn as

much as they do.

If your boss employs school
children during school hours—
or if children are doing
dangerous work
even after school or in
the summer—
this may be against the law

If your boss sells to the
federal government or
works for the government—
you are protected by
the minimum wage law.




notice to employees
THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT (FEDERAL WAGE-HOUR LAW)
A MINIMUM WAGE
$1.40 an hour
OVERTIME PAY
40
1 1/2
A MINIMUM WAGE
$1.00
OVERTIME PAY
44
1 1/2
NOTE:

Does your place of work have a big brown and white sign that says—

NOTICE TO EMPLOYEES

THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT REQUIRES . . .

Read the sign. You may find that you or someone you know is entitled to be paid more than he now gets.

If you think you are not getting
the right amount —
here is what you should do.

Tell somebody in the group that
gave you this pamphlet

Or write a letter or a postcard
to the Wage and Hour Division
of the U. S. Department of
Labor nearest to you.

Or telephone the Wage and Hour
Division

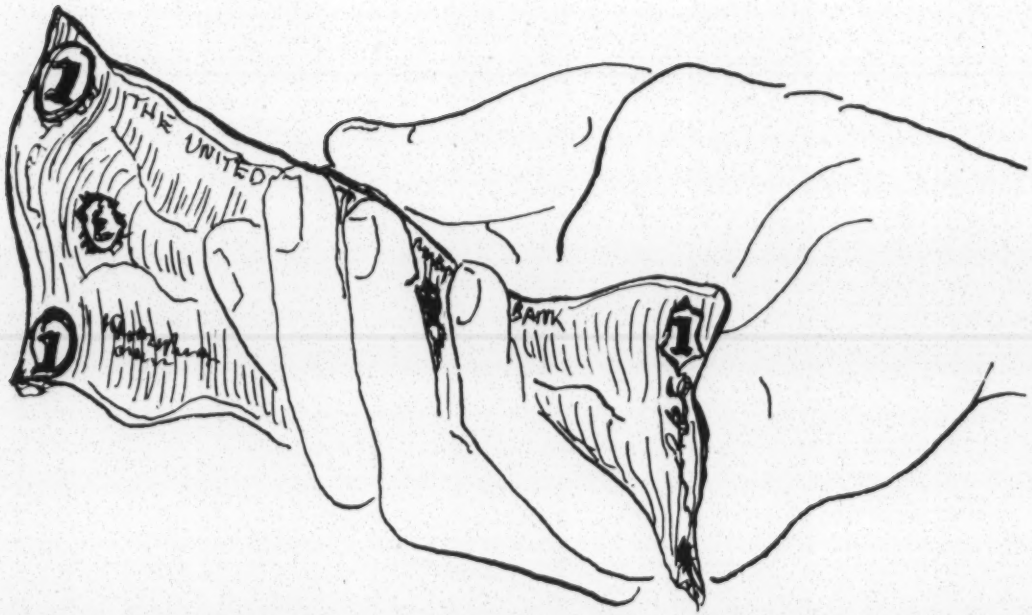
Or go to the Wage and Hour Division
yourself.

The people at the Wage and Hour Division will NOT tell your name to anybody.

You have a right to ask for help.

Your boss can NOT fire you for asking.

The addresses and phone numbers you need are on the back page of this booklet.


THE UNITED
BANK

The Wage and Hour Division will give you a report in
a month or so.

If you are getting the right amount already, they
will explain to you why you are not entitled to more.

If your boss has not been paying you the right amount, then
he will have to begin to pay you the legal rate
that you are supposed to get.
Also he may have to pay you back the extra amount
that you were supposed to get for the
whole time that you were underpaid

So you see, it is really worthwhile to ask.

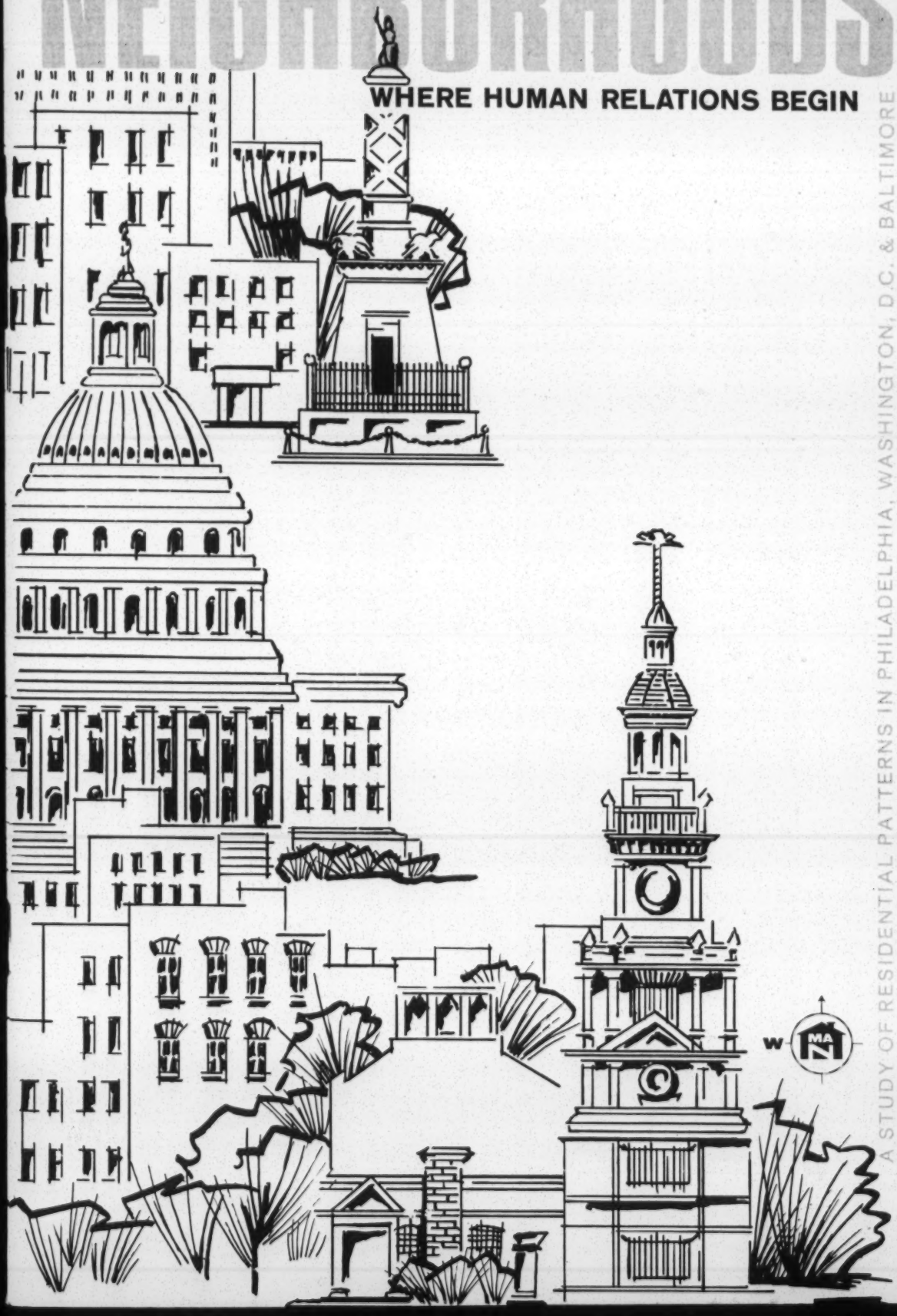
If you have any questions about this get in touch with:

Price .15
0-50cc .10
50 or More .08

February, 1967

NEIGHBORHOODS

WHERE HUMAN RELATIONS BEGIN



A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON, D.C. & BALTIMORE

This study was prepared by Mrs. Margaret Price, formerly an Atlanta newspaperwoman, who now resides in Washington. Mrs. Price has prepared a number of research reports for SRC, primarily in the area of registration and voting.

"Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home — so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person: the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends; the factory, farm or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerted citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the larger world."

— *Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt*

NEIGHBORHOODS

WHERE HUMAN RELATIONS BEGIN

Single copy .50¢; Bulk copies .40¢ each.
Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
February, 1967.

FOREWORD

One stubborn citizen, with a generous endowment of energy and intelligence, can involve his neighborhood and sometimes his city in a drive to prove that interracial housing works.

Across the nation such individuals have sparked moves to encourage white citizens to stand firm, and not to panic, when the first Negroes move into their neighborhood.

Most of these efforts have been in old, established sections of central cities, often the only neighborhoods open to Negroes. Cut off from white suburbs by overt and subtle prejudices, they have to buy houses where they can.

Their desperate need for housing often is exploited by unscrupulous real estate dealers, who in turn encourage and play upon the fear of white residents in a changing neighborhood. In such cases only the dealers profit, for the white home owner in his fright sells low and the Negro in his desperation buys high.

Where white residents decide to fight the panic-peddlers they can find allies among the Negroes who have bought homes. They also want to protect their investment. They know the speculators can turn single family homes into rooming houses, crowd three families into a house built for one, slip through variances in the zoning code, and in time turn the neighborhood into a slum.

Every city in the country with a sizeable Negro population knows something of such pressures and faces the prospect of one mid-city neighborhood after another turning into a racial ghetto. The supply of decent housing available to Negroes has not begun to keep pace with their increase and the shortage will become even worse if present population trends continue.

Figures obtained for *Congressional Quarterly* by the Center for Research in Marketing predict that by 1970 at least 14 big cities in the United States will have Negro populations of 40 percent or more. A majority of the population in Washington, D.C., already is Negro and three other cities are expected to top the 50 percent mark. The

projections show that by 1970 the following 37 cities (100,000 population or more) will be 30 percent or more Negro:

	% Negro 1960	% Negro 1970		% Negro 1960	% Negro 1970
Washington, D.C.	54	68	Winston-Salem, N.C.	37	34
Richmond, Va.	42	51	Jackson, Miss.	34	34
Compton, Calif.	39	51	Newport News, Va.	34	34
Gary, Ind.	39	50	Savannah, Ga.	36	33
Jacksonville, Fla.	41	47	Mobile, Ala.	33	33
Baltimore, Md.	35	47	Montgomery, Ala.	35	32
Detroit, Mich.	29	47	Portsmouth, Va.	34	32
Newark, N.J.	34	46	Baton Rouge, La.	30	32
St. Louis, Mo.	29	46	Philadelphia, Pa.	26	32
New Orleans, La.	37	45	Camden, N.J.	23	32
Nashville, Tenn.	38	43	Chicago, Ill.	23	32
Trenton, N.J.	23	42	Columbus, Ohio	16	32
Birmingham, Ala.	40	40	Cincinnati, Ohio	22	31
Shreveport, La.	35	40	Berkeley, Calif.	20	31
Atlanta, Ga.	38	39*	Beaumont, Tex.	29	30
Memphis, Tenn.	37	39	Greensboro, N. C.	26	30
Oakland, Calif.	23	39	Dayton, Ohio	22	30
Chattanooga, Tenn.	33	38	Saginaw, Mich.	17	30
Cleveland, Ohio	29	38			

These changes are part of a trend that has accelerated since World War II. The Negro population once was largely southern and rural. The mechanization of farms and the hope for better futures sent Negroes into the great urban centers. At the same time, white families began leaving the cities, lured by the easy mortgage money available on the new suburban houses, the chance to have a yard, and better schools for the children. New express highways and money to buy a car made commuting easy. Their tax dollars, of course, went with them.

Negroes moving into the cities from the rural South often lacked the skills and the education which would have allowed them to compete in the job market; many of those otherwise qualified were barred by prejudice from good jobs and homes.

Cities have faced mounting welfare costs when they could least afford them. Schools have become overcrowded and resegregated. The bright promises which attracted so many Negro families failed to materialize. The resulting tensions, hatred, and bitterness led to riots over a score of cities in the summer of 1966 alone.

*A publication of the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission dated April 1, 1966, establishes a percentage of 44.4 Negro population for the corporate limits of Atlanta as of 1966.

Middle income Negroes who could afford a decent house found the doors to suburbia closed, or open so small a crack they were afraid to take a chance and subject themselves and their families to rebuffs, or even violence.

Many northern cities have laws outlawing discrimination in public accommodations, schools, employment, and housing. These are good as a first step but too often the laws have too many loopholes, the penalties are too weak, or the enforcement agencies too understaffed to depend on these alone to solve the problems of discrimination. The federal government, through its vast powers and money, undoubtedly will have to play an increasingly large role in ensuring equal treatment for all.

The federal government, too, will have to help cities meet their other vast needs, for rapid transportation, low cost housing, mortgage guarantees for renewal and new construction for parks, civic centers and other amenities, if the deterioration of cities is to be halted.

But, until the day when cities have the plans and the money in hand to revitalize, what happens? Do the ghettos spread inexorably? The lucky cities have a band of Negro and white citizens already working to stem the tide.

This is a report of three such groups — in Philadelphia, Washington, and Baltimore — selected to illustrate different approaches of varying scope. This brief account of the structure and activities of the three was written not for the social scientist or intergroup specialists but to suggest to men and women who live in cities, or who would like to return, some methods they might use to save a neighborhood and perhaps a city.

Each group knows that no single neighborhood can stem forever the tide of encroaching ghettos, tightly hemmed in by all-white suburbs. They know they are a holding action until citizens and their governments — city, state, and national — act to relieve the pressures.

When that day comes, groups such as these will offer a nucleus of goodwill and experience upon which to build the open city of the American promise.

WEST MT. AIRY NEIGHBORS — Philadelphia

Last year, a California analytical firm submitted a $34,000 report on the schools in the Germantown section of Philadelphia. It recommended a major overhaul of the system, to stem the flight of whites to the suburbs and halt the trend which was turning Germantown into "a poverty-stricken Negro ghetto."

The report advocated a system of four-year schools divided into elementary, middle, and high school levels with a central facility where all pupils below the ninth grade would be bussed for special classes a half day each week. Estimated cost of the program was $36.7 million.

The central facility would be integrated. The other middle and elementary schools, presumably, would be predominantly white or Negro because of residential patterns. After all, Germantown was not yet ready for total integration, the analysts reasoned, and would have to begin slowly at the central building where "this confrontation under a controlled situation can reach the unconscious prejudices."

After the report, which was financed by a foundation grant, was submitted to the school board, survey analysts appeared at an open meeting to explain the details to Germantown citizens. An audience of 150, about equally divided between white and Negro parents, heard an explanation of the plan, which was well drawn and impressively buttressed with statistics.

Ordinarily, such an audience might be expected either to listen with a degree of gratitude and acquiescence, or to object with sincere, if somewhat muddleheaded, emotion.

This, however, was not an ordinary audience. If the report had been tossed into a buzz-saw it could not have been torn apart more effectively.

This could have been foreseen, for a large number of those in the audience were from the West Mt. Airy section of Germantown and belonged to the West Mt. Airy Neighbors Association. Members of this group tend to be both articulate and well-informed. They had done their homework and for every statistic which indicated that Germantown citizens weren't ready for interracial schools and neighborhoods, they could present a counter statistic.

The West Mt. Airy representatives, in short, were not impressed. When a vice president of the analytical firm said the ghetto prediction was made on "statistics nationally," the West Mt. Airy residents made it clear they did not fit the pattern.

The majority from West Mt. Airy felt the school board should spend its time and money in improving the existing school system. They argued that imaginative programs to foster excellence in each school would encourage white parents to return or stay in the city.

As for the central facility idea, a mother of three children who attend a West Mt. Airy elementary school summed up: "It is, after all the frills are removed, a weekly field trip where all races sit around for a few hours painting pictures or weaving place mats!"

West Mt. Airy is well beyond that stage.

The central facility plan has been shelved.

The Community

What kind of a place is West Mt. Airy and what were some of the facts citizens cited to disprove the contention that once Negroes move into an area it is on a downhill path?

First, West Mt. Airy is a fortunate community. Measured by most national and city standards, it is above average. To illustrate, the 1960 census showed that West Mt. Airy had:

A population of 15,735, living in 5,045 households, showing little change from 1950, in contrast to other old Philadelphia sections which had substantial population losses.

Twenty-one percent of the population, and 16 percent of the households, were nonwhite.

Total population was almost evenly divided between those under 40 and those above. Among whites, however, 55 percent were over 40 and of these 30 percent were 60 years or over. Only 19 percent of the nonwhites were 40 to 60 years of age, and only seven percent were 60 or older. This meant there were more school age children among the younger Negro families.

Of 4,000 West Mt. Airy families for whom the 1960 census had data, 21 percent had incomes under $5,000, 40 percent between $5,000 and $10,000 and 39 percent above $10,000. This was well above the citywide rate — 39 percent with incomes under $5,000 and only 14 percent above $10,000.

Twenty-four percent of the population over 25 years of age

had completed college; the proportion was exactly the same for whites and Negroes.

Twenty-eight percent of all men were in the professional category, 16 percent were managers or proprietors. Among nonwhite males, 22 percent were professionals and among nonwhite females, 24 percent.

Eighty percent of the households had cars, compared to 56 percent for the city; 17 percent had two cars, and three percent had three or more.

Fifty-four percent of the whites and 79 percent of the Negroes owned their homes. Citywide, the rate was 68 percent for whites and 43 percent for Negroes.

Sixty-three percent of the residences were one family houses, about a third of these detached and the rest row houses or twins, as semi-detached houses are called in Philadelphia.

The average number of persons per household was small — four persons for nonwhites and three for whites.

Values of the owner-occupied houses had remained stable, despite a tremendous volume of new housing in the city and suburbs, with the average price about the same in 1960 as in 1950. About 25 percent of the houses were valued by their owners at under $10,000 and 36 percent at $15,000 or more.

Physically, West Mt. Airy lives up to its boast of being a "Green Country Town in Philadelphia." Its 1,100 acres, or 150 city blocks, are bounded on two sides and partially bisected by a vast park and stream valley belt of 1,385 acres. Stone walls and a few towers marking the site of colonial mills and several old buildings survive from the eighteenth century but an enlightened city, beginning in 1873, returned most of the parkland to its original wilderness state for public enjoyment.

One of the oldest homes in West Mt. Airy is Upsala, an outstanding example of Federal architecture built in 1798. Beginning early in the 19th century, prosperous Philadelphians built large estates and summer homes there and in 1884 the Chestnut Hill branch of the Pennsylvania railroad was extended to serve them. Many of these big, old houses remain, surrounded by large lawns and adjoining smaller houses gradually built over a period of 50 or 60 years. Only about 10 percent of the houses were built in the past 20 years. The typical house is built of native stone.

A West Mt. Airy Neighbors brochure describes the area today: "The early farmhouses contrast with Sir Walter Scott Gothic, stock-

brokers' Tudor and Cape May gingerbread . . . as became the fashion of the '80's and '90's. The solid stone twins with the sunparlor identify the blocks built in the early 20th century and the completion of row houses filled in much of the remaining open areas."

West Mt. Airy is a short ride to downtown Philadelphia, by commuter train, trolley, bus, or car. Sports facilities, including tennis courts and golf courses, and supervised playgrounds are in or near West Mt. Airy. It is next to Chestnut Hill, as fashionable in-town as the Main Line in the suburbs.

Until the 1950's, this was a settled neighborhood of stable population and property values. It was also a white neighborhood, except for one pocket of Negro families who had lived in the area for years.

Change

Then, change came to West Mount Airy. Housing tastes shifted and there was less demand for the big, old houses. Residents faced the prospect of seeing some of these converted to apartments, rooming houses, or commercial purposes.

Other forces in the city at large threatened the stability of West Mt. Airy. The white population in Philadelphia was dropping as the Negro population increased, from 380,000, or 18 percent of the total, in 1950 to 535,000, or 27 percent, in 1960. Instead of new housing for this increase, the housing market available to Negroes was shrinking. Big urban renewal projects made scant provision for the displaced poor and an estimated 71.7 percent of those forced to move were unable to find decent housing. In one such project slums were razed to make way for a middle class housing development and 20,000 poor were displaced; the majority had to move into houses as bad, if not worse, than those from which they had been evicted. At the same time, the white exodus from the city was eased by the federal government. White couples, some of whom might have preferred to stay in the city, found they could buy homes in the suburbs with small cash down payments and mortgages underwritten by the Federal Housing Authority or Veterans Administration. This massive aid to the new suburban housing market had a side effect in the city, depressing the value of old houses there to a point where banks were reluctant to issue VA or FHA mortgages.

Negroes did not have the choice of moving to the suburbs. Both Pennsylvania and the city of Philadelphia have fair housing laws, but they exempt owner-occupied one and two-family houses and 61 percent of the houses in Philadelphia fall in this category. Negroes who could afford to buy a house had only a restricted choice. Inevitably, West Mount Airy, with big old houses for which there was

a limited market, would be considered by Negroes who wanted to get away from the overcrowded mid-city districts.

One Negro family had bought a home in West Mount Airy in 1951; it was more than a year later that a second Negro family bought there. By the end of 1955, 46 nonwhite families had purchased homes and by 1958 the Negro population had increased to 12 percent. Most of the Negroes tended to cluster on certain blocks.

Two groups meanwhile had begun thinking something should be done to ease the transition period and guard against panic by homeowners — the Churches Community Council and the Allens Lane Art Center. The latter operated one of the first integrated day camps in the city and had made it clear that its recreational and cultural events were open to all. Beginning in 1956 the Churches Community Council sponsored a series of meetings to discuss "How to Maintain Real Estate Values and the High Standards of Our Neighborhoods." These two organizations, by having begun discussions early on the problems of changing neighborhoods, provided a nucleus of citizens for the later group which would work for orderly change.

Meanwhile, the concern of some homeowners over the influx of Negro families was heightened when the school board, in a redistricting move to ease the plight of some badly overcrowded schools, sent Negro children from nearby areas to West Mount Airy's Henry Elementary School. Almost overnight, the school became predominantly Negro. A few more houses went up for sale. Many white parents switched their children from public to private schools. Blockbusting speculators moved on the area, in the familiar pattern.

WMAN

West Mount Airy was fortunate in having George Schermer as one of its residents. In 1958, Schermer, then chairman of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations, invited several residents to his home to discuss neighborhood changes. Out of this initial meeting in the Schermer living room grew West Mount Airy Neighbors, Inc. (WMAN), formed early in 1959.

From the start, Schermer suggested that the organization concentrate, not on racial stabilization, but on making West Mount Airy so attractive residents would not want to leave. Schermer felt the most important asset was a sense of community and that this should be promoted by a series of activities. He advised against programs which would suggest a fight against panic, or the posting of signs "This House Not For Sale," which he thought would be as bad as having "For Sale" signs. Members agreed and this emphasis on the attractions of the community has been the guiding principle since.

Almost casually, one of the attractions promoted is the demonstrable fact that different races can live together harmoniously.

WMAN did not ignore the existence of racial problems, however. A few blocks in the area were near a panic state and WMAN sponsored block meetings to discuss racial changes, property values, and blockbusting.

Along with George Schermer, West Mount Airy had one other big asset from the start — Mrs. Beatrice Chernak, principal of the Henry Elementary School, which serves most of the children in West Mt. Airy. She was appointed principal in 1957 when many parents already had removed their children and sent them to private schools and others were talking of doing the same thing; morale in the school was slipping badly. Mrs. Chernak was determined Henry School would be a good one, an asset to the community. She had strong allies in the Home and School Association of Henry School (this is structured under the Board of Education and works somewhat as a Parent Teacher Association elsewhere). WMAN gave active support to Mrs. Chernak and the Association.

Night after night Mrs. Chernak met with small groups of parents to convince them that they should keep their children in Henry School, that school standards would not be lowered. She convinced many. She helped direct Home and School Association meetings under psychiatric leadership where Negro and white parents could voice their fears of living together and sending their children to the same school.

Throughout, Mrs. Chernak has been one of WMAN's strongest props. Today, she is a legend in the area. She visits or calls new families in the area to invite them to send their children to Henry School. One of the favorite stories about her is that she has been known to look out her office window, see a young woman obviously about to become a mother and then dash out, hand extended, to say, "Come in, dear. I know you will want to see the school your child will attend."

Last year, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* called Henry "one of the most exciting schools in town," with a good library and art and music courses augmenting above average scholastic courses.

More young white families are moving into the area, with their school age children; these and the white children who are now returning from private to public school boosted the 1966 white enrollment at Henry to 31 percent.

Whites make up a much larger percentage of the general popu-

lation — 75 percent — but many of these are older families with children now grown.

Activities

One of WMAN's early decisions, which has contributed greatly to its success, was the decision to hire a part time executive secretary. Mrs. Ruth Steele has held this post for the past four years. She operates from an office in her home in West Mount Airy, coordinating WMAN activities of over 800 members. WMAN has always been self-sustaining, deriving income from contributions and dues — $5 annually for families — and occasional fund raising events.

WMAN's greatest resource is a body of intelligent men and women, Negro and white, who like their neighborhood and intend to keep it a pleasant place. By now, they have enough experience to allow them to move quickly to block any change which threatens the residential pattern.

One committee keeps an eye on zoning. Every request for variance is scrutinized carefully and then WMAN decides whether to support or oppose. Their record is notable; in one area, zoning requirements were upgraded and the minimum allowable lot size was increased.

Currently, they are working with three other organizations in surrounding neighborhoods on long range plans for a survey of the area's commercial district, hoping that eventually they can apply for city funds for renovations and a public parking lot.

Another group works on preserving and improving the physical appearance of the neighborhood and keeps a close watch for violations of city sanitation codes. A collection from members and commuters financed planting, grass cutting, and flower pots at the three railroad stops the past two years; this Christmas wreaths will brighten the stations. This group also has persuaded the railroad company to start work on major repairs to walkways and approaches to the stations.

WMAN was instrumental in the passage of a city ordinance limiting the display of "For Sale" or "Sold" signs to seven days after an agreement of sale has been signed.

The Real Estate Practices Committee has obtained the signatures of more than 30 real estate brokers to a code of ethics which commits them to a promise to refrain from panic peddling and pressure tactics. In return, WMAN steers potential customers to these brokers. Mrs. Steele maintains a list and, on a rotating basis, recom-

mends these brokers. Some of these now go out of their way to encourage sales to white families.

Occasionally, an unethical broker will solicit houses to sell, but WMAN is ready. Members are asked to report such approaches to the central office and then circulate a "Don't Call Us—We'll Call You" form. This informs the broker the property is not for sale, nor is other nearby property (space is provided for signatures and addresses of neighbors). The broker is asked to refrain from further solicitation and told that a second approach will be reported to the Pennsylvania Real Estate Commission as a violation of that body's regulations.

Property values now are stable and houses range in price from about $10,000 to $100,000, with a few even higher.

A Community Relations Committee tries to anticipate trouble and where necessary moves swiftly to meet it, providing leadership and guidance to blocks at the first hint of panic.

After some complaints of youths loitering, racing cars and motorcycles in one area, the Recreation Committee talked with the boys and found they not only needed something to do in their spare time but that they wanted to earn pocket money. A youth employment service was set up and one housewife now acts as a clearing house for teen-agers who want odd jobs and residents who need help in yard work, baby sitting, and other chores. The committee also has sponsored teen-age dances every other week at a school. Members are now trying to acquire land for a community swimming pool.

A public relations committee promotes West Mount Airy as an attractive place to live. A brochure detailing the advantages of the area has been widely circulated, through company personnel offices, churches, and clubs. A well-publicized House Tour each spring spotlights the diversity of the area: homes shown have ranged from a converted, 200-year-old weaver's cottage and a remodeled carriage house and stable, to a Victorian house and a contemporary rambler.

Favorable publicity resulted from a square dance held one year for Philadelphia's foreign students and from the entertainment another year of the families of 60 United Nations employees invited from New York for a typical American weekend. West Mount Airy also has an amateur theatrical group and Allens Lane Art Center provides a series of cultural events.

Each year WMAN gives an annual community service award. Several years ago this went to the officers and men of the 14th Police Precinct for their "tireless service and helpful friendliness."

Today

West Mount Airy Neighbors believes the hardest part is over, although there still are some problems, and the area could backslide. As Mrs. Steele puts it, "A certain amount of continuing vigilante work is necessary."

There has been some slight expansion of the housing market available to middle income Negroes, both in the city and in the suburbs, thanks to the work of other fair housing groups. This has eased the pressure for additional houses for Negroes somewhat in areas such as West Mount Airy.

Mrs. Steele said there is a creeping ghetto on the first blocks off the main commercial street, in an area of small row houses, and that WMAN "is not reaching them" and must try to develop greater contact. In another area of row houses where two white ethnic groups are concentrated, desegregation is being accepted calmly, in part due to the active role of their church.

Mortgage money has been no problem. Also, some houses have been sold by Negroes to whites. In one instance, a Negro bought a house for $22,000 and then, two years later when he moved from the city, sold it to a white family for $26,000.

The upper grades of the area school are more predominantly Negro than the lower, indicating that a better racial balance is in view.

A more personal measure of WMAN's racial climate was the reaction to the recent arrival of one Negro family. This family had moved into a housing development in a white Philadelphia suburb several years ago. They were met with such violence that the Governor had to call out the National Guard to restore order. After the Guard was withdrawn the family continued to be subjected to harassment and threats which never stopped in the years they lived there. Finally, this year the family gave up. They bought a home in West Mount Airy.

When a reporter heard of this he talked to Mrs. Steele and neighbors; all reacted in the same way: leave them alone, they have had enough trouble. The reporter agreed and as a result newspapers merely carried a few paragraphs that the much publicized family finally had been hounded out of their suburb and had moved into West Mount Airy — they did not pinpoint the street.

Mrs. Steele said West Mt. Airy residents do not believe in effusive greetings and the "brotherhood bit" delivered along with a plate of cookies. So, she and a number of other women wrote notes saying simply, in effect, welcome, we are pleased to have you in the neighborhood. The young wife replied in a note with one line Mrs.

Steele and WMAN members will long remember. It is wonderful, she said, to be able at last to wheel my baby carriage in front of my house without fear my baby will be spat upon.

The Future

Two years ago Matthew Bullock, Jr., WMAN's first Negro president, in his annual report said, "In a sense, the first phase of our organization's life is over. We have put out the fires we were created to combat. I do not mean that negative pressures on the area have ceased completely, but our handling of them has become routine." Then he went on to chart the future course:

"We shall, of course, continue our established activities and will become increasingly involved in the municipal planning for the Germantown area. More important, however, in a society which is turbulent with change in the area of human relations, our organization and our community are in the vanguard. We have already learned many lessons that many communities have not yet even faced. It is a fascinating fact that civil rights issues have inevitably raised a variety of positive issues. You can't look at school integration without looking at the whole problem of manpower utilization. Similarly, you can't look at integration of neighborhoods without questioning the meaning of community. The elimination of fear opens new horizons in human experience.

"In a society characterized too much by personal alienation, the recognition of other human beings, however different, as a spiritual resource is increasing. This is at once an individual and a social awakening. I have been impressed with the number of people whom I have met who speak of West Mt. Airy as though the community has nurtured a kind of vital spark within them. We do have a special atmosphere or flavor, call it what you will, that intensifies our feeling of humanity . . . In our nation in which there is so much talk of the 'Great Society,' West Mt. Airy is progressing toward the 'Great Community' . . ."

NEIGHBORS, INC. — Washington, D.C.

Eight years ago a small Washington group called Neighbors, Inc., set out to prove that a racial balance could be struck in at least one neighborhood of the nation's capital.

Born amid near panic and facing formidable odds, NI proceeded with a special sense of urgency, knowing that success or failure would have wide significance. With Washington acquiring a growing number of new African embassies particularly sensitive to discrimination and with a large foreign press corps which looked on race as one of the big, and discrediting, stories in the United States, the NI experiment was close at hand for easy observation.

NI also could not escape the attention of the President and the Congress. In time it offered evidence that no single neighborhood can survive indefinitely as a racially unrestricted showplace surrounded by a growing nonwhite population forced to live in overcrowded ghettos.

Today, the schools and some streets in the once all-white section served by NI have a larger Negro school population than either white or Negro families would like. However, the panic that followed the first large inflow of Negroes in the mid-1950's has subsided and racial transition has been slowed. The NI community is one of the few desirable ones in the Washington area into which Negroes can move without fear of humiliating rebuff from white neighbors. Some white families also have been moving into the area, although at a slower pace than Negro families. The latest census tract figures available for the four sections of the NI territory showed that in 1964 the nonwhite population was 7.5 percent in Shepherd Park, 36.2 in Takoma, 7.8 in Brightwood and 64.9 in Manor Park.

But, what does this mean in human terms?

"When all this started," one white housewife told a reporter, "we were looked upon as very suspect. Now, I think, integration is no longer a dirty word here."

"We're not idealists, just practical people," another commented. "Me, I love this neighborhood. The people are stimulating. I've lived here for 15 years, and I intend to stay. Integration is happening; I'm accepting it."

A Negro father who moved into the neighborhood when he couldn't buy a house near the Virginia school where he teaches is sure that "my kids won't grow up hating all white kids as I did when I was growing up in the South."

District of Columbia

A judgment on whether NI is a success can be made only against an awareness of the tremendous pressures for Negro housing in Washington and of the problems unique to the District of Columbia.

The 1960 census listed a 54 percent nonwhite population for Washington, the first large city in the nation with a Negro majority. By 1966 the percentage had risen to 63 percent and school enrollment was 90.8 percent Negro.

However, the nonwhite proportion of the population of metropolitan Washington, which includes Maryland and Virginia suburbs, has remained constant at between 25 and 30 percent since 1860. The difference is that of today's 25 percent Negro population, four of five live in the District. Only 6.1 percent of the suburban population is nonwhite.

Between 1950 and 1960 the white population of the District dropped by one-third, while the white population in the surrounding suburbs increased 91 percent.

The central city of Washington contains 61 square miles, less than five percent of the standard metropolitan area, and had a 1960 population of 763,956. The remaining 1,237,941 metropolitan area residents lived on 1,424 suburban square miles.

White residents driving from their offices to homes in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs or in Washington west of Rock Creek Park see only comfortable, predominantly white neighborhoods. The average tourist in Washington, on his rounds between his hotel and federal landmarks of the picture postcards, also sees little of the "other Washington."

Periodically, residents are shocked out of their complacency by newspaper reports of a city they rarely see. One such report summarized a 1966 housing study by the National Capital Planning Commission which found:

> Forty-one percent of Washington's population lives in inadequate housing — a total of 103,000 households with 299,800 persons. This covered 81,000 individuals in houses which were overcrowded, 104,700 in those which were substandard, and 114,000 in those which were too costly, taking more than 25 percent of the householder's income.
>
> Subsidized dwellings are needed for 37 percent of Washington's population. At present, public and other subsidized housing is available to 6 percent.
>
> Nearly one-fourth of the District's population lives in "abject poverty — the lowest form of deprivation."

"The poor are being squeezed by . . . growing low income housing demand, rising housing costs and diminishing supply of housing available to them . . . Conditions of housing occupied by the poor are worsening, and the poor are being shifted geographically. As a result, other neighborhoods are declining rapidly. In short, slums are being shifted with low income families."

Housing problems in Washington do not all center on the Negro poor. There are 104,000 low income white individuals, many of whom also need assistance.

And, there are Negroes who can afford decent housing, but find a large portion of the market closed to them. The National Capital Planning Commission reported there is an affluent group in Washington of 93,500 white persons and 23,800 Negroes. In the middle and lower income groups are almost the same number of persons of both races — 120,000 whites and 124,800 Negroes.

In the 1950-60 decade, nonwhites were sold 2.2 percent of the metropolitan area's new houses and rented less than one-tenth of the area's new rental units, according to figures released by the Civil Rights Commission following a hearing on Washington housing problems in 1962.

The Metropolitan Washington Housing Program has estimated that "if some 4,000 Negro families were to settle in the suburbs each year, with the area's rapid growth this would merely continue the present ratio within the District." An estimated 300 Negro families moved into predominantly white Maryland and Virginia suburban developments in a two year period ended in 1965. There are now a scattering of new, predominantly Negro housing tracts opening in the suburbs.

All of these pressures have a profound impact on a central city section such as the one covered by Neighbors, Inc.

NI Territory

Neighbors, Inc., is concerned with an area of 250 city blocks in the northern section of the District, east of Rock Creek Park and running into the Maryland border on the north. Some 50,000 live here, in four neighborhoods — Brightwood and Manor Park in the south, Takoma and Shepherd Park on the north. There are about 8,000 houses, with a wide range in price, from blocks of small $15,000 houses to others where some prices run over $100,000. A majority of the houses are owner occupied. Most of the 6,100 rental units are in apartments, where the median rent is about $100.

The architecture is indeterminate for the most part but houses

tend to look solid and pleasant on tree-lined streets. The predominant impression, except in the most expensive sections, is of comfort rather than style.

A few Negroes moved into the area after the Supreme Court held in 1948 that restrictive covenants are not enforceable by the courts. (Such covenants in wills or deeds provided that certain property could be sold only to Caucasians.) By the mid-1950's Negroes, desperately in need of housing, were moving in at a rapid pace; white families were fleeing, and the real estate speculators and blockbusters were working in force. Many of the long-time residents had been convinced that in a year or two the area would be all Negro.

Marvin and Naomi Caplan and their three children were one of the few white families to move into the area in 1957, when they bought a house in Manor Park. They liked the spaciousness of their house, the convenience of city living, and wanted their children to grow up in an integrated neighborhood. Before long, they wondered if they would be the last white family on the block.

Caplan, then a reporter, decided to act. His first idea of working through an exciting civic organization was abandoned, for the group was apathetic on the issue of orderly racial transition but adamant on its stand against Negro members. He did, though, persuade the organization to schedule a meeting to discuss neighborhood change. Few members attended, but 75 other white and Negro residents did. After hearing a talk by a member of a Philadelphia stabilization group, a third of those present decided to set up a similar organization.

Quite early, Caplan and others to whom he had talked decided it would be impossible to try to stabilize only their own neighborhood of Manor Park and so included the three adjoining neighborhoods in their plans. The small group drafted a statement of purpose and announced a public meeting would be held in a church. At this June, 1958, meeting, attended by 100 residents, Neighbors, Inc., was organized.

Caplan, in a statement at a hearing on housing in Washington held by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in April, 1962, explained the thinking behind NI:

"Our formation in June, 1958, was an act of resolution and despair. Those of us who came together, colored and white, were dismayed at the bitterness, tension, and often insane behavior that attended the entrance of Negro families into what had formerly been an all-white neighborhood. We were sure there had to be a more

sensible alternative to the prevailing pattern of entrance, panic, and flight. We were united in our resolve to try to establish a neighborhood in which people of different races could at least talk to each other and work together on common problems . . ."

Block Meetings

In the first months, NI, with neither staff nor money, concentrated on the most urgent problem, halting the panic selling of white residents. The area was then about 25 percent Negro, but white families moving out were being replaced almost solely by Negro families. All homeowners suffered in the exchange, with white families selling at below market prices, Negro families buying at an inflated price and the speculators pocketing the difference.

NI founders began a series of block meetings, concentrating particularly on the streets where a new Negro family had moved. This involved finding a sympathetic resident who knew many of his neighbors and who was willing to sponsor a meeting, preferably in his home. The block meetings were kept small and one of the early NI members usually appeared to answer questions. These generally centered around fears that the quality of schools would deteriorate with a growing Negro population, that real estate values would drop, the neighborhood would deteriorate, and the family would lose status by living in an integrated neighborhood.

NI emphasized that innundation was not inevitable, that if white families decided to stay and made this known to others who in turn refused to give up their homes, the neighborhood could be stabilized. National surveys were cited to prove that property values do not drop in integrated neighborhoods unless homeowners flood the market. NI spokesmen pointed out how much money speculators were making by their blockbusting tactics and read public records from the D.C. Office of the Recorder of Deeds to prove their point.

At these meetings white residents often met their new Negro neighbors and realized for the first time that their aims for maintaining and improving their property were identical. In this way, too, some white families for the first time met Negroes with comparable, or superior, economic and educational background.

In January, 1959, six months after formation, NI received a grant from the Eugene and Agnes Meyer Foundation and a full time executive director, Mrs. Margery Ware, was hired.

Expanded Activities

NI was now ready to broaden its program. The block meetings

had begun to change the pervading sense of hopelessness and had brought in new members ready to volunteer their services.

As in all changing neighborhoods, this one was beset with rumors that property was deteriorating and it was necessary to convince residents and prospective homeowners this was not so. A Block Leaders Training Course was organized to encourage the formation of block committees to tackle problems of upkeep on their streets. A system of 75 block spotters was set up to report any nuisance to the NI office. One group worked with churches and synagogues to oppose an increase in the number of liquor stores in the area. District Commissioners were persuaded to install better street lighting and provide better trash pickup service. NI also successfully fought changes in the zoning code which would have permitted greater density in some sections and kept an eye on efforts to sell property for income or commercial purposes in violation of zoning regulations. The Recreation Committee sponsored a Family Fun Night for all residents at a local church, more swimming lessons at a city pool in Takoma Park, and various clubs for gardeners, bridge players, etc.

At the end of the first two years, NI could point to two specific accomplishments. For the first time since the panic selling began, a few white families had moved into the area. Mrs. Ware admits these were received with great sighs of relief, as an indication the NI message was getting across. Then, after a two year campaign by NI and the American Veterans Committee, backed by 40 other organizations, the three local newspapers agreed to eliminate the "colored" designation in classified advertisements of houses for rent or sale.

Spreading the Word

In 1961 a three-year Taconic Foundation grant allowed NI to step up its activities. A community organization specialist was employed to concentrate on real estate pressure tactics and parents' efforts to improve the area schools.

NI also issued a brochure describing the attractions of the area: one bus fare to the heart of town, excellent schools with no split shifts, shopping centers within a short walk, movie theaters and libraries also within walking distance, well-established churches and synagogues, recreation facilities in nearby Rock Creek Park, and a community in which all are welcome. Thousands of these were distributed, often with a covering letter to new Congressmen and government officials inviting them to settle in the area. (And some of them did. A number of top ranking officials now live there.)

NI was receiving attention in other ways: publicity releases to

newspapers, an article on the organization in the *Atlantic Monthly* by NI President Marvin Caplan, talks by NI speakers to civic groups in the District, Maryland, and Virginia. A leaflet containing quotations from prominent individuals about NI's work was given wide distribution.

Meanwhile, NI began the first of a continuing series of events to build a sense of community pride. Under the sponsorship of a number of dignitaries, including an ambassador and two cabinet officers, a reception was held for the diplomatic families of new nations. The affair was held in the auditorium of a local elementary school. There were puppet shows for the children, a string quartet provided background music, later two concert pianists gave a recital. Portions of the event were recorded by the Voice of America. The third annual NI report noted:

"The national and international implications of this event — a friendly welcome to newcomers to our country, not from professional diplomats but from the ordinary residents of an American neighborhood — were immediately apparent to everyone...

"The reception was also a visible demonstration that rather than lose status by living in an integrated neighborhood, residents gain prestige."

In 1962 the organization sponsored the first of its annual Spring Home Tours to which the general public is invited for tea and a tour of six or seven of the most attractive homes. These not only raise funds but have interested a number of visitors in buying in the area.

The following year NI held an Art and Book Festival, now another annual event. Both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson have sent letters of commendation. As many as 300 members have been involved in planning, organizing, and staffing the two-day festivals held at the local high school. Art, books, and records are sold, entertainment is provided for children, there are craft demonstrations, international booths, and garden club exhibits. The *Washington Post* art critic termed the second festival "one of the finest displays of local professional talent ever seen in this city under one roof."

An annual picnic, a spring clean-up campaign with prizes for outstanding accomplishment, a hospitality and welcoming committee, a neighborhood commons cleared and planted by adults and children, all contribute to the sense of community. Boys and girls are involved in a number of projects through Junior Neighbors, divided into junior and senior high school groups.

A monthly newsletter, *Neighbors' Ink,* edited by volunteers, keeps members posted on organization activities, tells them about newcomers, and offers members a chance to air their views in let-

ters to the editor. A rumor column examines any tales spreading about the area and refutes false stories with facts.

Buying and Selling

The Washington real estate industry has been one of NI's toughest problems. Brokers have been more unyielding than in the two other cities of this report. A majority of the largest Washington firms refuse to handle property in the NI area. NI spokesmen charge that salesmen in these companies ignore the section when showing homes to white clients and discourage Negro clients altogether. In the early days, after the first influx of Negroes, this meant that transactions were left for the most part to speculators and blockbusters.

Now, because of NI's vigilance and a 1964 D.C. regulation outlawing blockbusting, there are only sporadic attempts to frighten homeowners into selling. Speculators have moved to other areas, concentrating particularly on a suburban Maryland county.

Whenever NI does learn of speculative practices in the area, these are reported in the monthly newsletter. For example, the May, 1965, issue noted that the Office of the Recorder of Deeds showed that a home was purchased by a real estate firm (the street address of the house and the firm were identified) for $16,800 and sold four weeks later for $24,000. An earlier issue told of a house bought for $24,000 and sold three months later for $32,450.

Today, a small number of general real estate firms, and a larger number of reputable Negro firms, sell property in the area.

In one of its brochures, NI advises those who are being transferred or moving for other compelling reasons that there are a number of steps that can be taken to safeguard their own interests and those of their neighbors. The first suggestion is to notify NI, which has a Housing Information Service available to prospective buyers and sellers, without remuneration. This service may know of a desirable buyer and can certainly recommend a reputable agent. NI warns against dealing with a speculator, for experience has shown this will only mean the seller will get a lower price. Also, the seller is asked to insist that the agent show the house on an "open" basis for "agents who show your house only to white or only to colored prospects are short-changing you. They are tapping only half the available market in the community." The seller is asked, too, to tell neighbors why he is selling, explaining that he is not running and will make every effort to get a responsible family for new tenants.

NI cooperates with fair housing groups in the District and the suburbs in efforts to encourage white families to move back to the city and Negro families to move to the suburbs.

NI was one of the groups influential in persuading the District Commissioners to issue a fair housing order in 1964. This was done under the Commissioners' police powers and outlaws racial and religious discrimination in the sale and rental of all housing except small-scale rentals in owner-occupied property. It also prohibits discrimination by lending institutions.

Mortgage money never has been a particular problem in the NI area. However, at one time the Federal Housing Authority seemed to be under-appraising property. The NI staff gathered facts and made a formal protest. As a result, FHA reevaluated the area and raised appraisals.

Property values as a whole have climbed. Between 1960 and 1964, for example, they rose about 10 percent.

Schools

NI's most critical problem is the racial composition of schools, particularly at the junior and senior high school levels. In the first year of operation, 1959, members realized that parental apprehension about the schools was one of the strongest factors influencing white families to leave. They cited the one-third Negro enrollment of the Paul Junior High School. At the beginning of the 1966 term, 91.7 percent of the Paul student body was Negro. A new junior high, Rabaut, which draws part of its student body from the NI area, was 99 percent Negro. The area high school, Coolidge, was 92.4 percent Negro.

Negro percentages in the four elementary schools were: Brightwood, 91.6; Shepherd, 64.5; Takoma, 70.2, and Whittier, 98.4.

These unbalanced racial compositions have caused many white and a sizeable number of Negro families to send their children to private and parochial schools.

In a city with a public school enrollment only 9.2 percent white there are obviously factors beyond the control of any single group. Neighbors, Inc., however, hopes to hold the white pupils now enrolled and encourage others to attend by improving the quality of education offered in the public schools. They want to demonstrate that schools do not have to deteriorate as the Negro enrollment climbs.

Parents have a problem peculiar to Washington, which does not have home rule. Unlike other citizens, they do not have the leverage of the ballot to force city authorities to spend more on schools. They cannot vote a school board out of office, they can only petition. Members of the Board of Education are appointed by the judges of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. All requests for money by the School Superintendent must first be approved by the

Board of Education, then by the District Commissioners, by the proper committees of Congress, by the Congress itself, and finally by the President.

For three years NI parents met with school officials to promote special programs in art, music, sciences, government, or languages, which would make their junior and senior high schools outstanding. Finally, in 1962, a special program, "American Democracy in Action," was inaugurated at Paul Junior High. The program is designed to instill an early interest in government and the democratic process.

An executive committee of residents oversees the program. They are assisted by an advisory council; each council member agrees to participate in at least one program for Paul students. The council has included four Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, three cabinet officers, five Senators, four Congressmen, heads of independent agencies and various other government officials.

Pupils make many field trips, attending Congressional and court sessions, legislative hearings, and meetings of the District Commissioners. They have interviewed the Governor of Maryland, visited campaign headquarters and political rallies in surrounding jurisdictions.

As school began in 1966, the D.C. Board of Education approved the position of Secondary School Coordinator for the three secondary schools in the NI area. Payment of the coordinator's salary will be shared by the public school system and the University of Maryland. The NI Education Committee considers this the first tangible step in a proposed "blue ribbon" school plan for the area drawn by the University of Maryland.

Structure

Since the first grants from the Meyer and Taconic Foundations, NI has received additional grants from these sources and from other foundations for a total of about $90,000. Benefit concerts and the annual art festival and house tours have brought in additional funds. The remainder of the income has come from dues and contributions of members. Currently, dues are $5 a year for family membership. NI's annual budget for several years has been around $25,000.

At peak strength, NI has had, in addition to the executive director, a community affairs specialist and an assistant, plus a secretary and a clerk. They operate from a two-room office centrally located in a small, new building in a commercial area.

A 20-man Board of Directors governs. Two are elected from each of the four neighborhoods in the area and the others are elected at large. There is an annual meeting each June, two meetings a year

in each of the four neighborhoods, and special meetings are called on specific problems. The 1966 membership of NI was 1,800.

Mrs. Ware, for seven years executive director of Neighbors, Inc., until her resignation in the summer of 1966, believes any similar group should concentrate from the beginning on a broad community development program, rather than stabilization, unless it is necessary to stress the latter because of a panic situation.

She thinks NI was right in trying to build from the first an image of a group of solid homeowners, organized, and meriting serious consideration from the city and its officials. She also thinks that NI probably should have concentrated earlier on improvement of the schools, admitting at the same time that the forces were too great and the resources too small to keep a better racial balance in the schools. She feels the next few years will be critical and that the school situation will be the ultimate test of NI's success or failure.

Mrs. Ware believes it would be easier to start a Neighbors, Inc., today. There is a District fair housing regulation; open housing groups are now working in other sections of the District and the suburbs; churches are more active in the civil rights field (NI had little cooperation from area churches in the formative years); middle income Negroes have a slightly wider choice of housing now. And, with the added emphasis on civil rights, new federal legislation and court rulings, the community as a whole is more aware of discrimination and better armed to deal with it.

The Future

NI has reached a stage of development where members are asking serious questions about its future direction. Increasingly, these have been raised at meetings, in letters in the monthly newsletters, and whenever members discuss the group.

Basically, the question is whether NI should continue to focus most of its energies on neighborhood stabilization and improvement or whether it should move beyond this to concentrate on such larger issues as home rule, poverty programs, civil rights, and civil liberties. There are wide differences of opinion.

One group feels NI should not concern itself with the "numbers game," that the racial composition of the area is unimportant and the emphasis should be on problems facing the city and nation. Another faction believes NI can be effective only if it continues to concentrate on problems of the immediate environment. In between is a group which contends the primary emphasis should be on neighborhood development but that at the same time members should be able to work on metropolitan problems through various subcommit-

tees. At the time of this report, board members and leaders of the four neighborhood components were being polled to learn what course they think NI should follow.

Whatever the decision of NI's future program, many members feel the controversy is an indication of vitality. It does transcend racial bounds, for each faction has white and Negro proponents.

This seems natural in a neighborhood where residents nervous around anyone not of their own color have long since fled and those who are left have lost any self-consciousness about race. Children of both races play together, white and Negro parents baby sit for each other and "party" together. It follows that they can also fight, in a good, impersonal, neighborly American way.

BALTIMORE NEIGHBORHOODS, INC.

Since its founding in the 17th century, Maryland has had a problem of identity, more so than most border states. A reasonable surveyor interested solely in geographic efficiency might well award part of the state to Pennsylvania and the rest to Virginia.

Throughout its history, Maryland has had no overwhelming sectional identity. As one of the original 13 colonies it was a mid-point, neither north nor south.

Maryland was founded as a haven for Roman Catholics, but since the Catholics of Ireland and England did not migrate in sufficient numbers, Maryland never quite became a truly Catholic state. Nevertheless, a succession of Catholics ruled as governors of Maryland in the 17th century, with one exception. During the Puritan ascendancy in England, a Protestant was named governor. This was diplomatic accommodation of a high order.

And it is this spirit of accommodation which runs like a zigzag stitch through the fabric of Maryland history. It produced a religious toleration act in 1649 and kept Maryland in the Union although thousands of her sons went off to join the Confederate forces.

The half-way point for the half-way state, as it were, is Baltimore. Here all the contrasts which exist within the state seem to have been deposited.

There are ancient white families of the hunt club-cotillion set and Negro families whose roots go back as far and as deep in Maryland history. This is a city, too, where, until a few years ago, the restrictive covenant closed some of the "best" residential areas to Jews, where Catholics were barred from some professional clubs and snubbed in some sets, where white Protestants thought it was hopeless to try for a seat on the city council. For Negroes, it was a city of rigid segregation.

Harry Bard, president of Baltimore Junior College, in an article in the *Baltimore Afro-American* summed up the city as the worst and the best. Perhaps, he wrote, Baltimore has more than its share of both. Detailing some of these elements, he continued:

Among the worst are "practices which bring colored people who commit crimes into a Criminal Courthouse where all the symbols are white; the judges, the bailiffs, the clerks . . .

"The lack of recreational facilities in areas like Greenmount Avenue is dangerous. De facto segregation in some of the Baltimore

schools is a symbol of the old. And the lack of employment opportunities for out-of-school Baltimore colored youth is dynamite...

"And the worst includes what Francis Bierne, in his *Amiable Baltimoreans,* calls 'the four o'clock shadow,' with Jews, Catholics, and Protestants meeting on numerous civic boards... but not really getting to know each other intensely and seldom visiting each other at home. At best, they hardly break through a veneer.

"On the plus side are the open and frank dialogues by the NCCJ (National Conference of Christians and Jews), NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Urban League and other groups. Also on the plus side are the contributions of some Baltimore businessmen like the Voluntary Council on Equal Opportunity and that of some labor groups associated with AFL-CIO.

"On the plus side, too, is recent progress of the Police Department... the plans of the Baltimore Education Department and the serious thinking in the City and State Government halls, and the intense dedication of the mass media.

"Also on the plus side is the recognition that colored citizens do care about helping their own needy. Their personal contributions of over one million dollars for the Provident Hospital prove this... Responsible colored leadership in Baltimore is certainly a plus."

Housing

An understanding of the split personality of the city helps explain Baltimore's stance on racially segregated housing.

How else explain a Real Estate Board which opposed open occupancy in 1964 but the next year urged the President to support a broad open occupancy law for the nation and then in 1966 opposed such a law for the state? Changing leadership of the board is one explanation, but the board itself is split, or such an about-face would be impossible.

There is a division in the city government over housing. The mayor and city council president both backed a strong fair housing ordinance, but it failed this year on a city council vote.

In many ways, however, Baltimore is typical of other big cities with a large Negro population. The white population has been declining, moving to the suburbs, and the Negro population has been expanding. Between 1950 and 1960 the white population of Baltimore City dropped by 113,000 and the nonwhite increased by 102,000. The

1960 census for Baltimore, the nation's sixth largest city, showed a total population of 939,024, with 326,589, or 34.8 percent, nonwhite.

The Negro population of the city clusters around the central business district, spreading out northwest and northeast in 45 census tracts with a nonwhite population of 75 percent or more. In 1964, 77 percent of the city's Negroes lived there.

Negro family income lags behind that of white families. In 1966 median white family income in the Baltimore metropolitan area was $8,125 and $5,250 for Negro families. However, 12 percent of the Negro families had incomes of from $10-15,000 and 53 percent had incomes over $5,000.

This growth of the Negro population, and the rising income which made home ownership a possibility for many, has not been matched by new housing available to Negroes. Between 1940 and 1957, for example, only 6,000 new dwelling units were open to Negroes and most of these were in public housing developments. Inevitably, they had been moving to older areas formerly occupied by whites only.

Today, Negroes have fanned out to live in 95 percent of Baltimore's districts. In some of these they represent only a scattering of the total population. Nevertheless, considering that in 1940 almost the entire Negro population — 226,000 at that time — lived in two sections of the central city, the change has been dramatic. It has also been peaceful, for the most part, with only a very few reports of harassment.

The Beginning

Ten years ago, a section of Baltimore known as Ashburton was an entirely white community located about 15 minutes by car from the downtown center. Houses along the tree-lined streets are largely single family dwellings, with a sprinkling of semi-detached houses. Built 20 or 25 years earlier as a "restricted" area, it had received an influx of prosperous Jewish families in the post World War II years and had gradually become a section including families of varied religious and age groups. Houses ranged in price from $15,000 to $45,000.

In 1956 the first Negro, a high school principal, bought a home in Ashburton. Within the next year, more than a score of other Negroes, most of them professional people, moved into the neighborhood. The following year, 1958, another 40 or 50 moved in.

By this time, blockbusting agents and speculators had moved on the area. They were operating on the now familiar pattern, selling a

home to a Negro family and then deliberately exploiting and exciting racial prejudice and fear of falling real estate values among other families on the block. When families did panic, the real estate operator might pick up a bargain and turn a neat profit by selling the house at an inflated price to a Negro desperately in need of housing.

Where white families on a block were slow to panic, some speculators bought homes and moved in low income families, or even several families, on a weekly rental basis. Others persuaded poor Negro families to buy, under a no-down-payment arrangement, houses they could not afford; naturally, they had no money left over for proper maintenance. Meanwhile, advertisements in the real estate sections of the newspapers offered houses in "Ashburton—colored" although the area was still 95 percent white.

"For Sale" signs were much in evidence and a new rumor sprang up every day. Sometimes a "Sold" sign went up on a house speculators had not yet sold, as a method of scaring neighbors into selling. Some brokers were refusing to show property to white buyers.

Then, in 1958, a white public relations man, Ellsworth E. Rosen, who had moved to Ashburton the year before with his wife and two children, decided he was not going to sit by while the speculators wrecked a neighborhood. He and Mrs. Rosen found kindred souls in a young lawyer and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Melvin J. Sykes, who also lived in the area. The four arranged a meeting with some 20 neighbors to discuss their changing area and what they could do to foil the blockbusters. This was the beginning of the reorganized Ashburton Area Association, open to all races. Early in 1958 they mailed invitations to join to the 1,100 households in Ashburton and in short order there were 400 members.

The initial letter, asking for members and contributions, stated: "We welcome all good neighbors, regardless of race, creed or color. But we understand, as we trust everyone will, that experience shows that the key to keeping up the quality of this or any neighborhood is to attract a sufficient number of new white homeowner families."

Next, members of the fledgling organization made a house to house canvass and handed out a brochure telling of the association's aim of stabilizing the area. Later, a flyer containing the names of new white buyers in the area was distributed and residents who had put up a "For Sale" sign were contacted and asked not to discriminate against a prospective white buyer in favor of a Negro buyer. At the same time, residents were warned against dealing with unscrupulous speculators and told of the dollar loss this could entail. Letters were sent to the heads of major industries to ask them to recommend the

Ashburton area to employees. A letter also was sent to the Real Estate Board of Greater Baltimore asking members to show homes in the area to prospective buyers.

Meanwhile, the founders of the organization explained its purposes to newspapers, on radio and television. At the same time, the Ashburton Area Association ran a series of newspaper ads calling attention to the attractions of the area.

Even more importantly, the group set up a series of block by block meetings, with charter members on hand to explain the purposes of the association.

Rosen, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post,* explained how a typical meeting of about 20 men and women in the living room of a block leader's home progressed:

> "If you want to protect your home and your way of life," they were told, "a simple solution lies open to you. You don't have to join the Army and face death on foreign soil. You don't even have to risk bodily injury. All you have to do is to continue living in your own home."
>
> The speaker was a Negro. Intelligent, soft-spoken, articulate, but a Negro, and the only one in the group.
>
> "Don't think you can escape the problem simply by putting your house up for sale and running away," Otho P. Pinkett said. Pinkett lives in Ashburton and manages an 815-unit public housing project in another part of the city. "Times are changing faster than most of us realize. Even if you move far out in the suburbs, I can virtually guarantee that by the time you finish paying off your next mortgage — and it will be a lot higher than the one you have now — you'll face the same situation. There will be Negroes living near you.
>
> "As a matter of fact," he added with a smile, "if this area turns all Negro, I plan to move out to the suburbs with you."
>
> I think Otho Pinkett is right, and so apparently did some of my neighbors by the time that meeting was over. Two families who had indicated they intended to move said they would hold on for the time being . . .
>
> It is shock treatment, as a rule, when a Negro walks into a supposedly all-white meeting — and the shock, in turn, heightens the realization that Mr. Pinkett's sense of values, desires and plans for the community are no different from those of others in the room.

As the block meetings continued, and as residents were armed with facts and figures from studies in other cities which demonstrated that property values had not declined where owners refused to yield to pressures, the panic began to subside. In the first six months of the organization, 15 sales were made to white families and about twice that number to Negroes. Prices, which had dropped alarmingly where residents had succumbed to the rumors of the speculators, were slowly restored to their fair market worth.

The residents began to fight in another way. Working with other like-minded associations, they complained to the Bureau of Building Inspection about illegal "Sold by ....." signs. The city solicitor ruled that a zoning ordinance did bar advertising signs in a residential neighborhood and notices of violations went out. Residents had offered proof that often these "Sold by ....." signs were on houses for several months, while they still were being offered to customers. On one block alone, where 15 of 23 properties had been marked either sold or for sale, only six houses were marked for sale two weeks after the city took action.

Ashburton was not alone in fighting for its area. In nearby Windsor Hills, an older community with a wider variety of size and style among the 600 houses and apartment units, Negroes had begun moving in somewhat earlier. Two years or so after the first Negro family came, another 50 to 60 had followed. During this period, a dormant civic organization, the Windsor Hills Improvement Association, was revived to work for a racially stable neighborhood. From the first, members, Negroes as well as white, felt that under the speculative pressures which existed the association had to work to bring in new white families to the area. When they found that real estate agents were unwilling to recommend Windsor Hills to white buyers, the real estate committee of the association decided it needed a resident agent to promote sales and rentals. A housewife in Windsor Hills passed the real estate board exams and the neighborhood had its own agent. In her first three years, she sold 25 homes and rented 30 others to white families. Ashburton later followed the Windsor Hills example and backed a resident agent.

During the same period, Negroes were moving into other neighborhoods and several of these also set up their own associations.

As members of these groups became more engrossed, and more knowledgeable, in the problems and opportunities of interracial housing in established neighborhoods, they decided a greater cooperative effort was needed. They felt that the basic problems of attitude among real estate brokers, banks, mortgage lenders, and potential white buyers called for an educational job beyond the scope of the individual neighborhood groups.

The neighborhood organizations solicited the aid of the Citizens Planning and Housing Association, the Baltimore Urban League, and the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations. This larger body decided in turn that a successful program had to have the backing of business leaders.

The logical group to approach was the Greater Baltimore Committee. The GBC was made up of some 100 of the liveliest and most forceful businessmen and financiers in the city. They were then spending a tremendous amount of effort on an imaginative $127 million redevelopment project, Charles Center, in the downtown area. Some in the neighborhood groups felt the approach to the GBC was hopeless, that these hardheaded businessmen would have neither the time nor the inclination to help. Nevertheless, the GBC was asked for help. The civic groups argued that the downtown renewal project and the new Civic Center would be jeopardized if ringed by miles of ghetto neighborhoods. They pointed out this would be inevitable if efforts were not made to help residents move into every section of the metropolitan area. They stressed the need for the tax money of higher income families to support downtown rehabilitation and the important role attractive, stable neighborhoods could play in keeping these families in the city.

The GBC was asked to support the opening up of additional new and old housing to Negro citizens, to stimulate public awareness of practices that cause disorderly change and to enlist the cooperation of real estate interests in the preservation of the city.

The Committee met in September, 1958, to consider the call for support. To the surprise of the skeptics, a report was adopted that recognized the serious economic consequences of disorderly neighborhood change and directed its Urban Renewal Subcommittee to make a thorough study of the problem and recommend "what role, if any, the Greater Baltimore Committee should play in solving the problems of changing neighborhoods." Subsequently, the words "if any" were dropped from the charge and the membership recommended that a city-wide agency be formed in which the Committee would participate.

Once committed, the GBC moved fast. Within two months a conference of business and community leaders was called. Real estate representatives, lawyers, bankers, city planners, educators, members of neighborhood associations, and city government officials held panel discussions on blockbusting, new housing for Negroes, and improvement of older houses.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the conference chairman, James W. Rouse, mortgage banker and urban renewal expert, said:

"We find that the rapid conversion of neighborhoods from all white to all Negro occupancy presents Baltimore with one of its most serious economic crises in recent years. The flight of the medium and upper income families from the city limits and their replacement by persons of both races of the lowest income levels is a threat not only to our municipal solvency but to the economic stability of the entire metropolitan area. It is therefore recommended that there be formed a city-wide organization composed of representatives of civic and labor organizations, improvement associations, the Real Estate Board of Greater Baltimore, the Greater Baltimore Committee, the Association of Commerce, the homebuilders, and the city and state governments. During the preliminary stages and until the city-wide group is well established, the Greater Baltimore Committee will provide clerical and professional staff assistance."

BNI Formation

In March, 1959, this city-wide organization GBC recommended came into being when by-laws and articles of incorporation were approved for Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc. (BNI). Original members included the Greater Baltimore Committee, the neighborhood associations which had started the movement, several civic and religious groups, and interested individuals.

The early work of BNI emphasized community education and the organization of additional neighborhood groups to promote the concept, and feasibility, of racially stabilized neighborhoods. A tangible note of success came in 1960 when BNI drafted and was instrumental in securing passage of an anti-blockbusting ordinance. This made it unlawful for any salesman or real estate firm to misrepresent facts concerning present or future occupancy, or the value of property.

In 1961 BNI took two steps which set it on the course followed today. Directors decided that a program of neighborhood stabilization could not in itself achieve BNI objectives and so a second goal was set: expansion of housing opportunities for Negroes throughout the metropolitan area. Secondly, BNI hired a full-time professional executive director, Edward L. Holmgren, a University of Chicago graduate in political science, who had worked with the Chicago Housing Authority, American Friends, and Urban League.

BNI also received a financial boost in setting up an expanded program when two foundations, Taconic and Field, each gave $11,500 in 1961 and again in the following year. The first issue of a BNI newsletter claimed it was "the only foundation-supported agency in the nation seeking a comprehensive solution to an urban dilemma — preventing the city from becoming an all-Negro ghetto while at the

same time promoting equal housing opportunities for all people, regardless of race."

Since his appointment, Holmgren has had a staff aide, a secretary, and at other times an intern provided under another grant program, plus volunteer workers.

A measure of the acceptance of BNI's efforts in behalf of the entire community is the $10,000 grant from the city government both in 1965 and 1966. BNI's 1966 budget was $45,000, about one-fourth contributed by local business interests, another one-fourth by foundations, and the rest by the city, church, and civic groups and individuals.

BNI Activities

BNI operates in some ways as does the housing division of a city human relations commission. It is a catalyst, an educator, and mediator in any activity which touches on the vital issue of housing for all citizens.

From its inception, BNI has offered a variety of services to neighborhood stabilization groups. Staff members are available for consultation and they also have prepared a series of useful guidelines. One of these outlines suggestions for setting up neighborhood meetings, dealing with practical matters such as the size of the group convened, where it should be held, what should be stressed. Another more detailed guide includes factual answers for the most likely questions on such matters as property values and schools. Others tell how to handle brokers using pressure tactics, how to decide whether you can afford to buy a house, and what neighborhood services are available from the city.

BNI draws on the experience of other cities and various housing studies but interprets these in local terms. In the format for fair housing meetings in the home, for example, there is a suggested answer to the inevitable question about what happens to property values when a Negro family moves in.

Studies are cited which show that experience has proved that property values do not drop, unless white residents flood the market with more homes than the market can absorb. Then, the brochure continues:

"Since Baltimoreans are inclined to be skeptical as to whether developments in other communities have any bearing on their local scene, we will do well to examine some Baltimore facts and figures.

"In 1956 a study was made of four blocks of Longwood Street

in the City. The sale prices to Negroes from 1953 to 1955 (when all but a few homes passed from white to Negro occupancy) was compared with the sale prices of the same houses when sold to whites between 1947 and 1953. Price data was obtained on 31 of the 40 homes in the 2500, 2600 and 2700 blocks of Longwood. In the 2500 block the average price increase was $2,700 including ground, in the 2600 block about $3,500 and in the 2700 block about $2,900. The range of prices to the Negro purchasers was $11,500 to $17,500.

"A later study of property values (1960), in which more than 22,800 residential sales in Baltimore were analyzed, concludes that 'property values do not invariably decline when Negroes are admitted to occupancy in previously restricted neighborhoods.' There was a tendency for homes under 50 years of age to increase in value when subject to open occupancy."

Directors of BNI appointed a Research Advisory Committee four years ago and this has provided other such facts.

BNI is interested in any movement in the metropolitan area which promises an expanded market for Negroes and often is consulted in surrounding jurisdictions. When a Baltimore Colt football player moved into a Baltimore County development a few "For Sale" signs went up. Thanks to intelligent dissuasion by a leading real estate broker and a series of neighborhood meetings conducted by BNI, most of the homeowners decided to stay.

A more serious situation developed four years ago when a Negro couple and their three young children moved into a suburb in adjacent Anne Arundel County. First, a pump was tampered with and the basement flooded even before the family moved in; the owner notified police. Then, in quick succession, a rock was hurled through a window the night the family moved in and the next night a steel tipped arrow was shot into the house, while later an oil-filled bottle was tossed on the front steps.

The husband, who had hoped to cope on his own, then called the president of the county chapter of the NAACP to ask how his family could obtain better police protection. As soon as they learned of the situation, the executive director of Baltimore Fellowship, Holmgren of BNI, and members of the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems joined the NAACP in consulting police and in taking turns visiting the persecuted family every evening. Meanwhile, clergy and others in the community were called on to help the family and to try to calm the neighborhood. Gradually, the community began to accept its new neighbors.

For the most part, panic has been minimal in the communities in both Baltimore and the surrounding counties where Negroes have

moved for the first time. In only one instance was a Negro family forced to move out because of violence.

The first Negroes now have moved into more than a dozen Baltimore suburbs.

Real Estate Industry

One of BNI's primary objectives is a single real estate market where every potential homeowner is treated alike, and has access to any area he chooses and can afford. This calls for the cooperation of the real estate and housing industries.

After a year of negotiation, BNI and the Greater Baltimore Committee four years ago won an agreement from the Real Estate Board to make a concerted effort to get members to drop racial designations in classified real estate advertising. Following this, local newspapers, at the request of the Real Estate Board, stopped accepting such advertising sales. Incongruously, racial designations remained in use in rental advertisements.

At the same time, the Real Estate Board asked members to refrain from dropping listings on properties when the racial character of a neighborhood began to change but instead to "extend every effort to obtain a buyer regardless of race, creed, or national origin."

Following this action, William Wilson, past president of the Real Estate Board, wrote BNI's president: "The experience and aid of your Ed Holmgren and your organization have been invaluable to me in developing a better understanding of this most difficult and sensitive metropolitan problem . . ."

In 1963 the Board sent a letter to all newly licensed real estate brokers, soliciting membership. Probably to the surprise of some long time members, there were a few applications from Negroes. After a little low-key prodding from one or two members, the Board took in six Negro brokers at one time. Today, the Board's multiple listing bureau has a Negro on the Board of Directors.

Several members of the Real Estate Board have served as directors and on the Advisory Board of BNI. In 1964 the Board became an organizational member of BNI.

However, the same year, when a committee appointed by the City Council recommended legislative action to outlaw housing discrimination the Real Estate Board was opposed. The next year it moved in the other direction and BNI could note, "The Real Estate Board of Baltimore became the nation's first real estate board to request the expansion of the Presidential Executive Order #11063 to

prohibit discrimination in the sale of most new housing." Specifically, the Board asked the President to extend an earlier order on open occupancy, which applied to federally insured mortgages, to all new housing financed with mortgages held by federally insured banks and savings and loan institutions.

But then early in 1966 a spokesman for the Board appeared at a state legislative hearing in Annapolis to oppose a pending open occupancy law. The Baltimore *Sunday Sun* commented editorially, "Last year's step forward has become a march to the rear."

Nevertheless, the Board amended its by-laws this year to require realtors to show houses to Negro buyers and renters when the original contract with an owner specifies open occupancy.

BNI offers a real estate referral service designed to encourage and assist white buyers to purchase homes in racially mixed neighborhoods and to help Negro families find homes outside the customary ghettos. BNI notes that more brokers will now handle such sales.

City Government

As 1966 closed, proponents of a fair housing ordinance for Baltimore had not succeeded, despite the backing of Mayor Theodore McKeldin and City Council President Thomas D'Alesandro III. In 1964 a nine-member Baltimore City Housing Advisory Commission was appointed. It found clear discrimination in the sale and rental of housing to Negroes and recommended an open occupancy law. Property owners, and not the real estate interests, bore the major blame for discrimination. The City Council passed a civil rights ordinance, but rejected the open housing section.

This year, another try was made. The City Council held a hearing on a fair housing proposal and 2,000 attended a hotly divided meeting. Lawrence Cardinal Shehan appeared to give a strong endorsement to the measure, which was of particular significance since an estimated 45 percent of Baltimore citizens are Roman Catholic. About one-third of those present booed the Cardinal.

The area Episcopal and Methodist bishops spoke in favor of the bill also, as did a rabbi, the president of the Maryland Council of Churches and the president of the Baltimore Jewish Council. James W. Rouse, chairman of the Greater Baltimore Committee, said that GBC, which previously opposed such legislation, now gave it strong backing on both economic and moral grounds.

Despite such endorsements, the Council killed the bill 13-8.

Housing Conference

Two years ago, BNI asked the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing to hold a meeting in Baltimore on stabilization of racially changing neighborhoods and the need for enlargement of housing opportunities for minorities. The Committee agreed and the third such meeting in the nation was held in Baltimore. BNI's board and staff did a major proportion of the program planning.

Over 600 representatives of industry, labor, banking, religions, civil rights groups, housing, and educators took part in four workshops at an all day session. As a result of the conference and the resulting publicity, a broad segment of the community was made more aware of the urgent need to improve housing opportunities for minorities. The consensus of the workshops was that residents of every section of the Baltimore metropolitan area would suffer if the trend toward the extension of the existing ghetto in the central city and the formation of new ghettos ringed by white suburbia were not halted.

A housing developer and former president of the Home Builders Association told the conference that an all inclusive federal fair housing law was the only practical solution to the growing economic problem of housing discrimination.

Plus and Minus

Where does Baltimore stand today? On the negative side, it still is not covered either by local or state fair housing legislation. The much talked of white backlash appeared in its most virulent form in the 1966 gubernatorial election. However, the candidate who campaigned on the single issue "your home is your castle — protect it" was defeated.

The 35 percent Negro population of Baltimore in 1960 is now about 42 percent and is expected to reach 47 percent in 1970. The Research Advisory Committee of BNI estimates that in the five years, 1966 through 1970, the Negro housing market in Baltimore will require an average of 4,000 additional units a year, or 20,000 units. Demands will stem from new Negro household formations and, to a lesser extent, from demolitions resulting from highway construction and renewal programs, and the hopeless deterioration of sub-standard housing.

As recently as 1962 there was practically no new housing available to Negroes but in the past few years some new middle income housing has been opened to them. This year an estimated 500 new

private housing and apartment units will be available to Negro families.

Clearly, the demand will have to be met in large part by an extension of Negro housing in racially changing areas or by greater availability of housing beyond the city limits. Currently, only about one percent of the Negro population is moving to surrounding counties.

There has been a slight change in the "whites only" policy of major apartment owners but this is a problem of continuing concern to BNI.

The housing problem is very closely tied to public schools, which today have a 75 percent nonwhite enrollment. Two weeks after the Supreme Court ruled in the school desegregation cases in 1954 the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners declared the city would henceforth have a desegregated school system. Pupils were given the right to transfer to schools of their choice. However, the plan was better on paper than in practice and change was minimal. The city has a new school superintendent now who seems determined to find answers to the problems of de facto segregation and the quality of education offered in all schools.

On the neighborhood level, a good deal remains to be done. One all white community in the northern part of the city reacted to word of the first Negro purchase there by banding together to collect money to buy the house and then persuading the Negro family to sell. The community purchase was made in the face of BNI warnings that residents would be left open to a kind of blackmail by any opportunist who threatened to sell to Negroes in order to force the community to take a house off his hands. Recently, some change of attitude there was noted. One group of citizens began working to set up a stabilization program and neighborhood religious bodies, silent before, backed this move.

On the positive side, at least 10 associations are working to promote stable, interracial neighborhoods. Some have a scattering of Negro families while other neighborhoods are from 40 to 70 percent Negro.

Ashburton and Windsor Hills are now each one-third white. Another area, Forrest Park, which began changing racially about the same time, had no organization working for stabilization and is today almost entirely Negro. Windsor Hills has upgraded its zoning requirements and the Improvement Association has decided the community has reached the point where it is no longer necessary to put major emphasis on a program to attract white buyers. Instead, the

emphasis is now on making Windsor Hills a model integrated community.

Advice

The office of Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., is located at One Charles Center, on the eleventh floor of the tall new building which is a focal point of the downtown renewal area. Nearby, in the same building, are the offices of the Greater Baltimore Committee, which extends the use of its conference room and other facilities to BNI. The location is appropriate for BNI, in the center of new Baltimore, next door to community leaders. The view through floor to ceiling windows is of two luxury apartments going up across the street and, in the distance, of neighborhoods both segregated and changing. The suburbs are just out of sight.

In his office here, BNI Director Holmgren was asked what observations and advice he could give other neighborhood groups and cities, based on the Baltimore experience.

First, he emphasized, central city neighborhood stabilization programs must be tied to a metropolitan program to achieve open housing. Without this effort beyond city boundaries, a stabilization program will in the long run be only a delaying action, because of the urgent need for decent Negro housing. Cities, counties, states, and the federal government must pass fair housing laws for ultimate success of the open occupancy concept.

The active support of community leaders is important. Business, government, real estate, labor, banking, and church groups must be persuaded of the need for positive steps to solve housing problems.

Neighborhood groups working to stabilize their communities, Holmgren added, must see that city services are maintained, zoning laws observed, and property maintained in conformance with city codes.

Every effort must be made to improve local schools, for the school situation, Holmgren is convinced, is the "single most tender spot in any community."

In most instances, neighborhood meetings on racial changes should focus on economics, rather than the morals of the situation. Have some hard facts to counter emotion and prejudice.

Asked whether the Baltimore stabilization groups might function more effectively if several smaller ones would join forces in order to finance a paid staff member, Holmgren said yes. He agreed that it is difficult for a voluntary group to sustain the original

momentum and for busy homeowners to find the necessary time to coordinate and direct continuing programs.

Some civil rights militants criticize BNI for its middle class orientation, Holmgren said, and added, "They're right, we are geared to the middle classes; so is practically every fair housing group in the country." It was obvious Holmgren felt all such groups, BNI included, must broaden their programs to include measures for helping low income groups.

The Future

Communities which are presently all white will be much better prepared to accept the inevitable appearance of a Negro family if they begin preparations now, Holmgren emphasized. This message, counseling calm acceptance of change, is one of the most vital BNI has communicated to an increasing number of citizens, for, as Mayor McKeldin has commented:

"The principle of equal opportunity in housing will eventually succeed — the only question is how soon, and with how little panic and ill-will. The answer lies, more surely than anywhere else, with the wide range of private individuals and groups throughout our entire Baltimore urban area who care enough to work hard for equality of housing opportunity in their own neighborhoods."

CONCLUSIONS

Citizens working to make their neighborhood racially stable sooner or later have to consider three fundamental questions: Why are we trying to attract white families to our area? Doesn't this imply that they are somehow superior? Isn't this a gratuitous insult to Negro families?

White and Negro homeowners have to discuss these questions freely, if they are to work together. This is not always easy, for years of segregation have left each race distrustful and ignorant of the other.

Negroes in integrated neighborhoods know there is nothing particularly desirable about a white neighbor per se. They may even feel guilty about trying to get more white families into the area, when Negroes need these houses, too. However, they also know that white citizens still control the government, big business, the school boards. Because of this they know from experience that all Negro neighborhoods are apt to suffer from a dearth of money for schools, parks, city services.

Once the conversational barriers are down this can be discussed dispassionately and a clear understanding reached that no one believes there is anything especially superior about a white family or inferior about a Negro family. A neighborhood can be all white, all Negro, or any racial mixture in between and still be a desirable place to live.

The next step is to agree that this particular group likes its neighborhood, and that one of the chief reasons is the fact that it is "inclusive" rather than "exclusive." Once all agree that they prefer living in a diversified setting, where they and their children will know others of different races, creeds, and backgrounds, the question becomes one of keeping it that way.

This is one reason for making a special effort to attract new white families to the neighborhood. An unfortunate comment upon our society is that no special effort has to be made to attract Negro families to a central city neighborhood because their need for housing is so great.

After this delicate, but basic, issue is faced, white and Negro citizens can work together to make theirs an integrated neighborhood. Discussions then can center on method.

First, any group will have to concern itself with a fairly large area; a few city blocks cannot be stabilized. Also, as soon as finan-

cially feasible, a group will be better off if it can employ a coordinator or executive secretary to maintain momentum and direction.

Block meetings are important in the early stages of a changing neighborhood but there must be at least one person present who will be armed with facts about property values and speculators.

Very early, special efforts must be made to cope with school problems; parents can provide supplemental books and services, badger education boards for more money and better facilities.

As soon as possible the group must begin to promote a sense of community, emphasizing features which make the neighborhood worth saving and improving. Persons of outstanding stature should be involved in the work. Functions which add a note of prestige also are useful. Some form of newsletter to keep members informed and to counter rumors is essential.

Then other committees can be formed to see that zoning codes are enforced, sanitation laws observed, and city services maintained and improved where needed. This does not imply that interracial neighborhoods have any special reason to fear deterioration or code violations. All good neighborhood associations need such committees.

Eventually, all associations will want to become involved in the housing problems of the entire metropolitan area and to cooperate with other organizations in promoting a real estate market open to all on an equal basis.

Once the market has opened up, neighborhood associations may want to work on programs to encourage Negroes to move into new areas. Almost every metropolitan area has suburbs where white homeowners have indicated they would welcome Negro neighbors, but who have become discouraged because they could find none willing to move in. Perhaps a neighborhood association could sponsor a series of meetings between white suburbanites and Negro city dwellers to help each side understand why this is so.

The year 1966 unfortunately provided ample evidence that this nation is not yet firmly committed to fair and open housing despite the fact that every court decision and every piece of legislation dealing with race for the past 20 years has moved us step-by-step closer to a policy of racial justice. We stand now at a point of great decision that could have far-reaching results for many years to come.

NEIGHBORHOODS

WHERE HUMAN RELATIONS BEGIN

A STUDY OF RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON, D.C. & BALTIMORE

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. • 1967

New 1966

MINIMUM WAGE LAW

With Explanation

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT
WITH 1966 AMENDMENTS

LABOR PROGRAM

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

New 1966

MINIMUM WAGE LAW

With Explanation

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT WITH 1966 AMENDMENTS

SIGNED INTO LAW BY THE PRESIDENT
SEPTEMBER 23, 1966

PUBLIC LAW 89-601

Foreword

The Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 make a series of minimum wage law changes which begins on February 1, 1967, and does not end until February 1, 1971. The Amendments not only raise the minimum wage to a new high but also broadly increase the number of workers who are entitled to its benefits.

A total of 8 million workers are added to the previously covered 29.6 million to make a grand total of 37.6 million directly affected by the FLSA. The Amendments extend the FLSA to employees in four major areas which were never reached before—(1) schools, hospitals and nursing institutions; (2) laundries and drycleaners; (3) hotels, motels and restaurants; and (4) agriculture. Schools and hospitals were not viewed as commercial businesses; they are now specifically labeled as such, whether public or private. FLSA benefits are also extended to a great many more employees in retail trade and in the construction industry, to federal service contract employees and to certain federal employees.

The complicated Amendments bring many workers under the FLSA by reducing the dollar volume a business enterprise must have before it is covered; in some cases, there is no dollar volume requirement at all. The Amendments add other workers by eliminating exemptions of employers or workers.

The objective of this publication is to explain the practical effects of the changes made by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966. The Fair Labor Standards Act, with the 1966 amendments appearing in italics, is reproduced at ¶ 500. Historical notes show when a provision is new or has been amended.

An explanation of the new minimum wage rates begins at ¶ 110. Overtime pay is discussed starting at ¶ 210. Detailed explanations of the FLSA changes, presented on the basis of employer and worker groups, start at ¶ 310. An introductory discussion to acquaint newly covered employers with the FLSA starts at ¶ 440.

If more detailed coverage of the federal government's regulation of minimum wages and overtime pay is required, reference should be made to the FEDERAL WAGES-HOURS UNIT of the publishers' LABOR LAW REPORTS.

September, 1966

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HIGHER WAGE MINIMUMS

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Presently Covered Employees

¶ 110

Employees who have been covered by the minimum wage provisions of the FLSA prior to the 1966 Amendments are entitled to higher hourly minimum wages as follows:

$1.40 an hour for one year beginning February 1, 1967, and
$1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1968.

Prior to these increases, the minimum rate for presently covered employees was $1.25 an hour.

The amendments establish two minimum wage schedules, one for presently covered employees and one for employees covered by the FLSA for the first time because of the amendments. The rates for newly covered employees start at a lower figure than those for presently covered employees, and the rates are escalated over a longer period of time in reaching the maximum fixed for presently covered employees (see ¶ 120).

Rates below the general standards fixed for presently and newly covered employees are permissible under the amendments for students and handicapped workers (see ¶ 395).

Law: Sec. 6(a)(1).

Newly Covered Employees

¶ 120

For employees (other than agricultural workers, certain federal employees and certain employees under federal contracts) who are brought under the FLSA's minimum wage provisions for the first time, a schedule of minimum wage rates is established as follows:

$1.00 an hour beginning February 1, 1967;
$1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968;
$1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969;
$1.45 an hour beginning February 1, 1970; and
$1.60 an hour beginning February 1, 1971.

Special minimum rates are specified for agricultural workers (see ¶ 130), federal employees (see ¶ 150) and certain employees under federal contracts (see ¶ 140).

Employees who are newly covered under the FLSA minimum wage requirements also acquire companion rights to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. This is true whether they are brought within coverage because of employment by an enterprise or because of cancellation of an exemption formerly applicable to them.

Lower Dollar Enterprise Tests

It is possible for some newly covered employees who receive the lower rate to later become entitled to the higher rate for presently covered employees. On the other hand, presently covered employees entitled to the higher rate could shift to the lower rate for newly covered workers. The shifts could occur until February 1, 1971, when the minimum wage rates for presently covered employees and those for newly covered employees will become the same.

These shifts could occur with changes in an employer's annual dollar volume of sales. The amendments changed the dollar volume test for enterprise coverage by reducing from $1 million to $500,000 the annual gross sales needed for coverage. The lower wage rate for newly covered employees would apply under the $500,000 enterprise test whenever gross sales are less than $1 million, thus basing coverage solely upon the lower test established by the 1966 amendments. However, an employee would have to be regarded as a presently covered worker entitled to the higher minimum wage and overtime pay standards whenever his employer would meet the former $1 million test for enterprise coverage.

Law: Sec. 6(b).

Agricultural Employees

¶ 130

For the first time agricultural workers employed on farms are covered by the FLSA's minimum wage requirement. A special minimum wage rate schedule is established for agricultural employees as follows:

$1.00 an hour beginning February 1, 1967;

$1.15 an hour beginning February 1, 1968; and

$1.30 an hour beginning February 1, 1969.

Children under 16 working with their parents at piece-rate jobs on farms must be paid the same piece rates paid to employees over that age.

There are conditions under which agricultural employees are exempt from these minimum wage requirements. Employees who are not exempt are entitled not only to the minimum wage benefits but also to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. All agricultural employees remain exempt from the FLSA's overtime pay provisions.

A detailed explanation of the new rules which apply to agricultural employees appears at ¶ 345.

Law: Secs. 6(a)(5), 13(a)(6).

Contract Services to Federal Government

¶ 140

An employer who provides services to the federal government under a contract or subcontract subject to the Service Contract Act of 1965 must pay his employees at least the minimum wage rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120). These rates apply unless the employees are already entitled to the higher rates prescribed for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110) or unless higher rates are specified in determinations under the Service Contract Act of 1965. Special rules apply to linen supply contracts, as explained at ¶ 340.

Law: Sec. 6(e).

Federal Employees

¶ 150

The following federal employees are now entitled to the minimum wage benefits (see ¶ 110) and overtime pay benefits (see ¶ 210) accorded presently covered employees under the 1966 Amendments:

(1) certain federal wage board employees whose compensation is required to be fixed and adjusted in accordance with prevailing wage rates,

(2) employees of naval facilities whose wages are established to conform with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity, and

(3) federal employees in nonappropriated fund instrumentalities under the jurisdiction of the Armed Forces, such as, for example, post exchanges.

On the other hand, federal employees performing services during a workweek in a work place within the Canal Zone are entitled to the lower rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120).

All of these federal employees must receive equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Law: Sec. 18(b).

Employees in Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands

¶ 160

The special minimum wage rates presently applicable to workers in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands under wage orders established through industry committees are increased under the 1966 Amendments by a percentage which is the equivalent of the percentage of increase on the mainland. For persons presently covered by an industry wage order, the wage rates are increased 12 percent effective 60 days after February 1, 1967, or 1 year from the effective date of the most recent wage order, whichever is later. Then 1 year later, a second increase is made of 16 percent of the rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued prior to February 1, 1967. These increases are reviewable by industry committees.

The Secretary of Labor will appoint a special industry committee to recommend a minimum wage rate for employees who are brought

within the FLSA by the 1966 Amendments. The committee's recommendations are not to take effect before 60 days after February 1, 1967.

Law: Sec. 6(c).

Tips

¶ 170

Special rules apply to an employee who is engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives more than $20 a month in tips. As to such an employee, an employer may credit up to 50 percent of the employee's minimum wage as coming from tips actually received by the employee.

For example, if the minimum wage of a tipped employee is $1.00 an hour, his employer can credit as much as $0.50 as being from tips. The employer would pay the remainder or $0.50 an hour to the tipped employee. The tips and payment from the employer, when combined, would at least equal the statutory minimum wage. However, the employee must actually have received not less than 50 percent of his minimum wage in tips.

If an employee is receiving less in tips than the amount credited by the employer, the employer is required to pay the balance so that the employee receives at least the minimum wage.

In the 1961 amendments to the FLSA, the Secretary of Labor had been directed to make a study of problems involving tips in relation to wages. The results of the study contributed toward the new rules applicable to tipped employees and helped bring about the extension of minimum wage coverage to employees of hotels, motels, restaurants and other businesses that employ tipped personnel.

Law: Secs. 3(m), 3(t).

OVERTIME PAY FEATURES

Presently covered employees . . .	¶ 210	Newly covered employees . . .	¶ 220
		Commission salesmen . . .	¶ 230

Presently Covered Employees

¶ 210

There is no change in the general overtime pay standard for presently covered employees. The premium rate of time and one half the regular rate is continued for hours worked in excess of 40 in any workweek. The federal employees discussed at ¶ 150 are entitled to overtime pay based on this standard.

An employee's regular rate is determined by dividing his total remuneration for employment (except exclusions permitted by the FLSA) in any workweek by the total number of hours actually worked by him in that workweek for which such compensation was paid.

An exception to the general rule that overtime pay is figured on the basis of the regular rate exists with respect to employees of

certain petroleum distributors. Certain overtime hours worked by such employees may be compensated at one and one half times their minimum rates; other overtime hours command pay at one and one half times their regular rates (see ¶ 390).

Law: Sec. 7(a)(1).

Newly Covered Employees

¶ 220

Overtime pay standards are established for newly covered employees in three steps. Generally, overtime pay at the rate of time and one half the regular rate is required for workweek hours over:

44 hours a week beginning February 1, 1967;

42 hours a week beginning February 1, 1968; and

40 hours a week beginning February 1, 1969.

As is the case with presently covered employees, an exception from the regular rate basis for calculating overtime pay is created by the 1966 Amendments for employees of qualified petroleum distributors. Part of the employees' overtime pay may be computed on the basis of their FLSA minimum rates; other overtime hours must be paid for on the basis of their regular rates (see ¶ 390).

The Amendments also contain special overtime pay provisions for hospital employees. A hospital and an employee may agree that the employee's overtime pay will be calculated on the basis of a 14-day work period rather than the customary 7-day period. Overtime must be paid for hours worked in excess of 8 daily and in excess of 80 during the 14-day period.

Enterprise Coverage

Because of the reduction in the annual dollar volume test for coverage of enterprises from not less than $1 million to not less than $500,000 and the elimination of monetary tests for certain types of businesses (see ¶ 310), there is a possibility that an employee subject to the lower overtime pay standards for newly covered employees might shift to the higher standards for presently covered employees. It would also be possible for an employee to shift from the higher to the lower standards. These shifts could occur until February 1, 1969, when the two overtime pay schedules for newly covered employees and for presently covered employees will become the same.

The lower overtime pay and minimum wage requirements would apply any time when enterprise coverage is occasioned by the $500,000 test established by the 1966 amendments as distinguished from the $1 million test prior to the amendments. However, an employee would be regarded as a presently covered worker entitled to the higher overtime pay and minimum wage requirements whenever his employer meets the former $1 million test for enterprise coverage.

Changes in Exemptions

The 1966 amendments make many changes in exemptions. For example, they establish new overtime pay exemptions for seasonal industries (see ¶ 350). These exemptions replace former exemptions including, among other things, those for the area of production, seasonal activities, first processing and the handling of livestock and poultry. If a former 14-week overtime pay exemption, for example, is cancelled by these new seasonal exemptions, the employees affected would be governed by the overtime pay standards for newly covered workers during a 14-week period. However, these same employees would be governed by the overtime pay standards for presently covered employees during the remaining 38 weeks of the year when their former exemption did not apply, since the 1966 amendments make no change in their status with respect to this period.

Whenever an employee becomes entitled to FLSA overtime pay by reason of the cancellation of an overtime pay exemption, the overtime pay requirements established for newly covered workers apply.

Law: Secs. 7(a)(2), 7(j).

Commission Salesmen

¶ 230

A clarifying change has been made in the FLSA provisions which permit commissions paid to employees of retail or service establishments to qualify as overtime pay. The exemption applies to a salesman if two conditions are met:

(1) The salesman's regular rate of pay must be in excess of one and one half times the statutory minimum rate applicable to him.

(2) More than half of the salesman's compensation for a representative period (not less than one month) must represent commissions on goods or services.

The shortest period of time that can be used as the representative period under the second condition is one month. Aside from this specification, the facts in the particular case would govern the length of the period.

The 1966 Amendments provide that in determining the proportion of compensation representing commissions, all earnings resulting from the application of a bona fide commission rate shall be deemed commissions on goods or services without regard to whether the computed commissions exceed the draw or guarantee.

Prior to this amendment, the government, in enforcing this leeway, took the position that compensation could be considered commissions for purposes of overtime pay only when commissions exceeded draws. In the event of an advance that exceeded a draw, the advance had to be substituted for the draw in making the determination.

Law: Sec. 7(i).

EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYEES REACHED

Dollar-test enterprises . . . ¶ 310
Retail or service establishments . . . ¶ 315
Hotels, motels and restaurants . . . ¶ 320
Amusement or recreational establishments . . . ¶ 325
Bowling establishments . . . ¶ 327
Schools, hospitals and nursing institutions . . . ¶ 330
Construction industry . . . ¶ 335
Laundries, linen suppliers and drycleaners . . . ¶ 340
Agricultural employees . . . ¶ 345
Seasonal exemptions . . . ¶ 350
Small newspapers . . . ¶ 355
Transportation companies . . . ¶ 360
Motion picture theaters . . . ¶ 365
Forestry and logging operations . . . ¶ 370
Automobile, aircraft and farm implement sales establishments . . . ¶ 375
Food service employees . . . ¶ 380
Gasoline service stations . . . ¶ 385
Petroleum distribution employees . . . ¶ 390
Students and handicapped workers . . . ¶ 395
Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls and Johnston Island . . . ¶ 400

Dollar-Test Enterprises

¶ 310

A business not specifically named in the FLSA enterprise coverage provisions is subject to the statute on an enterprise basis if:

(1) two of its employees are personally engaged in interstate commerce, produce goods for commerce, or handle goods which have already been produced by someone else for commerce; and

(2) yearly gross sales, exclusive of certain excise taxes, amount to $500,000 beginning February 1, 1967 ($250,000 beginning February 1, 1969).

Prior to the FLS Amendments, the dollar test was $1 million; the commerce test concerning employee activities remains unchanged.

Retailers and local transit operators are now tested for enterprise coverage under these provisions. Former specific enterprise tests for them are deleted by the amendments. The dollar test for both of them previously was $1 million, and, in addition, retailers had to purchase $250,000 worth of interstate goods yearly.

The only other dollar test for enterprises concerns gasoline service establishments. It has not been changed; it is discussed at ¶ 385.

Other Enterprises

There are other enterprise coverage provisions that have no dollar condition, only the two-employee commerce condition. They pertain to the construction industry (see ¶ 335); laundries and drycleaners (see ¶ 340); and schools, hospitals and nursing institutions (see ¶ 330).

Industries Affected for First Time

Any business or endeavor not coming within these specifically named categories is tested for enterprise coverage under the $500,000 standard (which later becomes $250,000). Industries that will be subject to this enterprise testing for the first time because they have lost former full wage exemptions include hotels, motels and restaurants (see ¶ 320); food service (see ¶ 380); automobile, aircraft and farm implement dealers (see ¶ 375); and agriculture (see ¶ 345). Enterprises in these industries now have an exemption only from overtime pay, not from minimum wages and equal pay for equal work regardless of sex (except, possibly, agriculture). Prior to the amendments, they were fully exempt.

Enterprise coverage extends the benefits of the FLSA to all of the employer's workers (unless otherwise exempt), regardless of whether they are individually performing interstate work; otherwise, coverage extends only to employees personally doing such work.

Wage Scales

Employees who get the benefits of the statute for the first time because they are employed by an enterprise subject to coverage under the amendments are entitled to the wages specified for newly covered employees (for minimum wages, see ¶ 120; for overtime pay, see ¶ 220). Even though an employee is individually engaged in interstate activities, these rates apply if he is brought within the terms of the statute because of the cancellation of an exemption.

Enterprise employees who would have been covered under the enterprise provisions as they existed prior to the amendments have the advantage of the rates specified for presently covered employees; the minimum rates appear at ¶ 110 and the overtime standard is discussed at ¶ 210. These rates also apply to employees who were individually covered prior to the amendments and who remain individually covered thereafter.

Law: Secs. 3(r), 3(s).

Retail or Service Establishments

¶ 315

All employees of a retail or service establishment, including those employees who are engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, are exempt from the FLSA if the establishment meets the requirements of the retail and service establishment exemption. In order to qualify as an exempt retail or service establishment, it is necessary:

(1) that 75 percent of the establishment's dollar volume of sales of goods or services, or of both, be not for resale and be recognized as retail sales or services in the particular industry,

(2) that the establishment make more than 50 percent of its sales of goods or services within the state in which it is located, and

(3)(a) if the particular establishment is part of a covered enterprise, that the establishment's annual sales volume be less than $250,000, or

(3)(b) if the particular establishment is not part of a covered enterprise, that the establishment's annual sales volume be less than $500,000.

The FLSA limits the size of an establishment that may be exempt. When a retail or service establishment is a segment of a covered enterprise, the establishment cannot claim the benefit of the exemption unless the volume of its business is below $250,000 a year. An establishment which is not part of a covered enterprise may be exempt until January 31, 1969, even if its annual business reaches or exceeds $250,000—just so long as it does not meet the $500,000 test for enterprise coverage which is effective until that time. On February 1, 1969, when the enterprise coverage test will be reduced from $500,000 to $250,000, the retail and service establishment exemption will no longer be available to any establishment having an annual sales volume between $250,000 and $500,000.

Businesses Excluded or Included

Expressly excluded from the scope of this exemption are establishments and employees engaged in laundering and dry cleaning. The same is true with regard to hospitals, old-age homes, nursing homes, mental institutions, schools for physically handicapped, mentally handicapped or gifted children, elementary and secondary schools (exclusive of teachers and academic administrative personnel), and institutions of higher education. Regardless of any business volume, each of these endeavors (including those that are public or nonprofit) is a covered enterprise if at least two employees are engaged in activities touching on commerce.

The establishments that come within the scope of the retail and service establishment exemption include restaurants, retail food service establishments, retail automobile dealers, and hotels and motels, even though the FLSA contains specific overtime pay exemptions for these types of establishments. An establishment cannot claim the retail or service establishment exemption unless it meets all the exemption requirements (a wholesale automobile dealer does not qualify for this exemption).

The fact that restaurants and other establishments may qualify for the general exemption for retail or service establishments is of considerable importance because, in addition to the overtime pay exemption provided for their industries, the minimum wage and equal pay provisions of the Act are inapplicable to establishments within the scope of the general exemption.

Similarly, an amusement or recreational establishment may be able to avail itself of the retail and service establishment exemption when it would otherwise be nonexempt for failure to meet the requirements of the amusement or recreational establishment exemption noted at ¶ 325.

Law: Secs. 3(s)(1), 13(a)(2).

Hotels, Motels and Restaurants

¶ 320

An unconditional exemption from the overtime pay provisions of the FLSA is provided for the employees of an establishment which is a hotel, motel or restaurant. For purposes of this overtime pay exemption, it makes no difference whether or not such establishment is a covered enterprise or part of such an enterprise.

The overtime pay exemption does not affect the application of the minimum wage and equal pay provisions to employees who are within FLSA coverage either because they are themselves engaged in interstate work or because the establishment which employs them is a covered enterprise. However, the overtime pay exemption is not the only exemption available for such an establishment.

If a hotel, motel or restaurant meets the requirements of the retail or service establishment exemption, the minimum wage and equal pay provisions of the FLSA are also inapplicable to the employees of the establishment. Unlike the overtime pay exemption, which is applicable to establishments of any size, the retail or service establishment exemption does not apply to an establishment whose annual dollar volume of business exceeds certain limits (see ¶ 315).

Enterprise Coverage

Heretofore, the employees of hotels, motels and restaurants had no FLSA benefits since they were expressly excluded from enterprise coverage and the few employees doing interstate work were exempt. As amended, the FLSA merely denies them the right to overtime pay but gives nonexempt employees minimum wage and equal pay protection by eliminating the former exclusion from enterprise coverage. Employees who are now covered must be paid the minimum wage rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120).

Tipped Employees

Special rules can be applied to a "tipped employee," that is, an employee engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives more than $20 a month in tips. In paying the wages of a tipped employee, the employer may credit up to 50 percent of the applicable minimum wage as coming from tips, but he may do so only if the employee actually received the amount credited. The maximum tip allowance for a newly covered employee is 50 cents per hour while the $1.00 minimum wage rate remains in effect (see ¶ 170).

Other Exemption

A special overtime pay exemption is provided for the food service employees of retail or service establishments (see ¶ 380).

Law: Sec. 13(b)(8).

Amusement or Recreational Establishments

¶ 325

Certain amusement or recreational establishments are fully exempt from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay requirements

of the FLSA, irrespective of whether or not they are covered enterprises or parts of such enterprises. In order to qualify for this full exemption, an amusement or recreational establishment must meet one of two exemption tests which require that its business be of a seasonal nature.

An amusement or recreational establishment is fully exempt (1) if it does not operate for more than seven months in a calendar year, or (2) if it has average receipts for any six months of the preceding calendar year which do not exceed one third of the average receipts for the other six months of that calendar year. An amusement or recreational establishment which fails to meet either one of these two tests may possibly come within the retail or service establishment exemption (see ¶ 315).

Wage Rates

An amusement or recreational establishment which does not qualify for exemption may or may not be part of a covered enterprise. In either case, employees who are themselves engaged in interstate work and who were not exempt prior to the 1966 amendments must be paid the minimum wage rates for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110). On the other hand, the minimum wage rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) are applicable to employees newly entitled to FLSA benefits because of new coverage of the enterprise. The employees of a nonexempt amusement or recreational establishment are within coverage of the equal pay provisions of the FLSA, unless they come within the scope of some other minimum wage exemption. The overtime pay requirements for presently covered employees are discussed at ¶ 210, those for newly covered employees at ¶ 220.

Law: Sec. 13(a)(3).

Bowling Establishments

¶ 327

Employees of a bowling establishment are partially exempt from the overtime pay requirements of the FLSA. They need not be paid overtime compensation so long as they do not work more than 48 hours a week. Hours worked in excess of 48 a week must be compensated at time and one half the regular rate unless another exemption applies. The partial overtime pay exemption extends to a bowling establishment which is a covered enterprise or part of such enterprise. The duty to comply with the minimum wage and equal pay provisions of the FLSA remains unaffected.

If a bowling establishment meets the requirements of the retail or service establishment exemption, it is fully exempt from the minimum wage, overtime pay, and equal pay provisions. In case of enterprise coverage, only an establishment doing an annual business of less than $250,000 can invoke the retail or service establishment exemption (see ¶ 315).

Wage Rates

The minimum wage rates that are applicable to employees of bowling establishments not qualifying for the retail or service establishment exemption depend upon whether coverage results from the 1966 Amendments. Employees who are themselves engaged in inter-

state work and who were not exempt prior to the 1966 Amendments must be paid the minimum wage rates for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110). The minimum wage rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) apply to employees now entitled to FLSA protection because of new coverage of the enterprise.

Law: Sec. 13(b)(19).

Schools, Hospitals and Nursing Institutions

¶ 330

Employees of schools, hospitals, and nursing institutions are brought under the FLSA for the first time. These employees are entitled to the minimum wages prescribed for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) and, if not exempt, to the overtime pay benefits accorded newly covered employees (see ¶ 220). They are also entitled to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex. The extended coverage does not apply to employees of federal hospitals.

The minimum wage, overtime pay and equal pay provisions have been extended, on an enterprise basis, to employees of elementary and secondary schools, excluding teachers and academic administrative personnel; institutions of higher education; hospitals and nursing institutions; and schools for physically handicapped, mentally handicapped or gifted children. It makes no difference whether the schools, hospitals or institutions are public or private or operated for profit or operated not for profit. The dollar amount of the business is immaterial. The FLSA commerce requirements are satisfied by the employment of two workers who merely handle goods that have moved in or have been produced for interstate commerce.

Pertinent Exemptions

The amendments offer a partial exemption from the FLSA overtime pay requirements to institutions, other than hospitals, engaged in caring for the sick, the aged, the mentally ill, or defective who reside on the premises. The exemption is limited to 48 hours per week. A deviation from the overtime pay provisions permits hospitals to use a 14-day period in calculating overtime pay (see ¶ 220).

An exemption existing prior to the amendments which is of particular interest to newly covered schools, hospitals and nursing institutions completely exempts administrative, executive and professional employees from the wage provisions. On the other hand, the previously existing retail or service establishment exemption is made specifically unavailable to schools, hospitals and nursing institutions brought within coverage of the statute.

Law: Secs. 3(d), 3(r), 3(s)(4), 3(v), 3(w), 7(j), 13(a)(1), 13(a)(2), 13(b)(8).

Construction Industry

¶ 335

An enterprise engaged in the business of construction (or reconstruction) which satisfies the commerce requirements is subject to the FLSA regardless of the dollar volume of business done. Prior to the FLS Amendments, a construction business had to have a yearly gross of $350,000 before it was covered.

Employees whose duties personally involve commerce or the production of goods for commerce are entitled to the minimum wages applicable to presently covered employees, as listed at ¶ 110; and to overtime pay on the basis available for presently covered employees, as discussed at ¶ 210. This is true whether or not the business is brought within enterprise coverage by reason of the 1966 amendments.

The pay rates applicable to employees whose own duties do not involve commerce or the production of goods for commerce depend upon whether the business is a covered enterprise solely because of elimination of the dollar test. If it is covered for that reason alone, the minimum wage rates for newly covered employees at ¶ 120 and the overtime standards for newly covered employees at ¶ 220 apply. If the enterprise grosses $350,000 yearly, the rates shown at ¶ 110 and 210 for presently covered employees apply. All of the employees who are entitled to the FLSA minimum wage benefits also have the right to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

White Collar Exemption

It is possible that some of the employees may come within exemptions extending to minimum, overtime and equal pay, such as the exemption for administrative, executive and professional employees. There is no specific exemption for the construction industry, as such.

Law: Sec. 3(s)(3).

Laundries, Linen Suppliers and Drycleaners

¶ 340

Laundries and drycleaners are now subject to FLSA coverage on an enterprise basis. All that is necessary for such coverage is employment of two workers in connection with commerce; the mere handling of goods produced for interstate commerce is a sufficient link. The amount of business done by a laundry or drycleaner is of no consequence. An enterprise must adhere to the federal wage standards with respect to all of its employees (who are not otherwise exempt), whether or not the employee himself is personally doing work of an interstate nature. A covered enterprise is subject to the statutory directives as to minimum wages, equal pay for equal work, and overtime compensation.

Contractors and subcontractors who provide linen supply services to the United States are specifically subject to the minimum wage and equal pay provisions (see ¶ 140).

A complete wage exemption formerly available to laundries and drycleaners was canceled by the FLS Amendments. Under that exemption, a laundry or drycleaner was completely exempt from the federal wage standards, unless 25 percent of its business was for customers engaged in mining, manufacturing, transportation or communications. If this exemption was lost because of the amount of industrial work, coverage would not have attached on an enterprise basis unless gross yearly sales amounted to $1 million. If sales did not meet that figure, only employees individually engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce had the benefits

of the law. Although there is no longer a specific exemption for laundries and drycleaners, advantage can still be taken of the full wage exemptions for driver-salesmen and for administrative, executive and professional employees.

Minimum and Overtime Wage Rates

Except for government work, the minimum and overtime rates specified for newly covered employees apply to employees brought within reach of the FLSA either because of new enterprise coverage or because of cancellation of the exemption. These minimum rates are listed at ¶ 120; the overtime rates appear at ¶ 220.

Again except for government work, employees who were covered by the FLSA prior to the amendments—either on an enterprise or on an individual employee basis—are entitled to be paid at the rates fixed for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110 for minimum wage rates and ¶ 210 for overtime pay). With respect to government work, if it accounts for more than 50 percent of gross yearly sales, the minimum rates for presently covered employees apply (see ¶ 110); otherwise the rates for newly covered employees are applicable (see ¶ 120).

Law: Secs. 3(s)(2), 6(e)(2), 13(a)(1).

Agricultural Employees

¶ 345

Agricultural employees are brought under the FLSA for the first time. While the newly covered agricultural employees are not entitled to overtime pay premiums, they are entitled to the special minimum wages shown at ¶ 130. Agricultural workers entitled to minimum wages must also receive equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Congress intended that employees of only large farms be covered. To be covered, an employee must work for an employer who used more than 500 man-days of agricultural labor in any calendar quarter of the preceding year. A man-day is a day in which an employee performs any agricultural work for at least one hour.

An agricultural worker is not covered if he is employed as a hand harvest laborer, is paid on a piece rate basis, commutes daily from his permanent residence to the farm, and has been employed in agriculture less than 13 weeks during the preceding calendar year.

The parent, spouse, child and other members of an agricultural employer's immediate family are not covered by the FLSA. Neither are cowboys or Basques engaged in the range production of livestock. Sharecroppers and tenant farmers whose work is closely controlled are covered by the Act. Children under 17 years old can be employed on piece-rate jobs on the same farm as their parents. Children below the age of 16 cannot be employed in hazardous occupations, except by their parents on their parents' farm.

The 1966 amendments grant minimum wage and equal pay benefits to statutorily covered employees who are in the following related operations:

irrigation projects
country elevators
cotton ginning
transportation of fruits and vegetables.

These rights are granted by partial cancellation of former complete exemptions, leaving only overtime pay exemptions in effect. A complete wage exemption formerly applied to livestock auction work by farm employees. That exemption has been reduced to a mere overtime pay exemption.

Enterprise Coverage

A farming enterprise doing a yearly business of $500,000 ($250,000 beginning February 1, 1969) and employing two workers whose activities have interstate aspects is subject to the FLSA on an enterprise basis. All of its employees, who are not otherwise exempt, have minimum wage and equal pay rights. This is true whether or not the employees are personally engaged in work falling in the interstate category.

Law: Secs. 3(e), 3(u), 13(a)(6), 13(b)(12)-13(b)(16), 13(c)(2).

Seasonal Exemptions

¶ 350

Newly phrased exemptions for seasonal industries are features of the FLS Amendments of 1966. One exemption pertains to seasonal industries generally; the other, to farm enterprises. Findings must be made by the Secretary of Labor that the required seasonal conditions exist before advantage can be taken of either of these exemptions. Both exemptions offer relief from the overtime pay standards during 14 weeks yearly. However, a total of only 20 weeks per year is allowed to an employer who qualifies under both. If prior official policy is continued, it will not be necessary for the exempt weeks to run consecutively.

The general exemption is available to industries found by the Secretary to be of a seasonal nature. Under it, statutory overtime need not be paid until after 10 hours daily or 50 hours weekly have been worked.

The farm exemption extends to 10 hours daily or 48 hours weekly. It is available to industries found by the Secretary:

(1) to be characterized by marked annually recurring seasonal peaks of operation at the places of first marketing or first processing of agricultural or horticultural commodities from farms; or

(2) to be of a seasonal nature and engaged in the handling, packing, storing, preparing, first processing, or canning of any perishable agricultural or horticultural commodities in their raw or natural state.

These exemptions replace former exemptions pertaining to seasonal industries, area of production, first processing, and handling of livestock and poultry. Some of the exemptions were 14-week overtime exemptions, some were year-round overtime exemptions, and one was a full exemption from minimum, overtime and equal pay.

Specific Wage Rates

Employees who are brought within the terms of the FLSA by reason of the cancellation or replacement of any of the former exemptions are entitled, for the most part, to minimum wages based on the rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120). The rates for presently covered employees, shown at ¶ 110, will apply to employees who were entitled to minimum wages prior to the amendments. It is possible that a few newly covered employees will qualify as agricultural employees; if so, the rates appearing at ¶ 130 apply.

Any employees entitled to minimum wages are also entitled to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

The overtime pay standards for newly covered employees appear at ¶ 220. The standard remains the same for employees who were previously covered (see ¶ 210).

Presumably, the lower rates apply only to the additional time an employee is brought within the terms of the FLSA. For example, if an employee's 14-week yearly overtime pay exemption is canceled by the amendments, and no new exemption applies, the lower overtime pay standards can be used for computing his overtime pay during 14 weeks; the unchanged previous standard applies to the other 38 weeks that he is not exempt. It would seem logical that the 14 weeks selected for pay based on the lower standard should correspond with the 14 weeks that previously would have been chosen for the exemption.

Law: Secs. 7(c), 7(d).

Small Newspapers

¶ 355

An employee of a small newspaper which meets certain requirements is exempt from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay provisions of the FLSA if he is employed in connection with its publication. The 1966 Amendments retain this exemption but modify it slightly.

In order to qualify for the exemption, a newspaper must be one that:

(1) is a weekly, semiweekly or daily newspaper,
(2) has a circulation of less than 4,000, and
(3) has a major part of its circulation in the county where published or counties contiguous to that county.

The 1966 Amendments relaxed the third requirement since formerly a newspaper had to be both printed and published in the county (or contiguous counties) where it had its major circulation. Hence, the place where the newspaper is printed is no longer relevant for purposes of the exemption.

Law: Sec. 13(a)(8).

Transportation Companies

¶ 360

Local transit systems and taxicab operators are affected considerably by the FLS Amendments. Both categories of employers are subject to wider coverage.

Local Transit Systems

Operators of street, suburban or interurban electric railways, or of local trolley or motorbus carriers are subject to wider FLSA coverage by reason of the 1966 amendments. Gross yearly sales of $500,000 (exclusive of excise taxes) bring them within enterprise coverage; formerly $1 million was the figure. They are covered whether they are publicly or privately owned and whether they are operated for profit or not for profit. The minimum wage and equal pay exemptions formerly available to operators who did not qualify as enterprises have been canceled. The former overtime pay exemption for all employees, regardless of the enterprise status of their employer, is restricted to an exemption for operating employees of railways or carriers subject to state or local regulation.

Covered employees of railways and carriers not meeting the enterprise conditions must be paid at least the minimum rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) and the overtime rates for newly covered employees (see ¶ 220). A covered enterprise can pay the minimum rates appearing at ¶ 120 if its yearly business is less than $1 million, but it must pay the minimum rates listed at ¶ 110 for presently covered employees if the business exceeds that amount. The overtime pay standards for these enterprises are those applicable to newly covered employees, as shown at ¶ 220.

Taxicab Operators

Only the drivers employed by taxicab operators are now exempt from the FLSA, and only from the overtime pay requirements. Prior to the amendments, all of the employees of taxicab operators were fully exempt from the wage provisions. Now employees engaged in commerce or employed by a covered enterprise (see ¶ 310) are entitled to minimum wages and to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, and those not employed in the capacity of drivers are entitled also to overtime pay. The minimum rates appearing at ¶ 120 apply; the pertinent overtime standards are discussed at ¶ 220.

With respect to the minimum wages of taxicab employees who receive tips, an employer may credit up to 50 percent of the minimum wage with tips actually received by the employee. For comment on the rules pertaining to tips, see ¶ 170.

Law: Secs. 3(d), 3(r), 13(b)(7), 13(b)(17).

Motion Picture Theaters

¶ 365

Employees of a motion picture theater are exempt from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay provisions of the FLSA, regardless of whether or not the theater is a covered enterprise or part of such an enterprise. This was also true under the FLSA prior to amendment, but the exemption was specific only insofar as an enterprise was concerned.

The exemption is wider now in that it extends to an "establishment" which is a motion picture theater. Formerly, the theater had to meet all of the tests of a "retail or service establishment."

Law: Sec. 13(a)(9).

Forestry and Logging Operations

¶ 370

There is an exemption from the minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay provisions of the FLSA for employees engaged in small-scale forestry and logging operations. The 1966 Amendments changed a pre-existing exemption to limit it to workers of employers who have not more than 8 persons in such operations. Prior to the 1966 Amendments, 12 such workers could be employed under the exemption.

No change was made in the kinds of operations that the employees may engage in. Their activities may include the planting and tending of trees, the surveying or felling of timber, and the preparing and transporting of logs to the mill or other transportation terminal.

The limit of 8 employees is applicable on a workweek basis so that the exemption is lost for any workweek in which more than 8 persons are employed in such operations. In any workweek in which more than 8 but not more than 12 workers are employed, their employer must pay them not less than the minimum wage rate for newly covered employees (see ¶ 120) and must also treat the employees as newly covered for overtime pay purposes (see ¶ 220). In a workweek in which the number of persons doing such work exceeds 12, all employees must be treated as presently covered employees for both minimum wage purposes (see ¶ 110) and overtime pay purposes (see ¶ 210). The equal pay provisions of the FLSA are fully applicable in any workweek in which the exemption is lost.

Law: Sec. 13(a)(13).

Automobile, Aircraft and Farm Implement Sales Establishments

¶ 375

Prior to the 1966 Amendments, the FLSA contained a minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay exemption for all employees of a retail or service establishment which was primarily engaged in the selling of automobiles, trucks or farm implements. The 1966 Amendments added aircraft dealers but changed the full exemption to a mere overtime pay exemption which is limited to certain categories of employees.

The overtime pay requirements of the FLSA are now inapplicable to a salesman, mechanic or partsman employed by an establishment which is primarily engaged in selling automobiles, trailers, trucks, farm implements or aircraft to the ultimate purchaser. The overtime pay exemption does not require that the establishment qualify as a retail or service establishment, and it makes no distinction between establishments which are or are not a part of a covered enterprise.

The designated employees are exempt from the overtime pay provisions even if they work in physically separate buildings or areas so long as they are employed in a department which is functionally operated as part of the dealership. Employees who do not belong to

one of the specified categories—for example, office workers—are not within the scope of the new overtime pay exemption.

Wider Wage Coverage

These changes in exemptions have the general effect of:

(1) extending minimum wage and equal pay coverage to the employees within the scope of the new overtime pay exemption; and

(2) extending minimum wage, equal pay and overtime coverage to employees in the nonexempt categories who are covered by the FLSA either on an individual or on an enterprise basis.

The minimum wage rates for newly covered employees are set forth at ¶ 120, and the overtime pay provisions for newly covered employees are at ¶ 220. Included among the employees now exempted from overtime pay may be some who were previously covered because their employer did not qualify as a retail or service establishment. Such employees would be treated as presently covered employees for minimum wage purposes (see ¶ 110).

Still in effect and still available, if all statutory conditions are met, is the general exemption for retail and service establishments (see ¶ 315). This general exemption is available to an establishment which is not part of an enterprise and which does an annual business under $500,000 ($250,000 after February 1, 1969). It is also available to any establishment which is part of a covered enterprise and does an annual business under $250,000.

Law: Sec. 13(b)(10).

Food Service Employees

¶ 380

A food service employee of a retail or service establishment need not be paid premium pay for overtime hours even if the establishment is part of a covered enterprise. In order for this overtime pay exemption to be applicable, two requirements must be satisfied:

(1) the establishment must be a retail or service establishment within the meaning of the general exemption for retail or service establishments (see ¶ 315), and

(2) the employee must be employed primarily in connection with the preparation or offering of food or beverages for human consumption, either on the premises, or by such services as catering, banquet, box lunch, or curb or counter service, to the public, to employees, or to members or guests of clubs.

Prior to the 1966 Amendments, the FLSA fully exempted such employees from minimum wage, equal pay and overtime pay coverage. The exemption has now been narrowed to an overtime pay exemption and the change has the effect of bringing such employees within coverage of the minimum wage and equal pay provisions if they are employed by a covered enterprise or if they individually do interstate work. These employees (if not otherwise exempt) must be paid the

minimum wage rates applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120). Insofar as tipped employees are concerned, a portion of their wages can be credited as coming from tips (see ¶ 170).

An establishment may qualify for the general exemption given certain retail or service establishments. If an establishment meets all of the requirements of that general exemption (see ¶ 315), the food service employees would be exempt not only for overtime pay purposes but also for minimum wage and equal pay purposes.

Law: Sec. 13(b)(18).

Gasoline Service Stations

¶ 385

All of the employees of a gasoline service establishment, who are not otherwise exempt, are covered by the FLSA if the establishment has an annual gross volume of $250,000 or more (excluding excise taxes at the retail level if the taxes are separately stated). Covered employees are entitled to the minimum wages specified for presently covered employees (see ¶ 110). As to overtime pay premiums, however, these employees are treated as newly covered employees (see ¶ 220). This oddity results from the fact that these employees formerly were covered by the FLSA's minimum wage provisions but were specifically exempted from overtime pay premiums; this exemption was canceled by the 1966 Amendments.

All of the employees of an establishment doing less than $250,000 gross business yearly are exempt from the law if the establishment qualifies as a retail or service establishment (see ¶ 315).

Law: Sec. 3(s)(1).

Petroleum Distribution Employees

¶ 390

Only a partial exemption from the overtime pay premiums now exists for employees of certain businesses engaged in the wholesale or bulk distribution of petroleum products. Prior to the FLS Amendments of 1966, these employees were entirely exempt from overtime pay premiums. Now, they must be paid one and one half times the applicable FLSA minimums for hours between 40 and 56 in a workweek. For hours worked in excess of 12 daily or 56 weekly, they must be paid one and one half times their regular rates.

The minimum rates specified at ¶ 110 for presently covered employees apply to employees who themselves are engaged in commerce. The minimums specified at ¶ 120 for newly covered employees apply to employees brought within enterprise coverage by reason of the 1966 amendments (see ¶ 310 for enterprise coverage).

A business qualifies for this partial exemption if it is an independently owned local bulk petroleum distributor, does less than $1 million business yearly, sells more than 75 percent within the state, and sells not more than 25 percent to customers who purchase for bulk resale.

Law: Sec. 7(b)(3).

Students and Handicapped Workers

¶ 395

New provisions permitting the employment of students and handicapped workers at below normal wage rates have been written into the FLSA by the 1966 Amendments.

Students

The Secretary of Labor can permit the employment in retail or service establishments of full-time students at not less than 85 percent of the minimum wage which would otherwise apply. Employment is limited to not more than 20 hours a week, except that during school vacations employment can be permitted on a part-time or full-time basis. The proportion of student hours in any single establishment cannot exceed certain norms.

The Secretary can also permit the employment of full-time students in agriculture on a part-time basis (not exceeding 20 hours a week) or on a part-time or a full-time basis during school vacations. The students' wage rate is not to be less than 85 percent of the applicable agricultural minimum rate.

The student provisions apply to all students regardless of age, but the student provisions do not affect the operation of child labor laws.

Handicapped Workers

New provisions regulate the employment of handicapped workers at wages below the statutory minimum, including their employment in agriculture.

Special certificates issued by the Secretary of Labor may authorize the employment of handicapped workers at wages that are lower than the applicable statutory minimum, but not less than 50 percent of that minimum. Such wages shall be commensurate with wages paid non-handicapped workers for essentially the same type, quality, and quantity of work.

In cases where handicapped workers are engaged in training or evaluation programs or where they are multihandicapped or so severely handicapped that they are unable to engage in competitive employment, the Secretary may issue certificates authorizing their employment at wages which are less than 50 percent of the statutory minimum and conform to the workers' productivity.

The Secretary is authorized to establish special rates of compensation for workers employed in federal "work activity centers," that is, centers for handicapped workers whose physical or mental impairment is so severe as to make their productive capacity inconsequential.

Law: Sec. 14.

Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls and Johnston Island

¶ 400

The FLSA has been extended to the workers on Johnston Island and on the Eniwetok and Kwajalein Atolls. Since these employees,

unless otherwise exempt, are brought under the FLSA for the first time by the 1966 Amendments, they are subject to the lower minimum wage and overtime pay requirements, the ones applicable to newly covered employees (see ¶ 120 and 220). Any employee who is entitled to minimum wages also has a right to equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Law: Sec. 13(f).

TIME LIMIT FOR COURT SUITS

¶ 430

A court suit to collect unpaid minimum wages, unpaid overtime compensation or liquidated damages under the FLSA must normally be started within two years after the cause of action accrued. In the case of a wilful violation, however, the time limit is increased by a full year. Where a cause of action arises out of a wilful violation, the suit may be commenced within three years after the cause of action accrued.

The statute of limitations does not apply to government injunction suits, except where back pay orders are concerned. With respect to those orders, the period now will be two years in the absence of wilfulness, three years in the event of wilfulness. There is no time limit in contempt proceedings which may result in an order for back pay which has accrued since the issuance of an injunction.

Law: Sec. 601, FLS Amendments of 1966.

FUTURE LEGISLATIVE MATTERS

¶ 435

Congress has directed the Secretary of Labor to make a study of industry practices with respect to overtime payments for work in excess of 40 hours a week. Of particular interest to Congress is the extent to which overtime work retards the creation of new job opportunities. The Secretary is to submit his report, with recommendations, by July 1, 1967.

The Secretary is directed to make studies also of the wages of handicapped workers and of wage standards in the Canal Zone. He is to report to Congress by July 1, 1967 as to the handicapped workers; by July 1, 1968 as to the Canal Zone.

Specific legislation prohibiting age discrimination in employment is to be submitted to Congress by the Secretary on or before January 1, 1967.

Law: Secs. 603-606, FLS Amendments of 1966.

PROBLEMS OF NEWLY COVERED EMPLOYERS

What the FLSA requires . . . ¶ 440
Slight interstate dealings reached . . . ¶ 441
Small firms feel enterprise impact . . . ¶ 442
How the law is enforced . . . ¶ 443
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What the FLSA Requires

¶ 440

The FLSA reaches practically all enterprises and industries in the nation in which interstate activities take place. It requires the following for all workers engaged in such enterprises or activities who are not specifically exempt:

(1) Payment of a straight-time wage at not less than a specified minimum.

(2) Payment of an overtime wage of time and one half for hours worked in excess of designated weekly numbers.

(3) Payment of equal wages for equal work regardless of sex.

This law also regulates child labor on a national basis.

Slight Interstate Dealings Reached

¶ 441

The FLSA applies to employers who engage in interstate activities, even though only to a limited degree. All that is necessary is regularity of interstate operations.

Example—A daily newspaper with a circulation of 10,000, all of which was local except about ½ of 1% which was regularly out-of-state, came within range of the FLSA.

Small Firms Feel Enterprise Impact

¶ 442

Businesses stamped as enterprises by the law must satisfy the FLSA wage and child-labor standards with respect to *all* of their employees (unless exempt). It makes no difference that a particular employee has nothing to do with interstate commerce; he nevertheless is entitled to benefits offered by the law. Businesses not rated as enterprises are subject to the law only with respect to employees whose activities have interstate aspects.

A business need not be especially large to qualify as an enterprise. Construction contractors, laundries, dry cleaners, hospitals, schools, retirement homes and nursing facilities qualify merely by having at least two employees whose duties touch on interstate commerce. The mere handling of goods which have moved across state lines at some time in the past is sufficient to satisfy the commerce requirement. It is immaterial how small the business is.

Other firms having two such employees and which do at least $250,000 business yearly will qualify as enterprises after January 31, 1969. From February 1, 1967, until then, the requirement for enterprise coverage is $500,000 under the 1966 Amendments.

How the Law Is Enforced

¶ 443

The government has wide authority in enforcing the FLSA. To aid it in doing so, employers are required to keep records showing the name, occupation and sex of employees, the time they work, the pay

they receive for straight-time and overtime, and any deductions from their pay.

The government constantly investigates business firms to uncover violations of the law. It investigates on its own, as well as pursuant to complaints. The government collects any back wages found owing to employees, either on a voluntary basis or through the courts. To insure against future violations, court injunctions are procured; an injunction is hard to get rid of once it attaches to an employer's business. Flagrant, wilful violations can be taken to criminal courts for remedy. Shipping bans can be slapped on goods produced in violation of the law. Short-changed employees can themselves sue for back pay, and possibly recover an equal amount in damages. The employer must pay their attorney's fees.

Compliance with the FLSA is no defense to violation of state, municipal or other federal laws imposing stricter labor standards than those contained in the FLSA.

Questions to Be Answered

¶ 444

An employer newly covered by the FLSA—perhaps because of the wider reach of the 1966 Amendments or a geographical expansion of business operations—is faced with many problems under the federal law. The big questions are:

Coverage.—Is coverage on an enterprise basis (meaning all employees are covered) or is coverage on an individual employee basis (meaning only employees connected with interstate activities are covered)? Are any of the employees exempt?

Wage scales.—Which of the two minimum-wage and overtime-pay scales set up by the 1966 Amendments apply? This depends upon whether coverage is by reason of the amendments. The two minimum-wage scales do not become one until February 1, 1971. The two overtime-pay scales dovetail on February 1, 1969.

Figuring the payroll.—How should the payroll be figured to satisfy the FLSA standards? Idle time and time spent by employees before and after regular working hours may or may not be compensable. Fringe benefits paid to employees may or may not qualify as wages creditable towards the statutory requirements. Deductions from wages may or may not reduce the payment required by law. Differentials in the pay of men and women may or may not violate the law.

Child labor.—Does the employment of children exceed the confines of the FLSA? Is the work they perform deemed hazardous? Are they working when they should be in school? Are they old enough to engage in their particular occupations?

Recordkeeping.—Are records needed by the government for investigation purposes being properly kept? The records may contain information sufficient for the employer's needs, but not enough to satisfy the government.

Avoiding violations.—Only by answering these questions correctly, and acting accordingly, can employers be sure of not running afoul of the FLSA.

Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966

[¶ 450]

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to extend its protection to additional employees, to raise the minimum wage, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966."

[¶ 455] [TITLES I TO V—AMENDMENTS OF THE FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT OF 1938, AS AMENDED]

Sec. 101 to **Sec. 501.** [The amendments made by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 are incorporated in place in the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, which is reproduced in full at ¶ 500.]

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS

[¶ 460] STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS

Sec. 601. (a) Section 16(c) of such Act is amended by striking out "two-year statute" and by inserting in lieu thereof "statutes".

(b) Section 6(a) of the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947 (Public Law 49, Eightieth Congress) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", except that a cause of action arising out of a willful violation may be commenced within three years after the cause of action accrued".

[¶ 470] EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 602. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amendments made by this Act shall take effect on February 1, 1967. On and after the date of the enactment of this Act the Secretary is authorized to promulgate necessary rules, regulations, or orders with regard to the amendments made by this Act.

[¶ 480] STUDY OF EXCESSIVE OVERTIME

Sec. 603. The Secretary of Labor is hereby instructed to commence immediately a complete study of present practices dealing with overtime payments for work in excess of forty hours per week and the extent to which such overtime work impedes the creation of new job opportunities in American industry. The Secretary is further instructed to report to the Congress by July 1, 1967, the findings of such survey with appropriate recommendations.

[¶ 485] CANAL ZONE EMPLOYEES AND PANAMA CANAL STUDY

Sec. 604. The Secretary of Labor, in cooperation with the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State, shall (1) undertake a study with respect to (A) wage rates payable to Federal employees in the Canal Zone engaged in employment of the kind described in paragraph (7) of section 202 of the Classi-

fication Act of 1949 (5 U. S. C. 1082(7)) and (B) the requirements of an effective and economical operation of the Panama Canal, and (2) report to the Congress not later than July 1, 1968, the results of his study together with such recommendations as he may deem appropriate.

[¶ 490] STUDY OF WAGES PAID HANDICAPPED CLIENTS IN SHELTERED WORKSHOPS

Sec. 605. The Secretary of Labor is hereby instructed to commence immediately a complete study of wage payments to handicapped clients of sheltered workshops and of the feasibility of raising existing wage standards in such workshops. The Secretary is further instructed to report to the Congress by July 1, 1967, the findings of such study with appropriate recommendations.

[¶ 495] PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF AGE

Sec. 606. The Secretary of Labor is hereby directed to submit to the Congress not later than January 1, 1967 his specific legislative recommendations for implementing the conclusions and recommendations contained in his report on age discrimination in employment made pursuant to section 715 of Public Law 88-352. Such legislative recommendations shall include, without limitation, provisions specifying appropriate enforcement procedures, a particular administering agency, and the standards, coverage, and exemptions, if any, to be included in the proposed enactment.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT, AS AMENDED

— The Federal Wage-Hour Law —

[¶ 500]

(Act of June 25, 1938, c. 676, 75th Cong., 3rd Sess., 52 Stat. 1060, as amended by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966).

[¶ 501] SHORT TITLE

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938."

[¶ 502] CONGRESSIONAL FINDING AND DECLARATION OF POLICY

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress hereby finds that the existence, in industries engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, of labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for health, efficiency, and general well-being of workers (1) causes commerce and the channels and instrumentalities of commerce to be used to spread and perpetuate such labor conditions among the workers of the several States; (2) burdens commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; (3) constitutes an unfair method of competition in commerce; (4) leads to labor disputes burdening and obstructing commerce and the free flow of goods in commerce; and (5) interferes with the orderly and fair marketing of goods in commerce.

[¶ 503] [Declaration of Policy]

(b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act, through the exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce among the several States and with foreign nations, to correct and as rapidly as practicable to eliminate the conditions above referred to in such industries without substantially curtailing employment or earning power.

[¶ 510] DEFINITIONS

Sec. 3. As used in this Act—

[¶ 511] [Person]

(a) "Person" means an individual, partnership, association, corporation, business trust, legal representative, or any organized group of persons.

[¶ 512] [Commerce]

(b) "Commerce" means trade, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or between any State and any place outside thereof.

[¶ 513] [State]

(c) "State" means any State of the United States or the District of Columbia or any Territory or possession of the United States.

[¶ 514] [Employer]

(d) "Employer" includes any person acting directly or indirectly in the interest of an employer in relation to an employee but shall not include the United States or any State or political subdivision of a State (*except with respect to employees of a State, or a political subdivision thereof, employed (1) in a hospital,*

institution, or school referred to in the last sentence of subsection (r) of this section, or (2) in the operation of a railway or carrier referred to in such sentence), or any labor organization (other than when acting as an employer), or anyone acting in the capacity of officer or agent of such labor organization.

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(d), the italicized material was added by Sec. 102(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 515] **[Employee]**

(e) "Employee" includes any individual employed by an employer, except that such term shall not, for the purposes of section 3(u) include—

(1) any individual employed by an employer engaged in agriculture if such individual is the parent, spouse, child, or other member of the employer's immediate family, or

(2) any individual who is employed by an employer engaged in agriculture if such individual (A) is employed as a hand harvest laborer and is paid on a piece rate basis in an operation which has been, and is customarily and generally recognized as having been, paid on a piece rate basis in the region of employment, (B) commutes daily from his permanent residence to the farm on which he is so employed, and (C) has been employed in agriculture less than thirteen weeks during the preceding calendar year.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(e) was amended by Sec. 103(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read "(e) 'Employee' includes any individual employed by an employer."

[¶ 516] **[Agriculture]**

(f) "Agriculture" includes farming in all its branches and among other things includes the cultivation and tillage of the soil, dairying, the production, cultivation, growing, and harvesting of any agricultural or horticultural commodities (including commodities defined as agricultural commodities in section 15(g) of the Agricultural Marketing Act, as amended), the raising of livestock, bees, fur-bearing animals, or poultry, and any practices (including any forestry or lumbering operations) performed by a farmer or on a farm as an incident to or in conjunction with such farming operations, including preparation for market, delivery to storage or to market or to carriers for transportation to market.

[¶ 517] **[Employ]**

(g) "Employ" includes to suffer or permit to work.

[¶ 518] **[Industry]**

(h) "Industry" means a trade, business, industry, or branch thereof, or group of industries, in which individuals are gainfully employed.

[¶ 519] **[Goods]**

(i) "Goods" means goods (including ships and marine equipment), wares, products, commodities, merchandise, or articles or subjects of commerce of any character, or any part or ingredient thereof, but does not include goods after their delivery into the actual physical possession of the ultimate consumer thereof other than a producer, manufacturer, or processor thereof.

[¶ 520] **[Produced]**

(j) "Produced" means produced, manufactured, mined, handled, or in any other manner worked on in any State; and for the purposes of this Act an employee shall be deemed to have been engaged in the production of goods if such

employee was employed in producing, manufacturing, mining, handling, transporting, or in any other manner working on such goods, or in any closely related process or occupation directly essential to the production thereof, in any State.

[¶ 521] [Sale—Sell]

(k) "Sale" or "sell" includes any sale, exchange, contract to sell, consignment for sale, shipment for sale, or other disposition.

[¶ 522] [Oppressive Child Labor]

(l) "Oppressive child labor" means a condition of employment under which (1) any employee under the age of sixteen years is employed by an employer (other than a parent or a person standing in place of a parent employing his own child or a child in his custody under the age of sixteen years in an occupation other than manufacturing or mining or an occupation found by the Secretary of Labor to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years or detrimental to their health or well-being) in any occupation, or (2) any employee between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years is employed by an employer in any occupation which the Secretary of Labor shall find and by order declare to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children between such ages or detrimental to their health or well-being; but oppressive child labor shall not be deemed to exist by virtue of the employment in any occupation of any person with respect to whom the employer shall have on file an unexpired certificate issued and held pursuant to regulations of the Secretary of Labor certifying that such person is above the oppressive child-labor age. The Secretary of Labor shall provide by regulation or by order that the employment of employees between the ages of fourteen and sixteen years in occupations other than manufacturing and mining shall not be deemed to constitute oppressive child labor if and to the extent that the Secretary of Labor determines that such employment is confined to periods which will not interfere with their schooling and to conditions which will not interfere with their health and well-being.

[¶ 523] [Wage]

(m) "Wage" paid to any employee includes the reasonable cost, as determined by the Secretary of Labor, to the employer of furnishing such employee with board, lodging, or other facilities, if such board, lodging, or other facilities are customarily furnished by such employer to his employees: *Provided,* That the cost of board, lodging, or other facilities shall not be included as a part of the wage paid to any employee to the extent it is excluded therefrom under the terms of a bona fide collective-bargaining agreement applicable to the particular employee: *Provided further,* That the Secretary is authorized to determine the fair value of such board, lodging, or other facilities for defined classes of employees and in defined areas, based on average cost to the employer or to groups of employers similarly situated, or average value to groups of employees, or other appropriate measures of fair value. Such evaluations, where applicable and pertinent, shall be used in lieu of actual measure of cost in determining the wage paid to any employee. *In determining the wage of a tipped employee, the amount paid such employee by his employer shall be deemed to be increased on account of tips by an amount determined by the employer, but not by an amount in excess of 50 per centum of the applicable minimum wage rate, except that in the case of an employee who (either himself or acting through his representative) shows to the satisfaction of the Secretary that the actual amount of tips received by him was less than the amount determined by the employer as the amount by which the wage paid him was deemed to be increased under this sentence, the amount paid such employee by his employer shall be deemed to have been increased by such lesser amount.*

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(m), the last sentence, which appears in italics, was added by Sec. 101(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 524] [Resale]

(n) "Resale" shall not include the sale of goods to be used in residential or farm building construction, repair, or maintenance: *Provided,* That the sale is recognized as a bona fide retail sale in the industry.

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(n), after the first word the phrase "except as used in subsection (s)(1)" was stricken by Sec. 215(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 525] [Hours Worked]

(o) Hours Worked.—In determining for the purposes of sections 6 and 7 the hours for which an employee is employed, there shall be excluded any time spent in changing clothes or washing at the beginning or end of each workday which was excluded from measured working time during the week involved by the express terms of or by custom or practice under a bona fide collective-bargaining agreement applicable to the particular employer.

[¶ 526] [American Vessel]

(p) "American vessel" includes any vessel which is documented or numbered under the laws of the United States.

[¶ 527] [Secretary]

(q) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Labor.

[¶ 528] [Enterprise]

(r) "Enterprise" means the related activities performed (either through unified operation or common control) by any person or persons for a common business purpose, and includes all such activities whether performed in one or more establishments or by one or more corporate or other organizational units including departments of an establishment operated through leasing arrangements, but shall not include the related activities performed for such enterprise by an independent contractor: *Provided,* That, within the meaning of this subsection, a retail or service establishment which is under independent ownership shall not be deemed to be so operated or controlled as to be other than a separate and distinct enterprise by reason of any arrangement, which includes, but is not necessarily limited to, an agreement, (1) that it will sell, or sell only, certain goods specified by a particular manufacturer, distributor, or advertiser, or (2) that it will join with other such establishments in the same industry for the purpose of collective purchasing, or (3) that it will have the exclusive right to sell the goods or use the brand name of a manufacturer, distributor, or advertiser within a specified area, or by reason of the fact that it occupies premises leased to it by a person who also leases premises to other retail or service establishments. *For purposes of this subsection, the activities performed by any person or persons—*

(1) in connection with the operation of a hospital, an institution primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective who reside on the premises of such institution, a school for mentally or physically handicapped or gifted children, an elementary or secondary school, or an institution of higher education (regardless of whether or not such hospital, institution, or school is public or private or operated for profit or not for profit), or

(2) in connection with the operation of a street, suburban or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier, if the rates and services of such railway or carrier are subject to regulation by a State or local agency (regardless of whether or not such railway or carrier is public or private or operated for profit or not for profit),

shall be deemed to be activities performed for a business purpose.

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 3(r), the italicized material at the end was added by Sec. 102(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 529] [Enterprise Engaged in Commerce or in the Production of Goods for Commerce]

(s) "Enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce" means an enterprise which has employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, including employees handling, selling, or otherwise working on goods that have been moved in or produced for commerce by any person, and which—

(1) during the period February 1, 1967, through January 31, 1969, is an enterprise whose annual gross volume of sales made or business done is not less than $500,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated) or is a gasoline service establishment whose annual gross volume of sales is not less than $250,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated), and beginning February 1, 1969, is an enterprise whose annual gross volume of sales made or business done is not less than $250,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated);

(2) is engaged in laundering, cleaning, or repairing clothing or fabrics;

(3) is engaged in the business of construction or reconstruction, or both; or

(4) is engaged in the operation of a hospital, an institution primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective who reside on the premises of such institution, a school for mentally or physically handicapped or gifted children, an elementary or secondary school, or an institution of higher education (regardless of whether or not such hospital, institution, or school is public or private or operated for profit or not for profit).

Any establishment which has as its only regular employees the owner thereof or the parent, spouse, child, or other member of the immediate family of such owner shall not be considered to be an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or a part of such an enterprise, and the sales of such establishment shall not be included for the purpose of determining the annual gross volume of sales of any enterprise for the purpose of this subsection.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(s) was amended by Sec. 102(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(s) 'Enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce' means any of the following in the activities of which employees are so engaged, including employees handling, selling, or otherwise working on goods that have been moved in or produced for commerce by any person:

"(1) any such enterprise which has one or more retail or service establishments if the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not less than $1,000,000, exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated and if such enterprise purchases or receives goods for resale that move or have moved across State lines (not in deliveries from the reselling establishment) which amount in total annual volume to $250,000 or more;

"(2) any such enterprise which is engaged in the business of operating a street, suburban or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier if the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not less than $1,000,000, exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated;

"(3) any establishment of any such enterprise, except establishments and enterprises referred to in other paragraphs of this subsection, which has employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce if the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not less than $1,000,000;

"(4) any such enterprise which is engaged in the business of construction or reconstruction, or both, if the annual gross volume from the business of such enterprise is not less than $350,000;

"(5) any gasoline service establishment if the annual gross volume of sales of such establishment is not less than $250,000, exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated:

Provided, That an establishment shall not be considered to be an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or a part of an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and the sales of such establishment shall not be included for the purpose of determining the annual gross volume of sales of any enterprise for the purpose of this subsection, if the only employees of such establishment are the owner thereof or persons standing in the relationship of parent, spouse, or child of such owner."

[¶ 530] [Tipped Employee]

(t) "Tipped employee" means any employee engaged in an occupation in which he customarily and regularly receives more than $20 a month in tips.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(t) was added by Sec. 101(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 531] [Man-Day]

(u) "Man-day" means any day during which an employee performs any agricultural labor for not less than one hour.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(u) was added by Sec. 103(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 532] [Elementary School]

(v) "Elementary school" means a day or residential school which provides elementary education, as determined under State law.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(v) was added by Sec. 102(d) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 533] [Secondary School]

(w) "Secondary school" means a day or residential school which provides secondary education, as determined under State law.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 3(w) was added by Sec. 102(d) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 540] ADMINISTRATOR

[¶ 541] [Appointment]

Sec. 4. (a) There is hereby created in the Department of Labor a Wage and Hour Division which shall be under the direction of an Administrator, to be known as the Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division (in this Act referred to as the "Administrator"). The Administrator shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and shall receive compensation at the rate of $20,000 a year.

[¶ 542] [Administrative Assistants]

(b) The Secretary of Labor may, subject to the civil-service laws, appoint such employees as he deems necessary to carry out his functions and duties under this Act and shall fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. The Secretary may establish and utilize such regional, local, or other agencies, and utilize such voluntary and uncompensated services, as may from time to time be needed. Attorneys appointed under this section may appear for and represent the Secretary in any litigation, but all such litigation shall be subject to the direction and control of the Attorney General. In the appointment, selection, classification, and promotion of officers and employees of the Secretary, no political test or qualification shall be permitted or given consideration, but all such appointments and promotions shall be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency.

[¶ 543] [Principal Office]

(c) The principal office of the Secretary shall be in the District of Columbia, but he or his duly authorized representative may exercise any or all of his powers in any place.

[¶ 544] [Annual Report]

(d) The Secretary shall submit annually in January a report to the Congress covering his activities for the preceding year and including such infor-

mation, data, and recommendations for further legislation in connection with the matters covered by this Act as he may find advisable. Such report shall contain an evaluation and appraisal by the Secretary of the minimum wages established by this Act, together with his recommendations to the Congress. In making such evaluation and appraisal, the Secretary shall take into consideration any changes which may have occurred in the cost of living and in productivity and the level of wages in manufacturing, the ability of employers to absorb wage increases, and such other factors as he may deem pertinent.

[¶ 545] [Investigation of Effects on Employment of Foreign Competition]

(e) Whenever the Secretary has reason to believe that in any industry under this Act the competition of foreign producers in United States markets or in markets abroad, or both, has resulted, or is likely to result, in increased unemployment in the United States, he shall undertake an investigation to gain full information with respect to the matter. If he determines such increased unemployment has in fact resulted, or is in fact likely to result, from such competition, he shall make a full and complete report of his findings and determinations to the President and to the Congress: *Provided,* That he may also include in such report information on the increased employment resulting from additional exports in any industry under this Act as he may determine to be pertinent to such report.

[¶ 550] SPECIAL INDUSTRY COMMITTEES FOR PUERTO RICO AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS [AND AMERICAN SAMOA*]

[¶ 551] [Recommendation of Subminimum Rates]

Sec. 5. (a) The Secretary of Labor shall as soon as practicable appoint a special industry committee to recommend the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid under section 6 to employees in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, or in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or employed in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or the Secretary may appoint separate industry committees to recommend the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid under section 6 to employees therein engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or employed in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, in particular industries. An industry committee appointed under this subsection shall be composed of residents of such island or islands where the employees with respect to whom such committee was appointed are employed and residents of the United States outside of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. In determining the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid, and in determining classifications, such industry committees shall be subject to the provisions of section 8.

[¶ 552] [Appointment—Membership]

(b) An industry committee shall be appointed by the Secretary without regard to any other provisions of law regarding the appointment and compensation of employees of the United States. It shall include a number of disinterested persons representing the public, one of whom the Secretary shall designate as chairman, a like number of persons representing employees in the industry, and a like number representing employers in the industry. In the appointment of the persons representing each group, the Secretary shall give due regard to the geographical regions in which the industry is carried on.

* Section 5 also relates to American Samoa by reason of Section 6(a)(3) (¶ 563).

[¶ 553] [Quorum—Compensation]

(c) Two-thirds of the members of an industry committee shall constitute a quorum, and the decision of the committee shall require a vote of not less than a majority of all its members. Members of an industry committee shall receive as compensation for their services a reasonable per diem, which the Secretary shall by rules and regulations prescribe, for each day actually spent in the work of the committee, and shall in addition be reimbursed for their necessary traveling and other expenses. The Secretary shall furnish the committee with adequate legal, stenographic, clerical, and other assistance, and shall by rules and regulations prescribe the procedure to be followed by the committee.

[¶ 554] [Submission of Data—Witnesses]

(d) The Secretary shall submit to an industry committee from time to time such data as he may have available on the matters referred to it, and shall cause to be brought before it in connection with such matters any witnesses whom he deems material. An industry committee may summon other witnesses or call upon the Secretary to furnish additional information to aid in its deliberations.

[¶ 560] MINIMUM WAGES

[¶ 561] [Presently Covered Employees]

Sec. 6. *(a) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, wages at the following rates:*

(1) not less than $1.40 an hour during the first year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 and not less than $1.60 an hour thereafter, except as otherwise provided in this section;

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 6(a)(1) was amended by Sec. 301(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(a) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce wages at the following rates—

"(1) not less than $1.15 an hour during the first two years from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, and not less than $1.25 an hour thereafter, except as otherwise provided in this section."

[¶ 562] [Homeworkers in Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands]

(2) if such employee is a homeworker in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, not less than the minimum piece rate prescribed by regulation or order; or, if no such minimum piece rate is in effect, any piece rate adopted by such employer which shall yield, to the proportion or class of employees prescribed by regulation or order, not less than the applicable minimum hourly wage rate. Such minimum piece rates or employer piece rates shall be commensurate with, and shall be paid in lieu of, the minimum hourly wage rate applicable under the provisions of this section. The Secretary of Labor, or his authorized representative, shall have power to make such regulations or orders as are necessary or appropriate to carry out any of the provisions of this paragraph, including the power without limiting the generality of the foregoing, to define any operation or occupation which is performed by such home work employees in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands; to establish minimum piece rates for any operation or occupation so defined; to prescribe the method and procedure for ascertaining and promulgating minimum piece rates; to prescribe standards for employer piece rates, including the proportion or class of employees who shall receive not less than the minimum hourly wage rate; to define the term "home worker"; and to pre-

scribe the conditions under which employers, agents, contractors, and subcontractors shall cause goods to be produced by home workers;

[¶ 563] **[Workers in American Samoa]**

(3) if such employee is employed in American Samoa, in lieu of the rate or rates provided by this subsection or subsection (b), not less than the applicable rate established by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with recommendations of a special industry committee or committees which he shall appoint in the same manner and pursuant to the same provisions as are applicable to the special industry committees provided for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands by this Act as amended from time to time;

[¶ 564] **[Seamen on American Vessels]**

(4) if such employee is employed as a seaman on an American vessel, not less than the rate which will provide to the employee, for the period covered by the wage payment, wages equal to compensation at the hourly rate prescribed by paragraph (1) of this subsection for all hours during such period when he was actually on duty (including periods aboard ship when the employee was on watch or was, at the direction of a superior officer, performing work or standing by, but not including off-duty periods which are provided pursuant to the employment agreement); or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 6(a)(4) was added by Sec. 301(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Similar wording previously appeared in Sec. 6(b)(2).

[¶ 565] **[Agricultural Employees]**

(5) if such employee is employed in agriculture, not less than $1 an hour during the first year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, not less than $1.15 an hour during the second year from such date, and not less than $1.30 an hour thereafter.

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 6(a)(5) was added by Sec. 302 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 570] **[Newly Covered Employees]**

(b) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees (other than an employee to whom subsection (a)(5) applies) who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and who in such workweek is brought within the purview of this section by the amendments made to this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, wages at the following rates:

(1) not less than $1 an hour during the first year from the effective date of such amendments,

(2) not less than $1.15 an hour during the second year from such date,

(3) not less than $1.30 an hour during the third year from such date,

(4) not less than $1.45 an hour during the fourth year from such date, and

(5) not less than $1.60 an hour thereafter.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 6(b) was amended by Sec. 303 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(b) Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who in any workweek (i) is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, as defined in section 3(s)(1), (2), or (4) or by an establishment described in section 3(s)(3) or (5), and who, except for the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, would not be within the purview of this section, or (ii) is brought within the purview of this section by the amendments made to section 13(a) of this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, wages at rates—

"(1) not less than $1 an hour during the first three years from the effective date of

such amendments; not less than $1.15 an hour during the fourth year from such date; and not less than the rate effective under paragraph (1) of subsection (a) thereafter;

"(2) if such employee is employed as a seaman on an American vessel, not less than the rate which will provide to the employee, for the period covered by the wage payment, wages equal to compensation at the hourly rate prescribed by paragraph (1) of this subsection for all hours during such period when he was actually on duty (including periods aboard ship when the employee was on watch or was, at the direction of a superior officer, performing work or standing by, but not including off-duty periods which are provided pursuant to the employment agreement)."

[¶ 571] [Other Workers in Puerto Rico and Virgin Islands]

(c)(1) The rate or rates provided by subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall be superseded in the case of any employee in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands only for so long as and insofar as such employee is covered by a wage order heretofore or hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed pursuant to section 5.

(2) In the case of any such employee who is covered by such a wage order and to whom the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (a) would otherwise apply, the following rates shall apply:

(A) The rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, increased by 12 per centum, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C). Such rate or rates shall become effective sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 or one year from the effective date of the most recent wage order applicable to such employee theretofore issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed under section 5, whichever is later.

(B) Beginning one year after the applicable effective date under paragraph (A), not less than the rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A), increased by an amount equal to 16 per centum of the rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C).

(C) Any employer, or group of employers, employing a majority of the employees in an industry in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, may apply to the Secretary in writing for the appointment of a review committee to recommend the minimum rate or rates to be paid such employees in lieu of the rate or rates provided by paragraph (A) or (B). Any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) shall be filed within sixty days following the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 and any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (B) shall be filed not more than one hundred and twenty days and not less than sixty days prior to the effective date of the applicable rate or rates under paragraph (B). The Secretary shall promptly consider such application and may appoint a review committee if he has reasonable cause to believe, on the basis of financial and other information contained in the application, that compliance with any applicable rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A) or (B) will substantially curtail employment in such industry. The Secretary's decision upon any such application shall be final. Any wage order issued pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under this paragraph shall take effect on the applicable effective date provided in paragraph (A) or (B).

(D) In the event a wage order has not been issued pursuant to the recommendation of a review committee prior to the applicable effective date under

paragraph (A) or (B), the applicable percentage increase provided by any such paragraph shall take effect on the effective date prescribed therein, except with respect to the employees of an employer who filed an application under paragraph (C) and who files with the Secretary an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the Secretary for payment to his employees of an amount sufficient to compensate such employees for the difference between the wages they actually receive and the wages to which they are entitled under this subsection. The Secretary shall be empowered to enforce such undertaking and any sums recovered by him shall be held in a special deposit account and shall be paid, on order of the Secretary, directly to the employee or employees affected. Any such sum not paid to an employee because of inability to do so within a period of three years shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

(3) In the case of any such employee to whom subsection (a)(5) or subsection (b) would otherwise apply, the Secretary shall within sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966 appoint a special industry committee in accordance with section 5 to recommend the highest minimum wage rate or rates in accordance with the standards prescribed by section 8, but not in excess of the applicable rate provided by subsection (a)(5) or subsection (b), to be applicable to such employee in lieu of the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (a)(5) or subsection (b), as the case may be. The rate or rates recommended by the special industry committee shall be effective with respect to such employee upon the effective date of the wage order issued pursuant to such recommendation but not before sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966.

(4) The provisions of section 5 and section 8, relating to special industry committees, shall be applicable to review committees appointed under this subsection. The appointment of a review committee shall be in addition to and not in lieu of any special industry committee required to be appointed pursuant to the provisions of subsection (a) of section 8, except that no special industry committee shall hold any hearing within one year after a minimum wage rate or rates for such industry shall have been recommended to the Secretary by a review committee to be paid in lieu of the rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) or (B). The minimum wage rate or rates prescribed by this subsection shall be in effect only for so long as and insofar as such minimum wage rate or rates have not been superseded by a wage order fixing a higher minimum wage rate or rates (but not in excess of the applicable rate prescribed in subsection (a) or subsection (b)) hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendation of a special industry committee.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 6(c) was amended by Sec. 304 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(c) The rate or rates provided by subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall be superseded in the case of any employee in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands only for so long as and insofar as such employee is covered by a wage order heretofore or hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed pursuant to section 5: *Provided,* That (1) the following rates shall apply to any such employee to whom the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (a) would otherwise apply:

"(A) The rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, increased by 15 per centum, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C). Such rate or rates shall become effective sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 or one year from the effective date of the most recent wage order applicable to such employee theretofore issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendations of a special industry committee appointed under section 5, whichever is later.

"(B) Beginning two years after the applicable effective date under paragraph (A), not less than the rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A), increased by an amount equal to 10 per centum of the rate or rates applicable under the most recent wage order issued by the Secretary prior to the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, unless such rate or rates are superseded by the rate or rates prescribed in a wage order issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recom-

mendations of a review committee appointed under paragraph (C).

"(C) Any employer, or group of employers, employing a majority of the employees in an industry in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, may apply to the Secretary in writing for the appointment of a review committee to recommend the minimum rate or rates to be paid such employees in lieu of the rate or rates provided by paragraph (A) or (B). Any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) shall be filed within sixty days following the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 and any such application with respect to any rate or rates provided for under paragraph (B) shall be filed not more than one hundred and twenty days and not less than sixty days prior to the effective date of the applicable rate or rates under paragraph (B). The Secretary shall promptly consider such application and may appoint a review committee if he has reasonable cause to believe, on the basis of financial and other information contained in the application, that compliance with any applicable rate or rates prescribed by paragraph (A) or (B) will substantially curtail employment in such industry. The Secretary's decision upon any such application shall be final. Any wage order issued pursuant to the recommendations of a review committee appointed under this paragraph shall take effect on the applicable effective date provided in paragraph (A) or (B).

"(D) In the event a wage order has not been issued pursuant to the recommendation of a review committee prior to the applicable effective date under paragraph (A) or (B), the applicable percentage increase provided by any such paragraph shall take effect on the effective date prescribed therein, except with respect to the employees of an employer who filed an application under paragraph (C) and who files with the Secretary an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the Secretary for payment to his employees of an amount sufficient to compensate such employees for the difference between the wages they actually receive and the wages to which they are entitled under this subsection. The Secretary shall be empowered to enforce such undertaking and any sums recovered by him shall be held in a special deposit account and shall be paid, on order of the Secretary, directly to the employee or employees affected. Any such sum not paid to an employee because of inability to do so within a period of three years shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts.

"(2) In the case of any such employee to whom subsection (b) would otherwise apply, the Secretary shall within sixty days after the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961 appoint a special industry committee in accordance with section 5 to recommend the highest minimum wage rate or rates in accordance with the standards prescribed by section 8, not in excess of the applicable rate provided by subsection (b), to be applicable to such employee in lieu of the rate or rates prescribed by subsection (b). The rate or rates recommended by the special industry committee shall be effective with respect to such employee upon the effective date of the wage order issued pursuant to such recommendation but not before sixty days after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961.

"(3) The provisions of section 5 and section 8, relating to special industry committees, shall be applicable to review committees appointed under this subsection. The appointment of a review committee shall be in addition to and not in lieu of any special industry committee required to be appointed pursuant to the provisions of subsection (a) of section 8, except that no special industry committee shall hold any hearing within one year after a minimum wage rate or rates for such industry shall have been recommended to the Secretary by a review committee to be paid in lieu of the rate or rates provided for under paragraph (A) or (B). The minimum wage rate or rates prescribed by this subsection shall be in effect only for so long as and insofar as such minimum wage rate or rates have not been superseded by a wage order fixing a higher minimum wage rate or rates (but not in excess of the applicable rate prescribed in subsection (a) or subsection (b)) hereafter issued by the Secretary pursuant to the recommendation of a special industry committee."

[¶ 572] [Equal Pay for Equal Work]

(d)(1) No employer having employees subject to any provisions of this section shall discriminate, within any establishment in which such employees are employed, between employees on the basis of sex by paying wages to employees in such establishment at a rate less than the rate at which he pays wages to employees of the opposite sex in such establishment for equal work on jobs the performance of which requires equal skill, effort, and responsibility, and which are performed under similar working conditions, except where such payment is made pursuant to (i) a seniority system; (ii) a merit system; (iii) a system which measures earnings by quantity or quality of production; or (iv) a differential based on any other factor other than sex: *Provided,* That an employer who is paying a wage rate differential in violation of this subsection shall not, in order to comply with the provisions of this subsection, reduce the wage rate of any employee.

(2) No labor organization, or its agents, representing employees of an employer having employees subject to any provisions of this section shall cause or attempt to cause such an employer to discriminate against an employee in violation of paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(3) For purposes of administration and enforcement, any amounts owing to any employee which have been withheld in violation of this subsection shall be deemed to be unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation under this Act.

(4) As used in this subsection, the term "labor organization" means any organization of any kind, or any agency or employee representation committee or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

[¶ 573] [Contract Services to Federal Government]

(e)(1) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 13 of this Act (except subsections (a)(1) and (f) thereof), every employer providing any contract services (other than linen supply services) under a contract with the United States or any subcontract thereunder shall pay to each of his employees whose rate of pay is not governed by the Service Contract Act of 1965 (41 U. S. C. 351-357) or to whom subsection (a)(1) of this section is not applicable, wages at rates not less than the rates provided for in subsection (b) of this section.

(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 13 of this Act (except subsections (a)(1) and (f) thereof) and the provisions of the Service Contract Act of 1965, every employer in an establishment providing linen supply services to the United States under a contract with the United States or any subcontract thereunder shall pay to each of his employees in such establishment wages at rates not less than those prescribed in subsection (b), except that if more than 50 per centum of the gross annual dollar volume of sales made or business done by such establishment is derived from providing such linen supply services under any such contracts or subcontracts, such employer shall pay to each of his employees in such establishment wages at rates not less than those prescribed in subsection (a)(1) of this section.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 6(e) was added by Sec. 305 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 580] MAXIMUM HOURS

[¶ 581] [Overtime Pay—Presently Covered Employees]

Sec. 7. *(a)(1) Except as otherwise provided in this section, no employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, for a workweek longer than forty hours unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.*

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(a)(1) was amended by Sec. 401 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(a)(1) Except as otherwise provided in this section, no employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce for a workweek longer than forty hours, unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed; and"

[¶ 582] [Overtime Pay—Newly Covered Employees]

(2) No employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, or is employed in

an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, and who in such workweek is brought within the purview of this subsection by the amendments made to this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966—

(A) for a workweek longer than forty-four hours during the first year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966,

(B) for a workweek longer than forty-two hours during the second year from such date, or

(C) for a workweek longer than forty hours after the expiration of the second year from such date,

unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(a)(2) was amended by Sec. 401 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(2) No employer shall employ any of his employees who in any workweek (i) is employed in an enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce, as defined in section 3(s)(1) or (4), or by an establishment described in section 3(s)(3), and who, except for the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961, would not be within the purview of this subsection, or (ii) is brought within the purview of this subsection by the amendments made to section 13 of this Act by the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961—

"(A) for a workweek longer than forty-four hours during the third year from the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1961,

"(B) for a workweek longer than forty-two hours during the fourth year from such date,

"(C) for a workweek longer than forty hours after the expiration of the fourth year from such date,

unless such employee receives compensation for his employment in excess of the hours above specified at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed."

[¶ 583] [Guaranteed Employment Exemptions]

(b) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee for a workweek in excess of that specified in such subsection without paying the compensation for overtime employment prescribed therein if such employee is so employed—

(1) in pursuance of an agreement, made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees certified as bona fide by the National Labor Relations Board, which provides that no employee shall be employed more than one thousand and forty hours during any period of twenty-six consecutive weeks; or

(2) in pursuance of an agreement, made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees certified as bona fide by the National Labor Relations Board, which provides that during a specified period of fifty-two consecutive weeks the employee shall be employed not more than two thousand two hundred and forty hours and shall be guaranteed not less than one thousand eight hundred and forty hours (or not less than forty-six weeks at the normal number of hours worked per week, but not less than thirty hours per week) and not more than two thousand and eighty hours of employment for which he shall receive compensation for all hours guaranteed or worked at rates not less than those applicable under the agreement to the work performed and for all hours in excess of the guaranty which are also in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a) or two thousand and eighty in such period at rates not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed; or

(3) by an independently owned and controlled local enterprise (including an enterprise with more than one bulk storage establishment) engaged in the wholesale or bulk distribution of petroleum products if—

(A) the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is less than $1,000,000 exclusive of excise taxes,

(B) more than 75 per centum of such enterprise's annual dollar volume of sales is made within the State in which such enterprise is located, and

(C) not more than 25 per centum of the annual dollar volume of sales of such enterprise is to customers who are engaged in the bulk distribution of such products for resale,

and such employee receives compensation for employment in excess of forty hours in any workweek at a rate not less than one and one-half times the minimum wage rate applicable to him under section 6,

and if such employee receives compensation for employment in excess of twelve hours in any workday, or for employment in excess of fifty-six hours in any workweek, as the case may be, at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(b)(3) was added by Sec. 212(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Similar wording previously appeared in Sec. 13(b)(10), which read:

"(10) any employee of an independently owned and controlled local enterprise (including an enterprise with more than one bulk storage establishment) engaged in the wholesale or bulk distribution of petroleum products if (A) the annual gross volume of sales of such enterprise is not more than $1,000,000 exclusive of excise taxes, and (B) not more than 75 per centum of such enterprise's annual dollar volume of sales is made within the State in which such enterprise is located, and (C) not more than 25 per centum of the annual dollar volume of sales of such enterprise is to customers who are engaged in the bulk distribution of such products for resale; or".

[¶ 584] [Seasonal Industry Exemption]

(c) For a period or periods of not more than ten workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year, or fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in the case of an employer who does not qualify for the exemption in subsection (d) of this section, any employer may employ any employee for a workweek in excess of that specified in subsection (a) without paying the compensation for overtime employment prescribed in such subsection if such employee (1) is employed by such employer in an industry found by the Secretary to be of a seasonal nature, and (2) receives compensation for employment by such employer in excess of ten hours in any workday, or for employment by such employer in excess of fifty hours in any workweek, as the case may be, at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(c) was added by Sec. 204(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 7(b)(3), which read:

"(3) for a period or periods of not more than fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year in any industry found by the Administrator to be of a seasonal nature."

[¶ 585] [Processing of Agricultural Products Exemption]

(d) For a period or periods of not more than ten workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year, or fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in the case of an employer who does not qualify for the exemption in subsection (c) of this section, any employer may employ any employee for a workweek in excess of that specified in subsection (a) without paying the compensation for overtime employment prescribed in such subsection, if such employee—

(1) is employed by such employer in an enterprise which is in an industry found by the Secretary—

(A) to be characterized by marked annually recurring seasonal peaks of operation at the places of first marketing or first processing of agricultural or horticultural commodities from farms if such industry is engaged in the handling, packing, preparing, storing, first processing, or canning of any perishable agricultural or horticultural commodities in their raw or natural state, or

(B) to be of a seasonal nature and engaged in the handling, packing, storing, preparing, first processing, or canning of any perishable agricultural or horticultural commodities in their raw or natural state, and

(2) receives compensation for employment by such employer in excess of ten hours in any workday, or for employment in excess of forty-eight hours in any

workweek, as the case may be, at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(d) was added by Sec. 204(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A processing-of-agricultural-products exemption formerly appeared as Sec. 7(c) and read as follows:

"(c) In the case of an employer engaged in the first processing of milk, buttermilk, whey, skimmed milk, of cream into dairy products, or in the ginning and compressing of cotton, or in the processing of cottonseed, or in the processing of sugar beets, sugar-beet molasses, sugar cane, or maple sap, into sugar (but not refined sugar) or into sirup, the provisions of subsection (a) shall not apply to his employees in any place of employment where he is so engaged; and in the case of an employer engaged in the first processing of, or in canning or packing, perishable or seasonal fresh fruits or vegetables, or in the first processing, within the area of production (as defined by the Administrator), of any agricultural or horticultural commodity during seasonal operations, or in handling, slaughtering, or dressing poultry or livestock, the provisions of subsection (a), during a period or periods of not more than fourteen workweeks in the aggregate in any calendar year, shall not apply to his employees in any place of employment where he is so engaged."

[¶ 586] [Payments Excluded from "Regular Rate"]

(e) As used in this section the "regular rate" at which an employee is employed shall be deemed to include all remuneration for employment paid to, or on behalf of, the employee, but shall not be deemed to include—

(1) sums paid as gifts; payments in the nature of gifts made at Christmas time or on other special occasions, as a reward for service, the amounts of which are not measured by or dependent on hours worked, production, or efficiency;

(2) payments made for occasional periods when no work is performed due to vacation, holiday, illness, failure of the employer to provide sufficient work, or other similar cause; reasonable payments for traveling expenses, or other expenses, incurred by an employee in the furtherance of his employer's interests and properly reimbursable by the employer; and other similar payments to an employee which are not made as compensation for his hours of employment;

(3) sums paid in recognition of services performed during a given period if either, (a) both the fact that payment is to be made and the amount of the payment are determined at the sole discretion of the employer at or near the end of the period and not pursuant to any prior contract, agreement, or promise causing the employee to expect such payments regularly; or (b) the payments are made pursuant to a bona fide profit-sharing plan or trust or bona fide thrift or savings plan, meeting the requirements of the Secretary of Labor set forth in appropriate regulations which he shall issue, having due regard among other relevant factors, to the extent to which the amounts paid to the employee are determined without regard to hours of work, production, or efficiency; or (c) the payments are talent fees (as such talent fees are defined and delimited by regulations of the Secretary) paid to performers, including announcers, on radio and television programs;

(4) contributions irrevocably made by an employer to a trustee or third person pursuant to a bona fide plan for providing old-age, retirement, life, accident, or health insurance or similar benefits for employees;

(5) extra compensation provided by a premium rate paid for certain hours worked by the employee in any day or workweek because such hours are hours worked in excess of eight in a day or in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a) or in excess of the employee's normal working hours or regular working hours, as the case may be;

(6) extra compensation provided by a premium rate paid for work by the employee on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, or regular days of rest, or on the sixth or seventh day of the workweek, where such premium rate is not

less than one and one-half times the rate established in good faith for like work performed in nonovertime hours on other days; or

(7) extra compensation provided by a premium rate paid to the employee, in pursuance of an applicable employment contract or collective-bargaining agreement, for work outside of the hours established in good faith by the contract or agreement as the basic, normal, or regular workday (not exceeding eight hours) or workweek (not exceeding the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a)), where such premium rate is not less than one and one-half times the rate established in good faith by the contract or agreement for like work performed during such workday or workweek.

[¶ 587] [Guaranteed Weekly Pay for Variable Hours]

(f) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee for a workweek in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under subsection (a) if such employee is employed pursuant to a bona fide individual contract, or pursuant to an agreement made as a result of collective bargaining by representatives of employees, if the duties of such employee necessitate irregular hours of work, and the contract or agreement (1) specifies a regular rate of pay of not less than the minimum hourly rate provided in subsection (a) or (b) of section 6 (whichever may be applicable) and compensation at not less than one and one-half times such rate for all hours worked in excess of such maximum workweek, and (2) provides a weekly guaranty of pay for not more than sixty hours based on the rates so specified.

[¶ 588] [Overtime Computed on Piece, Hourly or Basic Rates]

(g) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee for a workweek in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under such subsection if, pursuant to an agreement or understanding arrived at between the employer and the employee before performance of the work, the amount paid to the employee for the number of hours worked by him in such workweek in excess of the maximum workweek applicable to such employee under such subsection—

(1) in the case of an employee employed at piece rates, is computed at piece rates not less than one and one-half times the bona fide piece rates applicable to the same work when performed during nonovertime hours; or

(2) in the case of an employee performing two or more kinds of work for which different hourly or piece rates have been established, is computed at rates not less than one and one-half times such bona fide rates applicable to the same work when performed during nonovertime hours; or

(3) is computed at a rate not less than one and one-half times the rate established shall be authorized by regulation by the Secretary as being in computing overtime compensation thereunder: *Provided,* That the rate so established shall be authorized by regulation by the Secretary of Labor as being substantially equivalent to the average hourly earnings of the employee, exclusive of overtime premiums, in the particular work over a representative period of time;

and if (i) the employee's average hourly earnings for the workweek exclusive of payments described in paragraphs (1) through (7) of subsection (e) are not less than the minimum hourly rate required by applicable law, and (ii) extra overtime compensation is properly computed and paid on other forms of additional pay required to be included in computing the regular rate.

[¶ 589] [Credits Against Overtime Pay]

(h) Extra compensation paid as described in paragraphs (5), (6), and (7) of subsection (e) shall be creditable toward overtime compensation payable pursuant to this section.

[¶ 590] [Exemption for Retail and Service Establishments]

(i) No employer shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) by employing any employee of a retail or service establishment for a workweek in excess of the applicable workweek specified therein, if (1) the regular rate of pay of such employee is in excess of one and one-half times the minimum hourly rate applicable to him under section 6, and (2) more than half his compensation for a representative period (not less than one month) represents commissions on goods or services. *In determining the proportion of compensation representing commissions, all earnings resulting from the application of a bona fide commission rate shall be deemed commissions on goods or services without regard to whether the computed commissions exceed the draw or guarantee.*

1966 Amendment.—In Sec. 7(i) the last sentence was added by Sec. 402 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 591] [Hospital Employees]

(j) No employer engaged in the operation of a hospital shall be deemed to have violated subsection (a) if, pursuant to an agreement or understanding arrived at between the employer and the employee before performance of the work, a work period of fourteen consecutive days is accepted in lieu of the workweek of seven consecutive days for purposes of overtime computation and if, for his employment in excess of eight hours in any workday and in excess of eighty hours in such fourteen-day period, the employee receives compensation at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 7(j) was added by Sec. 403 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 600] WAGE ORDERS IN PUERTO RICO AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS [AND AMERICAN SAMOA*]

[¶ 601] [Convening of Industry Committee]

Sec. 8. (a) The policy of this Act with respect to industries or enterprises in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce is to reach as rapidly as is economically feasible without substantially curtailing employment the objective of a minimum wage prescribed in paragraph (1) of section 6(a) in each such industry. The Secretary shall from time to time convene an industry committee or committees, appointed pursuant to section 5, and any such industry committee shall from time to time recommend the minimum rate or rates of wages to be paid under section 6 by employers in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands, or in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce in any such industry or classification therein. Minimum rates of wages established in accordance with this section which are not equal to the minimum wage rate prescribed in paragraph (1) of section 6(a) shall be reviewed by such a committee once during each biennial period, beginning with the biennial period commencing July 1, 1958, except that the Secretary, in his discretion, may order an additional review during any such biennial period.

[¶ 602] [Investigation of Conditions in Industry]

(b) Upon the convening of any such industry committee, the Secretary shall refer to it the question of the minimum wage rate or rates to be fixed for such industry. The industry committee shall investigate conditions in the industry and the committee, or any authorized subcommittee thereof, shall after due notice hear such witnesses and receive such evidence as may be necessary

* Section 8 relates to American Samoa by reason of Section 6(a)(3) added in 1956. See ¶ 563.

or appropriate to enable the committee to perform its duties and functions under this Act. The committee shall recommend to the Secretary the highest minimum wage rates for the industry which it determines, having due regard to economic and competitive conditions, will not substantially curtail employment in the industry, and will not give any industry in Puerto Rico or in the Virgin Islands a competitive advantage over any industry in the United States outside of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

[¶ 603] [Recommendations by Industry Committee]

(c) The industry committee shall recommend such reasonable classifications within any industry as it determines to be necessary for the purpose of fixing for each classification within such industry the highest minimum wage rate (not in excess of that prescribed in paragraph (1) of section 6(a)) which (1) will not substantially curtail employment in such classification and (2) will not give a competitive advantage to any group in the industry, and shall recommend for each classification in the industry the highest minimum wage rate which the committee determines will not substantially curtail employment in such classification. In determining whether such classifications should be made in any industry, in making such classifications, and in determining the minimum wage rates for such classifications, no classifications shall be made, and no minimum wage rate shall be fixed, solely on a regional basis, but the industry committee shall consider among other relevant factors the following:

(1) competitive conditions as affected by transportation, living, and production costs;

(2) the wages established for work of like or comparable character by collective labor agreements negotiated between employers and employees by representatives of their own choosing; and

(3) the wages paid for work of like or comparable character by employers who voluntarily maintain minimum wage standards in the industry.

No classification shall be made under this section on the basis of age or sex.

[¶ 604] [Recommendations Effective After Publication]

(d) The industry committee shall file with the Secretary a report containing its findings of fact and recommendations with respect to the matters referred to it. Upon the filing of such report, the Secretary shall publish such recommendations in the Federal Register and shall provide by order that the recommendations contained in such report shall take effect upon the expiration of 15 days after the date of such publication.

[¶ 605] [Contents of Orders—Effective Date]

(e) Orders issued under this section shall define the industries and classifications therein to which they are to apply, and shall contain such terms and conditions as the Secretary finds necessary to carry out the purposes of such orders, to prevent the circumvention or evasion thereof, and to safeguard the minimum wage rates established therein.

[¶ 606] [Notice of Hearing—Publication]

(f) Due notice of any hearing provided for in this section shall be given by publication in the Federal Register and by such other means as the Secretary deems reasonably calculated to give general notice to interested persons.

[¶ 610] ATTENDANCE OF WITNESSES

Sec. 9. For the purpose of any hearing or investigation provided for in this Act, the provisions of sections 9 and 10 (relating to the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents) of the Federal Trade Commission Act of September 26, 1914, as amended (U. S. C., 1934 edition, title 15, secs. 49 and 50), are hereby made applicable to the jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the Secretary of Labor and the industry committees.

[¶ 620] **COURT REVIEW**

[¶ 621] **[Wage Orders for Puerto Rico, Virgin Islands and American Samoa]**

Sec. 10. (a) Any person aggrieved by an order of the Secretary issued under section 8 may obtain a review of such order in the United States Court of Appeals for any circuit wherein such person resides or has his principal place of business, or in the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, by filing in such court, within 60 days after the entry of such order a written petition praying that the order of the Secretary be modified or set aside in whole or in part. A copy of such petition shall forthwith be transmitted by the clerk of the court to the Secretary, and thereupon the Secretary shall file in the court the record of the industry committee upon which the order complained of was entered, as provided in section 2112 of title 28, United States Code. Upon the filing of such petition such court shall have exclusive jurisdiction to affirm, modify, or set aside such order in whole or in part, so far as it is applicable to the petitioner. The review by the court shall be limited to questions of law, and findings of fact by such industry committee when supported by substantial evidence shall be conclusive. No objection to the order of the Secretary shall be considered by the court unless such objection shall have been urged before such industry committee or unless there were reasonable grounds for failure so to do. If application is made to the court for leave to adduce additional evidence, and it is shown to the satisfaction of the court that such additional evidence may materially affect the result of the proceeding and that there were reasonable grounds for failure to adduce such evidence in the proceedings before such industry committee, the court may order such additional evidence to be taken before an industry committee and to be adduced upon the hearing in such manner and upon such terms and conditions as to the court may seem proper. Such industry committee may modify the initial findings by reason of the additional evidence so taken, and shall file with the court such modified or new findings which if supported by substantial evidence shall be conclusive, and shall also file its recommendation, if any, for the modification or setting aside of the original order. The judgment and decree of the court shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28 of the United States Code.

[¶ 622] **[Stay of Order by Filing Bond]**

(b) The commencement of proceedings under subsection (a) shall not, unless specifically ordered by the court, operate as a stay of the Secretary's order. The court shall not grant any stay of the order unless the person complaining of such order shall file in court an undertaking with a surety or sureties satisfactory to the court for the payment to the employees affected by the order, in the event such order is affirmed, of the amount by which the compensation such employees are entitled to receive under the order exceeds the compensation they actually receive while such stay is in effect.

[¶ 630] **INVESTIGATIONS, INSPECTIONS, RECORDS AND HOMEWORK REGULATIONS**

[¶ 631] **[Investigations and Inspections]**

Sec. 11. (a) The Secretary of Labor or his designated representatives may investigate and gather data regarding the wages, hours, and other conditions and practices of employment in any industry subject to this Act, and may enter and inspect such places and such records (and make such transcriptions thereof), question such employees, and investigate such facts, conditions, practices, or matters as he may deem necessary or appropriate to determine whether any person has violated any provision of this Act, or which may aid in the enforcement of the provisions of this Act. Except as provided in section 12 and in subsection (b) of this section, the Secretary shall utilize the bureaus and divisions of the Department of Labor for all the investigations and inspections

necessary under this section. Except as provided in section 12, the Secretary shall bring all actions under section 17 to restrain violations of this Act.

[¶ 632] [Utilization of State Agencies]

(b) With the consent and cooperation of State agencies charged with the administration of State labor laws, the Secretary of Labor may, for the purpose of carrying out his functions and duties under this Act, utilize the services of State and local agencies and their employees and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, may reimburse such State and local agencies and their employees for services rendered for such purposes.

[¶ 633] [Employer Record-Keeping Requirements]

(c) Every employer subject to any provision of this Act or of any order issued under this Act shall make, keep, and preserve such records of the persons employed by him and of the wages, hours, and other conditions and practices of employment maintained by him, and shall preserve such records for such periods of time, and shall make such reports therefrom to the Secretary as he shall prescribe by regulation or order as necessary or appropriate for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act or the regulations or orders thereunder.

[¶ 634] [Homework Regulations]

(d) The Secretary is authorized to make such regulations and orders regulating, restricting, or prohibiting industrial homework as are necessary or appropriate to prevent the circumvention or evasion of and to safeguard the minimum wage rate prescribed in this Act, and all existing regulations or orders of the Secretary relating to industrial homework are hereby continued in full force and effect.

[¶ 640] CHILD LABOR PROVISIONS

[¶ 641] ["Hot Goods" Ban—Innocent Purchasers]

Sec. 12. (a) No producer, manufacturer, or dealer shall ship or deliver for shipment in commerce any goods produced in an establishment situated in the United States in or about which within thirty days prior to the removal of such goods therefrom any oppressive child labor has been employed: *Provided,* That any such shipment or delivery for shipment of such goods by a purchaser who acquired them in good faith in reliance on written assurance from the producer, manufacturer, or dealer that the goods were produced in compliance with the requirements of this section, and who acquired such goods for value without notice of any such violation, shall not be deemed prohibited by this subsection: *And provided further,* That a prosecution and conviction of defendant for the shipment or delivery for shipment of any goods under the conditions herein prohibited shall be a bar to any further prosecution against the same defendant for shipments or deliveries for shipment of any such goods before the beginning of said prosecution.

[¶ 642] [Investigations—Actions]

(b) The Secretary of Labor, or any of his authorized representatives, shall make all investigations and inspections under section 11(a) with respect to the employment of minors, and, subject to the direction and control of the Attorney General, shall bring all actions under section 17 to enjoin any act or practice which is unlawful by reason of the existence of oppressive child labor, and shall administer all other provisions of this Act relating to oppressive child labor.

[¶ 643] [Direct Prohibition of Child Labor]

(c) No employer shall employ any oppressive child labor in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce or in any enterprise engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce.

[¶ 649] **EXEMPTIONS**

[¶ 650] **[Minimum-Wage, Equal-Pay and Overtime-Pay Exemptions]**

Sec. 13. (a) The provisions of sections 6 and 7 shall not apply with respect to—

[¶ 651] [Executive, Administrative, Professional Employees]

(1) any employee employed in a bona fide executive, administrative, or professional capacity *(including any employee employed in the capacity of academic administrative personnel or teacher in elementary or secondary schools)* or in the capacity of outside salesman (as such terms are defined and delimited from time to time by regulations of the Secretary, subject to the provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act, except that an employee of a retail or service establishment shall not be excluded from the definition of employee employed in a bona fide executive or administrative capacity because of the number of hours in his workweek which he devotes to activities not directly or closely related to the performance of executive or administrative activities, if less than 40 per centum of his hours worked in the workweek are devoted to such activities); or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 13(a)(1) was amended by Sec. 214 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 to add "(including any employee employed in the capacity of academic administrative personnel or teacher in elementary or secondary schools)".

[¶ 652] [Retail or Service Establishments]

(2) any employee employed by any retail or service establishment (except an establishment or employee engaged in laundering, cleaning, or repairing clothing or fabrics or an establishment engaged in the operation of a hospital, institution, or school described in section 3(s)(4)), if more than 50 per centum of such establishment's annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services is made within the State in which the establishment is located, and such establishment is not in an enterprise described in section 3(s) or such establishment has an annual dollar volume of sales which is less than $250,000 (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated). A "retail or service establishment" shall mean an establishment 75 per centum of whose annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services (or of both) is not for resale and is recognized as retail sales or services in the particular industry; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(2) was amended by Sec. 201(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment it read as follows:

"(2) any employee employed by any retail or service establishment, more than 50 per centum of which establishment's annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services is made within the State in which the establishment is located, if such establishment—

"(i) is not in an enterprise described in section 3(s), or

"(ii) is in such an enterprise and is a hotel, motel, restaurant, motion picture theater; or is an amusement or recreational establishment that operates on a seasonal basis, or

"(iii) is in such an enterprise and is a hospital, or an institution which is primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, the mentally ill or defective, residing on the premises of such institution, or a school for physically or mentally handicapped or gifted children, or

"(iv) is in such an enterprise and has an annual dollar volume of sales (exclusive of excise taxes at the retail level which are separately stated) which is less than $250,000.

"A 'retail or service establishment' shall mean an establishment 75 per centum of whose annual dollar volume of sales of goods or services (or of both) is not for resale and is recognized as retail sales or services in the particular industry; or"

[¶ 653] [Amusement or Recreational Establishment]

(3) any employee employed by an establishment which is an amusement or recreational establishment, if (A) it does not operate for more than seven months in any calendar year, or (B) during the preceding calendar year, its average receipts for any six months of such year were not more than 33⅓ per centum of its average receipts for the other six months of such year; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(3) was added by Sec. 201(b)(2) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 13(a)(2)(ii).

[¶ 654] [Manufacturing Retailers]

(4) any employee employed by an establishment which qualifies as an exempt retail establishment under clause (2) of this subsection and is recognized as a retail establishment in the particular industry notwithstanding that such establishment makes or processes at the retail establishment the goods that it sells: *Provided,* That more than 85 per centum of such establishment's annual dollar volume of sales of goods so made or processed is made within the State in which the establishment is located; or

[¶ 655] [Fishing and Seafood]

(5) any employee employed in the catching, taking, propagating, harvesting, cultivating, or farming of any kind of fish, shellfish, crustacea, sponges, seaweeds, or other aquatic forms of animal and vegetable life, or in the first processing, canning or packing such marine products at sea as an incident to, or in conjunction with, such fishing operations, including the going to and returning from work and loading and unloading when performed by any such employee; or

[¶ 656] [Agricultural Employees]

(6) any employee employed in agriculture (A) if such employee is employed by an employer who did not, during any calendar quarter during the preceding calendar year, use more than five hundred man-days of agricultural labor, (B) if such employee is the parent, spouse, child, or other member of his employer's immediate family, (C) if such employee (i) is employed as a hand harvest laborer and is paid on a piece rate basis in an operation which has been, and is customarily and generally recognized as having been, paid on a piece rate basis in the region of employment, (ii) commutes daily from his permanent residence to the farm on which he is so employed, and (iii) has been employed in agriculture less than thirteen weeks during the preceding calendar year, (D) if such employee (other than an employee described in clause (C) of this subsection) (i) is sixteen years of age or under and is employed as a hand harvest laborer, is paid on a piece rate basis in an operation which has been, and is customarily and generally recognized as having been, paid on a piece rate basis in the region of employment, (ii) is employed on the same farm as his parent or person standing in the place of his parent, and (iii) is paid at the same piece rate as employees over age sixteen are paid on the same farm, or (E) if such employee is principally engaged in the range production of livestock; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(6) was amended by Sec. 203(a) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment it read as follows:

(6) any employee employed in agriculture or in connection with the operation or maintenance of ditches, canals, reservoirs, or waterways, not owned or operated for profit, or operated on a share-crop basis, and which are used exclusively for supply and storing of water for agricultural purposes; or

[¶ 657] [Learners, Apprentices, Students, and Handicapped Workers]

(7) any employee to the extent that such employee is exempted by regulation, order, *or certificate* of the Secretary issued under section 14; or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 13(a)(7) was amended by Sec. 215(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by adding the words "or certificate".

[¶ 658] [Local Newspapers]

(8) any employee employed in connection with the publication of any weekly, semiweekly, or daily newspaper with a circulation of less than four thousand the major part of which circulation is within the county *where published* or counties contiguous thereto; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(8) was amended by Sec. 205 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by inserting "where published" in lieu of "where printed and published."

[¶ 659] [Motion Picture Theater Employees]

(9) any employee employed by an establishment which is a motion picture theater; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(9) was added by Sec. 207 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 13(a)(2)(ii).

[¶ 660] [Switchboard Operators]

(10) any switchboard operator employed by an independently owned public telephone company which has not more than seven hundred and fifty stations; or

[¶ 661] [Telegraph Message Service]

(11) any employee or proprietor in a retail or service establishment which qualifies as an exempt retail or service establishment under clause (2) of this subsection with respect to whom the provisions of sections 6 and 7 would not otherwise apply, engaged in handling telegraphic messages for the public under an agency or contract arrangement with a telegraph company where the telegraph message revenue of such agency does not exceed $500 a month; or

[¶ 662] [Seamen on Non-American Vessels]

(12) any employee employed as a seaman on a vessel other than an American vessel; or

[¶ 663] [Forestry and Logging Operations]

(13) any employee employed in planting or tending trees, cruising, surveying, or felling timber, or in preparing or transporting logs or other forestry products to the mill, processing plant, railroad, or other transportation terminal, if the number of employees employed by his employer in such forestry or lumbering operations does not exceed *eight;* or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(a)(13) was amended by Sec. 208 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by inserting "eight" in lieu of "twelve".

[¶ 664] [Shade-grown Tobacco]

(14) any agricultural employee employed in the growing and harvesting of shade-grown tobacco who is engaged in the processing (including, but not limited to, drying, curing, fermenting, bulking, rebulking, sorting, grading, aging, and baling) of such tobacco, prior to the stemming process, for use as cigar wrapper tobacco.

[¶ 680] [Overtime-Pay Exemptions]

(b) The provisions of section 7 shall not apply with respect to—

[¶ 681] [Motor Carriers]

(1) any employee with respect to whom the Secretary of Transportation has power to establish qualifications and maximum hours of service pursuant to the provisions of section 204 of the Motor Carrier Act, 1935; or

[¶ 682] [Railroads, Express Companies, Pipeline and Water Carriers]

(2) any employee of an employer subject to the provisions of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act; or

[¶ 683] [Air Carriers]

(3) any employee of a carrier by air subject to the provisions of title II of the Railway Labor Act; or

[¶ 684] [Seafood Processing]

(4) any employee employed in the canning, processing, marketing, freezing, curing, storing, packing for shipment, or distributing of any kind of fish, shellfish, or other aquatic forms of animal or vegetable life, or any byproduct thereof; or

[¶ 685] **[Buyers of Poultry and Dairy Products]**

(5) any individual employed as an outside buyer of poultry, eggs, cream, or milk, in their raw or natural state; or

[¶ 686] **[Seamen]**

(6) any employee employed as a seaman; or

[¶ 687] **[Local Transportation]**

(7) any driver, operator, or conductor employed by an employer engaged in the business of operating a street, suburban or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier, if the rates and services of such railway or carrier are subject to regulation by a State or local agency; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(7) was amended by Sec. 206(c) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(7) any employee of a street, suburban, or interurban electric railway, or local trolley or motorbus carrier; or"

[¶ 688] **[Hotel, Motel, Restaurant or Nursing Home]**

(8) any employee employed by an establishment which is a hotel, motel, or restaurant; or any employee who (A) is employed by an establishment which is an institution (other than a hospital) primarily engaged in the care of the sick, the aged, or the mentally ill or defective who reside on the premises, and (B) receives compensation for employment in excess of forty-eight hours in any workweek at a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(8) was added by Sec. 201(b)(1) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. A similar exemption previously appeared in Sec. 13(a)(2)(ii).

[¶ 689] **[Radio and Television Employees]**

(9) any employee employed as an announcer, news editor, or chief engineer by a radio or television station the major studio of which is located (A) in a city or town of one hundred thousand population or less, according to the latest available decennial census figures as compiled by the Bureau of the Census, except where such city or town is part of a standard metropolitan statistical area, as defined and designated by the Bureau of the Budget, which has a total population in excess of one hundred thousand, or (B) in a city or town of twenty-five thousand population or less, which is part of such an area but is at least 40 airline miles from the principal city in such area; or

[¶ 690] **[Automobile, Aircraft, and Farm Implement Sales]**

(10) any salesman, partsman, or mechanic primarily engaged in selling or servicing automobiles, trailers, trucks, farm implements, or aircraft if employed by a nonmanufacturing establishment primarily engaged in the business of selling such vehicles to ultimate purchasers; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(10), which is similar to the wording that formerly appeared in Sec. 13(a)(19), was added by Sec. 209(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 691] **[Local Truck Deliveries]**

(11) any employee employed as a driver or driver's helper making local deliveries, who is compensated for such employment on the basis of trip rates, or other delivery payment plan, if the Secretary shall find that such plan has the general purpose and effect of reducing hours worked by such employees to, or below, the maximum workweek applicable to them under section 7(a); or

[¶ 692] **[Agriculture—Irrigation Projects]**

(12) any employee employed in agriculture or in connection with the operation or maintenance of ditches, canals, reservoirs, or waterways, not owned or operated for profit, or operated on a sharecrop basis, and which are used exclusively for supply and storing of water for agricultural purposes; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(12), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(6), was added by Sec. 203(c)(B) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 693] **[Livestock Auction Operations]**

(13) any employee with respect to his employment in agriculture by a farmer, notwithstanding other employment of such employee in connection with livestock auction operations in which such farmer is engaged as an adjunct to the raising of livestock, either on his own account or in conjunction with other farmers, if such employee (A) is primarily employed during his workweek in agriculture by such farmer, and (B) is paid for his employment in connection with such livestock auction operations at a wage rate not less than that prescribed by section 6(a)(1); or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(13), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(16), was added by Sec. 203(c)(B) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 694] **[Country Elevator Employees]**

(14) any employee employed within the area of production (as defined by the Secretary) by an establishment commonly recognized as a country elevator, including such an establishment which sells products and services used in the operation of a farm, if no more than five employees are employed in the establishment in such operations; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(14), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(17), was added by Sec. 204(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 695] **[Cotton Ginning and Sugar Processing Employees]**

(15) any employee engaged in ginning of cotton for market, in any place of employment located in a county where cotton is grown in commercial quantities, or in the processing of sugar beets, sugar-beet molasses, sugarcane, or maple sap, into sugar (other than refined sugar) or syrup; or

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 13(b)(15) was added by Sec. 204(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Similar wording previously appeared in Secs. 7(c) and 13(a)(18).

[¶ 696] **[Fruit and Vegetable Transportation Employees]**

(16) any employee engaged (A) in the transportation and preparation for transportation of fruits or vegetables, whether or not performed by the farmer, from the farm to a place of first processing or first marketing within the same State, or (B) in transportation, whether or not performed by the farmer, between the farm and any point within the same State of persons employed or to be employed in the harvesting of fruits or vegetables; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(16), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(22), was added by Sec. 204(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 697] **[Taxicab Drivers]**

(17) any driver employed by an employer engaged in the business of operating taxicabs; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(17), which has wording similar to that contained in former Sec. 13(a)(12), was added by Sec. 206(b)(2) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 698] **[Food Service Employees]**

(18) any employee of a retail or service establishment who is employed primarily in connection with the preparation or offering of food or beverages for human consumption, either on the premises, or by such services as catering, banquet, box lunch, or curb or counter service, to the public, to employees, or to members or guests of members of clubs; or

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(18), which formerly appeared as Sec. 13(a)(20), was added by Sec. 210(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 699] **[Bowling Establishments]**

(19) any employee of a bowling establishment if such employee receives compensation for employment in excess of forty-eight hours in any workweek at

a rate not less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(b)(19) was added by Sec. 210(b) of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 710] [Child-Labor Exemptions]

(c)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), the provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply with respect to any employee employed in agriculture outside of school hours for the school district where such employee is living while he is so employed.

(2) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall apply to an employee below the age of sixteen employed in agriculture in an occupation that the Secretary of Labor finds and declares to be particularly hazardous for the employment of children below the age of sixteen, except where such employee is employed by his parent or by a person standing in the place of his parent on a farm owned or operated by such parent or person.

(3) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply to any child employed as an actor or performer in motion pictures or theatrical productions, or in radio or television productions.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(c) was amended to read as above by Sec. 203(d) of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment, it read as follows:

"(c) The provisions of section 12 relating to child labor shall not apply with respect to any employee employed in agriculture outside of school hours for the school district where such employee is living while he is so employed, or to any child employed as an actor or performer in motion pictures or theatrical productions, or in radio or television productions."

[¶ 711] [Newsboys and Wreath Production—Minimum Wage, Overtime Pay and Child-Labor Exemptions]

(d) The provisions of sections 6, 7, and 12 shall not apply with respect to any employee engaged in the delivery of newspaper to the consumer or to any homeworker engaged in the making of wreaths composed principally of natural holly, pine, cedar, or other evergreens (including the harvesting of the evergreens or other forest products used in making such wreaths).

[¶ 712] [Overtime-Pay Exemption for American Samoa]

(e) The provisions of section 7 shall not apply with respect to employees for whom the Secretary of Labor is authorized to establish minimum wage rates as provided in section 6(a)(3), except with respect to employees for whom such rates are in effect; and with respect to such employees the Secretary may make rules and regulations providing reasonable limitations and allowing reasonable variations, tolerances, and exemptions to and from any or all of the provisions of section 7 if he shall find, after a public hearing on the matter, and taking into account the factors set forth in section 6(a)(3), that economic conditions warrant such action.

[¶ 713] [Exemption for Certain Overseas Employment]

(f) The provisions of sections 6, 7, 11, and 12 shall not apply with respect to any employee whose services during the workweek are performed in a workplace within a foreign country or within territory under the jurisdiction of the United States other than the following: a State of the United States; the District of Columbia; Puerto Rico; the Virgin Islands; outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act (ch. 345, 67 Stat. 462); American Samoa; Guam; Wake Island; *Eniwetok Atoll; Kwajalein Atoll; Johnston Island;* and the Canal Zone.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 13(f) was amended by Sec. 213 of the FLS Amendments of 1966 by adding the words "Eniwetok Atoll; Kwajalein Atoll; Johnston Island."

[¶ 720] LEARNERS, APPRENTICES, STUDENTS, AND HANDICAPPED WORKERS

[¶ 721] Authority of Secretary of Labor

Sec. 14. *(a) The Secretary of Labor, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulations or by orders provide for the employment of learners, of apprentices, and of messengers employed primarily in delivering letters and messages, under special certificates issued pursuant to regulations of the Secretary, at such wages lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 and subject to such limitations as to time, number, proportion, and length of service as the Secretary shall prescribe.*

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(a) was amended to read as above by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966. Prior to amendment it read:

"The Secretary of Labor, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulations or by orders provide for (1) the employment of learners, of apprentices, of messengers employed primarily in delivering letters and messages and of full-time students outside of their school hours in any retail or service establishment: Provided, That such employment is not of the type ordinarily given to a full-time employee, under special certificates issued pursuant to regulations of the Secretary, at such wages lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 and subject to such limitations as to time, number, proportion, and length of service as the Secretary shall prescribe, and (2) the employment of individuals whose earning capacity is impaired by age or physical or mental deficiency or injury, under special certificates issued by the Secretary, at such wages lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 and for such period as shall be fixed in such certificates."

[¶ 722] [Students in Retail or Service Establishments]

(b) The Secretary, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulation or order provide for the employment of full-time students, regardless of age but in compliance with applicable child labor laws, on a part-time basis in retail or service establishments (not to exceed twenty hours in any workweek) or on a part-time or a full-time basis in such establishments during school vacations, under special certificates issued pursuant to regulations of the Secretary, at a wage rate not less than 85 per centum of the minimum wage applicable under section 6, except that the proportion of student hours of employment to total hours of employment of all employees in any establishment may not exceed (1) such proportion for the corresponding month of the twelve-month period preceding May 1, 1961, (2) in the case of a retail or service establishment whose employees (other than employees engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce) are covered by this Act for the first time on or after the effective date of the Fair Labor Standards Amendments of 1966, such proportion for the corresponding month of the twelve-month period immediately prior to such date, or (3) in the case of a retail or service establishment coming into existence after May 1, 1961, or a retail or service establishment for which records of student hours worked are not available, a proportion of student hours of employment to total hours of employment of all employees based on the practice during the twelve-month period preceding May 1, 1961, in (A) similar establishments of the same employer in the same general metropolitan area in which the new establishment is located, (B) similar establishments of the same employer in the same or nearby counties if the new establishment is not in a metropolitan area, or (C) other establishments of the same general character operating in the community or the nearest comparable community. Before the Secretary may issue a certificate under this subsection he must find that such employment will not create a substantial probability of reducing the full-time employment opportunities of persons other than those employed under this subsection.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(b) was added by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 723] [Students in Agriculture]

(c) The Secretary, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by certificate or order provide for the employment of full-time students, regardless of age but in compliance with applicable child labor laws, on a part-time basis in agriculture (not to exceed twenty hours in any workweek)

or on a part-time or a full-time basis in agriculture during school vacations, at a wage rate not less than 85 per centum of the minimum wage applicable under section 6. Before the Secretary may issue a certificate or order under this subsection he must find that such employment will not create a substantial probability of reducing the full-time employment opportunities of persons other than those employed under this subsection.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(c) was added by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 724] [Handicapped Workers]

(d)(1) Except as otherwise provided in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection, the Secretary of Labor, to the extent necessary in order to prevent curtailment of opportunities for employment, shall by regulation or order provide for the employment under special certificates of individuals (including individuals employed in agriculture) whose earning or productive capacity is impaired by age or physical or mental deficiency or injury, at wages which are lower than the minimum wage applicable under section 6 of this Act but not less than 50 per centum of such wage and which are commensurate with those paid nonhandicapped workers in industry in the vicinity for essentially the same type, quality, and quantity of work.

(2) The Secretary, pursuant to such regulations as he shall prescribe and upon certification of the State agency administering or supervising the administration of vocational rehabilitation services, may issue special certificates for the employment of—

(A) handicapped workers engaged in work which is incidental to training or evaluation programs, and

(B) multihandicapped individuals and other individuals whose earning capacity is so severely impaired that they are unable to engage in competitive employment,

at wages which are less than those required by this subsection and which are related to the worker's productivity.

(3)(A) The Secretary may by regulation or order provide for the employment of handicapped clients in work activities centers under special certificates at wages which are less than the minimums applicable under section 6 of this Act or prescribed by paragraph (1) of this subsection and which constitute equitable compensation for such clients in work activities centers.

(B) For purposes of this section, the term "work activities centers" shall mean centers planned and designed exclusively to provide therapeutic activities for handicapped clients whose physical or mental impairment is so severe as to make their productive capacity inconsequential.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 14(d) was added by Sec. 501 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 730] PROHIBITED ACTS; PRIMA FACIE EVIDENCE

[¶ 731] [Unlawful Activities]

Sec. 15. (a) After the expiration of one hundred and twenty days from the date of enactment of this [original] Act, it shall be unlawful for any person—

(1) to transport, offer for transportation, ship, deliver, or sell in commerce, or to ship, deliver, or sell with knowledge that shipment or delivery or sale thereof in commerce is intended, any goods in the production of which any employee was employed in violation of section 6 or section 7, or in violation of any regulation or order of the Secretary issued under section 14; except that no provision of this Act shall impose any liability upon any common carrier for the transportation in commerce in the regular course of its business of any goods not produced by such common carrier, and no provision of this Act shall excuse any common carrier from its

obligation to accept any goods for transportation; and except that any such transportation, offer, shipment, delivery, or sale of such goods by a purchaser who acquired them in good faith in reliance on written assurance from the producer that the goods were produced in compliance with the requirements of the Act, and who acquired such goods for value without notice of any such violation, shall not be deemed unlawful;

(2) to violate any of the provisions of section 6 or section 7, or any of the provisions of any regulation or order by the Secretary issued under section 14;

(3) to discharge or in any other manner discriminate against any employee because such employee has filed any complaint or instituted or caused to be instituted any proceeding under or related to this Act, or has testified or is about to testify in any such proceeding, or has served or is about to serve on an industry committee;

(4) to violate any of the provisions of section 12;

(5) to violate any of the provisions of section 11(c) or any regulation or order made or continued in effect under the provisions of section 11(d), or to make any statement, report, or record filed or kept pursuant to the provisions of such section or of any regulation or order thereunder, knowing such statement, report, or record to be false in a material respect.

[¶ 732] [Employment as Prima Facie Evidence]

(b) For the purposes of subsection (a)(1) proof that any employee was employed in any place of employment where goods shipped or sold in commerce were produced, within ninety days prior to the removal of the goods from such place of employment shall be prima facie evidence that such employee was engaged in the production of such goods.

[¶ 740] PENALTIES; CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LIABILITY; WAIVER OF CLAIMS; ACTIONS BY SECRETARY; LIMITATION OF ACTIONS

[¶ 741] [Criminal Actions]

Sec. 16. (a) Any person who willfully violates any of the provisions of section 15 shall upon conviction thereof be subject to a fine of not more than $10,000, or to imprisonment for not more than six months, or both. No person shall be imprisoned under this subsection except for an offense committed after the conviction of such person for a prior offense under this subsection.

[¶ 742] [Wage Suits by Employees]

(b) Any employer who violates the provisions of section 6 or section 7 of this Act shall be liable to the employee or employees affected in the amount of their unpaid minimum wages, or their unpaid overtime compensation, as the case may be, and in an additional equal amount as liquidated damages. Action to recover such liability may be maintained in any court of competent jurisdiction by any one or more employees for and in behalf of himself or themselves and other employees similarly situated. No employee shall be a party plaintiff to any such action unless he gives his consent in writing to become such a party and such consent is filed in the court in which such action is brought. The court in such action shall, in addition to any judgment awarded to the plaintiff or plaintiffs, allow a reasonable attorney's fee to be paid by the defendant, and costs of the action. The right provided by this subsection to bring an action by or on behalf of any employee, and the right of any employee to become a party plaintiff to any such action, shall terminate upon the filing of a com-

plaint by the Secretary of Labor in an action under section 17 in which restraint is sought of any further delay in the payment of unpaid minimum wages, or the amount of unpaid overtime compensation, as the case may be, owing to such employee under section 6 or section 7 of this Act by an employer liable therefor under the provisions of this subsection.

[¶ 743] **[Wage Collections by Government]**

(c) The Secretary is authorized to supervise the payment of the unpaid minimum wages or the unpaid overtime compensation owing to any employee or employees under section 6 or section 7 of this Act, and the agreement of any employee to accept such payment shall upon payment in full constitute a waiver by such employee of any right he may have under subsection (b) of this section to such unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation and an additional equal amount as liquidated damages. When a written request is filed by any employee with the Secretary claiming unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation under section 6 or section 7 of this Act, the Secretary may bring an action in any court of competent jurisdiction to recover the amount of such claim: *Provided*, That this authority to sue shall not be used by the Secretary in any case involving an issue of law which has not been settled finally by the courts, and in any such case no court shall have jurisdiction over such action or proceeding initiated or brought by the Secretary if it does involve any issue of law not so finally settled. The consent of any employee to the bringing of any such action by the Secretary, unless such action is dismissed without prejudice on motion of the Secretary, shall constitute a waiver by such employee of any right of action he may have under subsection (b) of this section for such unpaid minimum wages or unpaid overtime compensation and an additional equal amount as liquidated damages. Any sums thus recovered by the Secretary on behalf of an employee pursuant to this subsection shall be held in a special deposit account and shall be paid, on order of the Secretary, directly to the employee or employees affected. Any such sums not paid to an employee because of inability to do so within a period of three years shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States as miscellaneous receipts. In determining when an action is commenced by the Secretary under this subsection for the purposes of the *statutes* of limitations provided in section 6(a) of the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947, it shall be considered to be commenced in the case of any individual claimant on the date when the complaint is filed if he is specifically named as a party plaintiff in the complaint, or if his name did not so appear, on the subsequent date on which his name is added as a party plaintiff in such action.

1966 Amendment. — Sec. 16(c) was amended by Sec. 601(a) to insert the word "statutes" in lieu of "two-year statute".

[¶ 744] **[Relief from Liability for Employers in American Samoa and Other Overseas Areas]**

(d) In any action or proceeding commenced prior to, on, or after the date of enactment of this subsection [ch. 1035, 70 Stat. 1118, effective August 8, 1956], no employer shall be subject to any liability or punishment under this Act or the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947 on account of his failure to comply with any provision or provisions of such Acts (1) with respect to work heretofore or hereafter performed in a workplace to which the exemption in section 13(f) is applicable, (2) with respect to work performed in Guam, the Canal Zone, or Wake Island before the effective date of this amendment of subsection (d), or (3) with respect to work performed in a possession named in section 6(a)(3) at any time prior to the establishment by the Secretary, as provided therein, of a minimum wage rate applicable to such work.

[¶ 750] **INJUNCTION PROCEEDINGS**

Sec. 17. The district courts, together with the United States District Court for the District of the Canal Zone, the District Court of the Virgin Islands, and the District Court of Guam shall have jurisdiction, for cause shown, to restrain violations of section 15, including in the case of violations of section 15(a)(2) the restraint of any withholding of payment of minimum wages or overtime compensation found by the court to be due to employees under this Act (except sums which employees are barred from recovering, at the time of the commencement of the action to restrain the violations, by virtue of the provisions of section 6 of the Portal-to-Portal Act of 1947).

[¶ 760] **RELATION TO OTHER LAWS**

[¶ 761] **[Compliance with Stricter Laws]**

Sec. 18. (a) No provision of this Act or of any order thereunder shall excuse noncompliance with any Federal or State law or municipal ordinance establishing a minimum wage higher than the minimum wage established under this Act or a maximum workweek lower than the maximum workweek established under this Act, and no provision of this Act relating to the employment of child labor shall justify noncompliance with any Federal or State law or municipal ordinance establishing a higher standard than the standard established under this Act. No provision of this Act shall justify any employer in reducing a wage paid by him which is in excess of the applicable minimum wage under this Act, or justify any employer in increasing hours of employment maintained by him which are shorter than the maximum hours applicable under this Act.

[¶ 762] **[Federal Employees]**

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act (other than section 13(f)) or any other law, any employee—

(1) described in paragraph (7) of section 202 of the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U. S. C. 1082(7)) whose compensation is required to be fixed and adjusted from time to time as nearly as is consistent with the public interest in accordance with prevailing rates, and any Federal employee in the Canal Zone engaged in employment of the kind described in such paragraph (7), or

(2) described in section 7474 of title 10, United States Code, whose rates of wages are established to conform, as nearly as is consistent with the public interest, with those of private establishments in the immediate vicinity, or

(3) employed in a nonappropriated fund instrumentality under the jurisdiction of the Armed Forces,

shall have his basic compensation fixed or adjusted at a wage rate which is not less than the appropriate wage rate provided for in section 6(a)(1) of this Act (except that the wage rate provided for in section 6(b) shall apply to any employee who performed services during the workweek in a work place within the Canal Zone), and shall have his overtime compensation set at an hourly rate not less than the overtime rate provided for in section 7(a)(1) of this Act.

1966 Amendment.—Sec. 18(b) was added by Sec. 306 of the FLS Amendments of 1966.

[¶ 770] **SEPARABILITY OF PROVISIONS**

Sec. 19. If any provision of this Act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

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FOR DISCRIMINATION

In the Economy of Communities

In Employment

In Legal Costs

In Education

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

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In Foreign Relations

THE PRICE WE PAY

Prepared by
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Introduction

This publication samples the costs—chiefly money—incurred by the South's resistance to equal opportunity. Nearly all the documentation has come from the press, largely the southern press. Some other printed sources have been used.

If all expenditures and loss could be added up, the sum would be shocking. The shock is even greater if, in reading each item, one keeps in mind the many and drastic needs in the South for wise use of its public monies and resources to improve society and the lot of its individuals.

Not all of the waste here documented has a price tag. Can the people of Mississippi, for example, afford the cost to the human spirit that comes from being cut off from a culture's highest artistic achievement? Is there enough money in the world to cover the cost to the American nation in international good will lost by unacceptable race relations?

There are probably those who would try to use the figures here to blame not themselves for being so easily parted from their money, but to blame those Americans who, by demanding Constitutional rights for all, have in a sense necessitated the expenditures.

Any such rationale founders on elementary arithmetic: the estimated cost of implementing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for five years—$100 million—would be only .6 per cent of the Gross National Product increase—$17 billion—which could be realized for one year with full and free use of our human resources. There were southern Congressmen who reported with indignation that the 1963 March on Washington cost the District of Columbia government an estimated $805,000 — $1,022,300. Can this cost be called a responsibility of the marchers? A fair judgment will see it as a cost forced on the national government by reactionary elements of the South and by a dilatory Congress.

And so with the other wastes of money and resources documented here—they come from discrimination, not its victims.

Will southern states, which can least afford it, which so need to develop the potential of their people to the highest degrees of human dignity, continue in the ways documented here to waste the substance of their people?

The Price We Pay...

In the Economy of Communities

In Failure to Attract Industry and Investment

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 15, 1963

. . . In recent years, its failure to attract any significant amount of new industry and its reliance on the limping steel industry—U. S. Steel Corp.'s Tennessee Coal & Iron division is the area's biggest employer—have combined to slow Birmingham's economy. In 1957, the metropolitan area had its highest employment, 246,000. Today, the total is estimated at 228,000.

Some Birmingham citizens say that in recent years large numbers of their best educated young men and women have been deserting the city to find opportunity elsewhere. It hasn't all been due to the lack of economic opportunity, says one young citizen. "We lost ourselves a generation; they just don't want to put up with all this racial strife."

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 30, 1964

Humans, resources, technology, management and education are the five major areas necessary for development if Mississippi is to make economic progress, C. E. Kirk told the noon Lions Club [of Greenville, Miss.] at its weekly meeting Wednesday.

Kirk, who is plant manager for the Ludlow Manufacturing Co., in Indianola, spoke as a guest of the local Lions Club on the subject, "Blueprint for Mississippi's Economic Progress."

Kirk is also a representative for the Mississippi Economic Council and brought along charts and statistics which were gathered largely through the council. . . .

"Where we are losing out," he said, "is in the new, highly skilled industries like the chemicals, electronics and pharmaceutical companies."

"The problem is many of our working age people (20-40) are leaving and those who stay don't have enough education to attract the newer breed of industries into the state," Kirk said.

As a result, Mississippi's per capita income doubled from 1939 to 1945, but it stayed the same in relation to the nation's average.†

SURVEY OF CURRENT BUSINESS
August 1962
U. S. Department of Commerce

[†*Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of all 50 states: $1,229. The national average is $2,263.*]

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
January 27, 1963

. . . A report circulated by S. D. Wolfe, temporary chairman of the Lafayette County Rural Development Committee, says Oxford [Miss.] has lost two new industries because of the crisis.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 15, 1963

. . . However while the state's over-all business advance continued, economists in other Southeastern states remained convinced that Mississippi would suffer in later years because of the racial outbreaks.

They cited Little Rock, Ark. as evidence, noting that the industry stopped locating there for two years after the racial troubles in 1957.

A leading economist said he expected the number of new industries in Mississippi "to start declining by the middle of 1963, and to continue shrinking for a long time to come until and unless, the state shows that it is willing to rejoin the Union."

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
September 6, 1963

Downtown demonstrations last spring by Negroes seeking a change to integrated facilities in restaurants had an adverse effect in attracting new industry, Chamber of Commerce officials told the Greensboro Human Relations Committee yesterday.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Industrial development people admit that the turmoil is frightening away prospective new industry. Sidney M. Smyer, a prominent real estate man who has been active in business groups talking with Negroes, says: "This situation is going to have definite effects on locating further business here [Birmingham]. People aren't going to come where there is trouble —it's hard enough to get them when you have a favorable climate." W. Cooper Green, executive vice-president of Alabama Power Co., sums it up: "Violence hurts—labor violence, criminal violence, racial violence. You have to live it down."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 24, 1963

Birmingham (AP)—. . . At a Chamber of Commerce meeting, Chairman Caldwell Marks of an industry-hunting committee disclosed receipt of insulting letters from prospective industries and cancellation of plans for firms to locate here.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
Washington Correspondent
James Free
February 2, 1964

Washington—Gov. George Wallace's war against "the central government" could be far more costly to the people of Alabama if the federal government ever decides to fight back. . . .

Moreover, the Defense Department is now cutting down on the number of military and naval bases and installations over the country. And, when all other considerations are close to even, defense advisers may decide that it would be wise to close an installation in a state that persists in fighting the federal government rather than a similar installation in another state that is more cooperative.

Representative Kenneth Roberts got some figures together recently showing that in the fiscal year that ended last June 30, the Defense Department alone spent in Alabama more than $700 million in payrolls, upkeep, contracts, and the like.

THE FINANCIAL TIMES (London) September 23, 1963

. . . The severe economic damage caused by racial unrest has forced the city's business community into action. . . . Birmingham is endowed with a rich supply of raw materials and with ample resources of labor. But the flow of new industries into the area was halted by the onset of racial violence. . . . As one businessman puts it: "We have become the world's headquarters for racial violence, and nothing worse could happen to a city."

NEW YORK TIMES June 30, 1963

City Council [New York] President Paul R. Screvane proposed yesterday that the city refuse to invest any of its $3,400,000,000 pension funds in the securities of companies practicing racial discrimination. . . .

Because the amount that may be invested in any one corporation's bonds is small, the pension funds own bonds in dozens of different corporations, which are scattered all over the country.

NEW YORK TIMES December 18, 1963

The United Presbyterian Church urged its agencies yesterday to use their financial influence upon businesses with which they deal to eliminate racial discrimination. . . .

The statement [of the Church] urged the agency boards to "analyze investment opportunities and financial policies that would directly witness to the concern of the United Presbyterian Church for an integrated society."

If church funds are invested in concerns that discriminate, efforts should be made to have those practices changed, the statement suggested.

ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH June 20, 1963

An investigation of the racial policies of corporations, in which the overseas mission board of the United Church of Christ has invested funds was ordered by board directors at a meeting yesterday. . . .

The board has investment holdings of about $18,000,000.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

CHATTANOOGA TIMES September 29, 1963

Huntsville, Ala. (AP)—. . . For Huntsville—and the nation—the space age began with the arrival of about 200 former German missilemen and their families, led by Wernher von Braun. . . .

With their arrival, Huntsville began turning its back on the South of magnolias and old lace.

At the end of World War II, Huntsville was known chiefly as the largest cotton market east of Memphis. It had 3,500 homes and 12 small industries including three big cotton mills.

Two of the cotton mills are now closed and Huntsville today has over 25,000 homes and about 40 industries. The median family income is $6,600—highest in Alabama. . . .

Like most of the businessmen interviewed in Huntsville, Cummings [Milton Cummings, native businessman and president of Brown Engineering Company, Inc.] is irritated over the image of Alabama as an area of

racial strife. It has hurt his effort to recruit scientists and engineers.

"We have found," he said, "a number of engineers who simply don't want to expose their children to this race thing." . . .

Mrs. Patrick W. Richardson . . . mother of two small boys and the wife of one of Huntsville's leading attorneys, says:

"I guess you could say Huntsville was a hungry town. I can remember the Huntsville Times carrying a story on page one in 1938 saying where the breadlines would form for that day—1938 was when the depression was supposed to be over." . . .

"We like Huntsville," she said. "We've always lived here, but we wanted something better. If Huntsville stagnated, we would have stagnated and I guess my husband's law practice would have been a matter of writing two or three wills a week. We wanted something more than that."

The Price We Pay...

In the Consumer Market

NORFOLK *VIRGINIAN-PILOT*
(by the Herald Tribune News Service)
September 26, 1963

. . . William Capitman, president of the Center for Research in Marketing, Inc., at Peekskill, N. Y., said Negro purchasing behavior represents both the greatest danger and the greatest potential in the American marketplace. He said Negroes, with an annual income of $20 billion, have a sales potential as great as the entire population of Canada. . . .

At the moment, Capitman said, 30 to 40 per cent of the Negro population is engaged in unorganized economic boycotts, refusing to buy from producers or sellers considered to be unfriendly to Negroes.

Eighty-nine per cent of 1,164 Negroes interviewed in the third survey told the Negro interviewers they would take part in any boycott called by their leaders. Capitman called this one of the most significant phenomena in marketing history. . . .

In Birmingham . . .

TIME
June 7, 1963

. . . In Birmingham, retailers have averaged a $750,000 weekly loss, some because Negro trade boycotted stores, some because whites did not venture downtown for fear of possible violence.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

(AP)—Federal Reserve Board figures show that retail sales in Birmingham dropped sharply in May—a time of sit-ins, mass demonstrations and occasional violence in that racially troubled city.

For the week which ended May 25, retail sales were off 11 per cent compared to the corresponding week of 1962. For the preceding three weeks the figures were also minus: 17, 19 and 14 per cent.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

. . . Long-suffering downtown merchants have watched their sales run some 20% under last year's, and lag behind those of most other Southern cities.

"People put off shopping trips," says one store owner. "It goes deeper than just downtown Birmingham. It affects every phase of business, social and civic life in this community."

Adds another merchant: "A solution must be found immediately or Birmingham will be killed as a prosperous city."

WALL STREET JOURNAL
May 16, 1963

. . . A restaurant owner comments: "We're hurt and hurt bad because our business community refused to exercise leadership when it could have saved the situation."

The restaurant owner says his business has fallen 25% since the latest outbreak of racial strife began April 3.

WASHINGTON POST
May 16, 1963

(AP)—. . . An executive of a big department store said . . . "It is difficult to appraise the business conditions. . . . But business is off drastically since last week. We don't know specifically whether to attribute this to the boycotting or to the general atmosphere of the city."

And Elsewhere . . .

THE STATE
(Columbia, S. C.)
July 21, 1963

Charleston—The basic story of this city now isn't on the street where Negroes demonstrate. . . .

It involves the dollars and cents that pump the life blood into the heart of Charleston through its long business artery, King Street.

"Since this started in early June, business along the street is off anywhere from 20 to 50 per cent depending on whom you talk to," one prominent retail merchant confided.

"Some of them are literally worried sick," the *News and Courier* [Charleston newspaper] said at one point in an editorial July 18.

NEW YORK TIMES
March 2, 1964

Canton, Miss.—. . . The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and . . . pressure by the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voter applicants.

HOUSTON POST
November 10, 1963

Prairie View—. . . The boycott of the game [Prairie View A & M College versus Bishop College of Dallas] and other homecoming activities had been called by leaders of Students for Equality, Liberty and Freedom in support of their efforts to desegregate nearby Hempstead. . .

A businessman in the community of Prairie View waved his hand in his empty store and said:

"There was no business. You can see the effect this has had on us."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
September 2, 1960

Jacksonville—. . . Newsboys sold only half as many papers as usual in the downtown shopping area. Parking lots, ordinarily overflowing, were checkered with vacancies. Clerks and elevator operators reported that customers who normally crowd the stores in the week before school opens were staying home. . . .

Last night was the first since Saturday to be undisturbed by home-made fire bombs, shootings or beatings. . .

The Governor blamed the people and elected officials of Jacksonville for the breakdown of law and order.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
June 6, 1963

All of Georgia's larger counties showed gains in retail and other taxable sales during the first quarter of 1963 except Dougherty, where racial demonstrations and Negro boycotts have hit the county seat, Albany.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
July 7, 1963

Jackson, Miss.—. . . To what extent downtown business was hurt by the five weeks of picketing, boycotts and marches and sit-ins has been carefully concealed by spokesmen for Capitol Street, the main business section. . . .

But the chain stores, which were the targets of pickets and sit-ins, one trade association spokesman admitted, found business off as much as 40 to 60 per cent during the peak of the demonstrations.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

Jackson, Miss.—. . . The two white-owned food markets in colored neighborhoods, which refused to hire colored employees and to cease selling products of companies that also discriminate, have already gone out of business.

And Then, on the Other Hand . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 14, 1963

Baltimore (AP)—An owner of Gwynn Oak Amusement Park—scene of mass racial demonstrations and arrests earlier this summer—has called the park's new policy of racial integration an economic success.

He said the park has more reservations for next season than it had in the late summer of any other year.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

Atlanta—. . . Among those restaurants, hotels, theatres and other places of public accommodation in the South that have begun serving or hiring Negroes, only a few report suffering any lasting consequences. A sizable number, in fact, declare that business has been better than ever. . . .

Mr. Henry Rather [Dallas hotel man] says a recent check of the city's 35 largest hostelries failed to turn up a single instance of lost business because of desegregation.

The Price We Pay...

In Police and Jail Costs

This section and a later chapter, Legal Costs, document public outlays which in part result from demonstrations and other actions instigated by Negroes. Often, Negroes are blamed for the waste involved. The true cause is the denial of rights. Any community, any state, which wants to end this waste need only take the necessary steps to provide equal protection and rights for all citizens.

In Mississippi . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 16, 1964

(UPI)—When a few minor hitches are cleared away the Mississippi Legislature will soon adopt a new law empowering the governor to send patrol forces into any community where he deems there is an emergency.

The legislation . . . will cost $4 million the first two years, add 200 men to the patrol force and provide them with a police academy.

In Savannah . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 11, 1964

Savannah has been rebuffed in its efforts to collect from the state $18,000 which it spent for quarters and food for state troopers during racial disorders.

In Albany . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
March 3, 1964

Albany—Mayor Jimmy Davis estimated Monday the 2-months stay of a group of pacifists cost Albany taxpayers about $5,000 in jail expenses.

In Memphis . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
September 18, 1963

Protests and demonstrations by Negroes against staggered hours at five Negro schools have cost the Memphis Police Department more than $9,000 in overtime pay since September 4.

In Greensboro . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
May 21, 1963

. . . Clarence Smith, purchasing agent for Guilford County, estimated taxpayers were supporting the jailed Negro demonstrators at a minimum of $1,200 a day "just for food."

In Danville . . .

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
September 9, 1963

Danville (AP)—The cost of policing civil rights demonstrations in this Southside city which has been the scene of sporadic racial unrest since May 31 has been placed at more than $60,000.

Danville Mayor Julian R. Stinson announced over the weekend that overtime pay for policemen and other deputized law enforcement officers in June, July and August came to $48,199.

He said other expenses incurred included approximately $6,515 for such items as night sticks, tear gas, office supplies and court costs.

In Cambridge . . .

BALTIMORE *SUN*
June 24, 1963

Cambridge (AP)—Thirty-seven days of militia law here has cost Maryland at least $176,000. That's only the estimate of keeping National Guard troops billetted here.

The other costs—State Police expenditures and the economic toll to the community—have not been accounted for, and may be unaccountable.

The bill for the first 25 days of militia rule, from June 14 to July 8, was nearly $100,000. According to the comptroller, pay for the Guard totaled $83,199.83, the food bill was about $14,700 and the cost for gasoline was $1,858.89.

Also in Cambridge . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
March 9, 1964

. . . for the subsequent nine months, July 1963 through March 1964

. . . Keeping the Guard in Cambridge for nearly nine months has cost the taxpayers close to $70,000 and hasn't solved anything; it has cut Guard enlistments; it has led to legislators being besieged with complaints about the financial pinch felt by families of Guardsmen who had had to be away from their jobs.

In Williamston, N. C. . . .

GREENBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 9, 1963

. . . The Martin County Commissioners in a brief meeting approved a bill of $1,095 for extra police protection during July.

Extra law enforcement officers were necessary recently to prevent violence as a result of nightly demonstrations by Negroes.

In Jackson . . .

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
October 31, 1963

He [Mayor Allen Thompson] said the city spent an extra $138,429.75 in overtime and equipment combatting the demonstrations from late May through August.

In Charleston . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
October 17, 1963

Costs of locking up racial demonstrators during July and August jabbed three Charleston County budgets out of kilter, according to a report issued this week by County Manager E. D. Martin.

The Prison Farm Barracks, County Jail and Prison Farm all had to spend more than half of their six-months allotted fund in three months' time because of the demonstrations.

In High Point . . .

GREENSBORO *DAILY NEWS*
August 30, 1963

High Point—. . . City Hall is showing some concern over the mounting costs of Negro demonstrations here.

A $9,000,000 budget, closely trimmed in order to keep the same tax rate of $1.20 per $100 valuation, cannot stand too much additional and unbudgeted expense, it was pointed out by city officials.

Protest activities have cost $7,132.52 in overtime pay for policemen alone. Also to be considered is the wear and tear on the Police Department.

Statewide in North Carolina . . .

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
August 17, 1963

The State Highway Patrol has spent more than 11,000 man-hours dealing with racial demonstrations so far this year. The extra activity has cut sharply into traffic law enforcement.

Figures compiled Friday by patrol headquarters show traffic violations charged during the first six months of 1963 were down 18,558 compared with the same six-months' period last year.

Statewide in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
March 27, 1963

Jackson (UPI)—. . . Public Safety Commissioner T. B. Birdsong told United Press International Tuesday the morale of highway patrolmen, most of whom were on duty at the scene of the riot [at the University of Mississippi], was hurt by the crisis. . . .

He pointed out that the state's highway death toll "rose very sharply" after the September 30 riot which marked the entry of Negro James Meredith to the university.

Since then, there have been 327 traffic deaths in Mississippi, compared to 252 during the same period a year earlier.

And in Birmingham . . . the state paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
June 20, 1963

Montgomery—. . . State Budget Officer J. V. Jordan said a tabulation three weeks ago showed that "upwards of $90,000" had been spent up to that time in keeping hundreds of state troopers in Birmingham to keep a watch on racial disorders there.

Jordan said a later tabulation . . . would boost that figure by a substantial amount.

State Conservation Director Claude D. Kelley said it cost his department $25,000 to send about 100 conservation officers, deputized as state troopers, to Birmingham.

ABC officials reported they had been forced to spend an extra $17,350 for sending specially-deputized liquor enforcement agents to Birmingham.

State fiscal officials said the total expense could run well over $200,000.

the city paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

. . . The cost of the five weeks of demonstrations was considerable. It is estimated that overtime pay to policemen, repair of damage to police vehicles and the feeding of more than 1,500 prisoners will total about $50,000.

Whatever the cost, most Birmingham citizens hope it is the final payment.

the county paid . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 22, 1963

The county [Jefferson] may have spent as much as $10,000 more.

and the people paid . . .

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 14, 1963

. . . Losses from fires during the weekend rioting were placed at $41,775 by Deputy Fire Marshal William E. Berry. And vandalism will boost the destruction toll much higher.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 26, 1963

Governor Wallace is pushing through an emergency appropriation of $250,000 to cover expenses of troopers.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
May 15, 1963

. . . Governor Wallace called for a doubling of the cost of drivers' licenses in Alabama to finance an Alabama Highway Patrol to cope with racial disturbances.

In Jackson, Mississippi . . .

WASHINGTON *POST*
February 27, 1964

Jackson has been steadily strengthening its police force in recent months and has laid in an added supply of gas masks, shotguns and helmets. The city also recently purchased a $15,000 tank-like vehicle designed especially for riot control.

BALTIMORE *AFRO-AMERICAN*
March 7, 1964

. . . Mayor Allen Thompson has asked state lawmakers for $1,000,000 with which to build a compound for "agitators and others who do not go along with the Mississippi way of life."

THE MISSISSIPPIAN
(University of Mississippi)
April 10, 1964

Jackson—The Mississippi House has unanimously passed two more bills to help local officials deal with racial problems. The bills would allow counties and cities to send prisoners to Parchman [state prison] if their jails become overcrowded. The cities or counties would bear the entire expense and furnish guards. The measures would prevent jail overcrowding resulting from mass arrests of demonstrators.

The Price We Pay...

In Other Resources Depleted

NEW YORK *TIMES*
March 19, 1964

Jackson—. . . Mississippi's Sovereignty Commission has been the clearing house for $260,000 in contributions to a lobby in Washington opposing the civil rights bill.

According to Erle Johnston, director of the commission, that much money has gone through his hands in the last nine months to the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc. . . .

In Washington, meanwhile, John C. Satterfield, secretary of the Coordinating Committee, said the group had spent $200,000 to $250,000 since its incorporation there last July. . . .

Financing was worked out at a meeting here last summer. Allotments were established for the Southern states, and the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission was designated to channel contributions to the Washington office.

The Sovereignty Commission was created by the Legislature in 1956. It was given authority to accept contributions from private or out-of-state sources.

To help prime the pump for the Coordinating Committee in the beginning, the Sovereignty Commission contributed $10,000 from its $250,000 biennial state appropriation.

It also agreed to pay the bill for the services of Mr. Satterfield as the committee's legal adviser. . . . He charges $25 an hour, up to $2,000 a month.

MIAMI *HERALD*
January 29, 1964

Washington—. . . According to figures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives the commission [Mississippi Sovereignty Commission] gave Synon's committee [John J. Synon, director of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, salaried at $519.23 a week] $20,000 in the quarter-year ending September 30, 1963 and $100,000 in the quarter ending December 31.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . Most of Mississippi's financial support for the anti-civil rights group . . . has been from "private contributions" to the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission. . . . This is what the director of the commission says. But even he admits that $20,000 of the state's grant to the Washington lobby was drawn from tax funds.

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 9, 1964

Jackson—. . . While the State Sovereignty Commission has invested only $20,000 so far in CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms] it has sunk over $160,000 of state funds since June 1960 in the White Citizens Council's television and radio series.

Oddly, the Citizens Council does not submit any statement or invoice as a matter of record in order to receive its $2,000 payment from the state.

The state auditor's office said last week that all other invoices made by the state must have a statement showing what was received in return.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 3, 1964

(AP)—The Mississippi Senate gave unanimous passage Thursday to a bill appropriating $50,000 to finance further efforts to defeat the Civil Rights Bill pending before Congress.

The measure . . . was in the form of a deficit appropriation to the State Sovereignty Commission. . . .

Committee sources said the money was earmarked for the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms in Washington.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 3, 1964

A drive to enlist the support of various Alabama organizations in fighting the civil rights bill now pending in the Senate was launched here Monday by the State Sovereignty Commission.

Howell [Eli Howell, executive director of the Commission] said the nationwide campaign would be directed by the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms. . . . The Sovereignty Commission had earlier appropriated $10,000 to this group.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
April 23, 1964

The State [Alabama] Sovereignty Commission has issued a $15,000 check to the Coordinating Committee for Freedom Fund.

WASHINGTON *POST*
April 19, 1964

. . . Official state commissions in Florida and Alabama also have contributed a total of $13,000 to the CCFAF [Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms]. The Plaquemines Parish (La.) Council, headed by political boss Leander Perez, who built a stockade in the swamps for arrested racial demonstrators, has appropriated $5,000 in taxpayers' money to the CCFAF.

ST. PETERSBURG *TIMES*
April 2, 1964

Tallahassee—. . . Prentice [George Prentice, executive director of the Florida Commission on Constitutional Government] could be in Lincoln, Neb., headquarters for a new national ultra-conservative organization of

which he was recently made executive director. He flew to Nebraska to take the job with the private organization using Florida state funds. Taxi, hotel and food expenses were also paid for with Florida state funds.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 8, 1964

. . . The sense of impatience that other states must feel for states such as Mississippi, which is, at once, the most abjectly mendicant of all the 50 states and the most aggressively unyielding in its segregationist sentiments. . . .

Why—it could be asked—should other states help pay [via federal tax dollars] for services that Mississippi says it is unable to afford on its own when Mississippi *can* afford to kick away $120,000 on lobbying and propaganda against a single piece of federal legislation within a single six month period?

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
Bob Ingram column, March 1, 1964

. . . It was once reported here that the expenses incurred by the National Guard crew which flies the C-47 on the Wallace tours was paid by the federal government. No state official bothered to correct me, they apparently preferred that I remain ignorantly incorrect. Just discovered is the fact that the expenses of the Guardsmen are paid by you, the taxpayers of Alabama. An allocation was approved a couple of days back for $1,356.48 from the General Fund for the active duty pay earned by the three-member crew on the midwest tour, plus some expenses.

RALEIGH *NEWS AND OBSERVER*
March 30, 1964

. . . Wallace [Alabama Governor George C. Wallace] blew into Washington during the week to meet with some Maryland supporters. He is running in the Maryland Democratic Primary.

He arrived in the Alabama plane surrounded by no less than eight aides. Among his outriders were three bodyguards, two press assistants, and assorted other advisers—all on the Alabama state payroll.

KENTUCKY *LABOR NEWS*
May 2, 1964

. . . The political ad [in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*] was signed by one BILL JONES as secretary of Wallace's Indiana committee. Jones, it turns out, is neither a Hoosier nor a union member. An Alabama state employee, Jones is simply the governor's press secretary! About 18 other state employees complete the pack traveling at Wallace's heels. A $250,000 state-owned plane, with a state-paid pilot and co-pilot, carries this happy crowd from soap box to whistle stop in Indiana.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 6, 1964

The State Sovereignty Commission adopted as its first objective Thursday a massive campaign aimed at defeat of the civil rights bill pending in Congress.

As one gesture, the Commission agreed to pick up the check, not to exceed $1,000, for airplane gasoline for the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees, who have distributed thousands of copies of the civil

rights bill in Alabama and other states, also have arranged for the use of an airplane, the Commission was told, for conferences in other parts of the country to spread opposition to the bill.

from tabulation by William C. Havard, Chairman Department of Government Louisiana State University

The Louisiana Legislature held five "Extraordinary Sessions" during 1960 and 1961 to deal with legislation designed to maintain segregation. Appropriations for these extra sessions amounted to $934,000.

THE ATLANTA *INQUIRER* Eliza Paschall column, March 7, 1964

. . . One cost that is seldom counted is the time which trained responsible leaders must take from their professional duties to "work on desegregation." Every time the Steering Committee of the Summit Leadership Conference meets there are businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors who are not doing what businessmen, physicians, ministers, and professors are supposed to be doing. The same is true of the Atlanta Coordinating Committee.

If these same people were all free to work on the problems that come with twentieth century growth, instead of working on the problem of making the color of your skin no more important than the color of your hair, we might at least catch up with, even get one step ahead of automation, expressways, art centers, and school curricula.

***DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES* (Greenville, Miss.) March 4, 1964**

City Council yesterday voted five to one to borrow $40,000 for the construction of a Negro community center on Hernando Street and $10,000 for remodeling of the present community center on Robertshaw.

He [Park Commissioner] said the Negro facility is needed since there is at present nowhere for Negroes to attend Park Commission activities.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* May 14, 1963

Emergency expenses resulting from the racial demonstrations of the last several weeks will cause a curtailment of some county services, the County Commission [Jefferson County, Alabama] said Monday.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* September 15, 1963

. . . The extra costs, including overtime pay for police and other personnel used during the demonstrations last spring totaled $45-46,000, money that might have gone into additional city equipment or services, Boutwell [Mayor Albert Boutwell of Birmingham] said.

***THE REPORTER* February 27, 1964**

Greenville, South Carolina, is having its problems. Faced with a suit to integrate its municipal swimming pool, the city council voted last October to convert it into a "marineland." "Integrated pools operate at a loss," Alderman W. I. Bouton . . . explained in proposing the switch. The economy-minded council apparently had no alternative but to import six sea lions from California. Since then, however, it's been just one thing after another. . . . The trouble began as soon as the sea lions were flown in by jet from Santa Barbara. They not only needed a series of vitamin and

antibiotic inoculations on arrival but fifty pounds of fish a day as well.

Yet the "animal groceries" budget had already been exceeded by $378 at that point and the $1,500 ration allowance that was provided "obviously left no margin," one alderman found, "for feeding camels and yaks." (There was no question that camels and yaks deserved treatment equal to sea lions) . . . it was discovered that the pool had sprung a leak. . . . The costs, however, turned out to be manageable, and for several days the local papers carried dolorous pictures of the woebegone seals dryly sitting it out on the shower-room benches while the pool was drained and the repairs were made. In mid-January a $1,200 concrete island with five spiral decks was lowered into the pool, and there is talk of a stainless-steel slide to come. But this gives no assurance yet that the sea lions will learn to be as happy as kids, black or white, in a swimming pool. At the end of January, one sea lion was found dead of unknown causes at the side of the pool, and another died at the veterinarian's.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 1, 1964

The Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation will continue its work for another four years. . . .

A budget of $12,000 has been set aside for the committee.

Sen. Gravolet [E. W. Gravolet of Pointe-A-La-Hache], who has served as vice chairman of the committee . . . said the committee had been in service 10 years and usually had an appropriation of about $7,000 to $12,000 annually.

It had no attorneys, he said, and members had drafted major segregation legislation through the years.

The Price We Pay...

In Elections

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
reprinting editorial from
Brewton (Ala.) *Standard*
January 25, 1964

. . . With the ratification of the anti-poll tax amendment by South Dakota the poll tax, as pertains to federal elections in this state, has just about two years to go before it becomes obsolete. Between now and that time, we hope that our legislators in Montgomery will eliminate the poll tax from state law. Otherwise, it will cost the state a tremendous amount of money for holding separate elections when federal and state candidates are placed on the same ballot.

The Price We Pay...

In Employment

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Jim Montgomery column
August 29, 1963

Racial discrimination in employment was singled out Wednesday as one of a complex set of forces which, together, are costing the American people more than $30 billion a year in personal income, most of it in the Southeast.

Ironically, it was not in Washington or at a civil rights forum that this estimate of economic loss was cited. . . .

An Atlanta economist presented the calculation in a rather more academic setting in Minneapolis. . . .

Dr. Joseph Airov, associate professor of economics at Emory University, was referring to the regional differences in per capita income in which the Southeast ranks hindmost among the eight major regions of the United States.

Statement of Under Secretary of Labor John F. Henning, before Senate Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower
July 24, 1963

The unemployment rate for nonwhites as a whole is today over twice as high as for whites—in May, 10.3 per cent compared with 5.0 per cent. Among married men with family responsibilities, the difference is even wider, 8 per cent compared with 3 per cent.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
July 10, 1963

New Orleans—Several witnesses at a civil rights hearing here testified today that industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes.

Because of this discrimination, they said, the brighter and better-educated young Negroes migrate to the North and never return. This often leaves unfilled jobs for which they could qualify and discourages establishment of new industry for lack of skilled workers, they added.

About 750 of the brighter Negro boys of New Orleans go to school at St. Augustine's. Father Messina [Rev. Joseph Messina, counselor at the school] said 60 per cent of the school's graduates go North to complete their education and only 10 per cent of them return. These are largely in the educational field. . . .

Mr. Kerns [J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Urban League of Greater New Orleans] charged that although the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators and other specialized workers, it had turned down all Negro applicants. . . .

Representatives of the Boeing Company and of Kaiser Aluminum, both of which have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, said they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help here.

NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE
Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely
Rinehart & Company, Inc.
1957, p. 124, quoting Nashville *Tennessean* of April, 1957

One of the most shocking and challenging problems to the state of Tennessee is the continuing and costly loss of its young people.

In a survey conducted by a reporter for this newspaper, it was found that the state is losing an estimated 20,000 young persons a year, wasting an estimated $200 million invested in them because of inability to provide jobs for them.

NEW ORLEANS *STATES-ITEM*
April 6, 1964

Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Anthony J. Celebrezze said in New Orleans today Louisiana's refusal to accept federal manpower retraining aid may have caused 25 per cent of the jobs in the Michoud rocket plant to go to out-of-staters.

Celebrezze, in the city to address a labor convention, declared that all other states are receiving the aid.

The HEW secretary said he understood that 50 per cent of the 10,000 employees at the Saturn rocket plant were imported from other states and he guessed that half of these could have been drawn from local surplus labor if the proper training was available.

Federal officials told Louisiana last year the state was losing $1,088,000 by refusal to sign an agreement for funds under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act.

Celebrezze, at a press conference in the Royal Orleans Hotel, said Louisiana never has given a reason for its failure to participate, but he said he had a hunch it had to do with integration.

The funds, under the act, would not be available to segregated facilities.

A Study of the Economic Loss to New Orleans Caused by Migration of College-Educated Negroes, by T. Earl Sullenger, Ph.D.

. . . In brief, we conclude that the City of New Orleans is sustaining an annual economic loss of over 4-8 Million Dollars as the result of the migration of its college-educated Negroes.

WASHINGTON *POST*
June 5, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Federal Government has under consideration a vocational education program for school-less Prince Edward [Virginia] County Negro children and is awaiting results of a survey to determine what other programs might be needed. . . .

The survey, being conducted by a Michigan State University research team under a $75,000 Federal grant, will provide basic information . . . to determine what other educational programs might be needed in the County.

Prince Edward closed its public schools in 1959 to avoid court-ordered desegregation. Since then white children have attended private, segregated schools. About 500 of the County's 1,600 Negro school-age children have been attending classes outside the County but the remainder have had no formal education in the past four school years.

WASHINGTON *POST*
Marquis Childs column,
May 28, 1963

[Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel] . . . wanted the committee [the House Subcommittee on Education] to approve $5 million for the next fiscal year for grants to the states to carry out, under state

approval, programs in reading and writing for those who cannot read or write English or have less than an eighth grade education. . . .

Of the white population 25 years and older 6.7 per cent have completed less than five years of school. The percentage for the Negro population is 23.5. This is one measure of separate but unequal as it has prevailed in many parts of the country.

In Mississippi and Georgia nearly 40 per cent of the Negro population has had less than five years of school. For Texas, the figure is 23.6. In Missouri, it is 17.2. Illinois is 13.8 and New York 11.8.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
February 20, 1964
(Reprinting an article which appeared in the Milwaukee *JOURNAL*

In Georgia the median income to support each individual white person is $2,470, each Negro $927. White unemployment is 3.7 per cent, Negro 6 per cent. Weltner [Representative Charles L. Weltner, D. Ga.] estimated that if even the employed Negroes in Georgia earned at the white median rate they would add a half billion dollars a year to the state economy—instead of loading it with relief costs.

BUSINESS WEEK
September 28, 1963

Such an atmosphere is a serious problem for companies that need to hire executives and highly trained workers. Rust Engineering Co., for example, employs some 400 people, mostly graduate engineers, in Birmingham. George M. Rust, executive vice-president, says flatly that his company can't attract the trained engineers it needs. He pins the blame directly on the racial troubles.

"Periodically we run help-wanted ads in newspapers around the country," Rust explains. "We generally get 10 to 15 responses to each ad. About the time of the demonstrations last May we ran 10 ads from which we got just two answers." He goes on: "One highly skilled man we needed badly put us off because he wanted to see how the racial situation developed. Finally he decided not to come."

from a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination" presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, September 1962, by the Council of Economic Advisers

. . . The elimination of discrimination [in employment] would have an impact on the distribution of income among whites. Wage and salary incomes of whites in the lower paid occupations (with higher proportions of non-whites) would tend to rise while the opposite would be true in the higher income occupations. Thus the low income white population would also benefit and a more equal income distribution among whites would result.

The Price We Pay...
In Legal Costs

WASHINGTON POST
Editorial, May 6, 1964

"... no State can directly dictate or casually promote a distinction in the treatment of persons solely on the basis of their color." The principle is now so explicit a fixture of constitutional law that it must astonish laymen to see Virginia's Attorney General waste the taxpayers' money contesting the point. Judge Bryan enunciated it again in Alexandria, ordering the state to discontinue its practice of segregating the voting and property tax records by citizens' race.

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
September 21, 1963

Savannah, Ga. (UPI)—About 250 Negroes awaiting trial in connection with recent sit-in demonstrations here asked for separate jury trials Wednesday. . . .

Solicitor General Andrew J. Ryan, Jr., estimated that, if the Negroes went ahead with their plan, it would take a year and a half to complete the 250 trials. According to Georgia law, any person accused of either a misdemeanor or a felony has the right to demand a jury trial.

Section 59-120
GEORGIA CODE

... The first grand jury impaneled at the fall term of the superior courts of the several counties shall fix the compensation of jurors and court bailiffs for the next succeeding year, such compensations not to exceed $3 per diem. . . .

390 weekdays (in 18 months) X $12 per day ($1 per juror per day minimum) = $4,680

CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
August 24, 1963

Greensboro (AP)—Solicitor L. Herbin, Jr., said Friday that if all 183 defendants charged with obstructing a street here without a permit June 6 pleaded not guilty he would plan a single trial for them in Superior Court Monday.

A single trial, he estimated would save Guilford County and the state more than $25,000. He based the figure on an estimated cost of $30 a minute for court operation. . . .

"If we were to try these cases individually, it would take about half a year. . . ."

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 15, 1964

Perry [Ga.]—A fight between white persons and Negroes at a drinking fountain outside the Superior Courtroom in the Houston County courthouse Thursday brought about a mistrial in a case. . . .

Investigators and witnesses said the fight developed when a Negro drank from the white drinking fountain. . . .

As soon as order was restored, Judge Howell Bell declared a mistrial and released the jury.

NORFOLK *JOURNAL AND GUIDE*
November 30, 1963

Thus the long legal battle against school integration, the costs of which haven't yet been fully determined, and the continuing Prince Edward County court battle, all costly to the State, are draining off tax dollars which could and should be used for education and public works construction.

RICHMOND *NEWS LEADER*
October 29, 1963

The Powhatan county school board has been ordered [by Federal District Judge John D. Butzner, Jr.] to pay $2,100 in fees to the two Negro attorneys who successfully opposed the county's segregated school policy.

A Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September 1963

The Little Rock School District, for example, had desegregation litigation from 1956 through 1962 resulting in at least 23 reported decisions by courts of record. During that period, legal fees paid by the district totaled $95,796.37, of which an estimated 75 percent is attributable to the legal position of the school board in opposition to desegregation.

Remarks of Senator Paul H. Douglas in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*
April 3, 1964, p. 6613

A single trial in a district court—with normal attendant motions, discovery procedures, and so forth—with one appeal to the circuit court and an application for certiorari to the Supreme Court, costs from $15,000 to $18,000. I refer to a letter from Gordon Tiffany, staff director, Commission on Civil Rights, dated January 29, 1960 and published at 106 *Congressional Record* 3663-3364.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 9, 1964

. . . During the past several years, the city of Jackson has been subjected to various court actions, in addition to pursuing a steady course of prosecuting racial demonstrators and others charged with public breach of city ordinances.

This activity has grown to such proportions that it overshadows most of the city's ordinary run of business, has caused the expenditure of a formidable [amount] of money.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
April 7, 1964

Washington (AP)—The Supreme Court rejected today a request by L. B. Sullivan, a city commissioner of Montgomery, Ala., for apportionment of costs in the case in which the court overturned a $500,000 libel judgment he won against the New York Times. . . .

Mr. Sullivan, in a motion filed with the Supreme Court, asked for "apportionment of printing costs and fees," that is, a division of the costs between him and the Times.

The Court routinely assesses such amounts against the loser, and a brief court order today rejected Mr. Sullivan's motion without comment.

The Office of the Supreme Court estimated the costs at about $13,000.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 23, 1964

(UPI)—A Federal judge ordered all public facilities in Gadsden, Ala., permanently desegregated today . . .

District Judge H. H. Grooms issued the ruling on an omnibus integration suit filed by Gadsden Negroes . . .

The defendants also were ordered to pay all court costs.

The Price We Pay...

In Education

In Loss of and Inability to Attract Faculty, Students, and Research

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 19, 1963

Birmingham—. . . "The racial situation has kept some people from joining our faculty, even though we offered them a greater opportunity than anyone else," says Dr. S. Richardson Hill, dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center here. "One doctor had already decided this was the best place for him. But after he talked it over with his family he decided against it." . . .

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
August 16, 1963

Oxford (AP)—The University of Mississippi—which ends its most difficult year Sunday with graduation of James H. Meredith—is losing more than 20 per cent of its faculty. . . .

An Associated Press survey shows that 54 faculty members listed in the 1962-63 university catalog will not return for the fall term which begins next month. . . .

He [university chancellor Dr. J. D. Williams] said the normal turnover among his teachers in past years has been 10 per cent. . . .

Before Meredith enrolled . . . most of the faculty turnover had been instructors and assistant professors—the two lowest grades.

But now there are 11 faculty members with rank of full professor and 17 associate professors leaving. . . .

Among those are two department chairmen, Dr. Samuel F. Clark of chemistry and Dr. William H. Willis of classics. . . .

Dr. Clark in an interview, said:

"My decision to leave Ole Miss, an institution for which I have felt and still feel a deep affection, stemmed from the serious loss of academic freedom to faculty and students of the university and to the breakdown of moral and professional responsibility on the part of the university's administrative officers."

Both Dr. Clark and Dr. Willis have been department heads since 1947. . . .

The entire three-man philosophy department is leaving. Seven of the 12 full-time chemistry teachers will not return.

The art department loses three of its five professors; classics two of four; physics three of seven; mathematics four of 10.

from testimony by Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. July 23, 1963

. . . In Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accommodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas . . . "the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

***BUSINESS WEEK* February 29, 1964**

. . . Said Dr. Willis Tate, president of Southern Methodist University in Dallas: "One of the first questions asked by a talented professor who is invited to teach at a Southern University is: 'Is your university fully integrated?' This question today has become very important to an educator, more so than it has ever been. It has become part of his moral code, the fiber of his integrity."

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 9, 1963

Oxford, Miss.—Although two Negro students were registered quietly at the University of Mississippi this week, the aftermath of last fall's rioting still plagues the school.

The number of new students who applied by June 1 for the fall term totals 884, 30 per cent below last year's total of 1,264, according to the figures compiled by the registrar's office.

The biggest decrease has been in the number of out-of-state students.

NASHVILLE *TENNESSEAN* September 27, 1963

Oxford, Miss. (AP)—Four dormitories at the university of Mississippi are being closed for lack of students, university authorities announced yesterday.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* Ralph McGill column, August 27, 1963

The crisis is, Dr. Willard [Dr. Willam R. Willard, vice president of the Medical Center, University of Kentucky] finds, clearly delineated. There is a sharp decline in the number and quality of applicants to medical schools. Dr. Willard names no institutions. But the schools described in Group One, where research and experiments are conducted, are, the report says, "not handicapped by sponsorship which restricts admission of students by race, creed or color as in some Group Two schools." The marginal schools, and those most burdened, are, therefore, in the South. . . .

In 1960-61 the ten schools in Group One averaged $11.3 million [in expenditures] per school. Group Two averaged $1.7 million. Federal grants for research naturally—and properly—went largely to the Group One institutions.

***BUSINESS WEEK* February 29, 1964**

A Houston jury in a state civil court last week O.K.'d a move by the trustees of Rice University to break away from two stipulations of the institution's founder [not to charge tuition and not to admit Negroes]. . . .

In Rice's case, more than 88% of the school's $5.9 millions worth of

research contracts are government supported. . . . Whether or not Congress adopts a strong civil rights law, it is clear that federal agencies are under pressure to put their money, where possible, in integrated colleges. . . .

In the light of such statistics, Rice trustees could see no future for their university, regardless of its recognized scientific stature in Texas, unless a court would allow them to bypass the two conditions of the University's charter. . . .

Particularly, they [the trustees] said, continued exclusion of Negroes would cripple Rice's ability to attract a top-grade faculty as well as carry forward its research effort.

The Price We Pay...

In Capital Investment

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
February 27, 1964

Millsaps College reaffirmed its segregation policy in a statement in the current edition of the Methodist Advocate. . . .

"This is evidenced by the fact that the board has determined privately to finance the building of badly needed additional dormitory space on the campus," said the statement, "rather than by the acceptance of a one-million dollar loan from the housing and home finance agency."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 18, 1963

Annapolis (AP)—Gov. Tawes said today Cambridge must settle its racial problems if it is to have any chance as a site for a proposed Eastern Shore branch of the University of Maryland.

"With the continuance of conditions that exist in Cambridge, I would have no great desire to agree to establishment of a (university) branch there," he told a news conference. "It would be unwise." . . .

He noted that the bill authorizing $100,000 for planning a university branch or branches does not become effective until next June.

BATON ROUGE *STATE TIMES*
June 12, 1963

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—The State Building Commission is studying a recommendation by the State College Board that $3 million in state bonds be issued to finance dormitory construction at six institutions of higher learning.

The recommendation made by the board falls under a new program designed to circumvent racial discrimination rulings imposed by federal agencies.

In the past the state has borrowed federal money to finance such construction.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 9, 1963

The university's [of Mississippi] plight has been underscored in another area. In recent years, the university has financed new dormitory building costing $8,000,000 with funds from the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

When President John Kennedy last November signed an Executive Order forbidding discrimination in Federally assisted housing, the Mississippi Legislature ordered an end to future agreements between the agency and the university.

University officials say they will now have to seek state bond issues for dormitory construction. Because the lending rates will not be as favorable as the Federal rate has been, an increase in room rent is expected.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
June 19, 1963

Richmond (AP)—The Virginia Public School Authority accepted Tuesday a long interest bid of 2.9346 per cent for its initial issue of $15 million in bonds to aid local school construction. . . .

Dave Ellenwood, a Moody's Investors Service representative serving as authority adviser, said the low bid was "not quite as favorable as hoped for" but still "a very fair value."

Ellenwood said recent news of racial disturbances "from the southern part of the country had tended to upset some buyers in the market for southern bonds."

NEW YORK *TIMES*
June 20, 1963

. . . Several municipal bond dealers, particularly those in the secondary market, have said that they are "not going out of our way to stock bonds issued by communities that are in the headlines."

The Price We Pay...

Through School Closing and Boycotts

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
April 14, 1963

. . . New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if schools were closed in the face of desegregation efforts. . . .

ATLANTA *DAILY WORLD*
February 19, 1964

The House Tuesday authorized Laurens County [Georgia] to sell its controversial Brewton School, near Dublin, which white residents refused to use because it was too close to a small Negro neighborhood.

Since its erection at a cost of $300,000 in 1957 the complex of buildings has been wrecked by vandals and despoiled by weather.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 4, 1963

. . . Tuskegee High School was closed last Friday on orders from the State Board of Education, of which Governor George Wallace is ex-officio chairman.

School authorities in Tuskegee said it was costing about $450 a month for each pupil to keep Tuskegee High School open; compared with a statewide average of less than $300 a pupil per year.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 11, 1964

Montgomery—. . . Speaking at a press conference, the governor [George C. Wallace] said his office will offer "all it can to help" enroll white Macon County students in schools of surrounding counties.

"The governor's office will spend whatever money we have to help," he said, adding that money will come from the mansion fund and other funds.

Wallace asked financial aid to the private Macon Academy at Tuskegee from the people of Alabama. The school was opened after Tuskegee High was desegregated last fall.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS*
February 23, 1964

(AP) . . . Some 432 pupils walked out of high school at Tuskegee, Notasulga and Shorter, refusing to attend class with Negroes. That will leave a big dent in the county's school budget because the state's money is allocated according to the student population.

. . . in September, the county [Macon] will receive something like $75,000 less than it did this school year. Actually, the cutback will be somewhat greater when the loss in transportation money is figured. . . .

The loss of the state funds won't necessarily mean the Macon County Board must close any schools. It could cut out some of the services countywide instead.

Or it could make up the difference from local sources of revenue. But in a small rural county like Macon, that's difficult.

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
Editorial, February 7, 1964

If Macon County chooses to take the private school route, it would probably be too much to hope that the county officialdom would call on Little Rock for some expert testimony on the miserable, costly experience that would lie ahead.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—Three barns were burned on the farm of Macon County School board member Don Mercer Davis Tuesday night, and authorities said it was a case of obvious arson. . . .

The burnings follow cross burnings at the homes of three of the school board Sunday night.

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 6, 1964

Tuskegee (AP)—The water filter plant at nearby Notasulga burned Wednesday night and Mayor James Rhea said it has caused an acute water shortage. He asked that all schools in the town be closed.

Among the schools to be closed is the high school where federal court has ordered six Negro students admitted.

No cause of the fire was determined, but Rhea said, "it looks suspicious."

ATLANTA JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION
April 19, 1964

Notasulga, Ala. (AP)—Fire destroyed the recently desegregated Macon County High School early Saturday and investigators said there were indications that it may have been started by an arsonist. . . .

There was no immediate estimate of the damage.*

*[*According to the* Alabama Educational Directory, *1962-63, there are 10 school plants in Macon County. According to the* Annual Report, *1962, of the Alabama Department of Education, the total assessed valuation of school warrants for Macon County properties was $12,956,890. If the Macon County High School plant alone (without consideration of interior equipment such as books and laboratory supplies) were estimated at one-tenth of the total value of the county's plants, and this would seem a low estimate since four of the ten schools are elementary schools, then its assessed valuation could be well over $1,250,000*].

The Price We Pay...

Through Tuition Grants

Several southern states have attempted through various schemes to avoid or mitigate desegregation of schools by providing grants from state funds to students for tuition at private schools. To illustrate, Virginia in 1959 legislated to provide such scholarships of up to $250 (elementary school child) and $275 (high school child) per student.

Following are some of the results of this and similar state actions in Louisiana, South Carolina, and Alabama, as well as some estimates of the costs in the four states most seriously affected.

In Virginia . . .

WASHINGTON POST
November 13, 1963

Roanoke (AP)—Roanoke School Superintendent E. W. Rushton attacked the tuition grant program last night in some of the strongest terms yet from an educator.

The cost rise is "alarming" . . . said Rushton. . . .

He said money has been laid out for the grants year after year while

spending has been cut for teachers' salaries, school plant maintenance and operation. . . .

For every child who gets a grant, the city loses more money—an average of $100 in the State support allocated on the basis of children in average daily attendance. . . .

School board Business Manager A. F. Fisher estimated today that the total cost of the program to date thus exceeds $225,000, or about the cost of a new eight-room elementary school. . . .

Virginia taxpayers spent $2,252,995 for 9489 grants in 1962-63.

ROANOKE *TIMES*
Editorial, January 22, 1964

. . . For the biennium of 1964-66, the sum of $1,200,000 is set aside for paying the state's share of grants . . .

In South Carolina . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
March 22, 1964

In South Carolina the legislature included a provision in this year's general appropriations bill for $250,000 that will finance private education for pupils in Charleston who are dissatisfied with integrated schools.

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
January 11, 1964

Columbia (AP)—. . . But if federal court orders on integration of schools begin ranging more widely than just in the Charleston area, $250,000 would be only a drop in the bucket.

In Louisiana . . .
the bill of . . .

PAR ANALYSIS
No. 113, October, 1963
Public Affairs Research
Council of Louisiana, Inc.

In the current school term, 10,136 children have been approved to receive grants that will total $3.6 million.

consists of . . .

The $360 grant paid by the state to a child attending a private school is considerably more than the average amount of state money spent on each child attending public elementary and secondary schools in fiscal 1962-63.

and is paid by . . .

In the second extra session of 1961, the legislature transferred $2.5 million from the public welfare fund to a new fund, the education expense grant fund, in order to carry out the grant-in-aid program. It further provided that $200,000 per month was to be paid into the new fund out of the first money collected from the state's sales tax. . . . The 1962 legislature then transferred $4 million out of the fund to assist in meeting the state's deficit. . . . The $200,000 sales tax dedication was continued; however, in the 1963 fiscal session of the legislature this sum was raised to $300,000 per month by Act 27.

In Alabama . . .

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 5,1964

The State Board of Education Tuesday authorized financial aid to parents of Tuskegee High School students to enable them to attend private segregated schools. . . .

State School Superintendent Auston Meadows said . . . it would be sometime before he could determine how much money would go to the parents for each child. The law specifies that the amount cannot exceed what was previously spent in providing a public education for the student.†

ANNUAL REPORT
1962 Alabama State Board of Education

†CURRENT EXPENSES PER PUPIL IN A.D.A. (AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE)	COUNTIES WHITE	COUNTIES NEGRO
	$198.68	$177.76

The Price We Pay...

In Duplication of Resources

MONTGOMERY *ADVERTISER*
February 19, 1964

(AP)—For almost 20 years, Alabama has provided out-of-state aid for college students seeking instruction not available to them in this state.

Many Negroes have taken advantage of the program to get specialized instruction when they were barred from Alabama's white colleges and universities.

Under the program started in 1945, Alabama pays the difference in tuition plus transportation and up to $110 a month for living expenses.

WALL STREET JOURNAL
September 3, 1963

Fort Rucker, Ala.—When school bells ring this morning, some 1,200 white and Negro children will file into a spanking new $1,038,000 school house built on the base here by Uncle Sam this summer for the sake of integration.

Meanwhile, a few hundred yards away from the camp gates, a segregated public school, also costing $1 million and financed with Federal funds, will remain two-thirds empty. Most of its white students have been transferred to the Army school, in company with a handful of Negro military dependents that previously attended a local all-colored school. At most, it's estimated only 30 Negro pupils at Fort Rucker will be enrolled in the new integrated school on post.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The varied costs of maintaining segregated schools are large and growing larger; the heaviest burden rests on Negro children, but the drain on the monetary resources of the entire community is increasingly severe. . . .

Handicapped by lower income and a higher educational load than the

rest of the United States, Arkansas, in common with the rest of the South, has gained little in relation to national education standards. In 1961, Arkansas spent $57.48 per capita on its public schools, $3.29 below Mississippi, and last in the Nation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
July 9, 1963

Atlanta School Board Member Mrs. Ray Mitchell has accused the city of "spending millions of dollars unnecessarily to keep schools segregated when segregation, by law, may be past history at any time." . . .

". . . Empty seats" at predominantly white schools could help further to relieve crowded conditions in Negro schools, she continued.

Mrs. Mitchell also argued unsuccessfully against a board plan to build an entirely new school to lighten the load at crowded Howard High. She said she could "not go along" with an expenditure of about $2 million on a new building when existing space in other schools is already available.

While on the Other Hand . . .

CHARLESTON (W. VA.) *GAZETTE*
April 18, 1964

. . . West Virginia has made a good beginning in school desegregation. . . .

Segregation simply costs too much—both in taxes and in the psycological damage it does primarily to Negroes, but also to whites who are forced to grow up learning to fear or hate human beings they don't even know.

Report of the Arkansas Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, September, 1963

The cost of interdistrict transportation of Negro children to servicing schools clearly exceeds what the cost of educating such children in desegrated resident districts would be. . . . State-wide per pupil cost averages from $149 to $225 per year. In a segregated district in western Arkansas, $4,500 is spent annually for sending 14 Negro high school students to another district, a per pupil average of $321. In one district, 15 students in both elementary and secondary schools had been sent to another district at an annual cost of $6,000, or $400 per pupil. This latter district has desegregated, and it is a source of some public pride that the savings are being put into a public school music department that the district long lacked.

WASHINGTON *POST*
November 25, 1963

. . . Applauding the School Board's decision [to close the all-Negro high school] County Board Chairman Thomas W. Richards said yesterday:

"The Board is pleased that, for the first time, all Negro senior high school children in Arlington will have an equal educational opportunity and that this will be accomplished at a great savings to the taxpayer."

LOUISVILLE *COURIER-JOURNAL*
September 22, 1963

Paris, Ky.—. . . For six months before the high school [Bourbon County] integrated in 1961, a biracial committee prepared an acceptable climate of public opinion. . . .

Not the least effective argument was the hard fact that maintaining two systems was a needless waste, costing $33,000 a year.

The Price We Pay...

In Culture, Entertainment and Sports

Art . . .

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

The Museum of Modern Art has barred its circulating exhibitions of paintings, sculpture and photographs from display before segregated groups.

One fourth of the exhibitions . . . visit the South.

This rule, which applies also to rentals from the museum's extensive library of motion pictures, was instituted recently in the hope that other museums would follow suit.

Opera and Theater . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Bruce Galphin column,
May 16, 1964

A few years ago, when soprano Leontyne Price was first creating such a sensation at the Metropolitan Opera in New York, one of the Met executives was asked when Atlantans could see and hear her.

"When she can ride in an unsegregated taxi from the airport, and stay in an unsegregated hotel and eat in an unsegregated restaurant," he replied. . . . [Miss Price sang with the Metropolitan during its 1964 season in Atlanta.]

How much Americans have cheated themselves in the past by denying themselves the Leontyne Prices. How much poorer we have been for cutting off the potential contributions of so many millions of people. How sad and curious it will seem to those who read the history of our days that we even set up elaborate barriers of custom and law to deny ourselves these gifts.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1962

. . . The museum is the third major cultural organization to act against segregation. Last year the Metropolitan Opera decided that it would no longer play before segregated audiences during its spring tours and this year the Actors Equity Association ruled that its members should not be required to perform in segregated theaters.

Night Clubs . . .

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
June 11, 1963

New York (AP)—The American Guild of Variety Artists voted in convention Monday for an immediate national boycott of entertainment centers that racially segregate either customers or employees. . . .

The resolution continued:

"AGVA will advocate the non-appearance of AGVA members in any hotels, clubs or place of entertainment where such a policy of segregation exists."

Baseball . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
October 20, 1963

. . . The Boston Red Sox and the Pittsburgh Pirates have been asked by the Florida National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to reconsider plans to locate baseball farm clubs at Ocala and Palatka. The NAACP said both cities lack integrated facilities.

Football . . .

HOUSTON *POST*
August 20, 1963

Four Negro stars of the Oakland Raiders [professional football] say they won't play Friday night in Mobile, Ala. against the New York Jets if seating in the stadium is segregated.

Prizefight . . .

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
February 25, 1964

Both Loew's State and the Saenger theaters announced Monday that they are cancelling the telecast of the Sonny Liston-Cassius Clay heavyweight fight Tuesday night.

Earlier Monday, Liston said he would not stand for piping a telecast of his title defense, in Miami Beach, into any theater that had racially segregated seating.

Playright . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
April 4, 1963

Irish playwright Brendan Behan has cancelled a scheduled visit here Friday for a performance of one of his plays because of a news item he said he read in New York about police mistreatment of Negro comedian Dick Gregory in Mississippi.

Frank Wittow, director of the Academy Theater here, said . . . he [Behan] refused to come South.

"We were looking forward to seeing and working with Behan," Mr. Wittow said. "Unfortunately, we are all identified with the crude actions in Mississippi. This is a case of everybody suffering."

Literary Festival . . .

MEMPHIS *COMMERCIAL APPEAL*
April 9, 1964

Many months ago, the Southern Literary Festival, an association of 27 colleges and universities from South Carolina to Texas, made contracts with Prof. Walter Allen of Vassar College, Prof. John Gassner of Yale University, and Stephen Spender, English poet, to speak for festival ses-

sions at Mississippi State College for Women at Columbus, April 23-25.

Three weeks before the festival date, all three wrote to Dr. George T. Buckley, president of the association, cancelling their contracts, all for the same reason, that Mississippi State College for Women does not admit Negroes."

State Parks . . .

CHARLESTON *NEWS AND COURIER*
April 23, 1964

Annual maintenance costs for Edisto Beach State Park, padlocked for eight years to avoid racial integration, constitute "a waste of money," the chairman of the State Forestry Commission said last night. . . .

Edisto Beach Park will be the only one of 26 state parks to remain closed next month. The other 25 are re-opening on a restricted racially integrated basis under terms of a new state parks act passed last week by the General Assembly. . . .

However, its mothball status is costing taxpayers $6,525 a year to pay a caretaker-superintendent and to paint and repair park cabins that will never be occupied. . . .

A state estimate is that it would require an outlay of $35,000 to get the park back into sufficiently good shape to reopen for visitors.

Auditorium . . .

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
September, 1962

A proposed large bond issue failed in Atlanta, and Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., said the segregation issue was one of the reasons for the failure. A bond issue for new schools was barely defeated, but bonds for a cultural center lost by a big margin. Allen said the segregation issue had been "falsely injected" into the cultural center debate.

Music . . .

REDBOOK
"Little Rock—Five Years Later"
Gerald Walker
November, 1962

. . . When Duke Ellington was to appear there [Little Rock, Ark., city auditorium] last year, seating was announced to be on a segregated basis, whereupon the band leader cancelled his booking.

TIME
March 20, 1964

. . . Conductors George Szell, Leonard Bernstein and Erich Leinsdorf all announced that they would not appear before segregated audiences, and they were joined by such performers as Rise Stevens, Leon Fleisher, Jaime Laredo and Julius Katchen. Artur Rubenstein declared that such a stand is "a right and natural step."

Segregation remains the general rule for concert audiences in Mississippi and Alabama; elsewhere it is accomplished more discreetly. . . . Sol Hurok, with his huge stable of artists, has had a similar policy [refusal to appear before segregated audiences] for a decade. At week's end the new musical boycott of the Deep South was endorsed by Vladimir Horowitz.

Blackout in Mississippi . . .

DELTA DEMOCRAT-TIMES
(Greenville, Miss.)
January 29, 1964

Jackson (UPI)—[James] Webb, administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was to have given the principal address at a banquet honoring members of the Mississippi Legislature.

But a few hours before the event, Webb sent word he did not endorse segregation, and would not appear.

JACKSON DAILY NEWS
January 23, 1964

Television's Cartwright family of the "Bonanza" series exhibited a solid front Tuesday when Lorne Green and Michael Landon joined their co-star Dan Blocker in cancelling a scheduled appearance in Jackson because they refused to appear before a segregated audience.

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
January 26, 1964

Jackson (AP)—Jazz trumpeter Al Hirt and his band failed to play Saturday night after he was asked by an integration group not to appear at the segregated coliseum.

COMMONWEALTH
(Greenwood, Miss.)
February 20, 1964

Jackson, Miss. (AP)—Another performer has passed up an appearance here following a protest by a civil rights group.

Concert pianist Gary Graffman will not appear for a Community Concert series at the Jackson Auditorium on February 27 because of segregated arrangements.

NEW YORK TIMES
April 10, 1964

A campaign to desegregate concerts in the South received significant backing yesterday when a major concert management organization indicated that it would no longer offer its artists to perform in Jackson, Miss., at least until racial tensions there are eased. . . .

Kurt Weinhold, president of Columbia Artists Management, Inc., said . . . he had not suggested any replacement for Birgit Nilsson, the soprano, who last week called off a concert on the advice of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Price We Pay...

In Tourism and Conventions

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE*
September 8, 1962

New Orleans' loss of conventions is hurting business much more in the French Quarter than are District Attorney Jim Garrison's vice raids, a veteran Bourbon Street night club operator believes.

Hyp Guinle, owner of the Famous Door Lounge, said Friday that state laws requiring segregation in hotels are costing night spots the convention trade which is their lifeblood. . . .

"Seymour Weiss tells me he's had five cancellations from conventions this year because he couldn't take one or two colored delegates," said Guinle.

PROVIDENCE (R. I.) *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Bluefield, W. Va. (AP)—The West Virginia Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claimed a victory yesterday when Negro hotels turned away Negroes and forced an American Legion convention out of Bluefield. . . .

The NAACP has been "working hard to get Negroes not to cooperate with the segregated housing plans of the Legion convention," he [Rev. C. Anderson Davis, president of the W. Va. NAACP] said.

The controversy began last month when the West Virginian Hotel, to be convention headquarters, said it would not accept reservations from Negro legionnaires.

NEW YORK *TIMES*
August 22, 1963

Detroit (UPI)—The American Federation of Teachers has turned down a suggestion that its convention in 1963 be held at Bal Harbour, Fla.

Some of the delegates expressed concern over possible racial segregation.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
May 24, 1963

Miami Beach (AP) . . . Miami Beach has been named the site of the American Legion's September 6-12 national convention, shifted from New Orleans because of racial problems.

National Commander James Powers . . . said not enough integrated lodgings could be found in New Orleans.

An estimated 50,000 persons will attend the sessions.

Tabulations by Larry Mansfield, Manager, City of Miami Convention Bureau, June, 1963

Assuming that the Miami Beach meeting draws 35,000 delegates for a four-day stay and each one spends $30.00 per day (a national average delegate's expenditure), this will amount to . . . $4,200,000.

From testimony of Undersecretary of Commerce, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. before the Senate Committee on Commerce, July 23, 1963

The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negro's rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodations.

The table [based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania] shows . . . that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites on the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

***WALL STREET JOURNAL* June 26, 1963**

Tourist travel through Birmingham to points in the South and Southwest "is off at least 25%, maybe more," says Bancroft Timmons, director of the Alabama Automobile Association. "We're getting requests for routings around Birmingham every day. People coming from New York to the Southwest are driving 100 miles out of their way through Arkansas to miss Alabama."

NEW ORLEANS *TIMES-PICAYUNE* September 16, 1963

Toronto (AP)—Canadians should boycott the southern United States as a holiday area in protest of racial segregation, Alan Borovoy, executive secretary of the Ontario Labor Committee for Human Rights, said Sunday.

ATLANTA *JOURNAL* April 27, 1964

Pittsburgh—The Methodist Church's General Conference was told Sunday that the body would meet in Dallas, Tex., in 1968. Atlanta had been a major contender for the meeting until it was eliminated several weeks ago because of segregation in several restaurants and lunch counters as well as inadequate auditorium facilities. . . .

Had Atlanta been selected, the conference would have brought some 14,000 persons to the city for a two-week period.

NEW YORK *TIMES* June 14, 1964

St. Augustine—. . . The city of 15,000 persons derives 80 per cent of its income from tourists. The old Spanish fort, a national monument, is a good indicator of the tourist trade. The National Park Service said the number of visitors to the fort declined almost 45 per cent during the first 10 days of June, compared to the same period last year.

While on the Other Hand . . .

WALL STREET JOURNAL
July 15, 1963

. . . In Dallas, integration of hotels and restaurants has "opened up an entirely new area of convention prospects," according to Ray Bennison, convention manager of the Chamber of Commerce. "This year we've probably added $8 million to $10 million of future bookings because we're integrated," Mr. Bennison says.

DALLAS *MORNING NEWS*
February 12, 1964

Hank Brown, state president of Texas AFL-CIO told the state executive board Tuesday that unions recently caused the integration of the last segregated hotel in Brownsville.

Brown said that while examining Brownsville as a possible site for the union's convention August 10-21, he discovered that a hotel near the convention center was segregated.

When civic leaders faced the prospect of losing $250,000 in convention trade, he said, "the situation was straightened out." Executive board members voted Monday to hold the convention in Brownsville.

WINSTON-SALEM (N. C.)
JOURNAL, Editorial
February 24, 1964

. . . A week or so ago, the National Lutheran Council decided to meet in Charlotte after the New York *Times* reported that eight hotels and motels in that city had been desegregated. Earlier, the council members had discounted Charlotte as a meeting site. The executive director of the council said that "we would prefer (as a matter of principle) not to be in a place where the hotel space was segregated." Thus Charlotte gets a convention that will bring 70 people there for three days.

Last Friday, the North Carolina Association of Broadcasters said that it had cancelled plans to hold its June convention at a motor hotel in Wrightsville Beach because the management refused to provide accommodations for representatives of a member radio station owned by Negroes. Instead, the association will meet at a New Bern hotel.

There will surely be other such instances as more and more organizations desegregate their membership and as the consciences of Americans become increasingly aroused to the need for racial justice. And in time the realities of business may overcome the fears of those who still feel that discrimination pays off.

The Price We Pay...

On a National Scale

For Segregated Housing

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
July 1, 1963

Washington . . . He [Emerson P. Schmidt, chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce] noted that while there has been no absolute drop in the volume of federally-financed house construction since the anti-discrimination order was issued in November, there has been a drop in the proportion it represents of all new house construction.

THE MORTGAGE BANKER
February, 1964

Not only is the impulse to new home ownership an inevitable expression of the middle class Negro's aspirations and accomplishments, its realization would have a salutary effect on the economy at large.

Recently the Housing and Home Finance agency prepared a series of estimates of the extent to which new construction would be augmented if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families. The calculation for 17 metropolitan areas in the United States indicated that potential demand accumulated among non-white families with incomes between $7,000 and $10,000 a year amounted to 45,000 units, and that demand in all 212 metropolitan areas may be as high as 200,000 units.

This figure represents approximately one-eighth of the total annual volume of new construction and one-sixth of the annual number of new one-family units. Were the backlog to be made up during the remaining portion of the decade of the 1960's, the demand for new construction would be increased by 2 to 3 per cent a year. This could be a welcome addition during a period in which net household formation is expected to taper off.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Eugene Patterson column,
December 14, 1963

. . . If backward attitudes prevail, Atlanta can become a predominantly Negro city by 1975.

And since the existing housing squeeze will increasingly drive well-off Negroes as well as whites to homes outside the city limits, in order to make way for city slums to house the poorest Negroes and whites, then the city's tax base will erode and progress will wither.

Then city business will falter, and with it job opportunities, so that the poverty of the city's poor will begin to feed on itself and perpetuate the cycle of decay.

What the city faces, therefore, is not a racial debate but an economic

crisis. Poor whites, trapped in city slums, will be hurt along with poor Negroes. And the well-off whites, along with the well-off Negroes who withdraw into suburbs will find the source of their prosperity—a strong central city—evaporating.

The Price We Pay...

For Federal Troops in Racial Disorders

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
October 3, 1963

Washington (AP)—The call-up of the Alabama National Guard in that state's public school integration crisis last month has cost at least $422,000 so far, the Army said Wednesday.

This figure covers pay and allowances from September 10 to 30.

It does not include operations costs.

NASHVILLE *BANNER*
March 29, 1963

Washington—The Defense Department estimates it has spent at least $4,100,000 maintaining troops at Oxford, Miss., to protect James Meredith. . . .

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara supplied the figure to a House Appropriations subcommittee, for the period ending January 31, at the request of three Southern members. . . .

McNamara pointed out that Defense Department figures were in addition to the cost incurred by the Justice Department.

JACKSON *DAILY NEWS*
April 5, 1963

Washington (AP)—. . . The Justice Department has told Congress its expenses to enforce court orders permitting Negro James H. Meredith to attend the University of Mississippi will run about $559,000 through June 30.

KNOXVILLE *NEWS-SENTINEL*
January 30, 1963

. . . Federal costs in the operation has exceeded $4,500,000 and it is costing an additional $4,500 a day for the 300 troops still stationed at Oxford, Miss. . . .

ARKANSAS *GAZETTE*
February 20, 1963

Washington (AP)—The damage that heavy military aircraft inflicted last fall on the University of Mississippi airport will be repaired by the government, two Mississippi House members said today. . . .

"The damage to the runway alone is estimated to be in excess of $200,000. Additional extensive repairs must be made to restore other airport property to its original condition."

WASHINGTON *POST*
September 11, 1963

For the fourth time in recent years†, the National Guard of a Southern state was called into Federal service during a desegregation dispute yesterday . . .

. . . The 320 Alabama Guardsmen mobilized by Governor George C.

Wallace early yesterday to bar Negro children from entering school in three Alabama cities, withdrew on Department of the Army orders after President Kennedy federalized the entire 17,000-man Alabama Guard. They returned to their armories.

They [Guardsmen] will draw an average of $13.50 a day in Army pay while mustered into Federal service even though not actually on duty —at a cost to the U. S. Government of about $320,000 a day.

† [*Little Rock—1957; Ole Miss—1962; Tuscaloosa—1963; and Birmingham, Tuskegee and Huntsville—September, 1963*].

NEW YORK *TIMES*
May 13, 1964

Washington—The Controller General of the United States has turned down a University of Mississippi claim for $104,545 in damages that followed the admission of James H. Meredith. . .

The university argued that the Federal troops were its tenants. Therefore, it said, the Army should pay the fair rental value of the property it occupied and restore the premises to their original condition.

Controller General Ames Campbell, in refusing the claim altogether, noted that the troops hardly had been invited by the university.

The Price We Pay...

In Gross National Product

From a statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment," presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, by the Council of Economic Advisers September, 1962

. . . If non-whites had the same labor force participation and employment rates as the whites and if they were distributed geographically and occupationally (and thus in terms of wage and salary income) as whites with the same educational attainments—if, in other words, non-whites were able to make the same contribution to production, given their present educational attainment, GNP could be increased by about 1.8 per cent. . . .

Furthermore, the 1.8 per cent estimate relates only to wage and salary income and does not attempt the difficult measurement of the change in the labor component of entrepreneurial income. Gains will occur in the labor productivity of the self-employed adding further to the 1.8 per cent increase in GNP.

The above considerations suggest that the gain in Gross National Product might well be as much as 2.5 per cent (about $13 billion at today's level of GNP). . . .

. . . The shift to full utilization of the present capabilities of the nonwhite population (and the resultant GNP increase of about 2.5 per cent) would assist significantly in meeting our economic growth objectives in the coming years. . . .

If non-whites had the same educational levels as whites, and if the

economy fully utilized their education, GNP today might be perhaps 3.2 per cent higher (inclusive of the 2.5 per cent estimate reported above). This amounts to about $17 billion at today's levels of GNP.

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.) in Pittsburgh March 7, 1964

. . . This [$13 to $17 billion dollars a year cited above in GNP] is more than one-fourth of the money we spend for national defense. It is three times as much as we spend on our space program.

And this loss in income, of course, does not take into account what we pay in higher crime rates, poor health, urban decay, mounting welfare costs and the countless other costs that grow out of discrimination.

When all of these are added, the cost of discrimination becomes astronomical.

BIRMINGHAM *NEWS* Editorial, September 22, 1963

. . . Where there are many Negroes and if Negro income levels are substantially lower than whites—and they are—then the states or the region with so large a number of Negroes suffer by not having all its people able to buy goods or services matching the national level. The more Negroes can buy, the more jobs will be created.

HOUSTON *POST* February 23, 1964

American society robs itself when it refuses equal job and educational opportunities to people because of their race, creed or religion.

That's the feeling of Hobart Taylor, Jr., of Washington, D. C., the executive vice-chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

. . . Taylor prefers to approach the issue of desegregation on economic grounds.

The Gross National Product of the United States, for example, would be increased . . . if job discrimination were ended, he said. The Gross National Product now stands at $600 billion.

"Our economic system needs to be arranged so that everyone strives to his fullest," he said "If he doesn't, the country is that much poorer."

The economic evil about discrimination, he said, is that it makes many feel they cannot rise above a certain level, so they tend to give less than their best.

Taylor said one of the most harmful fallacies in the nation is that there are only a certain number of jobs available for the work force.

The truth is, he says, that as more people are given the opportunity to produce, the more wealth and jobs there are created.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* (from New York *Times* Co. dispatch), July 1, 1963

Washington—The Chief economist for the U. S. Chamber of Commerce fears that "unresolved race relations issues" may hurt some kinds of businesses particularly, and business generally in certain sections of the country. . . .

Entire areas of the country where there is widespread public unrest might also see some temporary drop in business, Schmidt [Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt] indicated.

The Price We Pay...

In Foreign Relations

Letter from W. M. Chase, General Sales Manager, Chase Machinery Company ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column May 20, 1963

Buffalo, N. Y.—I have just returned from a selling trip through the greater and lesser Antilles where for years we have been selling machinery and equipment to these off-shore areas in the Caribbean and the Atlantic.

Both the whites and the blacks now refuse to buy anything American from us even though, personally, I have made many friends for the past many years.

Russia, Japan, Canada and England have their salesmen in these prosperous islands and invariably they talk about how the whites treat the colored people in the United States.

Last year the U. S. Department of Commerce reported exports to these same islands amounted to $180 million but the steamship companies so far this year are noticing that shipments are few.

NEW YORK *HERALD TRIBUNE* June 20, 1963

Washington—Twenty-two ambassadors from African nations got together here yesterday to tell the world what it already knew—that Africa thinks even less of Senator Allen J. Ellender than he thinks of it.

A Louisiana Democrat and ardent segregationist, Senator Ellender likes to go around telling anybody who will listen that Negroes are incapable of self-government. He said it again on television Sunday.

The statement brought the usual reaction. On Monday, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, speaking for an Administration that is up to its neck in racial problems, said the Senator did not speak for the government or for a majority of Americans.

The Africans had heard this before, and were not impressed. They gathered in the Liberian Embassy and issued a communique that said, in part:

"The language used by the Senator was needlessly offensive to our countries with which the United States government has friendly relations . . .

"It is difficult to ignore Sen. Ellender's remarks or to dismiss them as the fully privileged announcement of a private citizen in view of his position as a senior member of Congress and of the Senate Appropriations Committee . . .

"It is a grave disservice to the cause of world peace and understanding for a person occupying a prominent place in the public life of a great nation to provoke a return of the archaic debates on whether ethnic differences can be held to justly a claim of superiority by one race over another. That theory has been proved baseless and its revival is likely to be a source of incalculable mischief."

Last December, while on a taxpayer-financed junket to Africa, Senator Ellender also said Negroes were unable to rule themselves. The remarks received wide publicity all over the continent and caused the State Department considerable embarrassment.

One result was that four countries on the Senator's itinerary refused permission for him to visit.

In March, Senator Ellender held a press conference here in which he said he had no apologies for his views. He called Africans "thinskinned" and appeared still nettled that he had been refused travel rights in four of the nations. He added.

"The Negro in Africa is no different from the Negro in America. The minute you say whites are a little ahead of the Negro it's like shaking a red handkerchief before a fighting bull."

The official policy of the United States, of course, has been to support independence for new African states. It is aiding these countries to the tune of $500 million a year.

WASHINGTON POST
August 26, 1963

When Negro and white demonstrators for equal rights converge on Washington this week, an American dilemma will be unveiled in dramatic terms. The vast majority of white Americans (78 per cent) feel that unsolved racial problems here at home cannot be defended in the court of world opinion.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
May 23, 1963

Air mail brought cuttings from newspapers in the new African countries showing treatment of the Birmingham riots and bombings within four days after the first brutalities. These mailings—to our State Department, to members of many delegations in the United Nations, and to individuals—have continued. They include photographs.

The result of the madness at Birmingham, and the following statements by Governor Wallace, Bull Conner, and others in political leadership in Alabama and Mississippi, have quite literally paralyzed the foreign relations of this country's representatives in Africa and seriously damaged them elsewhere. . . .

One paper mocks us asking if there is any real difference between the late Adolf Hitler's racist attitudes and those of America's extremists? Again, we are vulnerable.

ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION*
May 28, 1963

Washington (UPI)—Secretary of State Dean Rusk Monday called on Americans to solve racial problems which he said are causing "deep injury" to U. S. foreign policy abroad.

Rusk said that because of remaining U. S. racial barriers, U. S. diplomats must conduct American foreign policy like someone running in a foot race "with one of our legs in a cast." . . .

Rusk said the United States "is now confronted with one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865 . . . and this issue deeply affects the conduct of our foreign relations."

ATLANTA *JOURNAL-CONSTITUTION*
Ralph McGill column,
June 9, 1963

A Baptist missionary in Nigeria mailed in three cuttings from papers in that country. . . . One was an editorial from "The Times" of Lagos, perhaps the most influential publication in that country.

At the bottom of this cutting the missionary had written, "As a Christian this one was to me, the most tragic article of all. Why, why, don't our people at home know what they are doing to us . . .?"

From address by then Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Carl T. Rowan, before the Catholic Interracial Council of Washington, D. C., June 24, 1961, reprinted in *INTERRACIAL REVIEW* October, 1961

. . . Of the nearly 100 diplomatic missions now accredited to Washington, more than half have representatives of Asian or African background. So incidents of discrimination at airports and restaurants and other public places have become a matter of real concern on the part not only of Secretary of State Rusk but of normally intelligent Americans who are concerned about the kind of world in which their children are going to live.

Letter from Mrs. Betty Hakem in ATLANTA *CONSTITUTION* "Pulse of the Public" column November 1, 1963

Atlanta—It happened on Oct. 27, when my husband and I along with another Hindu couple from India went to a downtown restaurant to have our lunch. As soon as we went in we heard the most welcoming words from our American hostess, "Sorry, we cannot serve you." . . .

ATLANTA *JOURNAL*
(From North American Newspaper Alliance dispatch)
July 25, 1963

Paris—Racial tensions in the United States are beginning to produce international repercussions of an unprecedented kind, especially in Western Europe.

As seen from here, the United States for the first time since World War II faces an internal crisis sufficiently serious to deflect its energies from its international responsibilities. . . .

. . . They [Europeans] do not discount the possibilities of the domestic crisis having a sharply debilitating effect on U. S. foreign policy. The comparison increasingly made here is with the Soviet Union's running agricultural crisis and the restrictive influence it undoubtedly has exerted over the years on Russian initiative abroad.

WASHINGTON *POST*
May 25, 1963

Paris—France's new television program, "Seven Days of the World," opened tonight with a 10-minute sequence on the racial conflict in Birmingham, Alabama, which was a model of expert impartial reporting.

If the South...

. . . Per capita incomes in the South did increase from 47 to 64 percent of the non-South's during 1929-48 and have fluctuated at around 68 percent in more recent years. If there is any ground for discouragement, it lies in the fact that the South's per capita income made relatively little further gain on the rest of the nation during 1948-54 and that more recently the intensification of race conflict has raised a serious threat to still further regional economic progress. . . .

If the South could at last take such a fresh, honest, and hard-headed look at the race problem, the gains which would accrue to the region would extend far beyond matters of race. For race has so shackled the Southern mind that it has been incapable of accepting social responsibility for the general welfare or of organizing common efforts for common benefit in other important directions as well.

William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition & Regional Progress,* Chapel Hill, 1960

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Southern Leaders Impeach Judge Lynch

☆

High Lights from Report of
Commission on
The Study of Lynching

☆

PUBLISHED BY
COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
703 Standard Building
ATLANTA, GA.

1. Two of the twenty-one persons lynched in 1930 were certainly innocent, and eleven others possibly so.

2. Less than one-fourth of those lynched since 1890 were accused of assaults upon women, the "usual crime" commonly supposed to be the chief occasion of lynchings.

3. In crimes that incite to mob violence, the culprits are often defective half-wits, whom society, for its own protection, should previously have apprehended and confined. Yet in most Southern communities there is little or no provision for such protection.

4. The claim that lynchings are necessary because courts do not convict was found to be fallacious.

5. In most lynchings the mob leaders might be identified without difficulty, yet because of connivance or fear grand juries rarely indict and courts very rarely convict.

6. Lack of education and low economic status seem to be directly related both to mob violence and to the crimes which provoke it.

7. No community is immune from the danger of lynchings and good citizens everywhere should be on guard against it.

The above are among the significant facts revealed in an exhaustive investigation recently made by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching and given to the public in a 500-page volume entitled "The Tragedy of Lynching."

* * *

That the conclusions of this Commission merit careful consideration is evidenced by the character and standing of the men composing it—George Fort Milton, president and editor of the Chattanooga News; Julian Harris, news director of the Atlanta Constitution; Dr. W. J. McGlothlin, late president of Furman University and of the Southern Baptist Convention; Dr. W. P. King, editor Nashville Christian Advocate; Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, department of social science, Fisk University; Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina; Alex Spence, attorney, of Dallas, Texas; Dr. Benjamin F. Hubert, president of Georgia State College for Negroes; and Dr. Monroe Work, head of research department of Tuskegee Institute. Dr. W. C. Jackson, dean of North Carolina College for Women and former chairman of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, executive director of that Commission, served as ex-officio members.

* * *

When the lynching record, which for years had been steadily declining, rose from ten in 1929 to twenty-one in 1930, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, an association of a hundred Southern men and women for the promotion of understanding and justice between the races, decided that a thorough-going survey of the whole lynching situation should be made, including complete case studies of all the lynchings of 1930. It was the Commission's hope that thus it might be possible to define more clearly the causes of lynchings and to discover more effective means for their prevention.

In order that the results of this study might command the fullest confidence, the Commission asked eleven well known Southern leaders to sponsor and direct the study and give its findings to the public. These men accepted the responsibility cheerfully, though with a deep sense of its seriousness. Thus was created the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching.

This Commission immediately formulated plans for thorough case studies of the 1930 lynchings, and also for a careful analysis of the lynching record over a period of several decades. The

study was directed and carried out by Dr. Arthur Raper, with the help of other trained investigators. The report just given to the public is the result of more than a year's work on the part of the Commission and its staff.

* * *

In regard to the offenses for which lynchings occurred in 1930, the Commission's statement says: "Two of the victims are known to have been innocent. They were not even accused of crime. One was lynched solely because he had offended political opponents, and another to prevent his appearance as a witness in a serious court case against a white man. In five other cases it was not clear that the mobs got the guilty persons, and in six more there was doubt as to the truth of the charges against the men lynched." In only eight of the twenty-one cases did there seem to be no doubt whatever as to the guilt or identity of the mobs' victims. In some cases the Commission found reason to suspect that the victims had been deliberately "framed" for purposes of concealment or revenge.

The popular opinion that most lynchings are for the punishment of crimes against women was found to be wide of the fact. Of 3,693 persons lynched during the forty-one years ending with 1929 only twenty-three per cent were accused of actual or attempted crimes against women, while 77 per cent were lynched for other offenses. Those who apologize for lynching as a necessary defense of womanhood, the Commission declares, "in reality doubly betray the Southern woman, first in making her danger greater by exaggerating her helplessness, and second by undermining the authority of police and courts, which are her legitimate protectors."

The claim that courts do not convict, often advanced as another excuse for lynching, is equally fallacious, the Commission says, for its investigations show that, in eighteen months ending July 1, 1931, sixty-eight Negroes were executed by law in the Southern states and 470 were given life sentences.

* * *

As a result of careful investigations on the ground, the Commission asserts that in most lynching cases there would be no difficulty in identifying mob leaders and members, if observers had the will and courage to do it. Generally the mob members made little or no effort to conceal their identity; yet officers and others present in their midst usually testified that they recognized none of them. This attitude, the report declares, can be attributed only to "connivance or stupidity." This type of local sympathy or intimidation, the Commission says, was largely responsible for the fact that indictments were returned in only six lynching cases in 1930, and that only four of the 49 men indicted were convicted. The Negro's political impotence was pointed out as an important factor in the indifference of officers toward the resistance and prosecution of mobs.

* * *

The Commission sees a probable close connection between illiteracy and crime, having found that not one of the twenty-one mob victims of 1930 had as much as a high school education, that only one had gone beyond the fifth grade, and that eleven were totally or practically illiterate. This, according to the Commission, suggests the need of better educational facilities to raise the level of public security. Most of those also whom its investigators identified as probable participants in mobs were poorly educated, propertyless, and irresponsible, often unemployed and sometimes with court records. Some, to be sure, were found to be members of the churches, and a very few had some prominence in the community.

It is pointed out that officers from other counties, as well as stockade guards and other petty local officials, in some cases only complicated the sit-

uation and at times directly or indirectly abetted the mob. The presence of curious onlookers often had the same effect, the report continues. In some instances boys were conspicuous in the crowds, and sometimes women and children. In three cases the National Guard, though on the scene, were wholly ineffective.

* * *

Eleven of the 1930 lynchings took place in counties which had had none in thirty years. This fact the Commission interprets as indicating that no community is immune from mob violence, and that good citizens everywhere should be constantly on watch for threatening situations. Many of 1930's lynchings, the Commission declares, could easily have been prevented in this way. It is pointed out that, in the decade ending with 1929, four hundred and forty-eight attempts at lynching were frustrated by the prompt action of officers and citizens.

The fact was discovered that lynching, while decreasing rapidly during the last three decades, is becoming more exclusively a Southern practice, with 97 per cent of all the country's lynchings occuring in the South in recent years, as against 82 per cent in earlier decades. It was found that it is also becoming increasingly a racial phenomenon. In number of mob victims since 1889 Georgia, Mississippi, Texas and Louisiana lead with 465, 464, 364, and 349 lynchings respectively. But figured on the basis of Negro population, the percentage of lynchings was greatest in Florida, with Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas following in order.

The Commission cites illustrations of what it terms "legal lynchings"—hasty trials and foredoomed convictions under mob pressure so great as to preclude the possibility of deliberate and impartial procedure. In some cases, it was stated, officials actually bargained with mobs and "bought off" the leaders with promises of speedy conviction and execution—promises sometimes carried out to the bitter end, even in the face of reasonable doubt as to the guilt of the accused.

* * *

Against this dark picture the Commission points out certain encouraging high lights. One is the steady decrease in the lynching toll to one-tenth of its former proportions. The tide reached its crest in 1892 with 255 victims, and has steadily receded to an average of seventeen per year for the past six years. Another is the fact that the great religious bodies, the newspapers, and many influential individuals and groups are united in condemnation of the lynching habit and in the effort to suppress it.

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be had postpaid at fifteen cents per dozen, or eighty cents per hundred. An 80-page report, "Lynchings and What They Mean," will be sent on receipt of twenty-five cents, or the full 500 page report for $2.50, plus postage. Order of

COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION
703 Standard Bldg.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Peace Imps

I AM AFRAID

BY

ILL.·.RAYMOND C. ELLIS 33°, ACTIVE
PAST GRAND MASTER, NEW YORK
11 PARK PLACE NEW YORK 7, N.Y.

•

(Appeared in the January 1963, issue of the NEW AGE, the official publication of the SUPREME COUNCIL 33°, A.·.A.·.S.·.R.·. Southern Jurisdiction, U.S.A.)

If we were to see this country from a great height, about twenty-five years before the opening of the American Revolution, we would find a thin line of settlements running along the Atlantic seaboard beginning about at Augusta, Me., where Fort Weston stood, all the way down the coast and into Georgia. About 3,000,000 people lived in these colonies. There were only four cities—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. Charleston was the center of literature, of music, and of culture. New York City did not extend beyond City Hall and had a population at the time of the American Revolution of about 25,000. The people were small tradesmen, farmers and fishermen. They lived in widely distributed towns and villages with their trim and well built houses. They had come to these shores for quite definite reasons and have given us a heritage of three fundamental principles upon which to base our lives.

First, these people believed in God and served God. All along the coast are the beautiful architectural gems dedicated to God, that were built with the money, the faith, the love, and the heart's blood of people who realized they could not exist without an awareness of a Heavenly Father who was a very present help in time of trouble and who would never leave them nor forsake them.

Second, they believed in work. There was no social security or unemployment insurance when the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth. They had to work to live, and they toiled through the long hours of the day from dawn until dark.

Third, they believed in and loved liberty. As one advanced through the settlements along the seacoast and beyond tidewater, there one would find in the long, narrow, trough-like valleys of the Alleghanies, running from north to south, a disheveled fringe of settlements. The people were mainly of Scotch-Irish origin, who had passed through the towns of the tidewater settlements and carved out homes in a virgin wilderness.

When a settler entered one of these narrow valleys he first felled the great trees of the virgin forest, built his low-browed log hut, and sowed his grain among the stumps of the fallen monarchs. There, with his family, usually miles from his nearest neighbor, he lived a life of appalling loneliness. He had no one to depend on but himself. He raised his own food, hunted his own meat, made his own clothes, and worked from dawn to dark just to keep himself and family alive. On all sides rose the dark and mysterious forest like a palisade. It was an area of perpetual twilight, danger and mystery. No one knew how far it extended. When he left the sunlight of his clearing he entered a sort of noon day gloaming. The sunlight seldom penetrated through the foliage of the great trees, the branches of which interlaced and shrouded the ground in a grey half light. There was little undergrowth in the virgin forest and a man would often ride horseback at break-neck speed among and between trees six and eight feet in diameter. Looking down from above, the forest stretched out, league upon endless league to the westward, nobody knew how far. It was a leafy maze rolling over hill and valley in billows of interminable green. In glimpses only was this wild primeval world revealed, with its dark green mountains flecked with morning mist and the more distant summits pencilled against the horizon in dreamy blue.

On every side lurked danger in its most horrible form. No one knew when the uncertain peace with the Indian tribes would be broken. Without the slightest warning the raids would start, cabins go up in flames, women and children butchered without discrimination or carried away in captivity. It is only by reading the detail of blood as set down in the untutored words of those who saw and felt it can we have even a faint understanding of the terror which haunted their lives—the mortal fear of women and children, waking and sleeping, in the solitude and loneliness of their wilderness homes. Theodore Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West" stated that it was impossible for anyone to live any length of time on the frontier without having lost close relations in the never-ending Indian Wars.

After the defeat of Braddock outside of where Pittsburgh now stands the frontier was aflame. The sufferings of the people fleeing to the forts at Bedford and Carlyle is indescribable. Washington saw it and was a part of it. He was so overcome that he wrote in a letter to his brother Lawrence the following words: "The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

Why, we ask, would any people undergo such suffering and hardships. The answer is because of a consuming passion for liberty. They loved it and were willing to pay its price in blood and toil and sweat and tears. It should be remembered that they were but a generation or two away from the stake, the rack and the torture chamber. They could understand what liberty meant and were willing to pay its price—and they knew that part of that price was eternal vigilance.

We should never forget that in their veins ran the blood of men who wrung the Magna Carta from Prince John at Runnymede. In their veins ran the blood of men who fought with Oliver Cromwell in England for civil liberty. In their veins ran the blood of men who stood behind John Knox in Scotland. In their veins ran the blood of men who rallied behind Martin Luther when he nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg. In their veins ran the blood of men who had fled to this country from France at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In their veins ran the blood of men who under William of Orange and Maurice threw off the Spanish yoke in Holland.

With such a background, they knew the value as well as the price that people must pay for liberty. As these people gradually moved westward, they marked their love of liberty in the very names of the towns and villages they founded—Liberty, Freedom, Independence, Freedom Crossing, Liberty Corners. When we look back across the years and realize what these people felt and did, there is no American who cannot say with a deep sense of pride, "Yea, I have a goodly heritage."

Today the world is in a state of change and flux. It is quite evident that civilization is balanced on the thin knife-edge of possible destruction. We, too, live in perilous times and our nation and the world is in grave danger. Of that, there can be no question. But, grave as the dangers may be that threaten us from **without,** they are minor compared to those that threaten us from **within:**—Apathy! Indifference! Complacency! These are the great American crimes. I do not underestimate the dangers from without, but I am convinced that no power from without can beat us. But we can beat ourselves.

I am much more afraid of the **Americans** than I am of the Russians.

I am afraid of **Americans** who have become victims of apathy, indifference and complacency.

I am afraid of **Americans** who have become indifferent to the decay of national ideals—who have become so accustomed to every form of political chicanery, graft and corruption that these are accepted with little protest as a normal part of our life.

I am afraid of **Americans** who are apathetic to the tender loving care with which, so it seems, the red, the pink, the traitor and other subversive elements are treated by our courts, from the Supreme Court down.

I am afraid of **Americans** who have become so hardened to all types of crime, including murder, that the chief offense is no longer the criminal act itself but in having been found out.

I am afraid of **Americans** who are indifferent to the use of the ballot—who don't vote on Election Day on the theory that one vote more or less won't count. Yet by one vote Edward Everett was elected Governor of Massachusetts. By the late returns from a few districts in Coney Island, New York State went Democratic and Grover Cleveland became President

of the United States. In this room today there are many who can recall the election eve when Charles Evans Hughes went to bed thinking—with everyone else—that he had been elected President of the United States. Then, in the small hours of the morning, the late returns rolled in from Humboldt County in northern California. California went Democratic and Woodrow Wilson was President of the United States.

I am afraid of **Americans,** who ought and who do know better, who give lip service to the fight against inflation and then, for financial profit, do all they can to promote it.

I am afraid of **Americans,** who also know better, who succumb to the siren call of policies of fiscal idiocy and sell the economic future of their children down the river.

I am afraid of **Americans** who are unconcerned that better than four out of every ten boys called up for military service are unfit mentally, morally or physically to serve in the Armed Forces of the United States.

I am afraid of **Americans** who put first things last and last things first, who underpay their ministers and teachers, who, if we were to have a recession, would first economize by cutting their contributions to churches, hospitals and schools, and later economize by reducing their liquor and luxury bills.

I am afraid of **Americans** who have given way to the corrosive force of luxury, and who have put their trust in material things. No one on this earth owns anything. We do not own our house, our bank account, or the stocks and bonds registered in our name. We are only stewards of the things we seem to possess. We cannot take them with us.

No nation in history has survived if it has turned its back on the moral and spiritual values responsible for whatever of greatness to which it may have attained. We would do well to remember this basic historical fact, as well as that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and that we will be the "land of the free" only as long as we are the "home of the brave."

"My lines have fallen in pleasant places." No people ever had their lines fall in more pleasant places. No people ever had a more goodly heritage than the American people. We would do well to return to the ancient landmarks of our heritage that are important, the things that are permanent and the things that are real, before it is too late. Time is short and time is always running out. The reverence of God, the dignity of work, and the priceless heritage of freedom.

No people need be concerned if God is their King; if work is a part of the warp and woof of their personalities and characters; if deep down within the hearts of all there is a consuming passion for liberty, freedom of thought, and independence—and a willingness to pay the price therefor.

This is our heritage, founded upon a rock which no storm or wind can shake, and which no American should ever forget.

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY RESEARCH FOUNDATION
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado

Peace Groups

13 February 1963

Dear Friends:

In August 1962, Colorado State University and the Peace Research Institute co-sponsored a week long Student Peace Research Workshop with junior and senior undergraduates, graduate students, and young faculty members present. The first two days of the Workshop were devoted to an attempt to clarify the basic issues involved in peace research with a faculty of recognized scholars -- who were themselves already concerned with peace research -- making the presentations. This included a summary of on-going peace research in the United States and Canada and a consideration of the domestic and international issues which seemed most pressing and amenable to research. By the end of the second day the students had offered some twenty different areas of potential research, which after culling and selection were reduced to six. On the basis of their own interests and abilities the students chose one of these areas and work groups were formed, the goal of the group being the clarification and definition of a clearly defined outline for a research project. From this point the work groups were responsible for their own schedules, with faculty members circulating among the various groups on the basis of need or request. However, the real work of conceiving, defining, planning, and preparing the research outline was left to the work group. The groups were as follows:

Applicability of Socio-Psychological Concepts to International Relations,
Socio-Political Factors in the Transition to a Disarmed Economy,
Effect of Other Political Events on Disarmament Negotiations,
Live Crisis Analysis,
Measurement of Differential Effects of Attitude Change Techniques,
Ideology of the Peace Movement.

The final sessions of the week were devoted to the presentation and evaluation of the research outlines developed by these six work groups.

Since this Workshop there have been expressions of interest from several quarters, but there has been no way to gage and evaluate exactly the degree and direction of this interest. The attached questionnaire is an attempt to gain some measure of the interest and involvement in peace activities and peace research on the part of both students and faculty members throughout the nation. Peace research we define as that research, fundamental or applied, in the social sciences, humanities, arts, biological and physical sciences which is directed toward and/or has relevance either directly or indirectly to the problems of preventing violent international conflict and creating the conditions for a stable world wherein undesirable conflict is resolved by means other than war.

Your assistance in completing the attached questionnaire will be most helpful in our considerations for future action. Please try to return the completed questionnaire to the address above not later than [redacted] APR 1 1963

Thanking you for your assistance in this matter, I am

Sincerely yours,

Maurice L. Albertson

Maurice L. Albertson
Director, Research Foundation
and
Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee for
Rocky Mountain-Great Plains
Peace Research Conference

Your Name _____ Mailing Address _____

City and State _____

College or University _____

Major or Department _____ Class or Position _____

1. What are you personally now doing in the area of peace research or peace activity?

2. What activities are faculty members, student groups, or the institution itself engaged in as peace research or peace activity?
   Current activity:

   Recent past: (within past 2 years)

3. Tentatively assuming that a Student Peace Research Workshop were to be held for one week during late summer 1963 (with junior and senior undergraduates, graduate students, and young faculty members) would you personally be interested in participating?

   Are other students you know interested in such a workshop? Who?

4. What is the basis of your interest in such a workshop?

5. What suggestions do you have for program content, method, agenda, mechanics, for such a peace research workshop?

6. What do you propose for advance reading and preparation prior to participation in such a workshop?

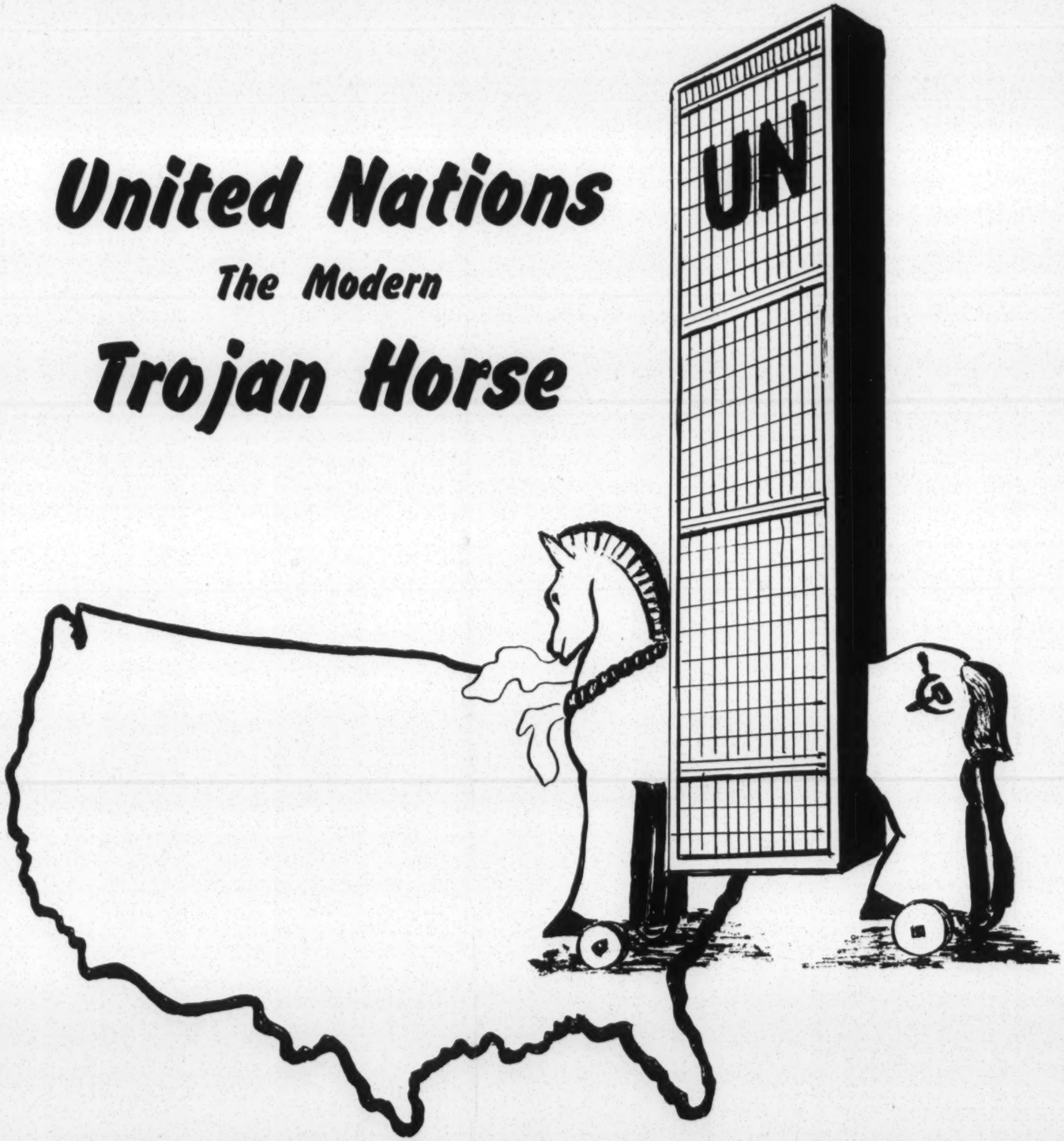
This questionnaire is intended to be an expression of the degree of interest and activity, not a commitment or application form. It should be completed and returned to the address below, not later than 1 April.

Dr. Maurice L. Albertson, Director
Research Foundation
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, Colorado

*If more space is needed, use reverse side of this sheet.

Peace Corps

United Nations
The Modern
Trojan Horse



The United Nations has proved incapable of either promoting or keeping the peace. Since it has broken with the original charter and started interfering in the internal affairs of its members and many of the small and weaker states, it has become a positive menace.

The United Nations now acts on a double standard, one for the weak, on whom it can work its will with mercenary troops, and a very different one for the strong, before whom it bows in deep humility.

Hon. Katherine St. George

Unless the U.N. is completely reorganized without the Communist nations in it, we should get out of it.

Herbert Hoover

The U.N. has become a trap. Let's go it alone.

the late Robert Taft

Lord Beaverbrook, noted British publisher, said:

Here in New York City, you Americans have the biggest fifth column in the world—the United Nations.

The United Nations will survive in history as the chief monument to western blindness to Soviet political warfare.

In the United Nations we see at work the Soviet facility for taking over an organisation from within.

Mme. Suzanne Labin
Intelligence Digest
February 1963

POPULATION OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS *

AFRICA

EUROPE

work the Soviet facility for taking over an organisation from within.

Mme. Suzanne Labin
Intelligence Digest
February 1963

POPULATION OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS *

AFRICA

Algeria	10,197,000
Burundi	2,500,000
Cameroon	4,000,000
Chad	2,581,000
Central African Republic	1,193,000
Congo (Brazzaville)	794,577
Congo (Leopoldville)	13,821,000
Dahomey	2,003,000
Ethiopia	21,800,000
Gabon	420,709
Ghana	4,911.000
Guinea	2,726,000
Ivory Coast	3,200,000
Liberia	1,250,000
Libya	1,153,000
Malagasy Republic	5,486,713
Mali	4,307,000
Mauritania	727,000
Morocco	11,598,000
Niger	2,803,000
Nigeria	34,296,000
Ruanda	26,338
Senegal	2,597,000
Sierra Leone	2,260,000
Somali Republic	1,900,000
So. Africa	14,929,000
Sudan	11,615,000
Tanganyika	128,742
Togo	1,642,000
Tunisia	3,965,000
Uganda	8,500
Upper Volta	4,004,000

NORTH AMERICA

Canada	17,814,000
United States	187,000,000
Mexico	34,625,000

AUSTRALIA	10,281,000
NEW ZEALAND	2,327,000

EUROPE

Albania	1,556,000
Austria	7,049,000
Belgium	9,104,000
Bulgaria	7,798,000
Byelorussian S.S.R.-3.1% of U.S.S.R. population	
Czechoslavakia	13,649,000
Denmark	4,547,000
Finland	4,457,000
France	45,355,000
Greece	8,258,000
Hungary	10,002,000
Ireland	2,834,000
Italy	49,052,000
Luxembourg	324,000
Netherlands	11,480,000
Norway	3,583,000
Poland	29,480,000
Portugal	9,124,000
Rumania	18,256,000
Spain	30,128,000
Sweden	7,471,000
Ukrainian S.S.R.	41,893,000
United Kingdom	52,675,000
Yugoslavia	18,655,000

CENTRAL AMERICA & WEST INDIES

Costa Rica	1,173,000
Cuba	6,743,000
Dominican Republic	2,994,000
El Salvador	2,613,000
Guatemala	3,759,000
Haiti	3,505,000
Honduras	1,950,000
Jamaica	125,526
Nicaragua	1,450,000
Panama	1,053,000
Trinidad-Tobago	5,600,000

= Captive Nation

ASIA

Afghanistan	13,000,000
Burma	20,662,000
Cambodia	4,845,000
Ceylon	9,612,000
China (Nationalist)	10,611,000
Cyprus	563,000
India	408,050,000
Indonesia	92,600,000
Iran	20,633,000
Iraq	6,952,000
Israel	2,114,000
Japan	93,600,000
Jordan	1,636,000
Laos	1,760,000
Lebanon	1,250,000
Malaya	6,698,000
Nepal	9,044,000
Outer Mongolia	909,600
Pakistan	86,823,000
Philippines	27,473,000
Saudi Arabia	6,036,000
Syria	4,539,000
Thailand	22,718,000
Turkey	27,802,000
U.S.S.R.	218,000,000
United Arab Republic	29,400,000
Yemen	4,500,000

SOUTH AMERICA

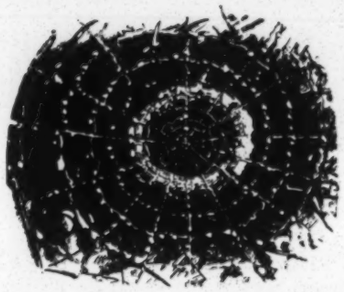
Argentina	20,956,000
Bolivia	3,462,000
Brazil	65,743,000
Chili	7,627,000
Colombia	14,132,000
Ecuador	4,298,000
Paraguay	1,760,000
Peru	10,827,000
Uruguay	2,800,000
Venezuela	6,709,000

ICELAND	172,000

* Regardless of population, each of the above nations has one vote. The United States vote represents 187,000,000 people. The Uganda vote represents 8,500 people. Of the 110 member states of the General Assembly, 50% have a combined population of less than the population of the United States. Russia controls 10 votes.

The United States finances over a third of the U. N. costs. In addition, our Foreign Aid program to some 70 countries around the world provides them with money to pay their dues. Thus, directly or indirectly, the United States is paying practically the entire cost of the United Nations.

RUSSIAN ARMS BANNER



UNITED NATIONS FLAG

The Strange Origin Of The UN Flag

The striking similarity between the UN flag and the Soviet Arms Banner reflects the constant pattern of Soviet (Communist) influence which has characterized this international organization since its founding days. The Soviet Arms Banner, highest emblem in Communist heraldry, may be found on the cover of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Its strong resemblance to the UN flag adds confirmation to the convictions of many critics who regard the UN as a device to capture the United States by destruction of our Constitution, our economic and political life, and to subject our citizens to domination by the Masters of the Kremlin through centralized World Government.

. . . . . .

The UN flag to many people, resembles the pattern of a spider web, both in effect and in intent.

. . . . . .

It was World War II which gave the Soviet plan its impetus. During this period a massive infiltration of sensitive agencies of the Government took place. Pro-Communists and personnel of subversive and revolutionary tendencies were able to establish themselves in strategic 'slots'.. . . . . to shift the center of gravity in the process of United States foreign policy from a national to an international orientation via the supranational United Nations Organization

. . . . . .

The documentation is a long and dreary record of a large group who "used each other's names for reference on applications for Federal employment. They hired each other. They promoted each other. They raised each other's salaries. They transferred each other from bureau to bureau, from department to department, from congressional committee to congressional committee. They assigned each other to international missions. They vouched for each other's loyalty and protected each other when exposure threatened.

. . . . . .

"The UN has attracted Communist and pro-Communist Americans. It has also attracted well-meaning but naive persons whose concern for 'humanitarian' things has diverted them from reality...."

. . . . . .

This interlocking web of internationalism was not stopped by the temporary imprisonment of Alger Hiss or Tony Marzani. Agencies of more responsible appearance, such as the National Education Association and its subservient arm, the P-TA, has continuously propagandized for the United Nations. Every P-TA chapter is supposed to have an active UN Chairman and Committee.

Is the UN flag, with its "web of subversion" superimposed on the nations of the world, symbolic of the paralysis with which we have been infected?--a paralysis which permits the omission in school textbooks of information detrimental to the United Nations and to World Government? Shall we continue to allow our children, the potential leaders of our country a few years hence, to be led blindfold into renouncing allegiance to our beloved America in favor of a Communist-dominated world government?

This propagandizing of our nation's youth in favor of internationalism and to the detriment of patriotism and love of country, appears to be effectively paralyzing the American will to resist.

P. O. Box 231, Fullerton, California.
Educational News Service
September, 1968

THE UNI

EXCERPTS FROM A CONGRESSIONAL REPRI
BY CONGRESSMA

"THE U. N. IS ATHEISTIC."

Our Declaration of Independence concludes with these words:

> And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

This is a full and complete acknowledgment of divine guidance. Nowhere in the United Nations Charter or any of its subsidiaries do you find any reference to a Supreme Being. The Bible says:

> Unless the Lord build an house, they labor in vain who build it.

There is, indeed, no evidence of the Lord's work in the United Nations.

"U. N. PERSONNEL"

Now, Mr. Speaker, let us look at the present management of the United Nations. Russia had been demanding a troika to supplant the U.N. Secretariat after the death of Hammarskjold. The failure of Russia to secure this troika was hailed as a great victory for the West, but was it? U Thant of Burma, a self-styled Marxist, was chosen and he agreed to invite a limited number of U.N. under secretaries "to act as my principal advisers on important questions." So far he has indicated two: Georgy P. Arkadov, a Communist from the Soviet Union, and Ralph Bunche of the United States. This was a Communist victory in that Russia now has its troika: one an avowed Marxist, the second a dedicated Communist, and the third with a pro-Communist bias. A résumé of Dr. Bunche's record, prepared by Archibald B. Roosevelt, son of Theodore Roosevelt, includes this paragraph:

> Dr. Bunche was part of the editorial apparatus of an openly Communist magazine, Science and Society, for over 4 years. He contributed to this publication and added his name and prestige as a professor of Howard University even after the Communists in their publication, The Communist, openly stated that Science and Society magazine had as its function "to help Marxward moving students and intellectuals to come

. . . . . **to shift the center of gravity in the process of United States foreign policy from a national to an international orientation via the supranational United Nations Organization**

. . . . . .

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A POWER SHIFT FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE UNITED NATIONS THROUGH DISARMAMENT

(Hon. James B. Utt, Cong.Record April 11, 1962.)

. . . . . the State Department issued its publication 7277, entitled "Freedom From War, the U.S. Program for General and Complete Disarmament in a Peaceful World." This little 19-page booklet of disaster, defeat, and surrender, proposes:

The elimination from national arsenals of all armaments, including all weapons of mass destruction and the means for their delivery, other than those required for a United Nations peace force and for maintaining internal order.

As states relinquish their arms, the United Nations shall be progressively strengthened.

Stage I: An International Disarmament Organization (IDO) shall be established within the framework of the United Nations * * * Strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles in specified categories and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be reduced to agreed levels * * * The reduction shall be accomplished * * * by transfers to depots supervised by the IDO.

Production of agreed categories of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be discontinued or limited.

Testing of agreed categories of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be limited or halted.

Stage II: Further reductions in the stocks of strategic nuclear weapons delivery vehicles and agreed types of weapons designed to counter such vehicles shall be carried out.

During stage II, states shall develop further the peacekeeping processes of the United Nations, to the end that the United Nations can effectively in stage III deter or suppress any threat or use of force in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations * * * The U.N. Peace Force shall be established and progressively strengthened.

Stage III: In stage III, progressive controlled disarmament * * * would proceed to a point where no state would have the military power to challenge the progressively strengthened U.N. Peace Force.

States would retain only those forces, non-nuclear armaments, and establishments required for the purpose of maintaining internal order; they would also support and provide agreed manpower for a U.N. Peace Force.

The U.N. Peace Force, equipped with agreed types and quantities of armaments, would be fully functioning.

The manufacture of armaments would be prohibited except for those of agreed types and quantities to be used by the U.N. Peace Force and those required to maintain internal order.

The U.N. Question

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

Monday, January 15, 1962

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Wall Street Journal of January 11. This editorial expresses the thoughts and anxieties of many of our people and many of our constituents concerning the future usefulness of the United Nations.

The editorial follows:

THE U.N. QUESTION

It's just about impossible these days to avoid running into "the U.N. question." In conversations and in periodicals of all political hues the same questions are being raised: Is the United Nations worth keeping? More particularly, can the United States continue to support the U.N. as an instrument of policy?

This widespread concern, although belated, is healthy. For the questions are the right ones, and they are important ones for the United States. . . . . .

Now the United States obviously doesn't have to apologize to anyone for its own anticolonial origins and traditions. But the thinking in the U.N.'s dominant factions on this issue is upside down. Russia, the only significant colonial power today, is not regarded by the Afro-Asians as a colonial power. As for the rest, anything goes in the name of anticolonialism. And this includes the use of force by the U.N. itself in the name of anticolonialism.

That is the case of the Congo, in which the United States is so deeply involved through the U.N. The U.N. force was used not as a buffer, not to prevent civil war and keep peace, but as an active antagonist to drive out the presumed vestiges of colonialism. In the expert opinion of Harvard Professor of Government Stanley Hoffmann, writing in the New Republic, this was a reversal of the peaceful policies the late Dag Hammarskjold tried to apply.

Unquestionably it is a precedent, and an awesome one for the United States to contemplate. If the United States goes along with this anticolonialism theory, as it has in the Congo, into what more morasses may not the United States be dragged? As Mr. Hoffmann puts it, "The U.N. is simply not equipped to cope with a world in which too many hunting grounds are left open; another aggression justified by anticolonialism might, this time, provoke extensive bloodshed."

And that, we think, suggests the nub of the U.N. question. The United States is thoroughly enmeshed in an institution it cannot control and which is a potential danger both to peace and to American interests. Professor Hoffmann states it even more strongly: "There is a serious risk involved in entrusting the pursuit of important national interests to a mechanism the next twists and turns of which one cannot predict."

At least this much ought to be clear: The United States had best be extremely wary of the U.N. And the Congress and the people had best face the questions honestly, and at last without sentimentality. Our security may depend on realistic answers.

WILL LACK OF FUNDS KILL OFF THE U.N.?

Richard N. Gardner, a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, said on March 12 that 48 U. N. members have paid nothing on their bills for the Congo operation, 25 have ignored assessments for the Middle East. Payments in arrears total more than 121 million dollars. The U. S. has been paying 48 per cent of the U. N.'s Congo and Middle East expenses.

Major debtors include the Soviet Union, which owes the U. N. nearly 50 million dollars, other Communist nations which owe 20 million, and France, 14 million.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, March 25, 1963

The Tablet

Anti-Religious

The UN has repeatedly sanctioned Red aggression and religious persecution in its crudest forms. It condoned Stalin's seizure of Catholic Lithuania and Czechoslovakia, together with Latvia and Estonia. The UN never censored Tito's persecution of Cardinal Stepinac or Hungary's persecution of Cardinal Mindszenty. The UN welcomed Chinese Communist representatives at the same time that Red China was liquidating Catholic and Protestant missionaries and killing American boys in Korea.

The UN has persistently excluded God from its activities and undertakings. Although from the very beginning the UN could afford plenty of space and money for one of the largest bars in the world with tax-free liquor (Scotch at $2 per bottle), it could find no space for a prayer-room until the Fall of 1951. Unlike every session of Congress and all American legislative bodies, no UN Security Council or General Assembly is permitted to begin with a prayer. Aug. 23, 1953

SPIES

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation confirmed the charge frequently that the United Nations provide protective "front" for Soviet s to operate freely in the United under the cloak of "diplomatic In May, 1960, the Senate Intern curity Sub-committee issued a r prepared by J. Edgar Hoover ent "Expose of Soviet Espionage".

"Attention is called to the f that many of the incidents and previously cited involved Sovie ployes of the United Nations. are guests of the United States are supposedly dedicated in the of international peace. But, t are, in fact, carefully selecte envoys of the international Com conspiracy, trained in trickery deceit and dedicated to the con of fully exploiting the freedom the countries they seek to dest It is too much to expect that t would not subvert the United Na

(Excerpts from The Independent American Tax Fax No. 26.)

MORE AND MORE T

Seven members of the 21-membe sliding scale assessment to eas veloped nations. AS PROJECTS G MEMBERS OF THE U. N. WOULD PICK AND THE POORER MEMBERS WOULD GE

NARCOTICS

Harry J. Anslinger, the dedicated U. S. Narcotics Commissioner who's sitting in N. Y. this week as a member of the UN's International Narcotics Conference, told me he has long been disturbed by the knowledge that large amounts of junk are smuggled "legally" into the U. S. in the diplomatic pouches of some UN personnel (especially from behind the Curtain) as well as by certain envoys to Washington. Nothing can be done about it, even if the money remains behind for subversive purposes

★ Los Angeles Herald & Express Feb. 23, 1961 Lee Mort

THE UNITED NATIONS' RECORD

NAL REPRINT ENTITLED "NONE IS SO BLIND AS HE WHO WILL NOT SEE," ONGRESSMAN JAMES B. UTT, JAN. 15, 1963.

closer to Marxism-Leninism; to bring Communist thought into academic circles."

In a Senate probe by the Internal Security Subcommittee it was brought out that Dr. Bunche had repeatedly pressured persons in charge of U.N. employment to hire a notorious Communist agent, in spite of the fact that here was a derogatory report against the individual by a security agency of the Government.

It is my considered opinion that Dr. Bunche must be considered a security risk for our country in any position which he may hold.

This "troika" arrangement, engineered by the Communists, is frightening and devastating when you consider the United States of America has no foreign policy of its own except the United Nations.

Alger Hiss recommended the first 500 employees for the United Nations.

"U. N. PROMISES VS. THE RECORD"

We were sold the U.N. on a promise of peace, but we failed to realize that this peace was to be on Communist terms; in fact, it was to be a total victory for the international Communist conspiracy. Our faith in this hope was so firm that we were lulled into a state of false security while the Communist world gobbled up 13 or 14 countries. bringing 800 million people under their domination. Russia has used the veto power nearly a hundred times. The United Nations has been completely unable to bring any degree of peace, and Russia itself has created 13 or 14 military conflicts between the East and the West.

The United Nations has not as yet passed a resolution of censorship against Russia for its Hungarian blood bath but rather stood idly by and helped to betray the Hungarian freedom fighters into the hands of Russia. It could not even get a censorship resolution against India for its military invasion of Portuguese enclaves.

Further, Mr. Speaker, what may I ask is the United Nations doing to prevent President Sukarno, of Indonesia, from carrying out his military attack against the island possession of Holland which lie more than a thousand miles away from Indonesia?

The power, the honor, and the prestige of America have fallen from their high point in 1945 to an absolute zero today.

The action in Katanga is nothing short of lunacy. Not a voice was raised in the United Nations when Syria withdrew from the United Arab Republic, but that same organization sent troops into the Congo to prevent self-determination of a civilized and Christian province which did not want to be a part of a Communist-controlled Congo.

Our defeat in the abortive Cuban invasion can be laid on the doorstep of the United Nations, as the United Nations treaty prohibits us from engaging in any military operations without the consent of the United Nations Security Council in which Russia holds the veto power.

THE MILITARY

Now let us look at the record. According to Trygve Lie, longtime Secretary General of the United Nations, he stated flatly that there was a secret agreement between Alger Hiss and Molotov to the effect that the head of the United Nations military staff should always be a Communist. That agreement has never been broken, and we have had a succession of Communists filling that post, the present one being Mr. Arkadov. As a first consequence of this treasonous agreement, this country lost its first military engagement in Korea at a cost to this country of more than $20 billion and 145,000 American casualties, to say nothing of the honor and prestige of this Nation.

This was the first war in which we engaged, not as the United States military force, but as a United Nations force, although we contributed 90 percent of the men and the money. How convenient this was to the Communists to have one of their own men as head of the United Nations military staff, who reviewed all orders going from the Pentagon to General MacArthur and gave them to our enemy before General MacArthur received them.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER	vs.	UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION
1. Provides for vast expansion of government power.		1. Provides for limitation of powers of government.
2. Centralization of power.		2. Provides for separation of powers.
3. UN officials appointed.		3. Provides for elected officials.
4. Omits mention of property rights.		4. Protects property rights.
5. Omits mention of trial by jury.		5. Protects right of trial by jury.
6. Admits known enemies into our councils.		6. Provides for our common defense.
7. Was written in part by Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White and Vyacheslav Molotov.		7. Was written by American patriots.

Claims by War Victims Present A New Congo Problem for U.N.

When the United Nations eventually starts to break camp after its costly stay in the Congo, one of the last units to leave will be a small group known simply as the "Claims Office." As the military operation subsides, activity in the Claims Office is quickening to a degree that officials find alarming.

Only in the past few weeks has the scope of the problem been recognized at United Nations headquarters. Officials were expecting a few hundred claims against the organization, but that has proved to be wishful thinking.

"The number of claims is probably close to 2,000 now," C. A. Stavropoulos, the United Nations legal counsel in New York, said recently. "We are still engaged in sorting out the claims received. But when the Leopoldville office gave me their last tally they still had 800 claims unopened."

This dispatch appears in The National Observer by special arrangement with the Daily Telegraph of London.

The information from Leopoldville created a minor panic. Suddenly, the Congo had produced another knotty problem and its political, legal, and financial ramifications were as yet unknown. It will be a month or two before even the dimensions of the problem are known. Settling

For the claimants it is a strange and possibly frustrating exercise in litigation, a curiously one-way affair. The United Nations, of course, cannot be sued in the normal way. It enjoys immunity in national courts and the individual is denied recourse to the World Court, where only states may take cases.

But the World Court has already ruled that the United Nations is, in the legal sense, "an international person." In a decision in 1949 the Court declared: "It (the United Nations) is a subject of international law and capable of possessing international rights and duties and . . . it has the capacity to maintain its rights by bringing international claims."

An Accident of War?

In addition, the legal aspects are more complicated. Is the United Nations, for example, answerable in the case of the two Belgian women killed by Indian troops when they tried to return to their homes in Jadotville? The United Nations argument is that the car in which they were traveling failed to stop after being ordered to do so. Was it an accident of war or unwarranted violence?

Mr. Stavropoulos has sent extra lawyers and investigators to the Congo to tackle the task of studying the claims. They are already at work examining damaged property in Elisabethville and other Katangese towns. In assessing the damage they also have to determine the precise circumstances.

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Three Types of Claims

Most, but not all, of the claims have been lodged by residents of Katanga province, chiefly Belgian but some by British, Italian, or Greek nationals. They fall into three categories; Death and personal injury; property damage; or breach of contract involving supplies or services.

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In a row of houses otherwise undamaged, one may have been shattered by mortar or machine-gun fire. The obvious explanation is that it housed a sniper. The next step is to discover if the owner and the sniper were the same person.

* * * * two pertinent questions unanswered: Are the claimants to be given any rights of appeal? How will the United Nations raise the money to pay the "reparations" bill?

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER 3/18/63

SPIES IN THE UNITED NATIONS

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Sen. Thomas J. Dodd of Connecticut reacted strongly in a Senate speech to the repeated instances of Soviet espionage conducted through its U.N. representatives. On the record, 18 Soviet U. N. representatives and U.N. employes have been discovered spying against the United States—four in one recent month. Dodd is convinced that for every Soviet national caught in a demonstrable act of espionage there are two or three who are thus far undetected. He concludes that every Soviet U. N. representative or employe must be considered a potential spy.

To add indignity to injury, U. N. Secretary General U. Thant has asked the General Assembly for funds to maintain a school (already started by him in Moscow) for training 22 Russians each year for jobs at U. N. headquarters. The sum involved for two years is $201,200, of which the United States would pay $64,424, while the Soviet Union would pay only $35,139.
(Reference: "Exclusive" by Fulton Lewis, Jr.)

WHY STAY IN THE U. N. ?

IN 17 YEARS THE UNITED NATIONS HAS FAILED IN ITS HIGH OBJECTIVE. It has promoted worldwide Communist expansion—there have been scattered wars and constant threats of annihilation—alien agents have had diplomatic immunity while conducting espionage—we are being forced into world government in accordance with Communist plans—we are being forced to change customs, violate precedents, betray tradition and repeal our own Declaration of Independence to satisfy the whims of alien U. N. delegates—we are submitting to atheistic concepts without recognition of Divine wisdom.

WRITE to Rep. Thomas Morgan, Chairman, House Foreign Affairs Committee, and ask that hearings be scheduled immediately on identical Bills to get us out of the United Nations; namely, H.R. 427 by Rep. James B. Utt, and H. R. 263 by Rep. Bruce Alger.

D MORE TAXES—AND NOW, A U. N. TAX??

21-member nation U. N. Finance Committee proposed a
t to ease the burden of peace keeping for under-de-
OJECTS GET COSTLIER, UNDER THE PLAN, THE RICHER
ULD PICK UP AN INCREASINGLY LARGE SHARE OF THE COSTS,
WOULD GET MORE AND MORE RELIEF (L.A.Times,March 1963.)

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Lee Mortimer.

Assistant Secretaries-General
for Security Council Affairs

1946-49 -- Arkady S. Sobelov, USSR.
1950-53 -- Konstantine Zinchenke, USSR.
1954-57 -- Ily Tchernyshev, USSR.
1957-60 -- A. Dobrynin, USSR.
1960-62 -- George P. Arkadev, USSR.
1962 -- Eugeny D. Kiselev, USSR.

BELGIAN MINER PLEADS
FOR MERCY

JADOTVILLE, KATANGA: — His arms raised in surrender, with blood streaming from his mouth and beneath his eye, Belgian miner Albert Verbrugghe pleads for mercy and no more shooting Jan. 3, 1963, as United Nations Indian troops approach him. Verbrugghe's wife, Madeleine, and Aline van den Eyke, a friend of the family, were slain Jan. 3, 1963, while fleeing Jadotville by auto. In Leopoldville Jan. 6, 1963, U. N. Undersecretary Dr. Ralph Bunche gave U.N. forces the "green light" to continue military operations against Katanga President Moise Tshombe. Dr. Bunche pinpointed the three military objectives of Kolwezi, Sakania and Dilolo, all mining centers in the secessionist Katanga Province. (UPI photo PLA1362543)

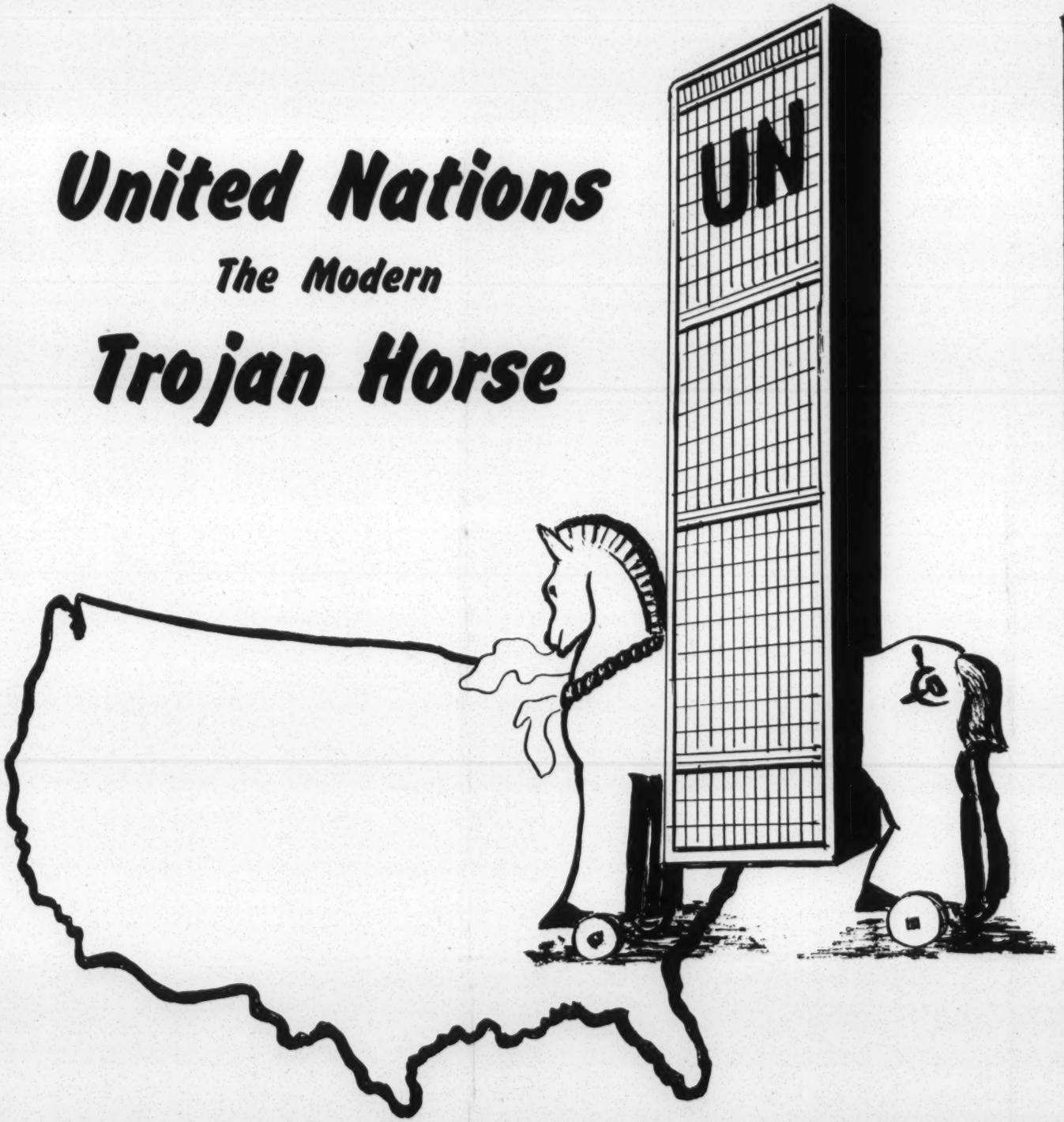
INNOCENT VICTIMS OF U. N. "PEACE-KEEPING" TROOPS IN KATANGA.

THE NETWORK OF
PATRIOTIC LETTER WRITERS
P. O. Box 2003D
Pasadena, California.

6¢ each-100 for $5.00.

Peace Corps

United Nations
The Modern
Trojan Horse



The United Nations has proved incapable of either promoting or keeping the peace. Since it has broken with the original charter and started interfering in the internal affairs of its members and many of the small and weaker states, it has become a positive menace.

The United Nations now acts on a double standard, one for the weak, on whom it can work its will with mercenary troops, and a very different one for the strong, before whom it bows in deep humility.

Hon. Katherine St. George

Unless the U.N. is completely reorganized without the Communist nations in it, we should get out of it.

Herbert Hoover

The U.N. has become a trap. Let's go it alone.

the late Robert Taft

Lord Beaverbrook, noted British publisher, said:

Here in New York City, you Americans have the biggest fifth column in the world—the United Nations.

The United Nations will survive in history as the chief monument to western blindness to Soviet political warfare.

In the United Nations we see at work the Soviet facility for taking over an organisation from within.

Mme. Suzanne Labin
Intelligence Digest
February 1963

POPULATION OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS *

AFRICA

EUROPE

an organisation from within.

Mme. Suzanne Labin
Intelligence Digest
February 1963

POPULATION OF MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS *

AFRICA

Algeria	10,197,000
Burundi	2,500,000
Cameroon	4,000,000
Chad	2,581,000
Central African Republic	1,193,000
Congo (Brazzaville)	794,577
Congo (Leopoldville)	13,821,000
Dahomey	2,003,000
Ethiopia	21,800,000
Gabon	420,709
Ghana	4,911.000
Guinea	2,726,000
Ivory Coast	3,200,000
Liberia	1,250,000
Libya	1,153,000
Malagasy Republic	5,486,713
Mali	4,307,000
Mauritania	727,000
Morocco	11,598,000
Niger	2,803,000
Nigeria	34,296,000
Ruanda	26,338
Senegal	2,597,000
Sierra Leone	2,260,000
Somali Republic	1,900,000
So. Africa	14,929,000
Sudan	11,615,000
Tanganyika	128,742
Togo	1,642,000
Tunisia	3,965,000
Uganda	8,500
Upper Volta	4,004,000

NORTH AMERICA

Canada	17,814,000
United States	187,000,000
Mexico	34,625,000

AUSTRALIA	10,281,000
NEW ZEALAND	2,327,000

EUROPE

Albania	1,556,000
Austria	7,049,000
Belgium	9,104,000
Bulgaria	7,798,000
Byelorussian S.S.R.	3.1% of U.S.S.R. population
Czechoslavakia	13,649,000
Denmark	4,547,000
Finland	4,457,000
France	45,355,000
Greece	8,258,000
Hungary	10,002,000
Ireland	2,834,000
Italy	49,052,000
Luxembourg	324,000
Netherlands	11,480,000
Norway	3,583,000
Poland	29,480,000
Portugal	9,124,000
Rumania	18,256,000
Spain	30,128,000
Sweden	7,471,000
Ukrainian S.S.R.	41,893,000
United Kingdom	52,675,000
Yugoslavia	18,655,000

CENTRAL AMERICA & WEST INDIES

Costa Rica	1,173,000
Cuba	6,743,000
Dominican Republic	2,994,000
El Salvador	2,613,000
Guatemala	3,759,000
Haiti	3,505,000
Honduras	1,950,000
Jamaica	125,526
Nicaragua	1,450,000
Panama	1,053,000
Trinidad-Tobago	5,600,000

= Captive Nation

ASIA

Afghanistan	13,000,000
Burma	20,662,000
Cambodia	4,845,000
Ceylon	9,612,000
China (Nationalist)	10,611,000
Cyprus	563,000
India	408,050,000
Indonesia	92,600,000
Iran	20,633,000
Iraq	6,952,000
Israel	2,114,000
Japan	93,600,000
Jordan	1,636,000
Laos	1,760,000
Lebanon	1,250,000
Malaya	6,698,000
Nepal	9,044,000
Outer Mongolia	909,600
Pakistan	86,823,000
Philippines	27,473,000
Saudi Arabia	6,036,000
Syria	4,539,000
Thailand	22,718,000
Turkey	27,802,000
U.S.S.R.	218,000,000
United Arab Republic	29,400,000
Yemen	4,500,000

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina	20,956,000
Bolivia	3,462,000
Brazil	65,743,000
Chili	7,627,000
Colombia	14,132,000
Ecuador	4,298,000
Paraguay	1,760,000
Peru	10,827,000
Uruguay	2,800,000
Venezuela	6,709,000

ICELAND	172,000

* Regardless of population, each of the above nations has one vote. The United States vote represents 187,000,000 people. The Uganda vote represents 8,500 people. Of the 110 member states of the General Assembly, 50% have a combined population of less than the population of the United States. Russia controls 10 votes.

The United States finances over a third of the U. N. costs. In addition, our Foreign Aid program to some 70 countries around the world provides them with money to pay their dues. Thus, directly or indirectly, the United States is paying practically the entire cost of the United Nations.

Peace Corps.

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA
March 7, 1963

The Water Moccasin Bites

Venom spreads slowly. The Federal Government should not be surprised at the public's uneasy reaction to the Army's war games at Savannah now being conducted under the code name of Water Moccasin III. The Administration's openly cynical manipulation of the Cuban crisis was but a small prick; the truly frightening effect now is a massive loss of confidence in our national leaders. In the past week, thousands of Americans have been half-convinced of a treacherous betrayal of the citizens of Georgia.

In a strangely unreported story, many Southern Congressmen have been swamped with outraged inquiries about Exercise Water Moccasin III. About 10 days ago it began, with telegrams and letters from as far away as San Francisco and Seattle. Were UN psychological warfare specialists and anti-guerrilla troops really whetting their weapons on American guinea pigs?

The facts, it has finally developed: are these: U. S. Army graduates of the Ft. Bragg Special Warfare School are finishing their training with a grand maneuver in an eight-county area near Ft. Stewart, Georgia. The official version is that the civilians in the area are being asked to lease land rights to the Army and to participate in the realism by hiding guerrillas in their homes, organizing escape routes, and transporting them past ambush. Senators Russell, Stennis, and Thurmond, all of the Armed Services Committee, have been satisfied that the maneuvers are routine.

But that having been said, it must also be admitted that the alarming hypothesis of the concerned citizens had much to recommend it. As reports spread like the flu bug, there were many distortions; but even the barest picture was justly alarming:

1) *Georgia's geography.* Next to Florida, Georgia is the closest State to Cuba on the Atlantic coast. Now, UN Secretary General U Thant has proposed neutralist control posts in the Caribbean and in the U. S. to guard Cuba against American invasion. We have already proved in the Congo that we will sacrifice our own interests to maintain the fiction of UN peacemaking; was a secret deal for a base in Georgia to be the solution of the Cuban impasse? The stories of Afro-Asian personnel in Cuban training schools, and the announcement that "Soviet" troops were leaving Cuba were simultaneous with the projected arrival of student guerrillas in Georgia. Who was the U. S. training, anyway? Wild thoughts, these; not wild to those who had seen troops dig up lawns in Oxford, Mississippi.

2) *The mishandling of the announcement.* The Defense Department allotted only a fortnight or so to explain this complex maneuver to the public. "Foreigners May Observe War Maneuvers in March," said a matter-of-fact announcement in the *Savannah Evening Press* of February 13. A couple of days later it was "foreign Allied nations" participating as students. Were these the UN troops? The first Army news release said 3,000 men; later it was 1,000, then 600; similar maneuvers in June are reported to involve 7,000. Secretary McNamara denied that African troops would participate; the latest official dispatch lists 16 NATO, CENTO, and SEATO nations, including Liberia. It also lists the unreassuring presence of officers from Indonesia.

When Army representatives moved into the area, they did little to quiet the growing storm. Farmers were accosted with vague permits granting "the Government the right to enter as often as desired" during the maneuver period. The signer also agreed that "the Government shall have the right to patrol and police the lands." Some residents have sworn out affidavits that they were threatened into signing; some who stood fast and did not sign have erected "No Trespassing" signs in five languages.

3) *The past history of "war games."* When civilians, as well as their property, are "voluntarily" commandeered as grist for the training mill, not all goes according to the announced plan. Out of the files come newspaper accounts of similar maneuvers in which troops decided to play for keeps when local public officials did not choose to go along with the "mock" war. Culver City, California, 1951; Des Moines, Iowa, 1956; Lampasas, Texas, 1958; Danville, Virginia, 1959. Exercise Long Horn, Operation Bilko and such dramatic code names cannot mask the indignities suffered by sheriffs and mayors "dragged off kicking, to a stockade for uncooperative citizens" (said United Press), or the smirking Marine sergeant who shut down radio, TV, waterworks, powerplant, and telephone company "without telling the generals, feeling they wouldn't have let us go ahead" (said Associated Press). Sometimes the city fathers submitted by design; but the kicking was not always part of the scenario.

Just why American civilians should be taught how to surrender their cities is not explained. The Savannah operation will use the local radio stations to encourage civilians to take sides in the maneuvers, so as "to make Water Moccasin III a realistic copy of present-day Communist wars of liberation." Thus the point of the training seems twofold: to defeat the enemy and to capture the population psychologically. No wonder eyebrows are raised: Here is the Special Warfare School's Counterinsurgency Department at work training foreign nationals — and they are trying out their new techniques on *Americans.* If the Americans don't respond properly, perhaps more effective techniques can be devised.

Well, yesterday and today the students have been paratrooping into the Georgia swamps and infiltrating the coast; the "betrayal" feared by the jittery natives is no more than another blunder by military strategists who think of civilians as a tolerable nuisance. The truly frightening thing is that various deceptions of the Kennedy Administration have made such a disturbing betrayal hypothesis perfectly reasonable. Cuba, the Congo, the roughshod Polaris policy, the Common Market, the suicidal test ban treaty, have all been decided with international interests paramount. The Administration has forfeited the people's trust, and that poison seeps down through the body politic.

The Richmond News Leader

The Big Denial

March 18, 1963

U.S. Army press agents are now trying to cover the trail of Exercise Water Moccasin with fertile invention. At the last moment, all civilian participation in the gigantic guerrilla training maneuvers near Savannah has been called off: No radio appeals to the civilians, no hiding guerrillas in private homes, no direct psychological warfare against citizen guinea pigs. The Army says that complaints to Georgia Congressmen were so loud that everything had to be cut back to a strict military basis.

But the Army's feelings are hurt because of the public uproar. The inept blunders of its public relations were plausibly interpreted by many people as some kind of international wheeling and dealing by the Kennedy Administration. Now the Army is attempting to shift the blame with the Big Denial.

The Big Denial is standard operating procedure from the Commander-in-Chief on down. The technique is to deny all charges vociferously, including a few ridiculous charges that you invent yourself. Thus it makes all criticism look irresponsible, based on nefarious rumor.

"The brunt of the criticism seemed to center on the fact that the aggressor force in the exercise was named the Republic of Georgia," the Savannah *Morning News* reported from Fort Stewart last week. If the Army really were so stupid as to name the aggressors "Georgians," then they brought the ill-will on themselves. Actually, the name of the aggressor-force was one of the best kept secrets of Water Moccasin, for none of the news accounts or official Army press releases which we saw suggests that any name had been picked at all.

The Big Denial says that no one has been forced to sign entry permits. The Big Denial says that 2,500, not 25,000 acres is involved. The Big Denial says that no paratroopers will be dropped. The Big Denial says that the foreign officers are representing their own countries rather than the United Nations. The Big Denial has found local citizens who are willing to say that the trouble has been instigated by outside areas. Thus the Big Denial mingles the ludicrous with the serious, the trivial with the important, the legal distinction with the self-contradiction.

Troops have to be trained and it seems that those in Water Moccasin are now able to be trained without using the civilian population in dubious experiments. The misunderstandings denied by the Army almost all resulted from conflicts in the Army's own releases (we have them in our files). We may assume also that the Georgia Congressmen listened more carefully to their constituents than to outsiders.

Another Water Moccasin exercise begins in Georgia on June 5 involving 7,000 men, approximately ten times the current exercise. On July 21, Operation Swift Strike III will launch 100,000 men over 6 million acres (about 9,400 square miles) of North and South Carolina and Georgia, "the biggest peacetime maneuver in U.S. Army history." The public can place little stock in these rumors, however; they are merely U.S. Army announcements, and they have scarcely had time to be denied.

THE NETWORK OF PATRIOTIC LETTER WRITERS, P. O. BOX 2003D, PASADENA, CALIFORNIA.
(2¢ each — 100 for $1.75)

Peace Groups

PEACE RESEARCH NEWSLETTER

for the
Rocky Mountain-Great Plains Region

March 1963

* * * \

6. Many academic people were brought face to face with the serious and difficult realities of developing and maintaining a reasonable international program of arms control and disarmament with adequate and effective inspection.

Speakers and topics on the program included Victor Karpov (First Secretary, Soviet Embassy) "Soviet Stand on Disarmament," Robert Matteson (U.S. ACDA) "Disarmament and the Geneva Conference," Walter Reuther (UAW) "Arms Control and the Challenge of Peace," Kenneth Boulding (University of Michigan) "University, Society, and Arms Control," and addresses by William C. Foster (Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency) and Hubert Humphrey (U.S. Senate, Minnesota).

Technical sessions included panel discussions of "Unilateral vs. Multilateral Measures," "Physical Inspection," "Sanctions and Enforcement," "Research Tools in Arms Control Studies," "Weapons Testing," "Inhibiting Escalation," "Peaceful Settlement of Disputes," "Bargaining and the Negotiation Process," "Non-Physical Inspection," "Impact of Domestic Politics on Arms Control Policy," and others.

It was evident from the program itself that the emphasis of the Symposium was primarily on problems of arms control and disarmament. There was a valiant effort to bring in a broader spectrum of peace research, but with most of the research in the United States being done on hardware-type problems there are relatively few individuals who can capably discuss the broader aspects of peace research.

Although one can criticize any conference, and make suggestions for improvements, this Symposium was relatively free of significant faults. It brought together academicians, military personnel, and persons interested in arms control and disarmament. In addition industrial groups were heavily represented. There seemed to be a two-fold reason for an interest on the part of industry, in addition to their general concern for the welfare of the nation and the world: 1) If there is a significant degree of disarmament, then some major industries must look elsewhere for business, and 2) Some industries feel that there is definitely a trend in the direction of arms control and disarmament, which in the long run means funds will become available for study and development programs associated with arms control and disarmament.

Because much of the Symposium was devoted to reporting of research completed or now underway, it will no doubt act as a stimulant to many individuals and groups who are involved in research. Therefore, the Symposium has probably made a major contribution to the general field of peace research -- even though this influence may be indirect. There was a general consensus that similar conferences should be held in the future.

"Planning for Peace Keeping" was the topic of the fourth Strategy for Peace Conference held January 17-20, 1963, at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia. C. Maxwell Stanley, Mrs. Albert Lasker, and the late Tom Slick have been the prime movers behind these meetings which have been aimed at developing a "strategy for peace" -- on the basic premise that there must be a strategy if we are to have peace and that individuals from business, industry, government, educational and research institutions as well as private citizens can do much to create an understanding of the need for and actually help to develop this strategy for peace.

While this conference was much smaller, both in numbers of subjects covered and individuals in attendance (110) than the Arms Control Symposium, it is particularly significant because it shows what can be done by private citizens who are concerned enough to call together individuals concerned with the problems of peace.

The program of the Strategy for Peace Conference consisted of:

1. A memorial service for Tom Slick, who was killed in an airplane accident last fall. It was primarily through Tom's dedication that the Conference has continued to be held from year to year.

2. "Planning for Peace Keeping," a discussion with panelists Edward A. Conway, S.J. (Creighton University), James E. Dougherty (University of Pennsylvania), John Loosbrock (Editor, Air Force Magazine), Charles Osgood (University of Illinois), John B. Phelps (Institute of Defense Analysis), and Louis B. Sohn (Harvard University).

3. The Conference broke into five discussion groups:
   a. The 'N th' Country Problem
   b. Nuclear Sharing -- NATO
   c. Outer Space
   d. Role of the U.N. in an Armed and Disarmed World
   e. Independent U.S. Initiatives

Because the Strategy for Peace Conference was organized for exhaustive study of a single subject, it was possible to deal with subjects in considerable depth. In contrast, the Ann Arbor Symposium was a series of papers presented formally or in panel sessions with much less opportunity for discussion.

The Strategy for Peace Conferences will no doubt continue, with Maxwell Stanley serving as prime mover and coordinator. Copies of the proceedings of past conferences and additional information can be obtained from C. Maxwell Stanley, Stanley Engineering Company, Muscatine, Iowa.

Maurice Albertson

* * *

Impressions at the International Arms Control Symposium

The title, International Arms Control Symposium, was well selected as the greater percentage of all rigorous effort was directed toward the general problems and technical specificities of reliably and safely controlling the huge, and further increasing, armaments now in existence.

Inspirational speeches directed toward peaceful solutions of problems were made by Walter Reuther, Harold Taylor, and the Honorable Hubert Humphrey, but only two papers among those heard by this writer were primarily directed toward the development of a basic Peace Science. Wayman Crow and Anatol Rapoport each presented simulation studies which could well serve as a nucleus for Peace Science development, but many of the other reported efforts were firmly ensconced in the status quo.

It is of special interest that the greater percentage of research grants, and especially the instances of comparatively large grants, being let by the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency appear to be going to industries and agencies which are receiving even larger amounts of government money in the form of defense contracts. One cannot help but wonder whether there is a true conflict of interest present with the resolution of that conflict being one which favors first emphasis on continuing large levels of armament but with safer controls over the armament being the objective. Such controls are both physical (hardware) and psychological and administrative (command control) but a high and increasing level of armaments is assumed as a given in the research attempted. It was also learned that the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is frequently concerned about maintaining secrecy as to research findings and this secrecy is, in and of itself, inimical to the free exchange necessary for the development of a new and complex science.

Apparently war and preparation for war continues to be news, but in spite of repeated, extensive, well prepared copy released by the Bendix Corporation to the wire services the actual newspaper coverage was minimal and disappointing. The pattern of news reporting was such that the University of Michigan Student Paper reported all major proceedings with care, the Detroit papers gave a minimum of coverage even to Walter Reuther's address and the Chicago papers hardly gave any indication that the proceedings were occuring. The five installment report of the symposium by the St. Louis Post Dispatch is one of the few significant exceptions to this pattern, although for example, Walter Reuther's proposals were startling enough and controversial enough to have made good copy for all types of papers nation wide.

Judging from the sample of studies available in Michigan one must conclude that the greatest effort is currently in the arms control area without sufficient counterbalance in the Peace Science Area. As has been pointed out by Dr. Van Atta, formerly of the Department of Defense and Hughes Aircraft, arms control outside of a program for disarmament is merely a more sophisticated approach to armament.

It must be kept in the forefront of thought that no matter how sophisticated we may become in the technically reliable control of our own armaments, there is no guarantee that the proliferation of thermonuclear arms to other nations such as France, Communist China, and Cuba -- almost, will not lead to eventual accident or to a disastrous top-level decision.

Robert Fadeley

"The role of the universities, both in the smaller problem of bargaining for arms control and disarmament agreement and in the larger problem of establishing a stable peace, is likely to be central and crucial. The university is the only agency in society which is committed to the future rather than to the past, which is committed to mankind as a whole rather than to any segment of it, and which is committed to the truth rather than to a particular version of it. The University as an institution frequently falls short of these ideals, but it can never deny them without ceasing to be a university. Furthermore, the problem which faces mankind in the movement towards stable peace is above all things an intellectual task. It is a task in understanding the social system, the dynamics of which must carry us to stable peace, and is a task also of establishing a system of information collection and processing by which images of the world social system can be tested for reality."

Kenneth Boulding speaking at the
International Arms Control Symposium,
December 18, 1962

"There is nothing to be gained in the continuance of a policy of nuclear deterrence, for this or any country. That is literally a dead end. The task of men of good will here and everywhere else is to invent, to imagine, to study, and to act for the development of new kinds of answers to problems we have not yet solved. We who are in the universities, as scholars, teachers, students, have a particular responsibility in these matters, and we have no excuse for not taking it. We can propose the establishment of world universities where missile bases now stand, and the use of science and technology for housing, feeding, and maintaining the world's people in health and security, the union of national states in new international communities, the exchange of poems, songs, and ideas instead of missiles. There are new ways of doing these things which we already know about and can

even start doing them before anyone asks us to. When men and women refuse to rest content with things as they are, when they talk, think and act continually and intensively to achieve ideal ends, they deflect the course of history. I suggest that we all have a little deflecting to do."

Harold Taylor speaking at the
International Arms Control Symposium,
December 18, 1962

* *

A meeting of the Regional Ad Hoc Committee for the Rocky Mountain-Great Plains Peace Research Conference was held February 27. The Committee decided to proceed with preliminary plans for a 1963 Student Peace Research Workshop to be held during the third week of August provided there is sufficient student interest in such a Workshop and that sufficient funding for support of the Workshop can be obtained. In other business, the Committee felt that a 1963 Peace Research Conference should be centered around some specific issue and held in the fall of 1963 and that the Peace Research Newsletter should be continued. Consideration was also given to possible program of public fund raising for peace research, patterned on the approach of the Canadian Peace Research Institute.

* * *

The Canadian Peace Research Institute has raised more than $300,000 from more than 25,000 Canadians and is now working on three major peace research projects:

1. A comprehensive survey of Canadian attitudes on foreign policy, defense, and disarmament, the first of a series of attitude studies aimed at obtaining exact data on the formation and change of national attitudes on problems of peace and war.

2. A preliminary study of the origin of national and city policy forces in Canada, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China, to determine what might be learned from the experience of force formation at national and city levels and applied to the formation of an international police force today.

3. The establishment of a peace research literature file, involving the examination of scientific and scholarly periodicals in all fields of social science for material related to several hundred subject categories of peace research.

* * *

A content analysis of editorials in selected American newspapers has been made at the Stanford Studies in International Conflict and Integration for the period October 15 to November 10, 1962. The study was designed to test the hypothesis that during a period of national crisis the perception of increased external threat contributes to a decrease in expressed internal dissention and an increase in expressed support and approval of the national decision maker's policies. The results strongly support the hypothesis. From October 15 until the President announced the quarantine on October 22, the index of approval was generally low and showed a gradual drop, reaching a nadir immediately prior to the declaration of the blockade. After the 22nd, approval of President Kennedy's action rose sharply, reaching an apex about October 28th, shortly after Khrushchev agreed to remove the offensive missiles from Cuba. From that time on, the index of approval showed a gradual decline, although by November 10 it was still significantly higher than it had been before the crisis started.

* * *

The Hiroshima Institute of Peace Science has been established in Japan as "a research organization to reach integrated results through close cooperation from various sciences and thoughts related to the peace problem. The world peace problem must not be merely studied in abstract ideology but take into consideration the realistic aspects of human life, such as customs, systems, organizations, and regimes."

The 1963 United Nations General Assemply is to consider a resolution which invites all Member States to set up research establishments "responsible for studying ways and means of resolving conflicts and of preventing conflicts in the future," and requests non-governmental organizations to conduct scientific research on conflict resolution.

* *

Enclosed with this edition of the Newsletter is a questionnaire by which we hope to gain some measure of student interest and activity in the area of peace research. Several national student organizations are aiding in the distribution of the questionnaire and on the basis of replies,decisions regarding a possible 1963 Student Peace Research Workshop will be made. All those receiving copies of the questionnaire are urged to return them on or before April 1.

PEACE RESEARCH NEWSLETTER
for the
Rocky Mountain-Great Plains Region

An occasional publication of the Rocky Mountain-Great Plains Peace Research Conference, Dr. M. L. Albertson, Chairman, Regional Ad Hoc Committee. Address all correspondence to: Newsletter, Research Foundation, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado.

Copies of the Report of the Student Peace Research Workshop are now being mailed. Additional copies of the Report are available at $1.00 per copy.

* * *

Preparation of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Rocky Mountain-Great Plains Peace Research Conference has been delayed. However, completion is expected within the month. Copies of the Proceedings can still be ordered at $1.00 per copy.

Peace Groups

PREP NEWSLETTER

PEACE RESEARCH AND EDUCATION PROJECT

NUMBER 1 MAY, 1963

Since February 1, the Peace Research and Education Project ("PREP") has been attempting to stimulate interest on American campuses in peace research and peace education. This NEWSLETTER is intended to service the needs of those who are interested in engaging in such work. We want to provide students with suggestions for peace research problem areas, to suggest syllabi and bibliographies which can be used in establishing peace seminars and courses, to relay news about developments on various campuses....

The effectiveness of the NEWSLETTER depends, in large part, on its readers --we hope you will be sending us reports about peace courses or seminars that may exist on your campus, about on-going research in which you are involved or have heard about, copies of papers, bibliographies, etc. which you'd like to see distributed, and above all your thoughts about problems and issues which concern you.....

There is little doubt that substantial and growing interest exists in our universities in the kind of research and curriculum innovation which PREP exists to promote. One measure of this interest has been the gratifying response which PREP itself has received. We have received orders for hundreds of copies of our background paper, "Peace,PPower and the University" and our basic program outline, "Toward an Effective Campus Peace Program." More significantly -- there have been a number of student initiated campus projects which we believe are quite exciting:

* at the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, graduate students and undergraduates organized by the PREP staff have instituted a weekly seminar series. Utilizing the Liberal Papers, and Legal and Political Problems of World Order (S. Mendlovitz, ed.) as basic texts, the seminars represent a basic introduction to problems of disarmament, international conflict, tension reduction, and peace action. About 15-20 students are presently participating in these seminars...Dick Schmuck, Mark Chesler and Dick Flacks of the PREP staff, along with other graduate students, will be teaching a course in the Department of Psychology next Spring on the Psychology of international relations.

* at the UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS, Rennie Davis reports that "We now have some sixty faculty members who belong to a Seminar on Arms Control and Disarmament Research, about 30 of these attend regular meetings. Meetings of the seminar are designed to deliniate 'problem areas' in international relations. Procedurally a professor presents a paper outling a research problem or problems in his discipline. The members criticize, suggest, blow steam, etc. in order to help the professor avoid pitfalls before he actually begins the project." The general purpose of this faculty seminar is to "generate on the campus a strong nucleaus of ACD research-oriented members of the staff who will intensify existing ACD research and will initiate new ACD research projects that reflect their various professional capabilities."

Also at ILLINOIS, Rennie reports, "Students administer a speakers' bureau drawing entirely from members of the faculty disarmament seminar which contacts housing groups and arranges for speeches on peace. Approximately 30-35 students attend regular weekly seminar meetings on peace and war. The course, unofficial and outside the curriculum, is coordinated by Dallas Smythe, professor in communications research. Four disciplines focus on the general subject matter: economics (led by Fred Gottheil); political science (Lloyd Jensen); psychology (Charles Osgood and Sheldon Feldman); physics and biochemistry (Cam Satterthwaithe and Aron Kupperman). We're in the process of finishing a fairly detailed course outline and reading list."

* From HARPUR COLLEGE, Dave Russell reports that the Peace Seminar is ranging in attendance between 12 and 16, and is heavily focussed on technical problems of arms control and disarmament, using such books as the Daedalus volume on Disarmament. Mulford Sibley and Charles Walker of the AFSC have visited the campus and participated in the seminar, as do a number of invited faculty and local ministers. Dave suggests that for extra-curricular seminars, reading must be kept to a minimum, and the focus of the seminar ought to be on debate, and discussion of one "hefty" article a week, with listings of supplementary readings provided. Dave has done a detailed study of the campus Civil Defense program for the Harpur College Colonial News, and is presently involved in a study of student attitudes toward war as a senior project. He also reports that the establishment of the peace seminar, stimulated a number of kids to start a peace action group.

* At SWARTHMORE, the Students for a Democratic Society has established an extra-curricular peace seminar dealing with economic and technical aspects of disarmament and arms control and the Berlin and Cuban Crises. About half a dozen students are participating in the seminar which intends to establish itself as a permanent institution next year...SDS Vice-President Paul Booth, who is chairman of the Swarthmore chapter, is presently working on a study of the "peace candidates" who ran for Congress in 1962.

* At BOWDOIN COLLEGE, the Bowdoin Political Issues Club runs a weekly seminar on American Society which focuses on problems of the economy, power, political action, participatory democracy, and the Cold War. Dr. Richard Hathaway, leader of the seminar, has prepared an excellent basic bibliography on the War/Peace question.

Other extra-curricular seminars exist at CORNELL, BOSTON UNIVERSITY, and WISCONSIN.

* From the INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES at the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (BERKELEY) Kathleen Archibald writes that a War/Peace Research Seminar has been underway for several months. "There are about thirty faculty members on the Berkeley campus who are participating in this seminar, which is directed toward the development of a systematic research program. We have the names of a number of graduate students who are interested in research in this area, and we hope to draw them into our activities in the near future."

* * *

STUDENT PEACE RESEARCH: Students in many places have undertaken research projects on various key problems of war and peace. In addition to the Booth and Russell studies mentioned above, some other student projects include:

* a study of the history, sociological and psychological effects of the selective service system, by Todd Gitlin and other members of TOCSIN at Harvard.

* an analysis of potential political strategies for the peace movement, by Tom Hayden and Dick Flacks of Students for a Democratic Society and PREP.

* student responses to the Cuban crisis, an attitude survey by Mark Chesler and Dick Schmuck of PREP. (see abstract below)

* the March, 1963 issue of the Council for Correspondence Newsletter contains four interesting studies of public attitudes toward war. Three of the four studies involved students as volunteer interviewers, data analysts, etc. One study by Andre Modigliani is a fascinating opinion survey which Modigliani did for a senior thesis at Harvard. Address of the Newsletter: Emerson Hall 324, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.

* available from PREP advisor, Professor Maurice Albertson, is a detailed report of the Student Peace Research Workshop held last summer at Camp Colorado. The report contains detailed proposals for research on such topics as: Applicability of Socio-Psychological Concepts to International Relations; Live Crisis Analysis; Effect of other Political Events on Disarmament Negotiations; Socio-political Factors in the Transition to a Disarmed Economy; Measurement of Attitudes toward War/Peace Issues and International Affairs; Ideology of the Peace Movement. Copies of the Report are available for $1.00 from the Peace Research Newsletter, Research Foundation, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado.

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM OF THE CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON CONFLICT RESOLUTION
University of Michigan

"The Center for Research on Conflict Resolution is dedicated to the proposition that the establishment of stable peace, however difficult, is possible, and that tolerable changes can be made in the international system which will abolish large-scale, organized violence. The achievement of this end, however, requires the accomplishment of a major intellectual task. We believe that many young people in these days are anxious to dedicate themselves to this task. It is a task, however, which requires high skill and training, especially in the various disciplines of the social sciences. It requires a strong motivation towards the practical end, but with the recognition that motivation is not enough--that a professional competence in the various disciplines must be acquired before an effective contribution can be made. The Center defines this task as peace research.

The fellowship Program, therefore, is intended to support young men and women seeking a Ph.D Degree in one of the social sciences who are eager to obtain more training than is customary in cognate subjects relevant to peace research."

Pre-doctoral fellows would be appointed from students planning to attain a doctorate and accepted for graduate work by the departments of Economics, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, and the Doctoral Program in Social Psychology. By accepting a fellowship they would be agreeing to do four things: (1) work for a Ph.D. degree in one of the five programs above; (2) take two courses in basic theory required of all fellows; (3) take nine hours of work in advanced courses in a department other than that which the doctorate is expected; (4)Participate in an interdisciplinary practicum.

THIS SUMMER.....a number of interesting and important events will take place, including:

* June 14-17: Convention of the STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, to include debate and discussion on peace issues, and campus programming on peace for the coming year. Write SDS, 112 E. 19th St., N.Y. 3, N.Y. for details.
* WORLD COLLEGE PILOT PROJECT, led by Harold Taylor at the Friends World College campus at Glen Head, Long Island. Twenty countries, roughly the ones represented at the Geneva disarmament negotiations, have been invited to send students and to sponsor the college, with an international faculty and a curriculum to be composed of research projects by the students on issues of world affairs and the effort to develop a peaceful world order.
* Several national student organizations have aided Professor Maurice Albertson in distributing a questionnaire on student peace research activities--on the basis of replies, decisions will be made regarding a second SUMMER STUDENT PEACE RESEARCH WORKSHOP. If you are interested in such a Summer Workshop write to Prof. Albertson immediately (Research Foundation Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado.)

PUBLICATIONS...a growing focus of research is the economics of the arms race and disarmament. An important contribution in this field is a brand-new pamphlet edited by Seymour Melman, called A Strategy for American Security --An Alternative to the Military Budget. Copies are available for 50¢ from Lee Offset Inc. (Dept ST) 48 E. 21st. St., New York 10, N.Y.....a new publication focussed on the politics of peace is the Peace Politics Newsletter, issued by Massachusetts PAX. Copies may be ordered from PREP.

WHAT CAN STUDENTS CONTRIBUTE TO PEACE RESEARCH?

A Symposium

PREP asked a number of outstanding peace researchers to provide suggestions for the kinds of problems which students ought to be concerned with in their intellectual activity. What follows are the answers we received:

Harold Taylor writes: "I believe that one of the crucial topics for student peace research lies in the field of the test-ban treaty and the steps from the ban on testing to the first phases of disarmament. I think that some good thinking would be helpful on the subject of cultural exchanges and student peace research by collaboration with foreign students in this country and by getting in touch with students abroad who are interested in the issues. This would be in the direction of developing some initiatives on the part of the American student body and the development of new cultural policies. I think it might be interesting to see what cooperative research might be worked out with American and foreign students."

Arthur Waskow: "Assume two dimensions of opinion: a) the dimensions familiar from domestic affairs and known as the "conservative-liberal-radical" opinion spectrum, i.e. the debate over which societal elements should receive more of the rewards of society, which group should be responsible for most of the decision-making related to social and economic change--the public through government or the individual through private enterprise and so on. b) the dimension questioning the old assumptions of 'American impotence in the world and confronting the issue of whether the advent of H-bombs has changed that power of Americans to shape the world the way they want to.' This spectrum of opinion includes those who speak mostly of victory; those who talk most about 'stability'--who believe that nuclear weapons are too dangerous to be used to win victories but are not sufficiently dangerous to warrant their being completely eliminated; and those people who are primarily concerned with 'peace'--those who are critical of American policy because they feel that it does not fear nuclear weapons enough to work whole-heartedly for peace."

These two opinion dimensions cut across each other. What Waskow is interested in finding out is what segments of the American population fit into which categories, for example, Norman Thomas has a radical view of American society and talks about peace and therefore would be a radical peace advocate. There are also conservative "victory" advocates, liberal stabilitarians, and also radical "victory" advocates and conservative peace advocates. Population segments could be analyzed to determine where they tend to fit in terms of the two dimensions. Groups which could be analyzed would include-- Irish policemen, Jewish businessmen, white unskilled workers, Negro professionals; college undergraduates and graduates from different economic, religious, ethnic backgrounds, middle class housewives living in suburbs vs. lower class housewives living in urban slums; etc. Such analyses would be of unlimited value to peace organizations and peace activists in their program formulation both for their own group and for the efforts being made to reach out beyond the actual members. Waskow would be most interested in seeing the results of any research that does develop along these lines.

A seoncd broad area in which students can do peace research is in the area of "historical analogues." This would involve taking historical examples of disarmament, arms control, etc.--e.g. the disarming of the French duchies, the 1817 Great Lakes disarmament agreement, the Whisky Rebellion in the United States--and carefully analyzing them from various viewpoints and disciplines, e.g. doing economic, historical, political, social and military analyses. There are myriad examples in world history which could be studied profitably by students.

(A. Waskow's views were transmitted to us by Carol McEldowney, Research Assistant at the Peace Research Institute).

J. David Singer: Dr. Singer listed the following problems as especially appropriate for student term papers in political science:

--The process by which tax-exempt status is given to pressure groups--the more conservative the group, the easier to get exemptions?
--Comparison of executive agency news releases and newspaper accounts--Are newspapers transmission belts for government propaganda?
--Mutual perceptions of political decision-makers.
--Race relations and military policy--correlation between views on race relations and views on militarism.
--How long does it take for technological innovation to affect the public mind?
--Correlation between editorials and public opinion.
--Reference figures and reference groups--whose opinions are respected in a community?
--Correlation between defense expenses in a community and foreign policy attitudes in a community. Proximity to defense bases in a community and foreign policy attitudes.
--What procedures are used, and how valid and reliable are they, for calculating military risks of particular policies?
--Is a nation more conciliatory in bargaining when it is superior, equal or inferior in military power?
--Political stability and involvement in war--comparison of stable and unstable political systems.
--Geographical distance between countries and probability of war.
--Cultural distance between countries and probability of war.
--Ethnic homogeneity and propensity for war.

(From an interview with Dr. Singer by Barry Bluestone

Kenneth Boulding: Prof. Boulding suggested topics in a wide range of disciplines, stressing the importance of the humanities and the effect of literature, for instance, on society's development. Specifically, he made these suggestions:

Literature: The Impact of Literature on Subsequent History (e.g. Shakespeare's part in the peaceful transition to the rule of James I.); How Literature Produces Images Important to War and Peace; The Literary Environment of (for example) the Peace of Westphalia--did literature influence the bringing about of the subsequent peace?

History: Investigations of Treaties and Settlements; Disarmament of the Great Lakes; Historical Study of Peace; The History of Personal Disarmament, the Establishment of Law.

Anthropology: Institutions for the Preservation of Peace among Primitive People; The importance of Cermeony in Peace Keeping (e.g. the Peace-pipe, Burying the Hatcher.); The ways in which different pooples have handled conflict.

Economics: Study of the War Ind stry; The Economics of Disarmament.

Sociology: The Sociology of Conflict.

Biology: Biological competition and Conflict; Cooperative behavior among animals (survival value of a species has not always depended on its aggressiveness and selfishness, but also on its ability to form cooperative groups.)

Anatol Rapoport: Professor Rapoport did not suggest specific topics, but outlined what he considered the three basic types of "Peace Research."

1. Historical studies of Conflict Resolution (they are not necessarily applicable to the present, but often help to clarify the problems.)
2. Psychological Research, e.g. Research in bargaining and debate (this may not be relevant to the conduct of nations, but it also clarifies issues.)
3. Research into the effects and influences of current "Peace Action," its successes and failures.

(from interviews with Prof. Boulding and Prof. Rapoport by Roy Neuberger)

A BASIC BIBLIOGRAPHY AND TWO INFORMAL SEMINARS

Basic Books on the War/Peace Question

By Dr. Richard Hathaway (Bowdoin College)

KEY BOOKS: * (basic, brief, and pungent treatments; splendid introductions into their topics)

*Brown, Real, et al. A World Without War. Washington Square Press; 1961 $.45
*Etzioni, Amitai. The Hard Way to Peace. Collier; 1962 $.95
*Neal, Fred Warner. U.S. Foreign Policy and the Soviet Union. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; 1961 $.35
*Osgood, Charles. An Alternative to War or Surrender. Illini Books: 1962; $1.45
*The Worried Man's Guide to World Peace. A Peace Resarch Institute Project. Anchor 1963.

OTHER IMPORTANT BOOKS: (Somewhat more elaborate treatments)

Boulding, Kenneth. Conflict and Defense. Harper; 1962 $7 (hard) (paperbound now available)
Brennan, Donald (ed.) Arms Control, Disarmament and National Security. Braziller; 1961. $6
Fromm, Erich. May Man Prevail? Doubleday Anchor; 1961; $.95
Hadley, Arthur T. The Nation's Safety and Arms Control. Viking; 1961. $10.
Melman, Seymour (ed.) Disarmament, Its Politics and Economics. distributed to Daedalus subscribers; 1962
----------The Peace Race. Ballantine; 1961 $.50
Merton, Thomas (intro.) Breakthrough to Peace. New Directions Press; 1962; $1.95
Roosevelt, James (ed.) The Liberal Papers. Doubleday; 1962; $1.25
Wadsworth, James J. The Price of Peace. Praeger; 1962; $3.95
Waskow, Arthur I. The Limits of Defense. Doubleday; 1962 $2.95
The Nature of Conflict. Unesco. International Sociological Association. 1957

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An Informal Peace Seminar Offered at Harpur College

Readings: 1. Committee on Armed Services Hearings, Arms Control and Disarmament.
2. Daedalus, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
3. Millis, Walter, World Without War.
4. Waskow, Arthur, Unintended War.

Schedule: I. The Problem: Unintended War, World Without war, and Brennan art. in Daedalus.
II. United States Nuclear Policy: In Daedalus -- Kahn, Teller, Kissinger; Arms Control and Disarmament
III. Arms Control and Disarmament: In Daedalus: Bowie, Frye, Schelling, Fromm, Weisner.
IV. Problems of Various Programs: In Daedalus: Boulding, Barnett, Feld, Sohn, Humphrey
V. World Order and International Control: Larson in Daedalus.
VI. Any areas of concern that the seminar members desire to further disuuss or new areas for consideration.
Evaluation. Conclusions and Criticisms

If you have not yet read PREP's first two publications, "Peace, Power and the University" by Al Haber and Dick Flacks, and "Toward an Effective Campus Peace Program" these are available free, or in quantity for a nominal cost from the PREP office (715 Arch St., Ann Arbor, Michigan.) PREP also has available an annotated bibliography of war/peace books prepared by Todd Gitlin.

INFORMAL PEACE SEMINAR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Bibliography: Mendlovitz, Saul (ed.) Legal and Political Problems of World Order
Roosevelt, James (ed.) The Liberal Papers.

Suggested Outline -- With Recommended Reading

I. Statement of the Problem: Stable Peace as a Social System by Kenneth Boulding
II. Psychological and Sociological Aspects of the Cold War: The Nature of Man, Ethnocentrism, Nationalism: Mendlovitz pp. 202-224; Riesman and Maccoby in Liberal Papers
III. History of U.S.-U.S.S.R. Relations (Post World War II)
  A. Policies within and between East and West blocs: Warburg in Lib. Pap.
  B. History of Disarmament Negotiations: Mend. pp. 649-723
IV. The Strategies of Arms Control, Deterrence, Disarmament: Mend. pp. 22-56, 500-517, 557-575; Waskow in Lib. Pap.
V. Politico-Economic Problems of Disarmament: Benoit in Lib. Pap; Mend. pp. 739-852; New University Thought, Peace Issue, Spring 1962, pp. 79-92
VI. The Developing Nations: The Peace Race by Seymour Melman
VII. Peace Proposals East and West: Osgood and Hughes in Lib. Pap.; Mend. pp. 575-617, 631-646
VIII. The United Nations: Wright in Lib. Pap. Mend. pp. 238-351
IX. The Role of the Citizen: "Peace, Power and the University," by Al Haber and Dick Flacks; New University Thought, Peace Issue, Spring 1962, pp. 98-119.

Two Organizations interested in developing peace courses on college campuses are:
* The Fund for Education Concerning World Peace Through World Law (11 West 42 St. New York 36, N.Y.) The Fund distributes syllabi for a course on World Peace Khrough World Law.
* The Universities Committee Organization, initiated by Prof. Otto Feinstein (Monteith College, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.) is attempting to get faculty at many campuses to establish peace courses and speakers bureaus.

COURSES WITHIN THE CURRICULUM

PSYCHOLOGY:

"Teaching a course in the Psychology of International Relations." Joseph de Rivera, American Psychologist, 1962, 17, 695-699 ABSTRACT

The author describes three ways in which psychologists, acting in their roles as psychologists, can help improve international relations. The first way involves suggesting policy proposals, the second the conduct of relevant research, and the third the teaching of psychology courses in international relations.

Rigourous methodology and experimental concern are two useful scientific imports the psychologist can bring to this field. Further, many areas of current psychological research are already relevant to conflict control and resolution processes. Some course materials that the author suggests include: The Journal of Social Issues, 1961, 17; M. Sherif, et al., Intergroup cooperation and conflict; Charles Osgood, "Reciprocal Initiative," in The Liberal Papers. Several texts in internatinal relations and foreign policy are also suggested.

Finally, the author notes that students are more highly motivated and learn better if they are encouraged to undertake orginal research in connection with the course. Several examples of relevant and fascinating research are presented.

SOCIOLOGY:

National Cultures and World Society taught by Prof. Robert Angell of the Sociology Department of the University of Michigan and Director of the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution.

This course uses sociological concepts to analyze the relations among modern nations. The main problem is seen to be the development of enough consensus on a minimum set of values to make something like a world rule of law possible. After an introductory consideration of nationalism and of Soviet Communism, various current concepts and theories of international relations are examined and compared with a more sociological theory. The remainder of the course is devoted to specific processes and programs that have potential for increasing value consensus. The students read Preventing World War III by Wright, Evan and Deutsch(ed.), How the Soviet System Works by Bauer, Inkeles and Kluckhohn, Indian Students on an American Campus by Lambert and Bressler, much of Deutsch's Nationalism and Social Communication, and of Znaniecki's Modern Nationalities, and some thirty articles or chapters of books in addition.

POLITICAL SCIENCE:

Proseminar in Theoretical Approaches to International Relations taught by Prof. Inis Claude, Jr. of the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan.

Schedule of Topics for Discussion:
I. Introduction
II. Concept of the Sovereign State
III. Nationalism and National Self-Determination
IV. Concept of Power
V. The Realism-Idealism Debate
VI. Domestic Systems and International Behavior of States
VII. Imperialism-Colonialism
VIII. Nature of the Multistate system
IX. Causes of War
X. The Balance of Power System
XI. Concept of Collective Security
XII. Concept of World Government
XIII. Community-building; Supranationality
IX. Conclusion

Books recommended for purchase:

Claude, Inis L., Jr., Power and International Relations, New York: Random House, 1962

Fox, W.T.R., ed., Theoretical Aspects of International Relations, Notre Dame, Indiana: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1959.

Hoffmann, Stanley, ed., Contemporary Theory in International Relations, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960.

Peace Research and Education Project
715 Arch Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan
(313-662-2043)

Staff: Richard Schmuck, Richard Flacks, Mark Chesler, Thomas Hayden, Jill Hamberg, Roy Neuberger, Barry Bluestone, Betsy Nusbaum.

Cooperating organizations:

The Fund for Education Concerning World Peace Through World Law
Students for a Democratic Society
Peace Research Institute
Center for Research on Conflict Resolution

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE CURRENT SCENE

by Dick Flacks

What follows is a series of notes, thoughts and proposals for people to ponder, talk about and argue with. They are, for the most part, offered tentatively and without being worked out in any detail. A paper which Tom Hayden and I have been working on will deal with many of the following points in a more substantial way, and will be available in several weeks.

It seems clear, at this point, that the Administration genuinely desires a test-ban treat--in part, to maintain present U.S. nuclear superiority, in part, to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and, in part, to further reduce tensions with the Soviets. The major barrier to an agreement now is the U.S. Senate--the propaganda barrage of the military and congressional hawks seems likely to prevent any further reduction of U.S. inspection requirements. Meanwhile, the Russians, undoubtedly are ambivalent about where their own interests lie with respect to a test-ban; moreover they are unlikely to immediately concede when they know that we know that our inspection demands are unnecessary.

The Russians, I am sure, do not understand that a test-ban treaty would be a major historical event. The necessity for Senate ratification of the treaty would require that the Administration literally stake its political life on proving the desirability of negotiation, accommodation and arms control. We would then have, for the first time in fifteen years, a wide-ranging national debate on Cold War policy.

Present Administration moderation toward the Soviets is a symptom of a significant shift in policy. Policy-makers are increasingly of the belief that the arms race as such has ceased to pay off--that it constitutes a major barrier to effective foreign policy, and its burdens may outweigh its benefits domestically. Some kind of detente and arms agreement with the Soviets is necessary, in the Administration's view, in order to cope with the following porblems:

1) The problem of revolution in Latin America and Asia. This is the major foreign policy preoccupation of the Administration, and the lesson of Vietnam and Cuba for the Administration has been that counter-insurgency war cannot be effectively waged so long as the danger of escalation to nuclear war is great. A detente with the Soviets might free us, especially in Latin America, to prevent, forestall, or suppress revolution.
2) The problem of economic competition within the Western Alliance--the American economy falters in comparison with the European economy--in large part because we are over-committed to military research and production while the Europeans act as if the Cold War did not exist.

The shape of foreign policy and domestic politics from now on is going to be defined by the stagnation of the American economy. The Administration, after two years, has begun to see that this stagnation is profound and not peripheral. But it has apparently decided to hold on to the classic American view that the solution to our domestic fifficulties lies in overseas expansion, and trade. Thus, the danger of imminent nuclear war, may be but a prelude to ever-increasing U.S. involvement in "limited" wars throughout the underdeveloped world--wars fought to preserve and inhance American economic interests wherever they are seriously threatened.

The emerging debate over foreign policy is between corporate reaction--committed to hard anti-Soviet policies and the concept of victory over "communism"--and corporate liberalism--committed to a somewhat less ideological view of the Soviet Union, but equally committed to the preservation and growth of the American corporate system.

It is, however, already apparent that corporate liberalism, despite the greater "rationality" of its policies, is intellectually incapable and political unable to cope with the foreign and domestic problems it now has begun to perceive. The Alliance for Progress is a silly-even pathetic--response to the chaos of Latin America. The tax cut and other Presidential domestic programs will have little effect on poverty, unemployment or the rate of growth. And South Vietnam, where the rebels now control 90% of the country, suggests that counter-insurgency techniques, no matter how "sophisticated"(read "brutal"), will not prevent the overthrow of regimes of corruption and tyranny.

The fundamental debate of the coming years ought, then to be between establishe liberalism and a new radicalism. The defining characteristic of the latter positio will be the demand that immediate attention and full energy and resources be devoted to the problems of this society--that poverty be abolished, full employment established and racial equality guaranteed; this, in contrast to official liberalism's commitment to "aggressive tokenism" and the "long, twilight struggle" to preserve American power.

Such an opposition movement would be a "peace movement"--even if advocacy of foreign policy alternatives were not a major feature of its program. For the creation of powerful demand for major reform in domestic economic and social life would require a fundamental reordering of priorities for our society--major internal reform is incompatible with the "long, twilight struggle"; major internal conflict would disrupt the national consensus which would be necessary for effective prosecution of that struggle.

What is needed now? The requirements of the moment are perhaps somewhat contradictory. In my opinion, these include:

1. Intensified efforts both locally and nationally to build popular support for reduced tension, disarmament agreements, and alternative foreign policies. In particular, we should support and participate in the educational and lobbying projects of groups now attempting to demonstrate support for the test-ban, such as Women's Strike for Peace. Perhaps the outstanding action project for campus groups would be a continuing effort to speak to a wide range of community and student groups about various issues. This has been one of the major efforts of Tocsin, at Harvard; a variant of this is now being tried by Voice, at Michigan--which is sending speakers into fraternities and dormitories to lead discussions about the draft--as a way of focussing attention on the way the cold war affects individual lives. The best place to reach people is in the context of their own groups and organizations; the purpose of such activity is not so much to build a peace movement through recruitment, but to develop a constituency of support for particular policies.

2. Organization for peace politics: In most college towns or district, it ought to be possible to develop strong ties between the local peace people and local political organizations. Where, for example, the Democratic Party is a minority party--there ought to be opportunities for peace concerned students and faculty to actively and effectively influence the choice of candidates and the policies of the local Party. In other districts, a caucus of peace people within the Party can raise issues for debate, frame resolutions, run candidates in primaries. Peace people who are not tied into a political party directly, can influence parties and candidates and congressmen by forming non-partisan citizens groups whose function is to endorse candiates, lobby for specific proposals, etc. Note that the citizens group plays less of an educational role within the community and more of a lobbying function. An effective local peace politics effort requires peace education--to develop a constituency, a non-partisan group--to exert pressure, and, ideally, a caucus of conerned people within one or both of the parties to directly

influence the party organization. Peace politics is likely to be meaningful mainly in districts which contain a high proportion of middle class intellectuals or professional people--for it is here where the peace movement is likely to have a base, and where foreign policy is a salient issue. The function of peace politics wherever possible, is to elect to Congress men who are democratically responsive on foreign policy, and to create within the district a body of politically effective people who are independent of established liberalism--and conscious of the need for radical reform. In most areas, the main focus of such an effort may not be foreign policy, but rather, the more immediate and pressing problems of race, employment poverty, etc. Thus, "peace politics" becomes one of several kinds of possible "insurgent politics" that seem to be developing in many parts of the country.

3. There is an immediate need for serious research, analysis and writing pointed toward: first, the development of alternative programs for dealing with our problems, and second, the development of strategy for the new politics of reform. Examples of the first would be programs for eradicating poverty, and technological unemployment, focussed on particular locales and conditions and relating these problems to defense production. Examples of the second, might include--what particular congressional districts are potentially open for effective peace politics, what is the demographic, sociological and political structure of one's district, what political issues are of central importance in the district and what kinds of organization, argument and appeal might be effective in building constituencies around particular issues.

* * *

STUDENT ATTITUDES AND REACTION TO THE CUBAN CRISIS AND PUBLIC DISSENT

by Richard Schmuck and Mark Chesler

President Kennedy's national address on October 22, 1962, highlighted an increasing public concern with a buildup of Soviet armaments in Cuba. In that speech, the President announced a naval quaratine of Cuba, and subsequently, called up approximately 14,000 Air Force reservists preparatory to further U.S. action.

Public dissent from the administration's policy occurred in the form of demonstrations in Washington, at the UN, and on several college campuses. One such demonstartion occurred at the University of Michigan. The University of Michigan demonstrators were met with a crowd of anti-demonstrators who supported the administration's position. The anti-demonstration group attempted to prevent the original protestors from standing and marching by throwing eggs, taunting, and finally blocking the marchers.

During such a national crisis, and one augmented by such diverse and passionate local activity, individual political beliefs and attitudes are heightened. The threat of destruction, increased reference group activity, the need to "stand up and be counted," are all reasons for the activation of attitudinal structures and dramatize the particular utility of psycho-social research in crisis periods. Research was undertaken on the "great middle," that portion of the Michigan student community who did not overtly participate in either the demonstrations or the anti-demonstration.

The research design included the administration of a series of attitude scales, and an open ended and structured opinionnaire on attitudes toward public policy in the Cuban crisis, and the behavior of the various demonstrations. Further, social and family background data was collected on the sample of student respondents (N=69).

The results indicate a considerable degree of consensus among this "great middle," with over seventy percent of the respondents agreeing that "we should make sure the missiles are out (of Cuba) but not invade." In response to an open ended question: "When President Kennedy announced the U.S. decision to establish the Cuban quarantine, I felt..."; 56% of the sample volunteered the information that they felt "scared," "worried," fearful of war." These individual characteristically favored more lenient or minimal sanctions toward Cuba. The group that was not scared, or at least did not voluteer such information, generally favored harsher U.S. sanctions.

The "scared" population attributed a lesser role to public opinion in policy formation than did the "non-scared." Scared individuals may see themselves as helpless in the face of a war, see no major role for an effective public and no way in which they can affect a disagreeable and dangerous course of events. Therefore, they may withdraw from piblic involvement with such issues. On the other hand, the non-scared and approving persons may view public opinion as playing a more powerful role because their own favored policies are being accepted and acted upon.

In response to another open-ended question, 63% of the sample felt that the demonstrators who protested the official U.S. policy were justified; the demonstrators were seen as exercising their rights by these persons. The respondents did not necessarily agree with the protest, but felt it was justified. The group that felt the demonstrations were not justified did so on the basis that such protests were absurd, ineffective, misinformed or disloyal. Students who stressed freedom of speech as a fact in evaluating this particular issue tended to take a more liberal position in evaluating the place of dissent in national emergencies in general.

The data also indicate a cluster of attitudes among students favoring harsher sanctions toward Cuba. Generally, these students scored higher on scales measuring militarism and conservatism; and these scales are associated with higher scores and scales of ethnocentrism, patriotism, dogmatism, and low scores on intellectualism. Not surprisingly, Republican students scored higher on conservativism and favored harsher policies toward Cuba. Along with these characteristics, more conservative and dogmatic students came from homes where: the father supervised several other workers, the father was at least a college graduate, and the mother did not work.

Additional interviewing focussing on the family background and attitudinal correlates of reactions to national crisis are planned. The hypotheses and findings generated in this study will be further tested in the future.

Many important implications of this research lies in the information collected about dissent, and student reactions to dissent in national emergencies. It appears that current behavior does not accurately reflect the traditions of legitimate debate which are the foundations of a viable democratic society. It is questioned whether it is possible to maintian dissent when the media of mass information are manipulated and directed in support of national policy. Further research is planned on discovering the criteria for public evaluation of national policy and the channels for legitimate public protest and dissent from policy.

Place Drops.

Arizona Group Pushing Revision Of Laws Governing Mental Health

MENTAL HEALTH ALERT

Nowhere does the Constitution of the United States state that the liberties we cherish are reserved only for those whom Mental Health Laws or social customs determine to be "mentally healthy," or that these rights are to be withheld from any specific group based on racial, religious, or psychiatric criteria.

On every hand we see the fight for the rights of racial and religious minority groups being publicized, while at the same time the destruction of the rights of, and legal discrimination against citizens whom only one person "believes" to be "mentally ill," goes unnoticed.

This legal destruction of rights via Mental Health Laws includes committed patients being fingerprinted, recorded in government files, deprived of the right to vote or hold office, and denied the right to dispose of their own property, as though they were common criminals tried and convicted of crimes against society. All this is done under the pretense that it is for the "patient's own good."

It is no wonder that private citizens and psychiatrists opposed to the Mental Health movement are deeply concerned about these laws and the source from which they spring. **Dr. Thomas Szasz,** Professor of Psychiatry at New York Upstate University at Syracuse, and Diplomate, American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, writing in the American Journal of Psychiatry for October, 1962, points out that Mental Health "defendants **can be denied the right of trial** on the mere suspicion of 'mental illness.' "

In considering the PSYCHIATRIC SUBVERSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, he calls attention to the fact that there are "values inherent in the right to go to jail instead of being subjected to unwanted psychiatric 'treatment', for in jail a person is let alone, while in a mental hospital he may not be. A prisoner will be released after completion of sentence, and possibly before, but **a mental patient may be required to undergo a change in his 'inner personality',** a change that may be induced by measures far more brutal and intrusive than anything permitted in a jail, before 'psychiatric authorities' will let him go. Besides, commitment, unlike sentence, may be for an indefinite period -- up to life.

This is a discriminatory form of tyranny against which the Constitution specifically protects us. deprive individuals of their freedom, and of their Constitutionally guaranteed right to a public hearing such as is accorded the most hardened criminal or treasonous Communist working to overthrow our government.

These laws have **come about through pressures exerted upon** state legislatures by certain psychiatrists, mental hospital superintendents, certain social workers, and by **the United States Department of Health,** Education, and Welfare, and certain quasi-official conferences of state and national officials where propaganda passes as fact. Combined with pressures exerted by citizens brainwashed by a barrage of propaganda into forming influential do-gooder movements for effectively implementing the program, this force is strong enough to push through un-American laws.

It would appear that Lenin's admonition, "Get control of the Public Health Agencies; they are the keystone to the arch of the Socialized State", **is deliberately being implemented.**

This technique of exerting pressures "from above" and "from below" by both official and public opinion, generated by propaganda in the guise of meeting "needs", is common Communist procedure, and its use is clearly delineated in **Czechoslovakian Jan Kozak's blueprint for the takeover of any representative form of government.**

At the national level, we hear about President Kennedy's **"bold, new program" for "retarded" children,** but as is always the case, the proposed bills apply to every citizen and are not at all to alleviate the plight of the genuinely retarded child.

The program is not "new"; it has been part of the Communist plan for conquest of the United States and the remnants of the free world since the first days of revolutionary radicalism.

"Bold", yes, because it sponsors outright **usurpation of state's rights** and of the individual freedom of the entire citizenry. Senator Lister Hill's Bills 755 and 756 call for immense sums from the taxpayers to finance "mental health centers" in practically every city and town, and to provide for research under the catch-all phrases "for related purposes" which includes "relating to human development whether biological, medical, **social,** or **behavioral,** which may assist in finding the causes and means of prevention of mental retardation."

The "facilities" are to be "specifically designed for the diagnosis, treatment, education, **training and custodian care."** Keeping "by a majority of those present" in the Senate during the start of the Easter vacation when only eight Senators were in the chambers. He squeaked through by a vote of four to three.

Mike Mansfield, Hubert Humphrey, Pat McNamara and George Smathers approved; Carl Curtis, J. J. Williams and George Aiken voted against the appointment.

Mrs. Maurine Neuberger, presiding, did not vote. Is it any wonder that psychiatrists and laymen who oppose this program are deeply concerned about the source of these laws, and the way in which they will be enforced?

One cult of psychiatrists have expressed their views about the need for Mental Health as a means for forcing our country into **World Government.**

Dr. Brock Chisolm, founder of the movement and the World Health Organization, was brought to the United States by **ALGER HISS** to sell his ideas to Washington officials. His peregrinations and pronouncements are constantly noted in the Communist press. The west coast **Communist PEOPLE'S WORLD for March 30, '63,** for example, reported on his recent speech, **"Children in Our Uncertain World",** in which he again decried children being "held down by limiting loyalties" such as "standards of patriotism". Chisholm has always deplored both patriotism and moral standards based on Christianity.

(See: Nesta Webster's THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, also her SECRET SOCIETIES AND SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS.)

Chisholm is currently a member of the study panel on "Technical Problems of Arms Control" of the Institute for International Order, recently **exposed by Edith Kermit Roosevelt** as doing "research" into ways of ferreting out "pockets of resistance" to the takeover of our country by the World Government.

These "experts," including **Jerome Weisner,** President Kennedy's top scientific advisor, are studying ways to "recruit and train competent secret agents" who will develop the informer system necessary to extort information from "key people" by means of "depth interviews, polygraphs, drugs, hypnosis" and "other psychological techniques." This "international control system" will include Russia and Red China, both of whose work in brainwashing and mind control could be adapted by our "experts." At the Sixth Pugwash ant incompetent to stand trial in virtually every case in which the issue was raised by an important person, whether judge, defense counsel, or prosecutor?" It is interesting to note that this article was in print before the case of **General Edwin Walker** ever came into being.

No one denies that at the local level, there may well be the need to care for the small group of children who are actually retarded. But will patriotism and adherence to Christian moral standards **be the symptoms on which diagnosis is made and "treatment" prescribed?**

Professor Richard Hofstadter of Columbia University has stated **that "15 per cent of the over-principled population should be encapsulated."**

And George Bernard Shaw, in the British Labor Monthly of October, 1921, **explained:** "In a fully Socialized state, opposition to the ruling clique must from force of circumstances take the form of underground conspiracy, working secretly until it is strong enough for an open test of strength. (as in Hungary? — Ed.) Against this danger the ruling clique must protect itself with a gigantic spy service.

Russia's gigantic spy service and perpetual liquidations of suspected oppositionists are no accidental features. They are inherent in full Socialism."

It would appear that the contemporary Internationalists are talreadv taking precautionary measures to protect their police state elite.

On the other hand, the intended victims would be traitors to their own children and their country and freedom if they failed to realize what such a future holds, despite reassurances from sociometrists, mental health spokesmen and the International Order experts.

A former Bolshevik Commissar of Justice **named Steinberg,** in the New York Times of Feb. 23, '30, describes **the actual situation.** "On the one side, we have intoxication with POWER and a realization that anything done by him who wields power will go unpunished; and on the other, fear, depression, silent hatred and sycophancy — the rise of two classes, masters and slaves. In turn the relations among the suspects bebome themesleves perverted. In the struggle to win the favor of the authorities treachery assumes appalling dimensions. All become slaves with respect to the government and wolves with respect to each other." **Plain common sense can interpret this warning.**

Out Of The Mail Bag

Amarillo, Texas
4602 Olsen

DEAR EDITOR:

As we understand it: Some reflections on foreign policy. . .our own State Dept. refused permission to top ranking American military men to speak of "victory over our enemies "or even to refer to the existence of a "cold, limited or general war."

One of the greatest institutions we have is **"private property";** private property is what the cold war IS ALL ABOUT. Since the Punta del Este Conference in Uraguay two years ago, the U.S. has been on a course that undermines private property in Latin America. We have spent many millions in bolstering the Marxist-Socialist government in Bolivia.

Khrushchev once said; "The U. S. would adopt the principles of communism bit by bit until it found that it had become a communist state."

In his COMMUNIST MANIFESTO Karl Marx wrote: "The theory of the communists is the ABOLITION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY."

DICTATORS REQUIRE CONTROLLED NEWS; not only does the Soviet Government CONTROL the newspapers; it also CONTROLS the radio stations, magazines, and books and uses them to pour out the image they wish the poor Russian slave people to see. Literature, drama, painting, music, movies and even science must all follow the official Party line and help to create this desired image to the underlings.

Is this what IS HAPPENING RIGHT NOW in the United States? Think!

Managed news is the technique which has been employed by every TOTALITARIAN form of government in the HISTORY OF MANKIND.

It is now in use in every communist (dictator) country in the world. We want to trust and respect our government but when it fails to trust and respect the people of America, it is time for the people to alert themselves. Certainly one of the greatest BULWARKS OF A REPUBLIC IS A FREE PRESS. (Our people, having known freedom of SPEECH, ASSEMBLY, PRESS, RELIGION DO NOT want regimentation, (Slavery).

Russian acceptance of a small number of control stations and on-site inspections has raised the hopes for an agreement on a test ban. ACTUALLY SUCH A BAN would be virtually UNPOLICED.

It would ENDANGER OUR SECURITY and HELP THE SOVIET UNION in its plan to CONQUER the whole world.

Political resolutions adopted by WASHINGTON'S era, he warned the American people AGAINST THE insidious wiles of FOREIGN influence, the jealousy of A FREE PEOPLE ought to be CONSTANTLY AWAKE, since history and EXPERIENCE PROVE that foreign INFLUENCE is one of the most BANEFUL FOES of Republican Government. Yet this is THE OFFICIAL policy of our government planners TODAY. Our State Dept. has long pushed the IDEA of a strong UN and a military so great that no single nation could resist. The Soviets will accept this ONLY WHEN THE SOVIETS CONTROL THE UN. So please GET THE UNITED STATES OUT OF THE UN.

Respectfully,
Mrs. B. E. Walker

P. S. By all means keep the Connally Amendment.

Mrs. Straiton Hard
120 Lafayette Drive, N.E.
Atlanta. Georgia

May 17, 1963

Mr. William R. Kintner,
Deputy Director
Foreign Policy Research Ins.
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia. Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Kintner:

I have for acknowledgment your letter of April 22, 1963, with its many intemperate references to a protest I addressed to **Senator Thomas Dodd** on May 28, 1962, in regard to his ill-advised sponsorship into the May 10, 1962, Congressional Record of **two scurrilous articles** attacking **the John Birch Society,** one of the articles having been written by you and the other by one **Harvey Schechter** (of the Anti-Defamation League).

Before commenting on the inaccuracies with which your letter is saturated, may I point out that for one with your academic pretensions, it is a letter which is singularly lacking in scholarship. I refer, of course, to the fact that you completely disregarded the rules of debate when you substituted an attack upon me personally for your failure to furnish documented refutation of a single one of the statements made in my letter to Senator Dodd. Perhaps, however, I should not be surprised at such behavior, inasmuch as it seems to be a common practice now in some circles to ambush the messenger when the message carried cannot be gainsaid.

And now I would like to discuss the inaccurate statements made in your letter:

You say (1) "Mr. Dan Smoot was not at the Asilomar Conference and his distorted reporting on the Nuclear Age," was distributed at a "Strategy" Seminar conducted in Atlanta, Georgia in June, 1961, by the Institute for American Strategy under the auspices of the Fulton County Medical Association. Considering the fact that your colleague, **Mr. Frank R. Barnett,** (CFR), was one of the principal speakers at this "Strategy" Seminar. I am not surprised to find the lead article in "American Startegy for the Nuclear Age" to be a reprint of a **Council on Foreign Relations** Report compiled in 1959 at a meeting attended by the following "liberals," **some of whom** were identified with the infamous Institute of Pacific Relations, **many of whom** advocate recognition of Red China, and all of whom are members of the Council of Foreign Relations:

Frank Altschul, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, A. A. Berle, Jr., Robert Blum, Robert R. Bowie, John Cowles, Arthur Dean, Thomas Finletter, William C. Foster, Averill Harriman, Philip Jessup, Joseph E. Johnson, Henry Luce, I. I. Rabi, Henry M. Wriston.

It might be possible, Mr. Kintner, for you and your CFR associates to palm off "American Strategy for the Nuclear Age" on the uninitiated, but you should never waste time trying to slip it into the library of an informed anti-Communist as a manual on anti-Communism. True, the book contains occasional articles by men like General Arthur G. Trudeau and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, **but these few sound pieces** are sandwiched between so many contributions of CFR members that they are of little value in neutralizing the material of men like Robert Strausz-Hupe and of Dean Acheson **(who turned his back on America's friend, Chiang Kai Shek, but not on Alger Hiss).**

You say (3) "As the author of the article in the "Reader's Digest," I can assure you that your statement that 'Kintner's companion piece was written solely to discredit the Birch Society' is completely erroneous. I trust I know my own mind better than you."

Do you really know your own mind, Mr. Kintner? I ask the question because your short article which purported to be an attack upon all "extremist" groups mentioned only **one** of these groups by name — **the John Birch Society.** Moreover, the Society was mentioned not once, but several times, and in addition the article made unrestrained use of such smear terms as "Birchite" from the rest of the text, I assure you):

"No group or organization in the history of American politics or public life has been subjected to such a prolonged, concerted, malicious, mendacious, determined and hysterical smear at the hands of supposedly responsible publicists as the John Birch Society. . . .

"No two-bit columnist, no sick-joke night club wit, no time serving political jefe at the public hog-trough, especially in Sacremento, no editorial pundit armed with the educated language of disciplined distortion and misrepresentation, no professional peepul's friend with his hand in the peepul's pocket, no maggot intelligence of the college campus, no rancid liberal in the rag-bag ranks of the peace marchers, but hastened with banshee screams to gang up on the Birchers.

"Nobody, that is, but a large and apparently ever growing segment of public opinion which is gathered to the Birchers' ways of thinking, if not their actual ranks of enrollment, with every fresh barrage of dead cats from the gloomy mandarins of the press and radio. Numbers of people began to see in the alleged subversion attributed to the Birchers what used, once in the almost forgotten past, to be known as plain American Patriotism."

Very truly yours,
Elizabeth D. Hard

cc: (with copy of W.R.K. letter of April 22, 1963)
General Arthur G. Trudeau
Senator Thomas Dodd
Mr. Robert Welch
Mr. Lucius Beebe
Various Newspapers

Amarillo, Texas
4602 Olsen

DEAR CONGRESSMAN:

Please stop fighting brush fires and concentrate all POWER TO PASS THE LIBERTY AMENDMENT; by so doing you will get the U. S. Government OUT of competetion with private enterprise; then this now held government property will be SOLD to private concerns and the money used to pay the national debt. (1). Get the UNITED STATES OUT of the UN Trojan horse which is trying to take us over from WITHIN. (3). Stop the initiative destroying, graduated income tax which is now taxing the American people to the DEATH. **SO PLEASE PASS THE LIBERTY AMENDMENT.**

Following are the terms of the proposed **LIBERTY AMENDMENT:** which is now pending in the Congress as HJ Res. by **Congressman James B. Utt** in the

jected to unwanted psychiatric 'treatment', for in jail a person is let alone, while in a mental hospital he may not be. A prisoner will be released after completion of sentence, and possibly before, but **a mental patient may be required to undergo a change in his 'inner personality'**, a change that may be induced by measures far more brutal and intrusive than anything permitted in a jail, before 'psychiatric authorities' will let him go. Besides, commitment, unlike sentence, may be for an indefinite period -- up to life.

This is a discriminatory form of tyranny against which the Constitution specifically protects us.

No standard behavior norms exist, deviation from which can be termed "mental illness," yet many well-meaning people have been duped into accepting this catch-all "diagnosis" as though it were a disease entity similar to some bodily illnesses. Until the power of the Mental Health movement came into prominence, insanity was defined legally as a state in which the person was a danger to himself and to the safety of others. Under Mental Health commitment procedures, it is merely necessary that someone — almost anyone — judge him to be "in need of treatment."

In another article, **THE MYTH OF MENTAL ILLNESS**, published in the February, 1960 "American Psychologist", **Dr. Szasz explains**, "The notion of mental illness serves mainly to obscure the everyday fact that life, for most people, is a continuous struggle, not for biological survival, but for 'a place in the sun', 'peace of mind', or some other human value. . . .Sustained adherence to **the myth of mental illness** allows people to avoid facing this problem, believing that mental health automatically insures making the right and safe choices in one's conduct of life. But the facts are the other way.

"It is making the good choices in life that others regard, retrospectively, as good mental health! The myth of mental illness encourages us, moreover, to believe in its logical corallary: that social intercourse would be harmonious, satisfying, and the secure basis of a 'good life' were it not for the disrupting influence of mental illness". But he also points out that men must have the courage and integrity to tackle their own personal, social and ethical conflicts, and face the real nature of their problems in living, whether these problems be of a biological, economic, political or sociopolitical nature.

Dr. Georgene Seward, Professor of Psychology at University of Southern California, **made a study of local psychiatrists** to determine how their own training and socio-ethical orientation influenced their diagnosis and treatment of each case.

She reported to the Association for the Advancement of Psychoanalysis that "personal value orientation affect the way analysts of different schools perceive the responsibility of the treatment situation." The opposing opinions of psychiatrists for the defense or for the prosecution in many criminal cases illustrates this wide variance, and is a matter of common knowledge.

Anyone who makes a study of such cases, and of the numerous occasions **when patriots who have spoken out against the United Nations and Communism** have been declared "mentally ill," must concur with Dr. Seward, and conclude that there really is no criteria for judging "mental health" or "mental illness"; it is just what some psychiatrist says it is in given circumstances. This is a dangerous, and a flimsy foundation on which to erect a whole structure of Mental Health laws which can

sors outright **usurpation of state's rights** and of the individual freedom of the entire citizenry. Senator Lister Hill's Bills 755 and 756 call for immense sums from the taxpayers to finance "mental health centers" in practically every city and town, and to provide for research under the catch-all phrases "for related purposes" which includes "relating to human development whether biological, medical, **social**, or **behavioral**, which may assist in finding the causes and means of prevention of mental retardation."

The "facilities" are to be "specifically designed for the diagnosis, treatment, education, **training and custodian care." Keeping** in mind that socialist-pacifist activities of **Harry Overstreet** date back to the Lusk Report of 1920, Americans should question the motivation behind his statement, made in THE GREAT ENTERPRIZE, written in 1952, in which he speaks of "rigidity" and "constellations of prejudices," **and in which he defines people who may be** "angrily against race equality, public housing, the TVA, financial and technical aid to backward countries, organized labor, and the preaching of social rather than salvational religion. . . .**are now, we recognize, well along the way toward mental illness."** Is this to be the basis of diagnosis?

In the California Senate Report of the Committee Investigating Education, there is a section of almost one hundred pages on subversion through Mental Health programs. Included are lengthy quotations from **Dr. J. L. Moreno, father of Psycho-drama**, in whose book **WHO SHALL SURVIVE**, is given a forewarning about the "education and training we might expect from these government-controlled "facilities" when he confesses that "highly directive sociodrama can be used for the indoctrination of any set of values, religious, communistic or fascistic." He goes on to explain that "group-centered form of sociodrama, **unless prohibited by law**, is a natural ally of democratic processes." Every student of Communism recognizes that "democratic processes" means transition to Communism.

Perhaps to forestall any "legal prohibitions," **Congressman Emanuel Cellers** has introduced House Resolution 25 providing that **the Interstate Mental Health Compact** should apply to all states whether they ratify it or not.

This, despite resolutions regularly introduced by Congressman **Usher Burdick and Congressman Edgar Hiestand**, urging that all Mental Health legislations should be curtained until Congress could investigate the entire movement.

Cellers' bills constitute an all-out effort by certain elements to gain control over the minds, the lives and the freedom of the entire population of our country.

It is imperative that concerned citizens inform themselves of the extensive Communist front activities of **Dr. Wilbur Cohen, Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare**, for it is this bureau which controls the activities and formulates the legislation for the whole program. At the time of **Professor Cohen's** appointment by President Kennedy, his entire background was presented under oath to the Senate Finance Committee, **with documented proof of the contention that** "Through the positions he has held and the power he has wielded, he has, more than anyone else, thrust the United States into the World Conspiracy, not only for the nationalization of medicine but for the establishment of a Socialist form of government."

In spite of the complete dossier on his activities and associations, his appointment was confirmed

"pockets of resistance" to the takeover of our country by the World Government.

These "experts," including **Jerome Weisner**, President Kennedy's top scientific advisor, are studying ways to "recruit and train competent secret agents" who will develop the informer system necessary to extort information from "key people" by means of "depth interviews, polygraphs, drugs, hypnosis" and "other psychological techniques." This "international control system" will include Russia and Red China, both of whose work in brainwashing and mind control could be adapted by our "experts." At the Sixth Pugwash Conference, May 29, 1960, Wiesner discussed the "inspection of people" as an "important inspection technique" with Soviet police-state General **T. A. Talensky** and Admiral I. A. Isakov, hailing **One-Worlder L. C. Bohn's** proposal that the spies could be rewarded by large sums of money and political office.

What better way to implement the "ferreting out" and destruction of patriots who resist the takeover than by using the proposed network of Mental Health "facilities" as instruments for commitment to experimental sites from which there is no hope of escape?

The ultimate goal has been expressed by **Dr. Moreno** in another book, SOCIOMETRY. . . AN APPROACH TO A NEW POLITICAL ORIENTATION, when he writes, "Sociometric revolutions do not promise violent and rapid results. They dig deep and their success depends upon new learning processes applied to small groups. . .As human society is ailing we can expect a psychiatric empire to emerge gradually and spread over the glove. Politicians and diplomats will move to second status.

"Social scientists, psychiatrists, sociatrists, and sociometrically oriented socialists will move into first.

"The mentor in the White House, a future President of the United States, may well be a psychiatrist before another century has passed. Is not the whole cosmos beginning more and more to look like a huge mental institution with God the physician in charge?"

Fabian Socialists likewise are working on the non-violent revolution and this program could hasten their takeover if Americans are not alerted to the danger.

Every freedom-loving American will do well to question WHICH psychiatrists are to control the world.

Dr. Szasz draws a startling parallel when he writes " 'Mental Illness' is **conveniently undefined** simply because there is no such entity."

He points out, "Its presence is ascertained by reference to the judgment of experts, in this case, psychiatrists. In this respect **'Mental Illness' is like witchcraft**, which also was never clearly defined, but which experts found little difficulty in diagnosing. Given these circumstances, I submit that government psychiatrists (or so - called forensic psychiatrists generally), like ecclesiastic witch hunters will easily find large numbers of mentally sick persons.

"This will be especially true whenever **'the right sort'** of persons prefer the 'charge.' If this is doubted, we should ask ourselves how long **the witch hunter who never found any witches** would have lasted in his job.

Similarly, how long would a court retain a psychiatrist who found most defendants fit to stand trial, and who never interferred on psychiatric grounds with the trial of a defendant who wanted to be tried. 4

Finally would such a psychiatrist be as popular as those of his colleagues who find the defend-

of Justice **named Steinberg**, in the New York Times of Feb. 23, '30, describes **the actual situation.** "On the one side, we have intoxication with POWER and a realization that anything done by him who wields power will go unpunished; and on the other, fear, depression, silent hatred and sycophancy — the rise of two classes, masters and slaves. In turn the relations among the suspects bebome themesleves perverted. In the struggle to win the favor of the authorities treachery assumes appalling dimensions. All become slaves with respect to the government and wolves with respect to each other." **Plain common sense can interpret this warning.**

Again, no one denies the real need to care for the insane at the local level. But Mental Health legislation is all directed **to transferring the "mentally ill" out of their own state** to any and every other state "facility," including Alaska's million acre compound. Government psychiatrists on the government payroll, working in government clinics, could be the nucleus of the spy system the psychiatric elite visualize to rid the world of opposition to their schemes.

What starts as an appeal to the heart concerning the care of the truly unfortunate retared children or of the insane should not be permitted to burgeon into wholesale mind control by government bureaucrats. Legislators and physicians, in particular, should inform themselves about the orientation of those persons promoting such a questionable program.

Mental Health is discussed at length in the Russian book BRAINWASHING and Edward Hunter's book of the same title discloses how those methods were actually used on our Korean war prisoners.

This is PSYCHOPOLITICS at work, and PSYCHOPOLITICS is the ultimate instrument of Communism for taking over the free world.

ARIZONANS FOR MENTAL FREEDOM — P. O. Box 7269, Phoenix 11, Ariz.

★

SUGGESTED READING

THE FREUDIAN ETHIC — By Richard La Pierre,

PSYCHIATRY AND RESPONSIBILITY — By Schoeck & Wiggins, Editors,

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION— By Nesta Webster,

SECRET SOCIETIES AND SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENTS — By Nesta Webster,

TESTIMONY ON APPOINTMENT OF WILBER J. COHEN — By Shearon Legislative Service, 8801 Jones Mill Rd., Chevy Chase 15, M. D. (75c)

SIXTEENTH REPORT—Calif., Senate Investigating Committee on Education '57,

THE BRAIN WATCHERS — By Martin L. Gross,

MENTAL ROBOTS — By Alesen,

TECHNIQUES OF COMMUNISM by Budenz by Budenz,

CONQUEST OF THE AMERICAN MIND — By Wittmer,

PREJUDICE AND THE PRESS — By Frank Hughes.

APPROVE INSURANCE BILL

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Senate Finance Committee Wednesday approved a bill to give World War II and Korean War veterans an opportunity to renew G.I. life insurance they have allowed to lapse.

Although the Senate has passed the measure at least five times previously, it always has died in the House.

Veterans Administration officials have said the plan would not cost the government any money because veterans would pay all the costs.

ple of America, it is time for the people to alert themselves. Certainly one of the greatest BULWARKS OF A REPUBLIC IS A FREE PRESS. (Our people, having known freedom of SPEECH, ASSEMBLY, PRESS, RELIGION DO NOT want regimentation, (Slavery).

Russian acceptance of a small number of control stations and onsite inspections has raised the hopes for an agreement on a test ban. ACTUALLY SUCH A BAN would be virtually UNPOLICED.

It would ENDANGER OUR SECURITY and HELP THE SOVIET UNION in its plan to CONQUER the whole world.

Political resolutions adopted by the Communist Party of the U.S. at its 17th national convention in New York City in Dec. 1959, included the following: "Abolish the witch-hunting HOUSE COMMITTEE on UN-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee. WHY?

They want no one checking on their SUBVERSIVE WORK! The U. S. not only can get along WITHOUT the UN, it will HAVE TO if it hopes to save individual FREEDOM and preserve national INDEPENDENCE. Every day, the Mistaken who hold KEY position in the UN (they are NUMEROUS) are hacking away at private ownership and at the same time are being SUBSIDIZED by the American TAXPAYER to perform their DESTRUCTIVE WORKS! Those well-intentioned persons who say the UN has given us peace conveniently IGNORE the FACT that we have been CONSTANTLY AT WAR. How else did the Communist ENSLAVE A BILLION human beings since the UN was formed? (does GOD know?) Why did we lose thousands of men in Korea? How is the blood bath of the HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION to be explained or the war in THE MIDDLE EAST which the UN did not prevent? Or more recently the African DISASTER caused by UN policies directed against the "colonial powers"?

The UN HAS NOT, and CANNOT, bring PEACE. Negotiations and action taken through the UN have generally meant FAILURE. Subversion, sabotage, raids, assinations, kidnapings, roadblocks, guerilla fighting, civil war and threats of still greater violence ARE NOT peace. These CONSTITUTE what the communists CALL PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE.

Do we, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, wish to finance economic CHAOS, irritable non-participation based on SUBVERSIVE AIMS, and the HORRIBLE PLAN which the communist have in store for mankind? (ALL of which ARE PRESENT IN THE UNITED NATIONS.

Here in the UNITED STATES, we have a government OF, BY and FOR the people. Our U. S. CONSTITUTION guarantees us this (but WE MUST ENFORCE IT). The Soviet government is of, by and for THE FEW. The FEW, the FEW.

Hundreds of millions of CHINESE are in bondage TODAY **as** a direct result of this art of DECEPTION. Under this cloak of democracy in China the people were SUBDUED. This strategy of DECEPTION IS BEING NOW USED but this time the stakes are MUCH HIGHER. . . THE WHOLE WORLD and the LIBERTY OF OUR CHILDREN! Yet the corner stones of our foreign policy are based upon peaceful co-existence. This is the significance of the Fullbright memorandum, the Rostow memorandum, our whole Disarmament program (it is NO DIS-armament plan at all but a blueprint for the TRANSFER of our OWN AMERICAN MILITARY to U Thant and the UN (look what the UN under Thant did in Katanga. . . a blood bath to THE DEATH).

Late in PRESIDENT GEORGE

sonally for your failure to furnish documented refutation of a single one of the statements made in my letter to Senator Dodd. Perhaps, however, I should not be surprised at such behavior, inasmuch as it seems to be a common practice now in some circles to ambush the messenger when the message carried cannot be gainsaid.

And now I would like to discuss the inaccurate statements made in your letter:

You say (1) "Mr. Dan Smoot was not at the Asilomar Conference and his distorted reporting on the remarks made by Dr. Stauz-Hupe was designed to produce the inaccurate interpretations contained in your letter."

Mr. Kintner, you could have spared yourself this clumsy attempt at "sleight of hand" because you know very well that it was no more necessary for Mr. Smoot to have been present at the Asilomar Conference in order to quote Mr. Strausz-Hupe correctly than it was for you to have attended the Twenty-first Communist Party Congress in Moscow in 1959 in order to quote Khrushchev correctly, **something which you did in a recent article when you credited the Butcher with having said:** "We are interested in winning in a historcally brief period of time."

Do you deny that Mr. Strausz-Hupe **defined** National Sovereignty at Asilomar as **"an obsolete state form,"** and do you deny that he recommended to the Asilomar assemblage that NATO countries be transformed first **into a "supranational" state** and then "into a wider union?" If so, will you please tell us precisely what Mr. Strausz-Hupe did say, and at the same time tell us also whether **he is still an official of the ATLANTIC UNION COMMITTEE which has striven for years** to merge the United States first, into a union of North Atlantic states, and then into a world federation.

Is it not a fact that **you too**, Mr. Kintner, want to substitute a North Atlantic Union for American Independence and that you so stated in the following language in a speech delivered at Baton Rouge, Louisiana on May 25, 1962 —

"We must move toward greater political cooperation with our principal allies. (Emphasis added.)

Is it not true, also, that both you and Mr. Strausz Hupe are members of **the Council on Foreign Relations**, an organization which proposed in the following language that the Declaration of Independence be jettisoned and that a socialist-controlled Atlantic Community be substituted in its stead:

"Far closer political and economical alliance should be developed among the North Atlantic nations. . . . It is outdated to depend too rigidly on the nation-state alone. . . . Traditions must be universalized." (Emphasis added.)

You say (2) "Although the Institute for American Strategy is not 'Mr. Kintner's Institute', I am quite familiar with "American Strategy for the Nuclear Age." Have you read it? If not I will forward a copy for your perusal."

"American Strategy for the

written solely to discredit the Birch Society' is completely erroneous. I trust I know my own mind better than you."

Do you really know your own mind, Mr. Kintner? I ask the question because your short article which purported to be an attack upon all "extremist" groups mentioned only **one** of these groups by name — **the John Birch Society.** Moreover, the Society was mentioned not once, but several times, and in addition the article made unrestrained use of **such smear terms as** "Birchite," "Birchite-type," and "Birchite-Walker," (most of which, of course, were coined in Moscow and then fed to Communist publications such as the **Worker** and **People's World**). I can appreciate your desire to have the article accepted as an objective study of what the "liberals" (and Communists) call the "extremist" movement. However, you can't get away with it as you exposed your real feelings by placing an excessive amount of emphasis on the Society. Furthermore, **Senator Dodd** (who seems more interested in autopsies than in cures because, **unlike** Joseph McCarthy, he seldom exposes a Communist until the culprit is already in the public eye) evidently considered the Society to be your main target because **he made the following comments** in his own unreasoned attacks which prefaced the insertion of your article and the one by **Mr. Harvey Schechter** (of the Anti-Defamation League) in the Congressional Record:

"Colonel Kintner is a determined foe of the John Birch Society and of other extremist organizations. . ."

You say (4) "Although you claim not to be a member of the John Birch Society, you write very much as if you were . . ."

I repeat that **I am not a member** of the John Birch Society, Mr. Kintner, but that does not mean, nor did it ever mean, that I consider it to be an "extremist" organization because the contrary is true. My feelings about the Society were summed up in the following paragraph of my letter of May 28, 1962 to Senator Dodd and **they remain unchanged at this time:**

"Do you not also agree with me that the Communists never waste motion in destroying an effective obstacle to their program of world conquest? Do you find as I do, a special signifigance in the fact that Mr. Kintner has conducted his anti-Communist crusade for seven years, virtually without notice from the Communists, whereas the John Birch Society, after two years of work in the same field, has been the target of the most vicious defamation effort ever known in this country, with the exception of Senator Joseph McCarthy, whom the anti-anti-Communist puppets finished off with the Communists pulling the strings?"

Truth is beginning to prevail, Mr. Kintner, and the stream of slander and distortion which "liberals" everywhere spewed ceaselessly at the Society has largely lost its pressure with the result that an increasing number of people are finding merit in what it is trying to accomplish.

Lucius Beebe, a regular columnist for the San Francisco **Chronicle** has noted this new development and I quote for you, Senator Dodd and Mr Schecter, excerpts from his column which appeared in the **Chronicle** of March 18, 1963. (You would take no comfort

the U. S. Government OUT of competetion with private enterprise; then this now held government property will be SOLD to private concerns and the money used to pay the national debt. (1). Get the UNITED STATES OUT of the UN Trojan horse which is trying to take us over from WITHIN. (3). Stop the initiative destroying, graduated income tax which is now taxing the American people to the DEATH. **SO PLEASE PASS THE LIBERTY AMENDMENT.**

Following are the terms of the proposed **LIBERTY AMENDMENT:** which is now pending in the Congress as HJ Res. by **Congressman James B. Utt** in the House and S. Res. 12 by **Senator Harry F. Byrd** in Senate; it is supported by identical Resolutions in the States of Wyoming, Texas, Nevada, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina.

"Sec. 1. The Government of the United States shall not engage in any business professional, commercial, financial or industrial enterprise except as specified by the U. S. CONSTITUTION.

"Sec. 2. The Constitution or laws of any State, or the laws of the United States shall not be subject to the terms of any foreign or domestic agreement which would abrogate this amendment.

"Sec. 3. The activities of the United States Government which violate the intent and purposes of this amendment shall, within a period of three years from the date of the ratification of this amendment be liquidated and the properties and facilities affected shall be SOLD.

"Sec. 4. Three years after the ratification of this amendment the sixteenth article of amendments to the CONSTITUTION of the U. S. shall stand REPEALED and thereafter Congress shall not levy taxes on personal incomes, estates and or gifts."

Respectfully,
Mrs. B. E. Walker

Amarillo, Texas
4602 Olsen

DEAR CONGRESSMAN:

OUR SHIP OF STATE IS RAPIDLY BEING SUNK by red termites. The final step of the subversion and overthrow of this REPUBLIC CAN BE COMPLETED in Sept. 1963; 5 months from April 21st. . .the time limit set for the take-over and total SURRENDER of public Law 87-297. . . based upon the decisions of the UN Security Council and Dept., of State Document 7277 series of Sept. . . 1961.

Voiding our membership in the UN by Congress and or the Supreme Court can save us from most, but not all, of Katanga's horrible fate which WE through the UN FOUGHT and PAID FOR.

California's Rep. J. B. Utt's Bill HR 3613, a bill introduced to abolish the Disarmament Agency and REPEAL the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Act of 1961 needs to be brought OUT of Foreign Affairs Com. and PASSED. Please use your STRONG INFLUENCE to PASS HR 3613.

We thank you for the fine work that you are doing.

Respectfully,
Mrs. B. E. Walker

By all means keep the Connelly Amendment.

Certainly we should STOP THE back-door spending by Congress and the State Dept., likewise we should start paying at least 1 per cent each year on the national debt. The U. S. has 1-111 voice in the UN. The iron curtain countries CONTROL the UN: Please GET US OUT OF THE UN.

Staff Photo—Ken Patterson

CHURCH OF GOD BISHOP SHOWS CREDENTIALS

Homer Tomlinson Says He Speaks for These Prophets

Bishop Tomlinson Proclaims Peace

Atl. Con. 6/26/63

Peace Group

By JO ANNE CRAWFORD

A prophesying 70-year-old bishop of the Church of God presented Mayor Ivan Allen a "Banner of Confidence" from his church Tuesday and pledged "the end of all evil in Atlanta."

Not unlike a benevolent Santa Claus with "peace" in his pack, Bishop Homer A. Tomlinson, dressed in red and white with flowing beard, proclaimed "a golden age for the world" on the steps of the City Hall after delivering his banner. A 15-inch square of silk, the banner has three circles on it, containing symbols of righteousness, hope and victory.

The stocky General Overseer of the Church of God is touring 11 major cities, predicting an enveloping peace for mankind and no atomic destruction. He makes his prophecy in the raiment of the last of the great prophets, Malachi, of the Old Testament.

BEARD TO PROPHESY

Head covered with a white cloth, the red-robed Bishop speaks from behind a beard attached with adhesive tape. Asked why he wears the beard to prophesy, he said, "Prophets have beards. If I'd had time, I would have grown one."

Bishop Tomlinson gave the banner to the mayor saying, "Atlanta is now due to enter upon Elysian days, with violence and destruction no more within the city." Replied the mayor, "Yes, indeed."

The peace of the cities, believes the bishop, is a prophecy made by Malachi, Sir Isaac Newton, and various prophets from the Bible.

HAS GOOD NEWS

"I have good news for everyone," he said. "The cities will be as safe as walking at noontime in a sylvan glade."

Begging not to be taken lightly, the greying, robust minister said he decided to undertake trips to cities, including New York, his home, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles among others, to end the "violence that had plagued many cities amid burgeoning populations." He said he was confident his visit would coincide with the turn of the tide.

He came to Atlanta from Birmingham.

In 1952, the bishop said, he predicted the end of the Korean war and it ended. The bishop who promised to be as "spectacular for peace on earth" as other men have been for war stated that religion—all religions of the world—is booming.

Microfilm Code No.
Peace Walkers

SERS Library

CHARLESTON NEWS
AND COURIER (S.C.)
p. 8-B
Date OCT 12 1963

Racially-Mixed Group To March To Cuba

CHARLOTTE (AP)—A racially mixed group whose members claim they are marching to Cuba for peace has decided to stay in Charlotte through Monday night. They arrived here Thursday.

While here the group plans to meet with students at Davidson College and possibly Johnson C. Smith University to try to spread its idea of non-violent action.

The group, whose march is sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action, paraded down Tryon Street Friday morning with signs directed against nuclear armaments and racial discrimination.

"We understand Charlotte is an oasis in a mass of ignorance, and we feel our ideas might be received in a less hostile area," said Jack Shapiro, a marcher.

Shapiro said that the marchers will try to get to Cuba in small boats even though they realize the U.S. government will try to stop them. Once in Cuba they plan to march to the U.S. Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay.

Peace Groups

Committee for Nonviolent Action

325 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y. 10002

WAlker 5-9415

CNVA

A. J. Muste, *Chairman*
Ralph DiGia, *Treasurer*
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Regional Committees
New England CNVA
RFD 1, Box 197B
Voluntown, Conn. 06384
CNVA West
P.O. Box 5983
San Francisco, Calif. 94101

October 29, 1963

Dear friend:

To everyone's surprise and gratification, the Quebec-Washington Guantanamo Walk for Peace has now reached Georgia without suffering arrest or serious violence. These courageous people, who take their lives in their hands every day, have walked as an integrated group through Virginia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, carrying their challenging signs (for example, "End Racial Discrimination," and "Build Bridges, Not Walls -- Free Trade With Cuba"), distributing their leaflets, and holding public and private meetings that, to at least some Southerners must seem like mana from heaven after years of intellectual and spiritual privation.

Brad Lyttle, the Walk's coordinator, tells me that the attitude of the Southern officials reminds him of that of officials in Communist countries when the San Francisco to Moscow marchers walked through Eastern Europe in 1961. They are intrigued and challenged by the sincerity and idealism of the walkers; in the face of such a challenge they are anxious to prevent any incidents that might give them a "bad press"; and they show, in many little ways, that they are struggling to understand the phenomenon of nonviolence which leads its advocates on the one hand to attack their established way of life, at the risk of imprisonment or death, and on the other hand to be so warm and friendly, on a personal level, and even to claim to represent the practical fulfillment of ideals which white Southerners have always thought they believed in. The Negro community has welcomed the walkers with open arms, and an important tie-in has been established between the peace and civil-rights movements.

We are indeed fortunate to have walkers who can bring this baffling and exhilarating challenge to the beleaguered and confused Southland, as they have brought it to other regions, on their journey from Quebec, Canada toward Guantanamo, Cuba. The walkers ask little for themselves -- as I can testify after sleeping on hard floors beside them for a few nights, eating their meager rations ("There isn't enough money for anything better," they told me), and watching them "role-play" (rehearse) anticipated scenes of violent attack, as they sought to understand the psychology of their potential attackers in order to respond to them creatively. But with the same honesty with which the walkers speak to Southerners, I must say to you that the Committee for Nonviolent Action, the sponsoring and underwriting organization, is so strapped financially that it does not know from day to day how it is going to be able to continue the Walk. In addition, CNVA is committed to other important activities, including preparations for a visit of Soviet peace workers, who are "returning" the visit of the San Francisco to Moscow walkers, and are scheduled to come to the U.S. in January.

(please turn over)

For the walkers' sake -- and for the sake of you and me who believe that man is capable of better things than money-grubbing, status-seeking and nuclear war -- please make as generous a financial contribution as you can to support those who are carrying out this dangerous experiment in nonviolence and human brotherhood. Besides making it possible for them to buy food, shoes and mimeograph paper, to make phone calls to the press and the "outside world," you will give them a crucial and heartwarming psychological lift by showing that you stand behind them in their endeavors.

Sincerely,

Dave Dellinger

Dave Dellinger

- - - -

FIRST OF A SERIES ON ANTI-WAR GROUPS IN THE U.S.

A look at the peace movement in America

By Jack A. Smith
(First in a series)

WHEN THE LEADERS speak of peace, the mobilization order is already written out. It is within this context (two lines from Bertolt Brecht) that the following examination of the American peace movement is made, even—or especially—after the signing of a test ban agreement prohibiting nuclear explosions in the atmosphere.

The mobilization order was written almost two decades ago, heralding the start of the Cold War with the clarion: Halt communism at all costs. The men in command of the United States today do not shrink from the prospect of annihilating a half-billion people, if necessary, in order to implement this policy. They have, fortunately, accepted a less grandiose solution: containment.

But now the leaders speak of peace. The test ban treaty is characterized as a first step to peace. Commenting editorially on the ban Sept. 12, the GUARDIAN noted: "It would be hard to exaggerate the limitations and gaps of the treaty . . . But it does diminish drastically the prospects of additional radiation. This effect alone makes it an important accomplishment." Any interstice in the quick-step to war, however ephemeral, must be carefully examined and appreciated, but never, under pain of disaster, misunderstood.

The mobilization order has not been altered. South Vietnam, Cuba and Berlin; overkill, radiation and chemical warfare; spiraling war budgets, conscription and civil defense; hunger, disease and poverty—these are the realities of the Cold War that cannot be forgotten when the leaders speak of peace.

NO DIALOGUE: There are no present indications that the "Spirit of Moscow" will develop into a genuine dialogue on peace. "A feeling has developed, with both large and small powers, that right now the boat should not be rocked, that issues which might disrupt the U.S.-U.S.S.R. detente should not be introduced . . . Thus, arrangements on trade, cultural exchanges and space are considered more likely than agreements on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons or a ban on underground tests" (**War Peace Report**, Oct., 1963).

Even the prospect of agreement on peripheral Cold-War issues is causing difficulty in Washington: "There is real concern here now about the decay of the vigilance so carefully developed in the non-Communist world and about the erosion of serviceable barricades erected against the spread of Soviet influence. It is neither easy nor prudent to voice this concern out loud. No one here wishes to contend that the U.S. has a stake in tensions. No one really prefers the cares of Cold War to the problems of peace. But no one expected quite so many difficulties to develop from the first few hesitant steps toward a detente . . . None of these problems is regarded as unmanageable, but they have contributed to an inclination here to slow down the pace of East-West agreement, even on minor issues. There is no intention of avoiding profitable agreements, but each step is being tested not only for its effect on the President's domestic political standing but also for its effect on the alliance and on the less developed nations" (New York **Times**, Oct. 24).

Drawing by Trudy Vogel
Peace group response to test ban

ARMS CONTROL: Peace research expert Arthur Waskow, in a perceptive commentary on the test-ban treaty (**Bulletin** of the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, September), wrote:

"The peace movement has assumed, and the treaty itself says, that the test ban is a first step toward general and complete disarmament. Yet a closer examination of the logic of the treaty itself and the context in which it was signed casts some doubt on this assumption. In some ways, the detente toward which the treaty points may be an obstacle to disarmament, rather than a way-station to disarmament.

"First of all, the test ban itself is not a disarming act. Not only is there no reduction in weapons stockpiles, there is no halt in the production of more weapons . . . Secondly, most of the various measures proposed by both sides as possible next steps are acts of 'arms control only,' rather than disarmament . . . Such steps would tend to stabilize both the arms balance and the political situation, but no more. They are efforts to win a greater measure of safety from the system of terror, but not to move from that system into another. Even if a considerable cut were to be made in production of new missiles and bombers . . . the resulting arms system would be something close to a stable deterrent, not a disarmed world."

Waskow's statement illustrates a problem facing peace-minded Americans: What does "peace" mean? Though the following terms are often used interchangeably, it is well to remember that a detente is not arms control, arms control is not disarmament, and disarmament is not peace. Disarmament exists when arms are eliminated. Peace exists when the causes of war are eliminated; when fear, ignorance and exploitation—both within man and the social system which he allows to govern him—are rooted out and replaced by cooperation and understanding among the world's peoples. An attempt to create a disarmed world without first or simultaneously seeking to ameliorate the causes of war seems a contradiction, for armaments are a symptom of war. To neglect the causes of war today is suicide. Thus, while civilization is justified in expelling a sigh of relief because the atmosphere is to be less poisoned, the urgency of focusing attention on the causes of war, particularly by the peace movement, was never more profound. At question is whether this is being done.

Vicky in the London Evening Standard
"Bang on, Mr. President, great salute to that test ban treaty!"

THE PEACE MOVEMENT: Though of no significance as a harbinger of peace on earth, the test-ban treaty is of extreme import to that small combination of citizens who have labored by degrees during the last five years to achieve this first inroad in the warfare state.

In conversations with peace leaders, all of them expressed the feeling that their activities have helped create the climate that made the test-ban possible. None, however, was willing to attribute to the peace movement a major role. Other considerations, they said, included: (1) the fact that it is no longer militarily necessary to test weapons in the atmosphere; (2) the China-Soviet split, which stimulated both major protagonists in the Cold War to seek a detente, with the U.S. probably motivated by a desire to isolate China; (3) an attempt to reach some form of arms stability, and (4) the creation of an election issue for Kennedy that could capitalize on peace sentiment without offending Cold Warriors.

Though the treaty may inspire the movement to greater efforts now that a first victory has been won, there is also a possibility that it may have a negative effect. Nuclear testing was the anti-war issue par excellence. The treaty has created an enormous vacuum in the moderate peace movement which was stimulated above all by opposition to testing. There are other issues, of course, but none so relatively comprehensible and accessible.

The coming year will tell whether the disarmament groups, the largest wing of the fragmented peace movement, will be able to accommodate themselves creatively to the absence of this most crucial issue, or whether they will become absorbed by the Kennedy Administration as the Democratic Party grabs for the peace issue at election time. It could happen in this way:

It is a tactic of the largest disarmament groups to exert primary pressure at the top of the social structure with direct appeals to the President and congressmen for a change of heart, rather than attempt to create ferment for a radical change among the mass of people. As their appeal is concerned largely with disarmament, rather than the causes of war, there is a possibility—given a few more disarmament gestures — that these moderate groups may find themselves so close to the Administration in apparent outlook that many of their supporters may choose to function in the larger, more socially acceptable and successful organization: the Demcoratic Party. It is an established Kennedy tactic to broaden his program just enough to draw in his moderate opposition — an action which results in a minor social reform and a major political coup.

THREE PROBLEMS: As the U.S. peace movement prepares for the post-ban new year, it faces three internal problems: insignificant numbers, a lack of funds, and a disunity of goals (which has widened the separation between moderate and radical approaches to peace).

The size of the peace movement has been determined to a large extent by the mores governing 20th Century America. It is not lack of effort, and certainly not lack of relevance, that has condemned the movement to attracting what Turn Toward Peace estimates as about 3/10th of 1% of the population. Cold-war hysteria, congressional witchhunts, conformity and ignorance each have played their part. All of these elements have been used by the Establishment to create a climate in the U.S. which equates "patriotism" with support of the basic Cold-War aims—a philosophy which has permeated sections of the peace movement as it has all elements of U.S. society.

Disunity within the movement, however, is a self-imposed debilitation. At present, the multilateralists (SANE) will not demonstrate with unilateralists, and the radicals consider the moderates unmentionably close to the Establishment, while the argument between advocates of civil disobedience and those of legal demonstrations causes yet another split.

Factors tending to weaken the movement as a political force are the exclusion of avowed leftists from any position of responsibility; the tendency of certain rigid attitudes (for example, an inherent distrust of the Soviet Union) to influence the thinking of some peace leaders; a drift toward "working with the Administration in the drive toward peace"; an inability to acknowledge the root causes of war, and a moderate, gradualist approach to the world's gravest crisis.

CALM IMPOTENCE: Characterizing the peace groups, with few exceptions, is a manifest lack of urgency, accompanied by a feeling of impotence. Last year's Cuban crisis temporarily provided the urgency, but only exposed more clearly the actual weakness of the movement. Aside from a brief flurry of activity, the only positive continuing action taken by any U.S. peace group on the issue that almost plunged the world into a nuclear war has been CNVA's Quebec-to-Guantanamo peace walk.

Further evisceration of the movement —though in this case in a positive sense— took place this year with the growing involvement of younger peace workers in the civil rights struggle. Many of these young people represented all that remained of the student peace movement that declined a year or so ago (with an assist from a parent organization which found the youngsters too difficult to control politically) during the general collapse of most campus movements.

The civil rights struggle may infuse the peace movement with a renewed sense of vitality as basic similarities between the two efforts begin to become apparent to the peace leadership. Many pacifists are calling for collaboration between the two movements. The pacifists, with their stress on nonviolent direct action, consider the successes in the Negro struggle based on this technique to be a new justification for use of civil disobedience against the war machine.

As of now, however, the major peace groups eschew such tactics and seem to be relying less heavily on demonstrations in general. The emphasis appears to be negotiation, not only between nuclear powers but between the peace movement and the Administration.

The question now is whether the movement will be able to overcome its weaknesseses in order to translate itself into an effective force for peace. The urgency was never greater.

(Subsequent articles will discuss the structure and emphasis of several peace organizations, including SANE, WSP, TTP and CNVA; how the movement plans to function in 1964; the possibility of a new peace organization, and other related questions.)

Peace Groups

4 Peace Marchers Balk at Oaths of Allegiance

By PAUL VALENTINE

Four of 22 peace marchers—bound for Cuba to picket both American and Russian military installations—have applied for passports in Atlanta but refused to sign portions of their applications.

The applicants balked at sections requiring them to swear or affirm allegiance to the U.S. Constitution and to declare or deny Communist affiliation.

The application form provides that persons refusing to sign such portions may submit "a supplementary explanatory statement." The four Atlanta applicants did this, and their applications have been processed and forwarded routinely to Washington for approval or disapproval.

ONE OF THE marchers, Yvonne Klein, 28, Minneapolis, Minn., said other members in the group who applied earlier this fall have been denied passports but at least one applicant, Kit Havice, Denver, Colo., received hers.

Mrs. Klein explained that the general pattern appeared to be that applications were approved if they did not specify that the passport holder wished to travel to Cuba. The U.S. government prohibits most travelers from going to Cuba with a few exceptions such as New York attorney James Donovan who negotiated the prisoner-medical supply exchange earlier this year.

The Cuba-bound peace marchers—sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action — passed through Atlanta this week and are now heading toward South Georgia and Miami.

MRS. KLEIN SAID each passport applicant "has his own individual reasons" for refusing to sign all sections of the application and no prescribed or formula-style statement is made as a supplement to the application.

In her statement, for example, she says she cannot sign an affirmation concerning Communist party membership "simply because I feel that the only valid use of a passport is as a means of identification and that the statement required of the applicant concerning political affiliation converts the passport into a means of political control.

"The political beliefs of a citizen of the United States, or indeed of any country, ought to have no bearing on his right to hold and use a passport, nor should the passport be used punitively to prevent travel, for such punishment, it seems to me, violates the basic principle of due process of law, to which all Americans are entitled, regardless of political affiliation or belief."

AS A MEMBER of a nonviolent movement, she says in her statement, "I am unable to commit myself to a defense of the Constitution through coercion or force of arms, but only to affirm that I will support and defend nonviolently those parts of the Constitution which do not

nonviolence.

She said the marchers will continue to Cuba until or unless "we are physically stopped." She speculated the group will cross from Miami to Havana "in small boats."

"WE MAY get stopped by the Coast Guard," she said, "and then we'll just have to see if we can find some other way of getting there."

Members of the group started walking last July from Quebec, Cleveland and Boston, converged at Rome, N.Y., and have since continued southward.

The marchers carry posters variously inscribed with "We Are Walking to Cuba for Peace," "Demand Freedom to Travel to Cuba," and "Soviet Troops and U.S. Marines Leave Cuba."

cant concerning political affiliation converts the passport into a means of political control.

"The political beliefs of a citizen of the United States, or indeed of any country, ought to have no bearing on his right to hold and use a passport, nor should the passport be used punitively to prevent travel, for such punishment, it seems to me, violates the basic principle of due process of law, to which all Americans are entitled, regardless of political affiliation or belief."

AS A MEMBER of a nonviolent movement, she says in her statement, "I am unable to commit myself to a defense of the Constitution through coercion or force of arms, but only to affirm that I will support and defend nonviolently those parts of the Constitution which do not violate the dictates of my conscience."

Mrs. Klein emphasized her reasoning is not necessarily the same as other applicants, and a variety of opinion and political commitment exists among the marchers.

Not all the marchers, for instance, are pacifists, she said. Though most favor unilateral disarmament, not all are committed to the pacifist discipline in their personal lives, she said, and thus would possibly strike back if personally attacked. All, however, have accepted the pledge of nonviolence for the duration of the Cuba march, she pointed out.

ALSO, SHE SAID, there is no unanimity among the marchers as far as religious or political persuasion is concerned. The group, she said, includes Unitarians, Methodists, atheists, agnostics, Quakers and persons still not religiously committed.

"And we have capitalists and Socialists in the group, too," she said. She doubts there are any Communists, she said, because of the inconsistency of Communist beliefs with the tenets of

Peace Groups

GRIFFIN, GEORGIA, NOVEMBER 9, 1963: NONVIOLENCE AND POLICE BRUTALITY

A report by members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace

Published by and additional copies available from:

The Committee for Nonviolent Action
325 Lafayette Street
New York City 12, New York
Phone: WAlker 5-9415 (Area Code 212)

Griffin, Georgia, a city of approximately 22,000, lies on Route 41 about 35 miles southeast of Atlanta. Seat of Spalding County, it is an agricultural and small industry center. More than 30% of Griffin's citizens are Negroes who live mainly in segregated, ghetto-like areas. It was reported to us that the integration movement there had been effectively slowed by cross burning and other Ku Klux Klan activities and that Negro students from Spelman College, Atlanta, called "northern agitators" by one Griffin official, had recently left.

The Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace, 23 people ranging in age from 17 to 70, including three Negro men, 14 white men and six white women, was scheduled to pass through Griffin on Saturday, November 9, 1963, carrying signs and distributing leaflets calling for peaceful, nonviolent relations between the United States and Cuba and an end to racial segregation and discrimination. In accordance with the Walk's policy of discussing the project with local officials, Tom Rodd (17, a student from Pittsburgh) and Jack Shapiro (20, a student from Detroit) talked briefly with Griffin Chief of Police Leo Blackwell and Sheriff Gilbert of Spalding County of Thursday, November 7. Both officials seemed to understand those Walk purposes, activities and policies that would concern their professional responsibilities and assured Tom and Jack that the walkers would pass through Griffin without difficulty.

Shortly before the walkers crossed Griffin's city limits at 11:30 a.m., Friday, November 8, a passing motorist warned that they had better bypass the city. A few hundred feet inside the limits, Chief Blackwell informed Marv Davidov (32, an art dealer from Minneapolis, Minnesota, Walk marshal for the day) that leafleting would not be permitted between 4th and 10th Streets because of a "fire law" ordinance and because the leaflets might create an ugly incident with Klan members, who were powerful in the city. The Walk was stopped. Bradford Lyttle (35, Walk Coordinator from Chicago, Illinois and Voluntown, Connecticut) and other walkers explained to Chief Blackwell that members of walks for peace had distributed leaflets freely in almost every city and town in North America, Europe and the Soviet Union where these projects had been conducted and that the walkers believed it their moral and legal right to do so everywhere. Chief Blackwell remained adamant, saying that he had no authority to change the ordinance. He asked City Manager J. S. Langford to consider the matter. Mr. Langford and the walkers came to the understanding that the walkers intended to pass through Griffin on Highway 41, carrying signs and distributing leaflets along either side of the highway, but not entering business establishments. He then directed Chief Blackwell to "Take them through."

The walkers proceeded through Griffin on Highway 41, four women distributing leaflets to white and Negro citizens, most of whom accepted the literature. Michele Gloor (20, a student from Chicago) gave leaflets to a number of Negro children who were watching a football game in a lot near the highway. Police, members of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (G.B.I.) and other officials accompanied the Walk in automobiles. Several became upset by cameras the walkers were using to photograph the project and harrassed the photographers by arbitrarily and without cause ordering the cars bearing the photographers constantly to move.

A grade school for white students was situated on the highway. Children in classrooms saw the Walk and reached out of the windows for leaflets. Edie Snyder (22, a student from New York City) gave leaflets to about 75 of the students. Teachers refused leaflets offered them by Kit

Havice (23, a medical student from Boulder, Colorado) and waved her off school property. The police were angered by the giving of leaflets to the students and five police and plainclothesmen ran towards Edie and Kit, one blowing his whistle. They escorted the women off the school grounds.

Having passed through major residential and business areas of Griffin without either a serious expression of hostility from the population or effort by the authorities to restrict their activities of carrying signs and distributing leaflets, the walkers arrived at a park just north of the Confederate cemetary about 200 yards from the city's southern limits. The park, about an acre in area, was triangular in shape. Along its west side Route 41 veered from southwest to south. To the south lay a small parking lot, an unnamed street and the Confederate cemetary. Taylor Street on the east formed the northern apex of the triangle where it intersected Route 41. Homes and businesses lined the far side of Taylor Street, which was a boundary of Griffin's Negro section.

Many Negro children were playing in the park. When Michele and Yvonne Klein (29, a married graduate student and teacher from Minneapolis) sought to enter the park to give them leaflets, policemen interfered, not only ordering Michele and Yvonne to leave but also shooing as many of the children out of the park as they could. They also ordered Ray Robinson, Jr. (29, a Negro ex-prizefighter from Washington, D. C.) not to give leaflets to the children.

The walkers believed this police interference a basic infringement on their rights and stopped the project to discuss the matter. Chief Blackwell justified his men's actions on the grounds that the park was not part of Highway 41's right of way, to which he believed the walkers had committed themselves to limit their distribution of leaflets. He believed also that the walkers had violated their agreement by giving leaflets to the school children. Many officers and officials gathered, including the G.B.I. agents, and although there was considerable confusion, the authorities were united in denying the walkers access to the park.

City Manager Langford entered the discussion and finally agreed to permit the walkers to give leaflets to people in the park, but by then the police had cleared the area of all Negroes, even ordering one mother to leave her parked car with her children. The Negroes retreated across Taylor Street and many of them watched the proceedings from porches of their homes. Yvonne, Michele and other walkers said they intended to go to these Negroes and give them leaflets but Manager Langford refused to allow this, saying that he would never permit the walkers to "go to those houses" (the Negro homes). "That's the final word, Chief," he said, and left. In these and other discussions the authorities expressed the opinion that they had the moral and legal right to prevent distribution of leaflets and parading. At one time, Manager Langford said he believed he had already granted the walkers many privileges and had backed down more than once.

The walkers then discussed the situation among themselves and decided that in view of the confusion, defensiveness and arbitrariness of the authorities, it would be wise to postpone attempting to give leaflets that day to people on the east side of Taylor Street. Bradford Lyttle informed Chief Blackwell of this decision and that the Walk would end at 2:00 p.m., to be resumed sometime between 9:30 and 10:00 Saturday morning. The Chief, visibly relieved, said the walkers would be arrested if they went across Taylor Street on Saturday.

Saturday morning, November 9, 22 walkers returned in three automobiles from their base in Macon to Griffin and the park. An intimation of the reception they were to get was given when a policeman in the nearby town of Barnesville saw the caravan passing and ran to consult other officers. About six miles outside of Griffin, a sheriff's car swung in behind the caravan. Numerous patrol cars, police and officials representing the G.B.I., the State Highway Patrol, the Sheriff of Spalding County, Griffin's Police, and, perhaps, administrative department were waiting at the park. Officers had been posted along Taylor Street between the park and the Negro district. Chief Blackwell ordered Bradford to have the walkers form at the south end of the park, near the Confederate cemetery, and proceed out of the city. He said the "fire law" had been extended to include the homes across Taylor Street and that any walker who tried to enter that area would be arrested. The walkers, however, wanted and had planned to resume walking at the park's north end, the intersection of Taylor Street and U.S. 41, the point from which they believed police interference in the Walk had begun, and also to leaflet along Taylor Street.

Bradford again explained to Chief Blackwell the walkers' belief that they had the moral and legal right to distribute their leaflets in all public places, and their intention to begin walking again at the intersection of 41 and Taylor. This conversation was interrupted when Chief Blackwell left to order his men to stop the line of walkers who were proceeding, with their signs lowered, to the intersection. He seemed to fear that they were going into the Negro district.

Bradford, seeing that the police had committed themselves to arrest, just had time to direct the Walk's photographers, Jack Shapiro and Mike Wells (20, a student from New York City) to start taking pictures before Sheriff Gilbert grasped his shoulder, saying something like "I'll get this one first, he's the leader," and directed him into a patrol car.

Jack Shapiro walked into the park hoping to get closer to the line of walkers so that he could take better pictures. A plainclothesman ran towards him, Jack stopped, and the man put his hand on Jack's arm, saying, "You're under arrest; get in the bus." Jack sat down in noncooperation and said, "I have nothing against you personally but I cannot cooperate with this arrest."

The officer turned towards a light colored car parked nearby and said, "Bring the electric prodder over here." A Georgia Bureau of Investigation agent approached with the prodder. (An electric cattle prodder is a device capable of giving a powerful electric shock which produces localized sensations of extreme pain and burning and involuntary muscle spasms in humans. The variety used at Griffin was a thin metal rod about thirty inches long with a red handle containing batteries and a high voltage transformer at one end and bronze prongs at the other.) He told Jack to get up and then began to apply the prod, first to Jack's chest and stomach, then towards his genitals. Jack rolled over to shield himself. The G.B.I. agent then applied the prod to the base of Jack's spine, causing him to yell and leap into the air. Failing in this torture to get Jack to walk to a bus which had been driven up, the agents carried him to the vehicle and threw him in.

Mike Wells was also proceeding towards the walkers and when stopped by Sheriff Gilbert lay down in noncooperation. The Sheriff did not ask for the cattle prodder but twisted his hand and arm, carried him to the patrol car and thrust him roughly in to join Bradford. No reply was ever

given to Mike's repeated inquiries concerning whether or not he was under arrest.

Kit Havice, carrying leaflets, had walked thirty feet across the park toward Taylor Street when a policeman ran up, brabbed her arm, and ordered her to come to the bus. She sat down, told the policeman she would not cooperate. The officer first said to another, "Get a policewoman." Then he changed his mind and said, "No, get the prod over here." The two officers picked Kit up and had carried her half way to the bus when the G.B.I. agent who had been torturing Jack came with the prod and for no evident reason began to apply it to her legs and thighs. Her legs burned by the prod, Kit was shoved roughly into the bus.

A plainclothesman asked Edie Snyder if she was going to be a "lady" and walk into the bus. She replied that it was because she was a lady that she could not cooperate with injustice, and that she regretted the physical inconvenience carrying her would cause him. He and another plain clothesman then dragged her to the bus by her arms. She heard someone run up behind her and felt the prod on her knee joints and the small of her back. The plainclothesmen held her firmly as her body jerked from the shock, then tossed her into the bus.

Sam Mapp (25, a Negro artist from Atlanta) was thrown into the bus, burned with the prodder.

Throughout the arrests and afterwards in the police station, the electric cattle prod was used principally by one of the G.B.I. agents, seldom by the police or other local officials. This agent particularly horrified the walkers and many of the officials by his cold, calculated torture of the walkers, often with no apparent end in view other than hurting them.

Arthur Harvey (31, from Raymond, New Hampshire) sat down in noncooperation and was repeatedly shocked with the prodder. He kept asking for a good reason to get into the bus and when finally told that he was under arrest he walked to the vehicle. He had, however, suffered many painful burns.

Yvonne Klein's legs and thighs were burned in many places by the cruel device. She was thrown into the bus on top of the others.

Peter Gregonis (38, an electronics technician from Silverton, Oregon, and veteran of World War II and the 17th Paratroop Division) walked to the bus, but a G.B.I. agent confiscated and never returned his notebook.

Alan Nyysola (22, student from Baltimore, Maryland) was carried onto the bus feet first, dropped in the aisle. A policeman then tried to pick him up by the hair, fialed, climbed over a seat to approach him from another direction, grabbed his arm and twisted it saying Alan would now walk. Alan didn't and the officer stopped twisting suddenly, finally pulling Alan to the rear of the bus by his feet.

In the bus, a policeman ground his foot into Tom Rodd's groin.

Dennis Weeks (20, a white student from DeKalb, Illinois) and Ronnie Moose (18, a Negro student from High Point, North Carolina) had remained on the Walk's Plymouth suburban. A policeman named Underwood first removed the vehicle's key, then returned and drove it to the County Jail in Griffin, together with Dennis, Ronnie, and the Walk's signs which the

police had collected, and another policeman. Dennis asked officer Underwood if they were under arrest. The officer replied, "I suppose so." Dennis then asked for the charge. The policeman replied, "I haven't any idea." At the jail, Ronnie first cooperated, then went limp and was carried in. Dennis refused to cooperate and was carried in.

Flemming Jensen (20 , a newspaper reporter from Copenhagen, Denmark) and Erica Enzer (37, a chemist from Chicago) had been assigned to remain i the Walk's DeSoto. After arresting them, a policeman got into the car's driver's seat and drove them to the jail. The sadistic G.B.I. agent sat in back. Erica asked what the charges were. The policeman replied that they would find out at the jail. Erica asked the G.B.I. agent his name but he refused to reveal it. At the jail, two policemen carried Erica ver gently into the reception room. Half way up the stairs, the G.B.I. man came up with the prodder and shocked her legs and thighs and as far up her skirts as he could.

At the park, after all the walkers had been thrown, dragged, or had walked into the bus they began to sing. Ray started with "We Shall Overcome," and everyone joined in. Eric Robinson (20, construction worker fro Lompoc, California) opened the window so the sound could carry out. A policeman ordered him to shut the window. He did not comply. The policeman got a nightstick and ordered him to shut the window again. Again, he did not comply. The officer walked back to where Eric was sitting and shu it himself.

At the County Jail, the police asked the walkers to walk off the bus. Pearl Ewald (70, a retired Quaker schoolteacher from Washington, D.C.), Art Harvey, and Sam Mapp did so. The others refused to cooperate. Michel was the first to be carried off. Two officers dragged her from the vehicl to the first set of stairs. A third officer standing nearby suggested tha they hold her in such a manner that her knees would scrape. The others wouldn't do it.

Alan Nyysola was dragged off the bus, left lying on the sidewalk. The G.B.I. agent prodded him on the face and legs. An officer held him while the agent shocked him in the groin. Alan tried to roll over to escape thi attack and the agent shocked him in the genitals, then directed the prod a his head again. Alan pulled his sweater over his head in self-protection, exposing his back, which was prodded several times. Finally, the man was distracted from Alan by the opportunity to torment Ray, and Alan was dragg into the reception room.

Ross Anderson was dragged from the bus by two officers holding him by the shoulders. As he was hauled up the steps, the cattle prod was used on his neck and face.

Tom Rodd was pulled from the bus, carried and dragged to the stairs. There the G.B.I. agent set upon him with the prod, shocking him on his fac arms, genitals, and every other part of his body the prod could reach. The policeman wanted to carry Tom into the jail but the agent said, "Naw, let him wiggle for a while."

A policeman pulled Jack Shapiro off his seat, down the aisle and out of the bus. Another policeman took hold of his thumb and little finger and both dragged him to the first set of stairs. One officer said, "Take him by the feet so his head will hit the steps." Jack protected the back of his head with his hands until they reached a small landing. There the same

G.B.I. agent stuck the cattle prodder on Jack's genitals. Jack yelled and rolled over. The agent then shocked him on the chest, ear, side, and cheek and as he rolled to escape, on the eye. The pain was so excruciating that Jack jumped up and ran inside, the G.B.I. agent after him, burning the back of his neck. The agent then ordered him up the stairs to the cellblock. Jack went, the agent repeatedly shocking him in the back. At the top, Jack turned and faced the man who forced him against a wall, then down to the floor with the prodder. The agent shouted, "Stay there," and ran back down the steps.

The cattle prodder was used on the rest of the walkers, burning them as they were being carried or dragged along. Officers burned Eric Robinson on the back of the head, hands, and back. One of the city policemen yelled, "Stop! He's not going to get up." The G.B.I. man stopped and they carried Eric into the jail. He lost a shoe which they threw in, hitting Bradford.

John Stephens was dragged to the steps of the bus by a city policeman. Sheriff Gilbert then picked him up and put him on his shoulder like a sack of potatoes. "This is an easier way," the Sheriff said, when passing another officer. The officer shrugged his shoulders.

A policeman pulled Edie Snyder off the bus by one arm. She lost her sneakers on the way and her feet and legs scraped along the sidewalk. Edie tried to explain her noncooperation to the policeman but he didn't reply and dragged her, bumping, up the jailhouse steps and threw her into the reception room. After she had lain there for several minutes, the G.B.I. man came in and prodded and burned her near the right eye, raising an ugly black welt.

Most of the walkers were carried roughly into the reception room and thrown on the floor. The G.B.I. man prodded and burned Yvonne on the legs, thighs, and up her skirts while she was being carried. In the reception room, the walkers were booked, then told to go to the cell blocks. Many refused to cooperate.

Michele Gloor was the first to be carried up. They asked her to go up. She said she could not. A policeman got the cattle prod and burned her repeatedly on the neck and legs with everyone, including the policewomen, Sheriff, and other officers looking on. When several walkers began to cry out in horror, and appeal to the man to treat Michele like a human being, he became ashamed and relinquished the prod to another burly officer who said, "Heck, I'll use it." He soon was revolted by the torture too, and together with the first officer picked up Michele and carried her towards and up the stairs to the cell block. The G.B.I. agent diligently applied the prod to Michele's legs and thighs. Tears streamed down the faces of two policemen standing by the door, but they said and did nothing.

Kit Havice got similar treatment.

John Stephens was burned all over his head and back. He pulled his sweater over his head for protection and was prodded on his exposed stomach, making a burn about eight inches long.

Alan was dragged by his arms halfway to the stairs when someone decided it would be better to pull him by his legs so that his head would bump. Alan decided then to walk and the police permitted him to stand up. The G.B.I. agent with the prod objected to this on the ground

that Allan had decided to noncooperate, thus unmistakeably exposing his ugly desire to torment people with the prod.

Ray Robinson was tortured particularly brutally. He turned over on his back when the began shocking him. He was stretched full length on the floor, the police standing over him with the cattle prodder. They burned his legs, arms, then got him pinned down with the prodder in the small of his back, on his spine. Then the prod was shifted to his genital area, held firmly in place. They kept yelling, "Get up! Get up!" Ray screamed, "I can't get up. I'll die before I get up for you." He writhed in pain, shouted, "Kill me! Kill me! Go ahead and kill me!" The walkers protested at the top of their lungs, asking the police to stop, asking them how they could treat someone in such a manner. The officers finally stopped prodding Ray on the floor and dragged him upstairs by his feet, shocking and burning him on the way, particularly in his face.

Tony Brown (27, a clerical worker from San Francisco) spoke to one of the policemen standing over him, commenting on the use of the prod. He told the man it was clearly unnecessary to use prods and that it seemed obvious that in the jail they should have enough men to carry each of the walkers upstairs. Although Tony had already been booked, an officer threw him across the booking desk where Tony explained the error. Someone put a full nelson on him and carried him off the ground that way to the first stairway landing. There the prod was put to his neck. He became trapped between the floor and the wall, unable to move away from it. He screamed and eventually began weeping. Eric Robinson shouted, "Hey!" in protest against the torture and the officer booking him yelled, "Stop!" Eric said the booking officer was as scared by the brutality as he. Sheriff Gilbert came up to Tony, picked him up gently, put him on his back and carried him up the stairs. Tony put his hand across his eyes, frantically asking for his glasses which had fallen off and telling the Sheriff he could hardly see without them. Sheriff Gilbert later found the glasses and brought them to the cell.

Peter Gregonis walked off the bus and into the jail but when he saw the inhuman treatment the other walkers were receiving he told the police, "I walked willingly into this station, but now, after watching the brutality I must protest by refusing to cooperate from now on." He was dragged upstairs backwards by two policemen, each holding a leg. The G.B.I. agent followed, burning his exposed neck.

Eric was the last booked and found himself alone in the room with six policemen. One said, "Are you going to walk?" Eric replied, "No, I won't walk--please be careful with me." Two officers quickly grabbed his arms and carried him gently upstairs.

Thirteen male, white walkers were put in one second floor "tank" or large barred room, the three Negro men in a tank on the floor above. The women occupied a separate, second floor cell. The tank occupied by the thirteen men was clean, as prisons go, and equipped with metal bunks (a few with mattresses), a toilet, a sink with hot and cold water and a shower. In an adjacent tank were half a dozen white youths who proved curious about the walkers' imprisonment and not hostile. The men could talk with the Negro walkers on the floor above and heard the women singing freedom songs in another part of the building.

Dr. Williams, a local physician, visited all the walkers, asking them if they had complaints or injuries. He described the women's burns and bruises as "contusions." Pearl Ewald was feeling unwell and because of her history of heart trouble, Dr. Williams was particularly

concerned about her. He did not, however, recommend that the seventy-year-old woman be taken out of the violent environment of the prison. In the tank with the thirteen walkers he was asked if he approved the use of electric cattle prods on humans, particularly on their faces. He replied that he wasn't acquainted with the instrument.

Next to appear was Sheriff Gilbert, the most humane, considerate and gentlemanly of all the authorities. He came apparently as a "go between" for the walkers and the city officials. He spoke privately with Bradford Lyttle, explaining that the walkers were being charged with two violations, one of Code 67 of the City Traffic Ordinance, "Parading without a permit," the other of City Code 402, "Violation of a lawful order of a police officer" No charges appeared lodged against the four occupants of the Walk's vehicles who also had been arrested. The Sheriff said that if the walkers would agree to leave town on Rte. 41, as the police had ordered, the charges would probably be dropped. Bradford discussed this proposal with the thirteen white walkers he was with, found it unacceptable to them, since they insisted on their rights both to begin the Walk where police interference with those distributing leaflets had commenced and to leaflet freely. Sheriff Gilbert then returned and, after hearing the walkers' decision, sat down in dismay and asked under what circumstances the walkers would leave. The walkers asked that he and the Chief of Police guarantee that officers would not harass them. He replied that he would do his best to prevent harassment in the areas under his authority but expressed fear that the walkers might be attacked by uncontrollable, hostile people near the city limits. Bradford Lyttle asked if the arm twisting had been called for. "I did that," said the Sheriff ruefully. Later he defended use of the cattle prodder on the grounds that the noncooperation had been ungentlemanly. When asked if one ungentlemanly act deserved another, he replied, "Now you're talking Christianity."

The Sheriff was convinced that the City had the right to restrict distribution of leaflets and to prevent parades. The gist of his reply was that even the American Legion had to get a parade permit--even he himself would have to get one. Also for sometime he, as most of the officials, said he believed that the walkers had intended to divert the Walk from its normal route to pass through and to pass out leaflets in the Negro area. Here again was revealed the intense fear the authorities had that the Walk would incite a mass Negro uprising. Finally, patient discussion revealed to him that all the walkers wanted to do was to retrace one block of their walk on Rte. 41, from Taylor St. to the Confederate cemetery, and that those leafleting planned only to reach the people they could see from the highway. He left again to discuss the walkers' position with the city authorities, who never participated personally in the negotiations.

Within an hour, the Sheriff returned once more, bringing with him a letter from the Griffin Department of Police. Signed by City Manager J.S. Langford, Chief of Police Leo Blackwell, and two City Commissioners, Kinsey R. Stewart and Carl E. Pruces (his script is unclear), this document was a permit to parade, granting the walkers the right to conduct their Walk in the manner they had requested as early as the preceding afternoon. All the walkers accepted the permit, making it understood that acceptance did not admit that they had applied for it, the majority of the walkers believing that while they could accept parade permits from the authorities, they shoul not, by asking for them, admit that the police had a moral or a legal right to deny permits. In the final negotiations about the letter, Sheriff Gilbert was obviously happy that an agreement had been reached that would result in the walkers' release, and so deeply moved by the entire situation that at one point he turned away to prevent his tears from being seen. He accompanied the walkers to the booking room where, in the presence of Chief

Blackwell and many now placid officers, the walkers signed the personal bond which secured their release. The Sheriff said they would not have to appear for a court hearing and advised that no one return to Griffin. When the walkers left the jail he shook hands with many, excluding the Negroes. He looked at Ray hostilely.

The Walk's three automobiles waited in a nearby parking lot. All the signs which the police had gathered up at the park were intact. Cameras, duffel bags, suitcases and briefcases had been searched and dumped in the back of the DeSoto. Confiscated and not returned were copies of an article on the Walk's encounter with the KKK by Dennis Weeks, a notebook belonging to Flemming Jens en, and a copy of Gandhi's Nonviolent Resistance. Ray said he hoped the authorities would read the Gandhi book.

As the walkers prepared to enter the automobiles, Pearl Ewald suffered a severe anginal attack. Her arrest, imprisonment, and witnessing the savage attacks with the cattle prodder during the arrests and in the jail probably caused anxiety and strain which had made her feel unwell in the tank and precipitated the attack. She was placed in the DeSoto station wagon's back seat where for half an hour she suffered severe pains in her chest, facial tremors, and near loss of consciousness. Dr. Williams was summoned and advised that she be taken at once to the Griffin - Spalding County Hospital. The DeSoto with Pearl, Ray Robinson, Kit Havice, and Bradford Lyttle left for the hospital, accompanied by the younger G.B.I. plainclothesman in another car. The two other Walk vehicles, accompanied by the Sheriff and many officials, went to resume the Walk.

This report now divides into three parts. One relates the experiences of Kit Havice in taking Pearl Ewald to a Macon hospital and obtaining treatment for her there. Another is Bradford Lyttle's story of his arrest for speeding while accompanying Pearl's ambulance to Macon. Third is the account of the experiences of the walkers after they had left Griffin and were returning by car to Macon.

1. Report on Pearl and the hospital by Kit Havice

The younger G.B.I. man led us to the Griffin-Spalding Hospital. Mrs. Ewald was admitted to the emergency room. Ray was asked to leave the white waiting room so, Kit and Ray went to the Negro waiting room. The electrocardiogram did not show a heart attack and after sedation the doctor felt Pearl could be moved to Macon. The doctor agreed to mail his bill to us. Ray and Kit went to the Negro houses across from the hospital to obtain blankets to keep Pearl comfortable in the station wagon. The G.B.I. man followed us over and demanded that we return to the hospital to pay the doctor cash because the doctor would no longer trust us. An ambulance was arranged for Pearl so she would be more comfortable. When it arrived the hospital personnel refused to help the driver load the patient as they usually did and said Ray should help. Kit and Ray rode in the ambulance with Pearl.

In Milner, Bradford, who had been asked by Pearl to follow the ambulance and had arranged with the driver to do that, was arrested for speeding.

The ambulance driver drove back and attempted to explain to the Milner police that Bradford was following the ambulance. The police left with Bradford and we folllwed shortly. The police car was off the road several miles further down and the ambulance stopped to get the keys to the DeSoto from Bradford. We returned to the DeSoto but were told by a local man that

we could not move it until it had been checked. Kit phoned the Lamar County Jail and was told Brad was being held on $100 bond and would be tried in court on December 7.

The ambulance proceeded without incident to Macon, where we attempted to have Pearl taken to St. Luke's, a Negro hospital. They did not have adequat facilities, however. Macon Hospital received Pearl into the emergency room and took another E.K.G. Ray and Kit went to the Negro waiting room and used that phone. The cardiologist assigned to the case examined Pearl and reported to Kit that he felt the attack was probably not serious but that Pear should remain in the hospital under observation for a few days, because E.K. changes indicating heart damage did not always develop at once. He was aske if it was possible for Pearl to be put on the Negro side of the hospital. He said he did not want to get involved in placing her there and the request was dropped.

A policeman assigned to the emergency room saw Kit and Ray in the Negro waiting room and was seen talking to the doctor. Kit went to the admitting room and was filling out the forms when the doctor came up. He told Kit he did not want to take the case any longer. He admitted the policeman had talked to him about us and told Kit that it would be better for everyone if he didn't take the case, and said it was obvious we didn't like to follow their customs. He said Pearl was probably all right and could rest in a private home somewhere. He said the hospital would treat her only on an emergency basis but would not admit her as far as he was concerned.

Kit asked if there was a Negro cardiologist in Macon and was told there was not. The doctor would not recommend anyone to take the case. The doctor left and an ambulance was arranged for, to take Pearl from the hospital to a private home. Pearl was nauseated and still very drugged from the sedative. Ray left the hospital because he felt Pearl might receive better treatment in his absence. Marvin Davidov, the lone walker who had stayed in Macon and was not arrested, arrived, and strengthened by his determination we decided it was too dangerous to move Pearl without another doctor's opinion. Marv discussed the situation with the receptionist in the emergency room. He asked her, "How can you move this woman who may have had a heart attack?" She became concerned and agreed to look into it. After several hours the doctor who had refused the case was located. He refused to tell the receptionist anything except that Pearl was well enough in his opinion to leave the hospital. The receptionist advised us to wait until Pearl was less groggy and then to move her. We insisted on calling another doctor, however, and finally had to turn to the yellow telephone pages.

Kit finally reached another cardiologist who listened carefully to the complete story. He asked if we were only in trouble with the local authorities because Kit had sat in the Negro waiting room. When this was affirmed he said there was nothing wrong with it. He said there was no question that Pearl should be under observation in the hospital and within five minutes had it cleared with the admitting desk.

2. Report of the arrest of Bradford Lyttle for speeding in Milner, Georgia by Bradford Lyttle

At the Griffin - Spalding County Hospital Dr. Williams said that while Pearl's case, in his opinion, was not an emergency one, it could prove extremely serious, even fatal, particularly in view of Mrs. Ewald's history of heart attacks, including an extremely serious one fourteen years ago.

Mrs. Ewald requested an ambulance. One was summoned and I arranged with the driver, at Mrs. Ewald's request to follow the ambulance to a hospital in Macon. Kit Havice and Ray Robinson, two other walkers, rode in the ambulance with Mrs. Ewald. Once it had reached the open highway, the ambulance driver set a steady speed of about 60 mph. I attempted to stay within 200 feet of the ambulance, not wanting to lose it, since I did not know to what hospital in Macon it was going.

We must have been passing through the small town of Milner when a squad car behind me flashed me to stop. I did. The Milner officer said I had been speeding. I explained the circumstances of the situation, as did the driver of the ambulance, who had turned around and come back when he realized that I had been stopped. The officer refused to accept the explanation as a mitigating circumstance and insisted that I leave the De Soto parked in Milner and go with him to a nearby jail.

On the way to the jail I asked the officer if it was customary to arrest people accompanying ambulances to the hospital. My experience had been that the police in such situations cleared traffic and facilitated the travel in other ways. He had noticed Mr. Robinson, a Negro, in the ambulance, knew what the Walk was and that I was a member of the Walk and may have been waiting for us to pass through Milner. The gist of his reply was, "Customary procedures for nigger-lovers like you are to lock you up."

We reached the Lamar County Jail in Barnesville at about 3:45. The officer booked me. I asked what the bond would be, and if I could make a telephone call. He replied that I'd soon know the treatment for nigger lovers, that I'd spend some hours in jail before phoning anyone. I then was locked in a "tank," where I stayed until 9:00 AM Sunday morning without learning the size of my bond or being able to phone anyone.

The tank was uncrowded, clean as jails go, and quiet. In the morning, the officer who had arrested me permitted me to make a phone call. His attitude alternated between gentlemanliness and a hostility so intense that I expected him to hit me momentarily. While I was placing the call, Erica, Kit, and Marv appeared and paid my fine of $50. Before we left we talked more with the officer and the sheriff of Lamar County. The sheriff, who had a reputation among the prisoners for being a just and helpful man, was reasonable and friendly on every matter except the race issue. He was particularly upset by the thought of a white woman and a Negro man sitting together in the same car. He made a statement extraordinary for a civilized, democratic country, which revealed the control police authorities in the South have over racial violence: "Why there are two boys back in this jail who'd throw you in the creek if I gave the word."

3. Report of the trip from Griffin to Macon by Thomas Rodd

After the Walk had crossed the Griffin city limits all police cars disappeared. We stopped the Walk and got into our vehicles, then drove south toward Macon on Route 41. There were ten people in the suburban, forcing us to drive around 35 miles per hour, and about twenty cars piled up in a lane behind us. In the town of Milner, some ten miles from Griffin, we pulled off to allow these cars to pass. Two people got out of the sedan to transfer the lunch box.

As we started away, a police car motioned us to stop. A Milner policeman got out of his car and took a look into the suburban--Michele Gloor was sitting by Ronnie Moose. Tom then got out to speak with him--he was livid with rage. "What's that white woman doin' between them two niggers. It's a disgrace to the white race." He called over the Lamar County sheriff and several local men. They spoke to Tom for some time, threatening at one point to kill all the walkers, then telling Tom, "When that walk comes into this town you better be legal." Michele got out and spoke to them for a while, and was asked the standard questions--"What if that black bastard raped you," etc.

The officer saw Peter Gregonis taking notes and confiscated a sheet with information on the conversation between myself and the officer. This incensed him even more. Finally they ordered Sam and Ronnie, both Negroes, to get out of the car, refusing to let anyone else to get nearby. They formed a circle around them, asking hostile questions and making threats. The obvious intention was to scare the daylights out of our men, but they had little success. Finally an officer returned the drivers' licenses. Ronnie and Sam were allowed to get into the cars, and the Sheriff spoke: "You can go, but not with a white woman between two niggers." In a hurry to get back and anxious to avoid more violence, the walkers complied and Michele switched places with Jack, riding in the front seat.

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21 Peace Marchers Arrested in Griffin

Peace Groups

GRIFFIN, Nov. 9 (AP)—Twenty-one members of a biracial peace group marching from Canada to Cuba were arrested Saturday on charges of parading without a permit and refusing to obey the orders of an officer.

Police Chief Leo Blackwell said, "We tried our best to get them through our town without trouble." The town is 40 miles south of Atlanta on the way to Florida.

"I escorted them through town . . . but they insisted on going out in a residential section and putting out that literature," Blackwell said. He referred to literature of the sponsoring New York-based Committee for Nonviolent Action.

THE DEMONSTRATORS were released from jail on bond and continued on their way.

One of the participants, Pearl Ewald, 60, of Washington, D.C. was treated for exhaustion at a hospital and then joined the others going south.

The police chief said several of the demonstrators "just laid down on the ground and we had to carry them to a bus to take them to jail." He declined comment on a report that a cattle prod was used.

THE MARCH started in Quebec City. Those taking part hope to end it with picketing outside the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay and Soviet and Cuban military installations on the island sometime in January.

Individual members have had brushes with the law in Trois Rivieres, Que., Canada, Baltimore, New York City and Lawrenceville, 30 miles northeast of Atlanta.

Marcher Tom Rodd, 17, of Pittsburgh said last week the State Department had refused to validate their passports for travel to Cuba, but that they hoped to complete the march anyway.

Microfilm Code No.

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MACON (GA.)
TELEGRAPH

Date: p. 18
NOV 14 1963

Committee Plans March In Macon This Weekend

Some 22 or 23 members of the bi-racial Committee for Non-Violent Action will march through Macon sometime this weekend, a spokesman for the group said last night.

Bradford Lyttle of Voluntown, Conn., the coordinator for the group, said they expect to reach Macon's city limits Saturday or Sunday, and will march through on U. S. Highway 41.

He said the group would not attempt to obtain a parade permit, even if the city required a permit for the march. The group, which is marching from Canada to Cuba, carries placards and distributes literature as it passes through towns.

Police Chief L. B. McCallum said last night the marchers would not be considered in violation of the law if they continue directly through town without interfering with traffic or other activities. A permit is required for parades.

McCallum said they would not be allowed to distribute pamphlets or other literature, however, because a city ordinance forbids such distribution.

The marchers will leave a point a mile south of Griffin about 8:30 this morning and begin a series of daily 15-mile walks, Lyttle said. They plan to continue from Macon toward Americus, and hope to reach Miami by New Year's.

Lyttle said the group would carry placards and distribute literature while passing through Macon, and if jailed, would continue the march when released.

Signs the marchers carry include the titles, "Demand Freedom to Visit Cuba," "End Racial Discrimination," and "Resist Evil But Not With Violence."

Twenty-one members of the group were arrested in Griffin Saturday and charged with parading without a permit and failing to obey an officer, but were released later in the day on their promise to get out of town.

Lyttle said the Griffin incident was the first of its kind the group has encountered on its long journey from Quebec, a trip which carried them through Atlanta and other southern cities. Three of the marchers are Negroes.

He said the action of Griffin was "irrational and savage" and was probably caused by "political and social pressures." Electrical cattle prods were used against members of the group, he claimed.

One of the marchers, Pearl Ewald, 60, of Washington, D. C. was in the Macon Hospital for exhaustion but has been released and is now in Florida recuperating, Lyttle said.

He said the group never applies for a permit to pass through a town because it believes such permits to be unconstitutional.

The plan to march through Americus has no connection with recent civil rights incidents there, Lyttle said.

Some local citizens have expressed an interest in joining the group as they march through Macon, according to Lyttle.

Peace Groups

Microfilm Code No.

SERS Library

BALTIMORE
AFRO-AMERICAN

P. 14

Date NOV 16 1963

'Women Strike for Peace' hear Mrs. Martin L. King

By MABS KEMP

WASHINGTON

The role of women in the fight for world peace was discussed last Friday at the National Memorial Baptist Church. It was world -wide peace day and marked the second anniversary meeting of the "Women Strike for Peace" movement.

Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, founder of the movement; Mrs. Coretta Scott King, wife of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and ex-Congressman Byron Johnson, consultant to IDOS - AID (Dept. of State), shared the speakers' platform.

"From Armaments to Abundance," the subject under discussion provoked varied aspects of facts from each speaker.

* * *

JOHNSON BACKED up statistically, data which evidenced the crushing burden of armaments. "Today when there is no war," he said, "120 billions of dollars per year are spent for armaments."

"Some 85 percent of the burden falls on just seven countries of the world."

By way of comparison, he listed the numerous benefits which could be had if just 5 billion of this amount were used to meet the visable human needs.

"The world hungers for release from this crushing burden," he added. He further stated that abundance is not dependent upon disarmament, but that disarmament would make abundance easier.

Mrs. Wilson pointed out that: "We can only bring about democracy through prosperity. Prosperity comes through disarmament. Only through disarmament can we have peace and through peace alone can we safeguard democracy."

Mrs. King, who arrived only minutes earlier from New York where she and Mrs. Wilson participated in that city's celebration believed that "because of a deep feeling and commitment of peace, freedom and world brotherhood - the strike for peace movement was born."

* * *

SHE EXPRESSED pride on being identified with such a great movement and observed also that "There cannot be peace outside of our nation without peace within our nation. No peace without racial justice and no racial justice without peace."

She implored each to go out with renewed determination and re-dedication for peace, justice and brotherhood.

Mrs. Janet Neuman chaired the meeting and benediction was said by the Rev. E. Franklin Jackson, president of the local chapter of the NAACP. Later during a social hour, the birthday cake was cut by Mesdames Wilson and King.

Marchers' Brutality Charges Contradicted by Griffin, GBI

Atl. J&C 11/17/63

Peace Groups

By PAUL VALENTINE

Some 22 peace marchers on their way through Georgia have published a report alleging extensive police brutality during a mass arrest of the group in Griffin Nov. 9.

The allegations have been categorically denied by Griffin city officials. Also, a Georgia Bureau of Investigation agent who was on the scene reported "no rough stuff." The FBI, which thus far has taken a sideline interest in the affair, has not been ordered to make a full scale investigation.

The 12-page report by the marchers claims a GBI agent used an electric cattle prod numerous times on several of the marchers when they refused to submit willingly to arrest.

Griffin City Manager J. S. Langford told The Atlanta Journal-Constitution in an interview that one cattle prod was used during the arrests but that the prod was city property and was used by a plainclothes city detective.

THE MARCHERS—sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action in their trek from Quebec to Cuba where they plan to picket both Russian and American military installations—claim they were tortured by the prod, that it was applied to their faces and other vital areas, and that they were roughly dragged about during the course of arrest.

The arrests occurred on the morning of Nov. 9 when Griffin police and the marchers apparently disagreed on the place at which the group should resume its march in the city where it had stopped the day before in its southward journey.

THE MARCHERS had reached the northern city limits of Griffin Nov. 8, and, after discussion with city officials, agreed to walk through the city, staying within the right-of-way of U.S. 41.

The marchers had pacifist and integration leaflets which they wished to distribute as they walked. City officials told them an ordinance prohibits distribution of leaflets within the town's fire limits, an area encompassing the central portion of Griffin.

The marchers walked through the town and reached a public park on the south side, a few hundred yards from the southern limits of the city. They disbanded there at the end of the day.

They returned the next day to resume the march. City officials said the agreement was that the group would commence its march from the southern end of the park. March leaders said, however, they had planned to start from the northern end.

AT THAT point, both sides agree, the marchers began walking northward, back toward the center of town. Griffin Police Chief Leo Blackwell ordered them arrested. The charge, he said, was failing to follow a lawful order. (The group was additionally charged with parading without a permit.)

At the arrest order, many of the marchers sat down and refused to walk into a bus which had been summoned for the arrests. The marchers allege they were "savagely" treated, kicked, bruised and jabbed with the electric prod as officers endeavored to get them into the waiting bus and later when they dragged them off the bus and placed them in Spalding County Jail.

(Officials said the county jail was used because the city jail is too small.)

The marchers further alleged in their report that the prod was used needlessly and that a "GBI agent" jabbed some of the walkers even while they were being carried or dragged by other officers.

The Committee for Nonviolent Action report said many of the marchers suffered burns, bruises and sprains. The group members were jailed about four hours, then released on their own recognizance and ordered to appear in city court Monday.

Griffin officials have since indicated they don't care if the marchers fail to appear in court. "We just want to get them out of the county," said Chief Blackwell.

CITY MANAGER Langford said that on the day of the arrests, he saw city Detective J. D. Hudgins bring one cattle prod to the scene and use it on a number of the marchers.

He denied, however, the prod was used except when a marcher was lying or sitting on the ground and refused to move. Chief Blackwell added that the batteries in the prod were weak, "and even if they were new, it wouldn't hurt anyone." He said the prod was often preferred to carrying or dragging persons who resist arrest.

"Some of those marchers weighed a good 200 pounds," he said. "You ever try carrying somebody like that a good distance?"

Dr. Virgil Williams, Spalding County physician, who was called in by officials to examine the 22 marchers while they were in jail, said he found "minor bruises and contusions" on nine of the walkers.

He said he found "scratch-like marks" where the marchers said they had been jabbed by the electric prod pole. He said he found no indications of burning on any of the marchers.

ONE OF THE marchers, Edie Snyder, 22, New York, had a blackened right eye and a small scratch next to it. The committee report claimed the black eye was caused when an officer placed the electric prod on the skin next to her eye.

Dr. Williams said he had "no idea" how the black eye occurred. Chief Blackwell said he "understood" Miss Snyder received the black eye in Macon the night before the arrests.

The chief further explained that the marchers' bruises and bumps were a natural result when officers attempted to carry or drag the limp bodies into and out of the bus and when they carried them up the narrow stairway in the county jail.

"A lot of my men were bruised up by the end of the day too," he said.

OFFICIALS also denied confiscating marchers' cameras, notebooks and other personal items. "We didn't even fingerprint them or take their picture," said Mr. Langford. "I wish we had."

He said he had restricted the group's march through Griffin because it would have conflicted with an already-scheduled Veterans Day parade. "Besides," he said, "I felt it would be an insult not only to the veterans of this town but in all America, to let those marchers go through town with them."

GBI CHIEF Maj. B. G. Ragdale denied any GBI agent used a prod pole during the Griffin incident. He said the only agent on the scene was W. N. Darsey of nearby Sunnyside who was called in by local officials only as an "observer."

He said Agent Darsey filed a report which indicated no excessive or brutal police action by anyone. Asked if the Darsey report considered the arrests were made in a "routine fashion," Maj. Ragsdale answered, "That's well put."

He said neither the governor nor any law enforcement agency has requested that GBI investigate the allegations of brutality.

ATC. J&C 11/17/63

A Georgia Encounter

PEACE MARCHERS: WHAT EFFECT?

By PAUL VALENTINE PEACE Groups

The 22 peace marchers, bound through Georgia on their way to Cuba to picket Russian and American military installations, have encountered some physical resistance and a considerable amount of smoldering hatred along their Georgia route.

Rural Georgia is just not accustomed to seeing Negro and white men (as well as women) marching side by side, carrying banners which call for peace and racial integration. At the very best, such a spectacle would be a source of puzzlement.

In its more common form, the puzzlement takes on the hue of resentment or hatred. These marchers, coming from states far away, and dressed in odd walking clothes, are "outside agitators," striving to upset the local status quo. Their banners call for peace, their leaflets ask the Negro workhand at the side of the road to remove the shackles of his segregated captivity.

This is quite a spectacle. The citizens of Hahira or Ty Ty just don't see this kind of thing every day.

A MECHANIC in a truck stop just south of the village of Milner summed it up: "Yeah, I seen them. They right up the road now, just above Milner. They're all Communists. You ought to see them. You can tell just looking at them, they ain't got no good sense."

In encountering the peace marchers themselves, a question naggingly and repeatedly arises: Do they really have any idea of the prevailing reaction to their presence?

Regardless of their purposes, their method of going about it shows a fairly conclusive unfamiliarity with local custom and, more important, with the subtle and delicate relationship of the Negro and the white man in rural Georgia.

The marchers are generally young intellectuals, sponsored by the Committee on Nonviolent Action and committed to the disciplines of pacifism, civil disobedience and passive resistance. Then say they have linked their peace march to Cuba with a plea for racial integration because "you cannot have peace without freedom."

Their method of applying the plea for integration clearly shows, in some instances, a lack of sensitivity to local interrelationships. This, in turn, could prove injurious to their own purposes and even set back what groping approaches may have been made by local leaders for a Negro-white reconciliation.

ONE INSTANCE will suffice:

The 22 marchers were walking in single file through the quiet village of Milner last Thursday. The white residents knew they were coming and were standing silently along one

NEWS ANALYSIS

side of the main street. Storekeepers in aprons came from behind their counters to watch. Customers turned and stared. Police, of various sorts, were vaguely present.

Across the street, a crew of Negro workmen were carting away bricks in wheelbarrows from a demolished building. They saw the marchers coming, too, and knew what they were. As is the policy of the march, one of the walkers peeled off the single-file line and walked among the Negroes, endeavoring to hand them leaflets. The other side of the street — the white side — was absolutely silent. The Negroes, noticeably embarrassed, took the leaflets proffered to them. They looked at them dubiously, held them in their hands during the awkward silence. Some glanced toward the other side of the street, then stuffed the leaflets deep into their pockets. The marchers continued through the silent town, heading south.

Bibb Jails 19 Racial Hikers

A+C. Con. 11/20/63

Peace Groups

MACON (AP)—Nineteen "freedom walkers" were arrested by police Tuesday on charges of illegally distributing literature and resisting an officer.

They refused bond and had their cases postponed until Wednesday afternoon in City Recorder Court. The delay was permitted to allow those arrested to obtain legal counsel.

PRIOR WARNING

They had been warned prior to their arrests by Mayor B. F. Merritt Jr., and police Chief L. B. McCallum not to distribute the handbills.

The charge of resisting an officer were lodged against 12 who dropped to the ground and had to be carried to waiting police vehicles.

McCallum said he would dismiss all charges if the group would bypass the city. He said they refused his offer.

WILL REFUSE FOOD

They announced they will refuse food while in jail and will attempt again to hand out the literature if released.

All but one of the original group of 25 peace walkers were arrested Nov. 9 at Griffin on charges of parading without a permit. They were released with instructions to leave the city.

Kenneth Meister of Voluntown, Conn., remains in jail at Lawrenceville, on charges of reckless driving. He refuses to post bond of $200.

Seven of the group are being held in Macon under bonds of $150 each, and 12 are held under bond of $300 each.

A group spokesman, Bradford Lyttle, said he felt that Macon's ordinance is invalid and the group will remain in Macon to challenge its constitutionality.

SCENE OBSERVERS

Two observers at the scene of the arrests Tuesday were Mercer University Professors Jim Holloway and Joe Hendricks, who said they represent the Macon Council on Human Relations.

Tuesday afternoon, some 15 to 20 girls who said they were students at Weselyan College attended the court hearing and were active in aiding the group's representative in obtaining an attorney.

NO CONNECTION

The Mercer University public relations office said the professors were not representing the college, and the girls said they were not representing Wesleyan.

At Tuesday's hearing four of the "freedom walkers" were also charged with contempt of court for not rising when Judge Othneil McGehee entered the courtroom.

The walkers began their trek last summer at Quebeck, Canada, and said they are protesting U.S.-Cuba relations and racial discrimination.

A+C. Con. 11/21/63

GEORGIA NEWS

17 Hikers For Peace Convicted

Peace Groups.

MACON — Seventeen of 19 peace walkers were convicted Wednesday night of charges stemming from their attempted walk through Macon and given their choice of fines or jail.

Charges against one youth were dismissed. Mrs. Barbara Deming, 46, Cape Cod, Mass., retained a Negro attorney, Thomas Jackson, to defend her and her trial was postponed until Saturday. Mrs. Deming is white.

The racially mixed group was arrested Tuesday when it sought to distribute printed material in Macon after police warned them not to.

The group started its walk from Canada to protest racial discrimination and this nation's relations with Cuba.

Those convicted returned to their cells. They left the courtroom singing freedom songs and indicated they would not pay the fines ordered by Recorder's Court Judge Othneil McGehee.

Six were convicted of violating a city ordinance prohibiting distribution of handbills and fined $15 or three days in jail.

Eleven were convicted of violating the handbill ordinance and of resisting arrest. They were fined an additional $25 or five additional days in jail.

Six were fined another $25 or five more days in jail for contempt of court when they failed to rise when the session was called to order.

A+C. Sports 11/20/63

Negro Athletes Welcome

HOUSTON, Nov. 19 (AP)—The two largest schools in Texas have decided to compete for the services of Texas Negro athletes. The University of Houston announced today Negroes who meet academic and athletic standards would be eligible for the school's intercollegiate athletic program. The action followed a similar announcement yesterday at the University of Texas.

GEORGIA COPS BURN MARCHERS WITH CATTLE PRODS

A walk for peace--into torture

Special to the Guardian

MILNER, GA.

WHITE AND NEGRO members of the Quebec-to-Cuba peace walk, brutally tortured by police in Griffin, Ga., Nov. 9, arrived in this small Southern community Nov. 14 amid threats of violence from white segregationists.

Veteran pacifist Bradford Lyttle, leader of the 3,500-mile peace walk, said: "White townspeople lined the sidewalks as we entered Milner, their faces etched with hatred. We were followed into town by hoodlums throwing rocks at us. A white man with a revolver protruding from his pocket fell in line beside walker Ray Robinson, a Negro, and for almost an hour attempted to incite him to violence by referring to Robinson as a "nigger," cursing him and shoving him. All along the route through Georgia we are being followed by whites menacing the walkers from cars."

Among the 23 walkers, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, are three Negro men, 14 white men and six white women, including 70-year-old Pearl Ewald of Washington, who is recuperating from a heart attack suffered immediately after her release from the Griffin jail.

DIFFICULTIES with the police in Griffin approached a climax Nov. 8 when the walkers attempted to distribute peace leaflets to Negroes sitting in a park at the end of town. Police ordered the Negroes to leave the area. Lyttle called off activities for the day in protest and informed police the walkers would return the next day.

Police in Macon, Ga., arrested 19 members of CNVA's Quebec-to-Cuba peace walk Nov. 19 on charges of violating a local leafleting ordinance and resisting arrest. The walkers, who are not cooperating with police officials and have begun a fast to protest the arrests, face up to 18 months in prison if convicted.

On Nov. 9, apparently fearing the walkers were going to enter the Negro district adjacent to the park, police attempted to stop the group by arresting Lyttle. The following account is a composite supplied by members of the walk:

Approaching Lyttle, Sheriff Gilbert shouted: "I'll get this one first, he's the leader." Another policeman apprehended Jack Shapiro, 20, a Detroit student, and told him he was under arrest. Shapiro sat down, refusing to obey an order to walk to the police van.

The officer yelled to a member of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, waiting in a parked car: "Bring the electric prodder over here." The GBI agent ordered Shapiro to rise. When the youth continued to sit, the agent applied the prod first to Shapiro's chest and stomach and then his genitals. The student rolled over to shield himself, and the agent prodded the base of his spine. Several agents then threw him in the van.

A policeman grabbed walker Kit Havice, 23, a medical student from Boulder, Col., and ordered her into the van. She refused and sat down. The officer first said to another, "Get a policewoman," and then changed his mind: "Get the prod over here instead." Two officers picked Miss Havice up and were carrying her to the van when the GBI agent who had tormented Shapiro ran over with the cattle prod and applied the electric current to Miss Havice's legs and thighs. She was shoved into the van.

A policeman approached Edith Snyder, 22, a New York City student, and asked if she was going to be a "lady" and walk to the van. She replied that it was because she was a lady that she would not cooperate with injustice. Two officers dragged her to the bus while another applied the cattle prod to her legs.

Sam Mapp, 25, a Negro artist from Atlanta, was next to be burned with the prodder and thrown in with the others. Following him was Yvonne Klein, 29, a teacher from Minneapolis, whose legs and thighs were burned before she was heaved into the van. Eventually all but two of the walkers were thrown into the van and driven to the jail.

The two, Erica Enzer, 37, a Chicago chemist, and Flemming Jensen, 20, a newspaper reporter from Copenhagen, Denmark, were driven in the car that accompanies the walkers. They were seated in the back, with the GBI agent between them. During the ride, Miss Enzer asked the agent what his name was, but he refused to answer. As she was being carried up the stairs to the jail by two policemen, the agent applied the prodder to her legs and upper thighs.

Most of the walkers in the van refused to leave under their own power and underwent the same torment as before. Alan Nyysola, 20, a student from Baltimore, was thrown from the van. As he lay on the sidewalk, the GBI agent prodded him on the face and legs. Another officer held him while the agent shocked him in the groin. The student tried to roll over to escape the prod but the agent continued to alternate between applying the electrical device to his genitals and head. Nyysola pulled his sweater over his head in self-protection, exposing his back to the prod. Finally, the agent left the student in order to work on 17-year-old Tom Rodd, a Pittsburgh student. He applied the prod to every sensitive part of Rodd's body. When a policeman attempted to carry the youth upstairs, the agent said: "Naw, let him wiggle for a while." The Rev. Ross Anderson, 63, of Americus, Ga., was similarly prodded on the neck and face and hauled up the stairs.

Shapiro was dragged from the van and up the stairs in such a manner that his head bumped against each step. At the landing, the GBI agent jammed the prodder into Shapiro's genitals and continued shocking him all over his body, including his eyes. The pain was so great that the youth jumped up and ran inside the police office, the agent running after him, burning the back of his neck. Miss Synder was dragged into the jail reception room, several minutes later the GBI agent entered and applied the cattle prodder near her eye, raising a black welt. He then turned to Miss Klein and burned her legs and upper thighs.

POLICE ORDERED the pacifists to walk to their cells. Most of them refused on the grounds that their arrest was unjust. Michele Gloor, 20, a student from Chicago, was the first to be so ordered. She refused. A policeman with a cattle prod burned her repeatedly on the neck and legs.

Several walkers cried out in horror at the pain Miss Gloor was enduring. Their appeals to the policeman had an effect: He apparently could no longer continue tormenting the girl and finally stopped. Another policeman grabbed the prodder, saying, "Heck, I'll use it." Eventually, he, too, tired and, together with the first policeman, began carrying the girl up the stairs to the cells. The GBI agent followed them, applying the prodder to Miss Gloor's legs and thighs. Miss Havice was treated similarly.

During the entire episode, tears streamed down the faces of two policemen standing by the door, but they said and did nothing.

With the women thus dispatched, the police turned to the men. John Stevens, 20 a San Francisco student, was burned on the head and back. An eight-inch burn mark was left on his stomach.

Ray Robinson Jr., a 29-year-old Negro ex-prizefighter from Washington, received particularly brutal treatment. Stretching him full length on the floor, police burned his legs, arms and spine. They shifted the prod into his genitals and held it firmly in place.

"Get up and walk," they yelled at him, but he refused. "I'd die before I'd get up for you," he replied. Writhing in pain he repeatedly shouted, "Kill me, kill me—go ahead and kill me!" He eventually was dragged upstairs.

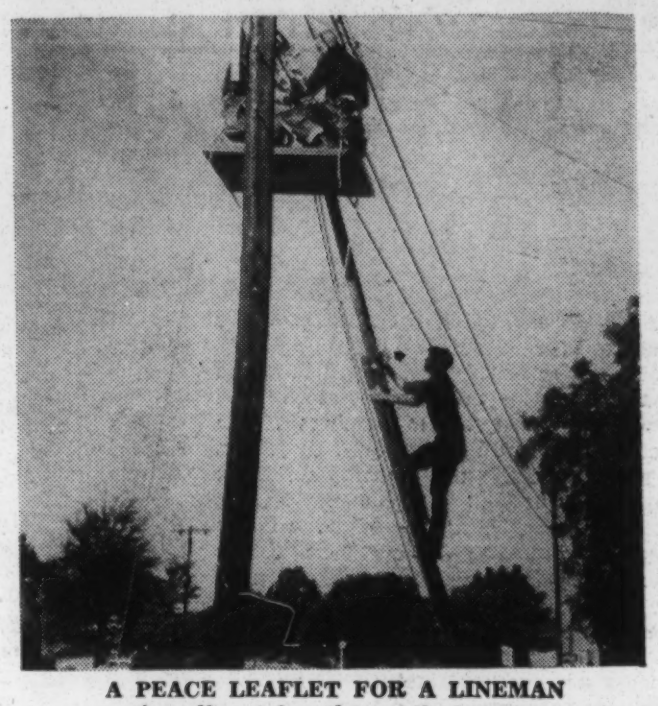
Tony Brown, 27, a San Francisco worker, was thrown across a desk and dragged to the stairs, where the prod was applied to his neck. Peter Gregonis, 41, an electronics technician from Silverton, Ore., walked from the van to the police station, but refused to move farther when he saw the treatment accorder the other walkers. He was dragged upstairs, his head banging against the steps.

THE WHITE MALE walkers were lodged in one second-floor cell, the Negro walkers on the third floor and the white women on the fourth floor. The women began singing freedom songs and the chorus was picked up by the other two floors.

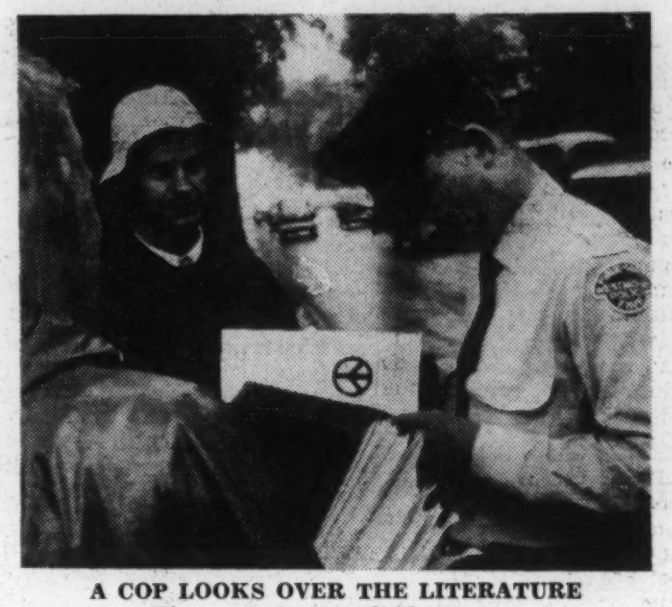
A doctor was brought in to see Pearl Ewald, a retired Quaker school teacher with a history of heart trouble. She had not been tormented by police but the sight of the other walkers in pain apparently was too great a strain for her. After a brief examination, the doctor left without recommending that Mrs. Ewald be moved from the prison. Several hours later she suffered a severe anginal attack and was taken to a hospital.

In jail, the police were confronted with a problem. They had no desire to keep the walkers in town any longer than necessary, but the group was adamant in their demand that they be allowed to distribute the peace leaflets. Several hours later, city officials decided that it would be best to give the walkers permission.

The pacifists walked out of town the same day, distributing their leaflets to white and Negro alike.



A PEACE LEAFLET FOR A LINEMAN
A walker takes the vertical route



A COP LOOKS OVER THE LITERATURE
The prelude to sadistic torture

TIME OUT FOR SOME SONGS ALONG THE PEACE TRAIL THROUGH GEORGIA
Quebec-to-Guantanamo marchers halt for a rest outside a school

Microfilm Code No.
Peace Jp 8
SERS Library

MACON (GA.)
TELEGRAPH
p. 1
Date: NOV 21 1963

Court Convicts 'Walkers' Of Distributing Literature

By DON ROUNTREE

Seventeen of 19 "peace walkers" were convicted in Recorder's Court here last night on charges of distributing literature in the city.

They were given a choice of a $15 fine or three days in the city stockade.

Charges against one of the marchers was dismissed by Judge Othniel McGehee. The 19th walker, Barbara Deming, 42, of Wellfleet, Mass., retained a Negro attorney Thomas Jackson, to defend her. Her trial will be held on Nov. 26.

The woman said she had retained Jackson, who is assisting defense attorneys in the perjury trials in U.S. District Court here, to enable her to appeal any conviction in the Recorder's Court and thus contest the legality of the city ordinance which prohibits the distribution of literature.

The racially mixed group, consisted of three Negro men, 10 white men and six white women, were arrested Tuesday morning near Wesleyan College as they passed out leaflets.

The group is marching from Canada to Cuba to protest racial discrimination and U.S. relations with Cuba.

Following the imposing of sentences, the judge ordered the courtroom cleared and held a conference with the walkers, who through their spokesman, Bradford Lyttle, 35, of Voluntown, Conn., asked Judge McGehee if he would suspend the sentences if the group walked through Macon without distributing leaflets.

Judge McGehee said he could not because he felt he had been lenient in sentencing them.

The group then left the courtroom and were taken to the city stockade to serve the sentences. The men began to sing while waiting.

The group announced last night through Tom Rodd, 17, of Pittsburgh, Pa., that all except one would continue to fast while in the stockade. Rodd said William Dady, 19, of Rochester, N.Y., was a "mild diabetic" and must take nourishment.

Charges of violating the handbill ordinance were dismissed against Rodd.

Of the 17 convicted, six were convicted of violating the city's handbill ordinance. Eleven were convicted of violating the handbill ordinance and resisting arrest and fined an additional $25 or five days in the stockade.

Six were fined another $25 or five more days in the stockade for contempt of court when they failed to rise when the court session was called to order Tuesday.

Those convicted of violating the handbill ordinance were:

Lyttle; Anthony Wilson Brown, 27, of San Diego, Calif.; Marvin Davidov, 32, of St. Paul, Minn.; Jack Shapiro, 20, of Oak Park, Mich.; Harriet Kathryn Havice, 23, of Boulder, Colo.; and Erica Enzer, 37, of Chicago.

Convicted of violating the handbill ordinance and with resisting arrest were:

Mrs. Yvonne Mathews Klein, 30, of Minneapolis, Minn.; William Frederick Dady, 19, of Rochester, N. Y.; Allen Rudolph Michael King Wells, 20, of New York City; Ray Robinson Jr., 29, of Washington, D. C.; John Milton Stephens, 20, of Richmond, Calif.; Edith Mary Snyder, 22, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; Mary Michaele Gloor, 20, of Northbrook, Ill.; Ronald Tishon Moose, 18, of High Point, N. C.; Dennis Allen Weeks, 20, of DeKalb, Ill.; and Sammuel Weaver Mapp, Jr., 24, of Atlanta.

Convicted of contempt of court were Dady, Robinson, Weeks, Miss Gloor, Miss Havice and Brown.

Robinson said he refused to stand in the courtroom because it would be a symbol of "supporting segregation."

Weeks said he refused to stand since he believed "man-made laws are an artificial institution" and standing would mean supporting them. He said he believed all should believe in a "higher divine law."

Miss Gloor said "I don't have respect for this system of law and order," because of its injustices to many people.

Miss Havice said she didn't stand because she was in sympathy with the others who refused to rise.

Those who were sentenced to three days in jail will be released tomorrow since the two days they have been jailed counts towards the sentence.

Rodd said the group had not reached a decision to work if they should be asked to do so as inmates at the stockade.

Rodd added that the group will wait in Macon until all have completed their sentences and would not pay fines unless "extraordinary" circumstances, such as sickness, should arise.

The Bibb County Coordinating Committee announced yesterday it plans to hold a special meeting tonight at the Community Church of God to discuss the arrests.

In a statement released yesterday, the Committee said "Negro citizens of Macon are greatly disturbed by the action of the city authorities in arresting the 'Freedom-Peace Marchers' for allegedly violating a city ordinance prohibiting the distribution of leaflets and circulars."

The statement continued, "We may not agree with the ideals nor the methods of many peoples, but we must raise our voice in protest when the freedom of any group is curtailed or denied under color of an unconstitutional law or ordinance."

Atl Con. 11/26/63

Cuba Trek Quit Macon By Request

Peace Groups

Twenty Canada - to - Cuba "peace marchers," who had established temporary headquarters in a Macon Negro church, were asked by Negroes to leave Macon following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The marchers left Saturday and returned to Atlanta where they said they planned to remain for several days.

Nineteen members of the integrated group were convicted earlier in the week of violating Macon city ordinances, but Macon Mayor B. F. Merritt commuted the jail sentences of 18 of them Friday. All 19 were freed.

SOME AGREED

Bradford Lyttle, 36, of Voluntown, Conn., said Monday that the group—some of whom were "inactive" members of "Fair Play for Cuba" — "agreed" with Macon Negro leaders that it would be better if they left.

Lee Harvey Oswald, accused of assassinating the President, was a leader in "Fair Play for Cuba."

Lyttle said that none of the marchers, all active members of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, knew of Oswald or his activities in —Dallas.

The news of the President's death reached the marchers while they picketed Macon City Hall Friday. A youth dashed up to the marchers as they broke up their picket lines and shouted:

WHY PICKET?

"Why are you picketing? Don't you know your President has been killed?"

Lyttle said several by-standers "shouted for joy" when they heard the President had been killed. "They thought we were supporters of President Kennedy. But we were not strong supporters of the President."

Lyttle said his group objected to the President's emphasis on military preparedness and the use of troops to enforce federal court orders.

The "peace marchers" said they did not know when — or if—they would continue their march to Cuba.

Microfilm Code No.

Preston Cobb

SERS Library

ATLANTA
DAILY WORLD p. 1

Date: NOV 27 1963

New Move For Cobb Planned

Attorneys for Negro teenager Preston Cobb, condemned to death for murdering his white employer two years ago, plan to start new moves in the next few days to halt Cobb's scheduled execution on Dec. 6.

Donald Hollowell, one of Cobb's lawyers, said he plans to file legal papers this week which he says "will have the effect of staying" Cobb's execution.

Cobb was convicted on Aug. 16, 1961 of murdering his white employer, Frank Coleman Dumas, 71, a farmer of Monticello in Jasper County. He originally was scheduled to die on Sept. 22, 1961, but a series of legal moves has kept him alive on death row.

Since several scheduled execution dates have been postponed, it was necessary earlier this month for Judge Robert S. Carpenter of the Ocmulgee Judicial Circuit to resentence the Negro. This was done in a brief courtroom formality and the new electrocution date was set.

Cobb was 15 at the time he was convicted for Dumas' murder. Because of his youth, his death sentence brought wide-spread protests.

No 'Peace March' Now, Mayor Urges

Atc. Jow. 11/27/63

Peace Group

Mayor Allen Wednesday urged a group of Cuba peace marchers here not to stage a proposed demonstration in protest of the deaths of President Kennedy and Lee Harvey Oswald.

The peace marchers—bound from Quebec and Washington to picket Russian and American military installations in Cuba—met with the Mayor and explained that Atlanta police had indicated they would be arrested if they demonstrated.

Police declined comment.

The group said it had planned to march from downtown Hurt Park, down Peachtree Street and back to the park.

THE MARCHERS, originally had scheduled the march for Tuesday afternoon. They reported, however, that both police and Atlanta Negro leaders approached them, asking that the march be halted.

They said the Negroes—A. T. Walden and Warren Cochrane—told them the march might be confused with local desegregation negotiations and could jeopardize bi-racial talks. The marchers said police warned them they might be arrested on vagrancy charges if they marched.

National CNVA Chairman A. J. Muste, who flew into Atlanta Monday, said Tuesday the police warnings amounted to an abridgement of civil liberties and the pleadings of Mr. Walden and Mr. Cochrane were not necessarily the feelings of all Atlanta Negroes. He said the marchers wanted further talks with other local Negroes to get a consensus of attitudes towards CNVA purposes here.

IN THEIR Wednesday consultation with the mayor, Mr. Allen told them it would be "improper and out of taste" to stage a march at this time. He said also the march could cause "an unnecessary hazard." He urged them repeatedly not to march "for your own protection as well as the city's as a whole."

CNVA Muste said after the conference the marchers would not demonstrate Wednesday, but they "might possibly" in the future. March co-ordinator Bradford Lyttle said the group would stay in Atlanta another 10 days.

They had got as far as Macon in their southward trek and were negotiating with city leaders there on demonstration and leaflet rights when news of Mr. Kennedy's assassination came.

They ceased march activities at the assassination announcement and returned to Atlanta shortly thereafter.

Mr. Muste told the mayor the proposed march would be "quiet and peaceful" and aimed at showing the group's concern over the violence of the past several days.

Allen Warns Against Peace March

Atc. Jtc 11/28/63

L Group

A group of peace marchers was urged by Mayor Ivan Allen Wednesday not to stage a proposed demonstration here. He said the request was "for your own protection as well as the city's as a whole.

The group, members of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, had expressed their intention to demonstrate in protest to the deaths of President John F. Kennedy and his assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald.

Allen told representatives of the group that a demonstration at this time would be "improper and out of taste," and that it might cause "an unnecessary hazard."

The group had originally planned to march Tuesday. They said, however, the march was postponed after Atlanta had threatened to arrest them if the demonstration was held. Police declined to comment.

The group has been staging a "peace walk" from Quebec, Canada, to Cuba in an attempt to focus attention to its advocacy of disarmament and non-violence.

Peace Marchers Defy Mayor, Parade Here

Atc. Jow. 11/29/63

L Group

By PAUL VALENTINE

More than a dozen Cuba-bound peace marchers staged a Kennedy assassination protest march through central Atlanta on Thanksgiving Day, despite an earlier request by Mayor Allen that they not do it.

The racially integrated group marched from the Atlanta University complex to Hurt Park without incident. Prior to the march, they had participated in special services at Mt. Moriah Baptist Church near Morehouse College where Atlanta Negro leader Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke.

March spokesmen said they had originally planned a march last Tuesday from Hurt Park, down Peachtree Street and back to the park, but police, certain Negro leaders and eventually the mayor asked them not to do it.

THE MARCH group, sponsored by the New York - based Committee for Nonviolent Action, said police warned them they might be arrested on vagrancy charges if they marched. The group said Atlanta Negro leaders A. T. Walden and Warren Cochrane also asked them not to demonstrate because such action could be confused with current desegregation negotiations and might jeopardize talks.

A delegation of marchers at city hall Wednesday was additionally urged by Mayor Allen not to hold a march. He said a march would be "improper and out of taste at this time."

CNVA National Chairman A. J. Muste explained the march was to protest the deaths of President Kennedy and the President's accused assassin, Lee Oswald "and the general climate of reliance on violence in which we live today."

Mayor Allen said Friday he felt the march was "inappropriate" because official grief and recognition of the late President has already been accorded and "it is improper for a group of this sort to demonstrate at this time."

The marchers nevertheless held their procession Thursday. They contend any prohibition of the march would amount to a suspension of civil liberties.

Chairman Muste said that in talks with police just prior to the march, the earlier threats of arrest were not mentioned. He speculated there "was a change in policy."

Police declined comment on the arrest warnings last Tuesday and were not immediately available for further comment Friday.

The marchers are en route to Cuba to picket Russian and American military installations there.

Microfilm Code No.

Peace Groups

SERS Library

MACON (GA.)
TELEGRAPH

p. 11

Date: DEC 9 1963

Marchers To Return

The Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo "Walk for Peace," which recently was postponed following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, will resume Tuesday at the Macon city limit.

The "peace walk" was delayed for several days in late November when 19 members of the bi-racial group were arrested by Macon police for distributing leaflets in violation of a city ordinance.

In addition, 12 members of the group were charged with resisting arrest when they sank to the ground and had to be carried into waiting police wagons.

A total of 18 received sentences, the other case being dismissed because Tom Rodd, who was charged only with passing out leaflets, contended that he had tried to distribute them but no one had taken one from him.

After serving several days in jail, in which all members of the group except one refused to eat, all were released on Friday, Nov. 22, and advised to leave town.

Since that time the group has remained in Atlanta.

Cuba-Bound Marcher Free In Gwinnett

Atl. Jan. 12/4/63

Peace Grps.

Ken Meister, 38-year-old Cuba-bound peace marcher, has been released from Gwinnett County jail on a $200 surety bond after 34 days behind bars.

Mr. Meister, one of a group of 22 peace marchers going through Georgia, was arrested Oct. 30 in Lawrenceville on a traffic charge. The car he was driving collided with another driven by Lawrenceville man Charles Wright who signed a warrant against Mr. Meister, charging reckless driving-causing an accident.

THE ACCIDENT occurred in crowded downtown Lawrenceville, and damage was minor. No one was injured.

City police did not bring the charge. A Gwinnett County deputy sheriff served the Wright warrant, and Mr. Meister was placed in county jail.

He said he refused to post the $200 bond because the bonding system is inequitable and "works against the poor." He remained in jail, waiting for his trial which is scheduled for the third Monday in January.

GWINNETT Sheriff Quill Sammon said Wednesday he agreed to release Mr. Meister on a surety bond. Mr. Meister said he agreed to leave jail because "I didn't have to post any money and because the sheriff seemed to take my word that I would appear for my trial."

The sheriff said the peace marcher "didn't give me any trouble" during his 34-day stay. "He did a lot of writing and received a lot of mail. The other prisoners liked him, too. They got to calling him 'roadrunner' since he's one of those peace walkers."

The marchers plan to walk to Cuba where they hope to picket Russian and American military installations. The group is sponsored by the New York based Committee for Nonviolent Action.

Microfilm Code No.
Peace Gps
SERS Library

MIAMI HERALD
P16C DEC 20 1963
Date:

Peacemarch Heads South For Miami--Guantanamo

16C

By JUANITA GREENE
Herald Staff Writer

This year's Christmas season finds an integrated group of dedicated, weary and slightly apprehensive peacemongers gathered at the Georgia line ready for a march through Florida.

The little band assembled by the Committee for Nonviolent Action is scheduled to cross the border on U.S. 41 between Valdosta and Jasper on Jan. 27.

Later, if they don't run into trouble on the way, they'll arrive in Miami. From here, they hope to board a boat to Cuba, then walk across the island to Guantanamo, ending a march that began in Quebec last May.

The "Walk for Peace" will attract special attention in Miami, the U.S. city most senstive to the Cuban crisis.

It's purpose is, reports Bradford Lyttle, walk coordinator, "to raise the question with Americans and Cubans as to how reconciliation and an affirmation of friendship between the people of two nations can resolve the conflict between our countries without resort to war or threat of war."

The marchers, now about 20 in number, are carrying signs and distributing leaflets, and talking with people as they go. Because they see an intimate connection between peace and civil rights, they also distrubite a leaflet urging an end to racial tension and nonviolent solutions to racial hostility.

"We believe," says the leaflet, "that we have not been born to destroy one another, or to exploit or humiliate one another, but to try to live together in peace, as one human family."

The way from Canada to Georgia was made somewhat smoother by advance preparations, that now are going on in Florida. Local members and sympathizers with the Committee for Nonviolent Action approach public officials, inform them of the walk, and urge them to "behave reasonably and nonviolently," by cooperating instead of creating obstacles.

The marchers, said Lyttle, do not ask for protection from the authorities, but seek only the freedom to exercise what they consider their moral and constitutional rights.

The current march is a follow up to one from San Francisco to Moscow sponsored by the CNVA two years ago.

"If that march was able to traverse Poland and Russia without a serious incident of violence or opposition from the authorities, the walk to Guantanamo should be able to pass through southern Georgia and Florida without trouble," said Lyttle.

In Georgia the group did meet some trouble. In Macon, 23 marchers were distributing leaflets in a park near the Negro section when city police and members of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation arrived and placed the leaders under arrest.

When the marchers refused to move, according to later reports from the marchers, they were manhandled by police, and stuck with cattle prods in sensitive parts of the body.

The mistreatment, especially of the Negro participants, is reported to have continued at the police station, where some of the marchers said they were stretched full length on the floor and the electric prods applied for long periods on the neck, face, head and genitals. Some of the younger women had the prodders applied to their legs and upper thighs, reported Mrs. Pearl Ewald, a 70-year-old retired school teacher and marcher.

She suffered a heart attack after her release from the Griffin jail and is in Miami to recuperate and to make plans for the Florida march.

A Macon police officer who refused to be identified denied that the marchers had been "mistreated in any way, shape or form."

"They're liable to say most anything," the officer said. "I hope you keep 'em down there."

Microfilm Code No.
Peace Grps
SERS Library

MACON (GA.)
TELEGRAPH
p. 3
Date:
DEC 22 1963

MACON COURT

Marcher Faces Trial

The trial of Miss Barbara Deming, one of a group of 19 "peace walkers" arrested in Macon on Nov. 19 is scheduled during the afternoon session of Recorder's Court Monday.

The marchers were arrested by city police on charges of violating a city ordinance prohibiting the distribution of leaflets.

Of the 19, all but two were convicted of the charge and sentenced to a $15 fine or three days in the city stockade. Some of the group piled up additional charges — and additional convictions—by sinking to the ground when arrested, resulting in resisting charges, and by failing to stand at the beginning of their Recorder's Court trial, resulting in contempt charges.

The 18th member of the group had charges of distributing leaflets dismissed on grounds of a lack of evidence, and the 19th, Miss Deming, posted bond.

Miss Deming, 42, of Wellfleet, Mass., said at the time of the trial of the walkers that she wished to have legal counsel to appeal any possible conviction.

The walkers have contended the city ordinance prohibiting the distribution is unconstitutional.

The Deming trial is slated before Judge Othneil McGehee, who was trial judge for the other 18 walkers.

After being sentenced, the walkers were released from city stockade on Friday, Nov. 22.

They went to Atlanta for a couple of weeks, and on Tuesday, Dec. 19, resumed their trek to Cuba. The group is now located in the vicinity of Albany.

Atl. Con. 12/24/63

Albany Jails 14 on Peace Hike to Cuba

Peace Group

ALBANY, Ga. (AP) — Fourteen Canada-to-Cuba peace walkers were hauled off to jail on triple charges Monday when they failed to follow a parade route assigned them by the police chief.

They were charged with failing to observe a parade route, failure to obey an officer and disorderly conduct. Bond was set at $200 each.

The group gave advance notice of its plan to march through this southwest Georgia center, scene in recent months of mass integration demonstrations. Police Chief Laurie Pritchett informed leaders that if they proceeded down U.S. 19 they would not be disturbed.

They marched about three miles along the federal highway through the city and then turned north on a city street. Pritchett was there to meet them.

He asked them to return to U.S. 19 and when they refused Pritchett summoned police vans to take them to headquarters.

Microfilm Code No.

Peace Grps

SERS Library

MACON (GA.)
TELEGRAPH

p. 2

Date: DEC 24 1963

Marcher Is Released By Court

Charges against a "peace walker" of violating a city ordinance prohibiting the distribution of literature were dismissed in Recorder's Court yesterday.

Miss Barbara Deming, 46, of Wellflett, Mass., had been charged by city police with the violation on Nov. 19. Eighteen other walkers also were arrested then on a similar charge when they attempted to pass out leaflets on the outskirts of Macon.

The charge against Miss Deming was dismissed on a motion by Police Chief L. B. McCallum The chief said since sentences imposed against 17 of the group were commuted by the mayor on Friday, Nov. 22, police saw no need to press charges.

Also in court and supporting the motion of dismissal was City Attorney Trammell F. Shi. Shi said last night he will undertake a review of the ordinance with a view toward amending it.

He said his office is backlogged with legislative and administrative matters and work on the ordinance would probably nos begin for a while.

Miss Deming had also been charged by officers on Nov. 19 with resisting arrest.

This charge was dismissed by Recorder's Court Judge Othniel W. McGehee.

The walkers were brought before Judge McGehee on Nov. 20. All but Miss Deming elected to stand trial, without legal counsel.

Miss Deming posted a $50 cash bond and told the court she desired an attorney to appeal any possible conviction on grounds the ordinance was unconstitutional.

Representing her at that time was a local Negro attorney, Thomas Jackson. Yesterday Negro Attorney C. B. King of Albany represented Miss Deming. King said Thomas had withdrawn from the case.

Microfilm Code No.
Peace Spos
SERS Library

MACON (GA.)
TELEGRAPH
p. 2
Date: DEC 24 1963

14 Walkers Arrested

ALBANY, Ga. (AP)—Fourteen peace walkers, continuing their long trek from Canada to Cuba, landed in jail again Monday. They were arrested for failing to follow an assigned route through this south Georgia city.

A 15th person was arrested later and held for investigation after showing up at police headquarters to inquire about bond for the others, Police Chief Laurie Pritchett said.

Pritchett said the 14 walkers were charged with disorderly conduct and failing to obey an officer for attempting to deviate from their route.

The group had been told to proceed down U.S. 19 through the city and their march would not be halted. Pritchett said they walked about three miles along the highway and then turned north on a city street.

Pritchett said they refused to return to U.S. 19 and he arrested them.

Ken Meister, a spokesman for the group, said he did not expect them to post bonds of $200 each. He also said they would fast while in jail.

The marchers began their journey early this year in Quebec with Havana as their destination to protest U.S. - Cuban relations and racial discrimination.

They have been arrested several times in Georgia.

14 Marchers Abandon Fast In Albany Jail

Atl. Jour. 12/27/63

Peace Group

ALBANY, Ga., Dec. 26 (AP)—Fourteen Canada - to - Cuba marchers spent Christmas Day in jail here, but apparently ended an earlier period of fasting.

Some of the marchers fasted Tuesday but a police spokesman said most of them now appeared to be eating.

A spokesman for the group has said the marchers do not expect to put up $200 bond.

They were arrested for allegedly failing to follow an assigned route through Albany and were charged with disorderly conduct and failure to obey a police officer.

"They all had coffee this morning and most of them seem to be eating," a police spokesman said. "They're doing fine."

A 15th member of the group was arrested when he went to police headquarters several times to inquire about his colleagues. He was identified as Fred Moore of Voluntown, Conn. He was held for investigation.

The group, which plans to picket U.S., Cuban and Soviet military bases in Cuba. is protesting U.S.-Cuban relations and segregation.

Microfilm Code No.
Peace Sup
SERS Library

BALTIMORE SUN
p. 12
Date DEC 26 1963

14 MARCHERS STILL IN JAIL

Peace Group Apparently Ends Fast In Albany, Ga..

Albany, Ga., Dec. 25 (AP)—Fourteen Canada-to-Cuba peace marchers spent Christmas Day in jail here but apparently ended an earlier period of fasting.

Some of the marchers fasted yesterday but a police spokesman said most of them now appeared to be eating.

A spokesman for the group has said the marchers did not expect to put up $200 bond.

They were arrested for allegedly failing to follow an assigned route through Albany and charged with disorderly conduct and failure to obey a police officer.

"They all had coffee this morning and most of them seem to be eating," said a police spokesman today. "They're doing fine."

Others Named

A fifteenth member of the group was arrested when he went to police headquarters several times to inquire about his colleagues. He was identified as Fred Moore of, Voluntown, Conn. He was held for investigation.

The other marchers are:

Carl Arnold, Atlanta; Eric Robinson, Lompoc, Cal.; Allen Cooper and Ray Robinson, both of Washington; Katherine Havice, Boulder, Col.; Edith Snyder, New York; Bradford Lyttle, Voluntown, Conn.; Eric Enzer, Chicago; Allen Nyysola, Baltimore; Tyrone Jackson, Albany, Ga.; Yvonne Klein, Minneapolis; Anthony Brown, San Diego, Cal.; Michele Gloor, Northbrook, Ill., and Peter Gregonis, Silverton, Ore.

The group, which plans to picket United States, Cuban and Soviet military bases in Cuba, is protesting United States-Cuban relations and segregation.

WP 12/26/63

Ga. Jails 14 Marchers, 2 From D.C.

Peace Grp

Fourteen Canada-to-Cuba peace marchers — including two Washingtonians — spent Christmas Day in the Albany, Ga. jail, the Associated Press reported yesterday.

Some of the marchers fasted on Christmas Eve but a spokesman for the Albany police department said most of them appeared to be eating yesterday.

The two marchers from Washington were identified as Allen F. Copper, 25, 2124 P st. nw, and Ray Robinson, 29, 960 Randolph st. nw.

The demonstrators, who were arrested for allegedly failing to follow an assigned route through Albany, were charged with disorderly conduct and failure to obey a police officer, according to the AP. They are being held on $200 bond but a spokesman for the group said the marchers did not expect to post bond.

A 15th member of the group, identified as Fred Moore, of Voluntown, Conn., was arrested when he went to police headquarters several times to inquire about his colleagues.

The group, which plans to picket U.S., Cuban and Soviet military bases in Cuba, is protesting U.S.-Cuban relations and racial segregation.

AFL. Con. 12/31/63

12 of 14 Marchers Refuse to Leave Cells in Albany

Peace Groups.

ALBANY, Ga. — Tweleve of the 14 members of the Quebec-to-Guantanomo "Peace March" refused to leave their jail cells here Monday for trial in City Recorder's Court and Judge A. N. Durden Sr. ordered them to show cause at 9 a.m. Tuesday why they should not be held in contempt.

The marchers, arrested here Dec. 23 after they failed to observe their prescribed parade route through the city, have remained in jail in lieu of $200 bonds each.

Two of the 14 were willing to walk up a flight of stairs to the second floor courtroom.

Microfilm Code No.

Peace Groups

SERS Library

MACON (GA.)
TELEGRAPH

Date: DEC 31 1963 p. 11

Marchers Face New Charge

ALBANY, Ga. (AP)— Twelve Canada - to - Cuba peace marchers had another charge—contempt of court—added Monday to three already lodged against them at this southwest Georgia city.

Municipal Court Judge Adie N. Durden ordered the contempt charge brought for refusal of the 12 to walk to his second floor court room from the first floor jail. He called for them to appear Tuesday to answer it.

A spokesman for the marchers, Barbara Deming, 42, of Wellfleet, Mass., said some of them were too weak from fasting to walk up to the courtroom. Others, she said, have conscientious objections to "cooperating with the court system."

Police Chief Laurie Pritchett had said earlier that, while some of 14 marchers arrested Dec. 23 had fasted briefly, most of them appeared later to be eating. "They're doing fine," he said.

All had remained in jail in lieu of $200 bonds on charges of failing to follow a prescribed parade route through the city, disorderly conduct and disobeying an officer.

Two of the 14 signified willingness to stand trial Monday but the trials of all were postponed until the contempt issue is settled. The two were Tyrone Jackson, Albany, and Peter G. Gregonis, Silverton, Ore.

From: Mennonite Research Peace Statesmen Office.

COMMENTS ON THE GRIFFIN ARRESTS

Violations of Civil Liberties; Unconstitutional Activities

1. Griffin City Manager J.S. Langford and Police Chief Leo Blackwell attempted to limit and prevent the walkers from leafleting by imposing a local "fire law" or leafleting ordinance on them. Such ordinances have been ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court (Lowell v. Griffin, 303 U.S. 444, Jamison v. Texas, 318 U.S. 413).

2. Police prevented walkers from leafleting on Taylor Street in Griffin and in other public areas adjacent to and within the Negro residential area. They further prevented the walkers from going onto the private property of Negroes who wanted the leaflets. These actions denied the rights of the walkers to leaflet on public property and walk about the city on peaceful business and the right of citizens to accept or refuse literature.

3. Griffin authorities prevented the walkers from proceeding peacefully north along the sidewalk parallel to U.S. 41, simply on the grounds that they didn't want them going to the Negro districts. This was an arbitrary violation of their liberties.

4. Arrested walkers were charged with violating a parade permit regulation whose existence they were told about only after being put in jail. No mention was made of this ordinance in hours of earlier discussions with the walkers.

5. Four project members were arrested while sitting in cars parked in places designated by the police themselves. They, too, were charged with parading without a permit and ignoring the lawful order of a police officer although they had neither paraded nor ignored any order.

6. Bradford Lyttle was arrested right after talking with the Chief of Police, charged with parading without a permit, which he was not doing.

7. Policemen took cameras, books and personal belongings from the walkers without giving receipts for them and unlawfully kept several items.

These gross violations of the walkers' civil liberties and property rights turned Griffin into a totalitarian society that afternoon. They occurred because the authorities believed all rights involved belonged to them and it was only a privilege for the walkers to parade, leaflet, travel about the public ways of Griffin or even be in the city. Such an attitude constituted then a harrassment of the walkers but implies the gravest consequences for all citizens of Griffin who, unless they demand the observance of civil liberties and democratic rights, will soon find themselves living in a police state rather than a free society.

Police Brutality

1. Cattle Prods An electric cattle prod is a device for producing a severe shock, which, in humans, can cause intense pain, burning, scarring and involuntary muscle spasms. The variety used in Griffin

was supplied by agents of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (G.B.I.) and consisted of a metal shaft about 30 inches long, one end of which terminated in a red handle which contained batteries and a high voltage transformer, and the other end the shocking prongs.

The prod was used to stimulate noncooperating walkers to get up and walk to the bus and jail and cells. It was also used many times with no objective other than to produce pain. One walker was tortured this way after he had offered to walk to his cell, another after he had reached his cell.

Men and women were shocked and burned on their faces, genitals, arms, legs, thighs, backs, indeed anywhere that suited the fancy of the G.B.I. agent and police who used the prod.

2. Roughness Walkers had their arms and hands twisted by the authorities and were stepped on when lying on the ground. They were dragged up and down stairs. The police frequently dragged them in ways that would maximize their pain and injury.

3. Pearl Ewald, a 70-year-old retired schoolteacher, cooperated with arrest and walked to her cell. The screams and obvious pain of those being tortured and the savagery of many authorities so shocked her that soon after release she suffered an anginal attack. A doctor who examined her decided the attack probably would not be fatal but said that a woman of her age with a record of heart attacks might die momentarily. He and other doctors who examined Mrs. Ewald recommended immediate hospitalization and medical care. Her attack was directly stimulated by the police brutality.

Police brutality of this kind is appalling in a culture that claims to be civilized, democratic and Christian. It could be expected in a cruel, totalitarian society. Hardly more than a paroxysm of irrationality, fear, frustration and hatred, it has little deterrent effect but rather encourages disrespect for law and police power, and casts a loathesome reputation over any community where it occurs. It enfeebles the ability of a city to attract responsible, creative and energetic people, rather it drives them away.

We must add that even in the situations where the most brutality and suppressions of civil liberties were occurring there were few citizens of Griffin who seemed wholeheartedly to condone or enjoy them. Most of the authorities and police officials with whom we associated seemed to be, in the main, fine and intelligent people who were tragically trapped in traditions and political commitments that were inhumane and impractical. It is our hope that these men will perceive this, and with the help and encouragement of other citizens of the lovely State of Georgia rid themselves of those ignoble and violent tendencies.

ORegon 4-0914

~~Civil Liberties~~
Peace Groups

Humanity Guild

INCORPORATED

Dedicated to Peace on Earth and Goodwill to Men

853 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

Dear Friend:

They are putting a PERIOD to man's life on earth.

WHAT IS YOUR SURVIVAL WORTH?

Is it worth more than the production cost of an A-BOMB or an H-BOMB? Is it worth more than a stockpile of NUCLEAR WEAPONS? If you value your life more than the BOMB, then you must have the same feeling about other people's lives. This means there is some hope for avoiding a NUCLEAR WAR.

"We are in the era of the thermo-nuclear bomb that can be delivered across oceans and continents and can obliterate a whole nation. With such weapons, there can be no victory for anyone. Plainly, the objective now must be to see that such a war does not occur at all."

—Dwight D. Eisenhower

Despite the TERRIBLE PERILS that face mankind in the age of NUCLEAR WEAPONS, there are individuals who defend and promote the reckless course the major powers have taken. They can be found in all segments of society, particularly much of our news media. Some people obtain vast profits as the international tension continues; there are individuals who bombard people's minds with the threat of war and the need for endless war preparation; there are individuals who use a microphone not only to keep the "cold war" alive but to heat it up whenever it suits them. They condemn and browbeat anyone who oppose their frenzied irresponsible attitude (these are the same individuals who detest "thought control" under communism). These are the individuals who have the audacity to belittle and besmirch anyone who is sincerely working for PEACE.

"That both sides begin anew the quest for peace before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction."

—President Kennedy in his Inaugural Address

Practically every good thinking person agrees on one thing, at least. NUCLEAR WAR MUST BE ELIMINATED FOREVER FOR ALL HUMANITY . . . TEST BOMBING MUST STOP! Unfortunately, the so-called 'statesmen' of the world have exhibited a peculiar talent for complicating even simple issues. The disarmament conferences are getting exactly nowhere. Isn't it about time for the people of the world to say, "Gentlemen, let's just call the whole thing off! Dump all the bombs and armaments in the ocean. You must cooperate for yourselves and all concerned." Tens of thousands of Peace Workers are now protesting. They are marching, writing letters to editors and politicians and taking a stand for the end of the cold war, for an end to hatred and suspicion, and they demand that the HYDROGEN BOMBS and all ARMAMENTS be destroyed.

This is what former Governor Meyner (New Jersey) wrote about a shelter program: *"Instead of spending $150 billion or $200 billion that would be required for a national network of underground shelters, let us put just a fraction of that money and work into a massive effort to make our world safe for human habitation—while there is yet time. We ought now to be talking about building 200 million prefabricated homes for the homeless people of Asia and Africa instead of bemusing ourselves with the cruel nonsense about underground shelters.* [This would be the best thing we could do for OUR OWN PROTECTION.]

"We ought to be forging links with other peoples instead of forging iron doors to deep cellars. Our ties to other people—the good we can earn, the support we can justify for world leadership—these will contribute far more to our safety and peace of mind than the holes we can jump into when it is too late."

The enclosed 24 page illustrated booklet, "IT CAN HAPPEN," clarifies the perils of the situation. HUMANITY GUILD wants to enlighten the population throughout the world and create a mass effort for PEACE FOR ALL TIME.

"Annihilation is a certainty if the arms race continues."

—Sir Charles P. Snow, Leading British Scientist

Many sections of the American press ridicule the sincerest efforts of the PEACEMAKERS. They are jailed, vilified, described as agitators, communists, or unAmerican. BUT IF WE SEE RED EVERYWHERE WE WILL LOSE SIGHT OF THE REAL ISSUES. EVERYONE ON EARTH WILL LOSE THE PEACE AND WORLD WAR III.

"If the NUCLEAR ATTACK took place during the growing season, much of the crop would have to be sacrificed. Thereafter many areas would be denied to dairy farming for a decade. . . . In addition, unless animals were included in shelters, they could be useless as food."

—Physicist Ralph Lapp, in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, May, 1959

We believe that the greatest weapon for PEACE IS THE TRUTH. HUMANITY GUILD will provide you with a weekly analysis, "BETWEEN THE LINES" to clarify the mind with facts. It will be concise, expose propagandists, publicity seekers and selfish interests. "BETWEEN THE LINES" will be supplemented by other publications designed to seek out the real issues obscured in the headlines. We will expose chicanery wherever it is discernible, without bias or prejudice. We have but one goal . . . PEACE, SURVIVAL AND SECURITY.

The founder of Humanity Guild built a multimillion dollar business. In October, 1961, after 43 years of trials and tribulations, he gave the enterprise, lock, stock and barrel to his loyal employees. In his 73rd year, the founder works a fourteen hour day, seven days a week. He receives no pay. He gets no expenses. He desires no publicity. The satisfaction of knowing that he has given unstintingly of both his time and his money in the interest of PEACE is his sole purpose.

HUMANITY GUILD, a nonprofit, nonsectarian, nonpolitical organization seeks financial assistance so it can send millions of booklets, "IT CAN HAPPEN," and other publications stating the facts.

The PEACE movement and HUMANITY GUILD to which it is dedicated, needs a contribution from you to carry on WHAT MAY WELL BE THE MOST IMPORTANT WORK OF OUR TIME. We have a plan that we can accomplish with your cooperation. "BETWEEN THE LINES" is a most important voice in world affairs.

Will you join us in our task? Will you take an active part in our work for PEACE? Join our OPERATION HUMANITY!

FIRST, fill in the coupon below as indicated, according to your ability. With the first issue of "BETWEEN THE LINES" you will also receive your embossed membership card and a beautiful gold-filled filigreed lapel emblem, which you can wear with pride, plus all other material published by HUMANITY GUILD.

SECOND, send this letter and the two copies enclosed to three people who will not break the "CHAIN FOR PEACE." If you have a foreign friend, send a copy to him. If this chain for PEACE is unbroken for only 13 mailings, "BETWEEN THE LINES" will enlarge its subscription list by 3,000,000—you will have helped to spark a PEACE demand impossible to ignore!

We are sure that this chance for survival is worth a great deal to you. Certainly it is worth the small contribution asked. With your cooperation, HUMANITY GUILD will continue to expand until it becomes stronger than the opposition. An ACCIDENT or a single misinterpreted ACT can plunge this planet into a conflict too horrible to contemplate.

PLEASE FILL IN, CUT OUT AND MAIL ONE COUPON WITH EACH MEMBERSHIP CONTRIBUTION

HUMANITY GUILD, Inc.

853 Broadway New York 3, N. Y.

FRIEND OF PEACE, As a conscientious American interested in PEACE, I want to do something about it! Please send me:

- ☐ 10 booklets, "IT CAN HAPPEN," as sample enclosed, postpaid ..... $ 1.00
- ☐ 1 year *Membership* in HUMANITY GUILD. I will receive an embossed Membership Card ..... $ 1.00 per year
- ☐ 1 year *SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP*. I will receive an EMBOSSED MEMBERSHIP CARD; a gold-filled LAPEL EMBLEM beautifully filigreed PEACE ON EARTH; 52 issues of "BETWEEN THE LINES"; a weekly news analysis that will expose propagandists and selfish interests, and will promote the cause of PEACE FOR ALL TIME and all OTHER MATERIALS PUBLISHED ..... $ 5.00 per year
- ☐ 1 year *CONTRIBUTING MEMBERSHIP*, including all the above ..... $ 10.00 per year
- ☐ *LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP*, including all the above $100.00

My name is _____

(Please print clearly)

Address: _____

City: _____ *Zone:* ____ *State:* _____

Total enclosed _____. Please make all contributions to HUMANITY GUILD, Inc., a nonprofit, nonsectarian organization with no political affiliations.

Would you like to be an active member in your community? Yes____ No____

A SEARCHING ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS OF THE WEEK

Between the Lines

The major sources of news media—newspapers, magazines, radio and television are swamping the American people with misinformation, distortions and brainwashing. If you are a thinking American, you are aware of this.

BETWEEN THE LINES, a four page newsletter published by HUMANITY GUILD, is dedicated to exposing the fraud, propaganda and deceitful information that, in large part has caused so many millions of Americans to feel that nuclear testing, fall out shelters, preparation for war and nuclear war itself, are somehow beneficial for us. Below are some samples of the things we write about in BETWEEN THE LINES. We write them so you may have these facts, and so that you can pass them along to some of your friends to counteract the war propaganda which deluges us. We ask you to subscribe to BETWEEN THE LINES to help HUMANITY GUILD, which is dedicated to Peace for all time, to carry on its work. Subscribe today!

PREPARATION FOR WAR AND ITS CORRUPTION:

Billions of dollars are wasted, stolen and profited in the larceny business of war materials. An investigation led by Senator Stuart Symington of the Government's stockpile buying is very revealing, though the investigation has not yet scratched the surface. Probably the whole Senate could be busy making such investigations. Anyway, Senator Symington's investigation disclosed that some suppliers to the government stockpile of war materials had been allowed to cancel Government contracts or defer deliveries if they found they could take advantage of higher prices in the general market. On the other hand, the Government is paying a company in Canada a 50 per cent premium **over** market prices for delivering nickel which the government **does not need.** Senator Symington has discovered that the Government has an excess supply of nearly all materials and continues to take materials it **does not need** because it made ten year contracts and cannot cancel them even though some have **several years yet to run!** Also, the Government purchased thirty two below-grade materials for $417,278,500. Do not suppose that these materials were bought below-grade due to the deceit of the supplier. Witness, Mr. Gutchess of the General Service Administration said, "Government purchasing agents had known these materials were in 'non-specification grades,' but that "it has been decided to make the purchase, anyway." How can this deceit and fraud take place? Reader, it is **your** fault and **our** fault because we do not take enough interest and do not participate sufficiently in the affairs of our country. But, let's do something **now.** Join with us. Let us work to abolish war and the preparation for war with its accompanying corruption.

AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE:

No one wants war, we all want peace, but, the Geneva disarmament talks irk neutralist nations because of the absence of any real negotiation on the test ban issue

FACTS ABOUT HUMANITY GUILD

As a result of the work we do, HUMANITY GUILD receives thousands of pieces of mail. Much of it praises us. Some of it abuses us. The latter type of mail only makes us resolve that much more, to carry on the work we are doing. There are a few who imply that we profit from our activities. Here are the facts: The founder of HUMANITY GUILD, Inc. has for over 23 years worked for PEACE, and now devotes over 14 hours daily to HUMANITY GUILD. He has contributed over $63,000.00 in the last 4 months and not a single dollar of that has been used for the personal use of himself or his family. The Certified Public Accountant's statement shown below attests to that. The $63,000.00 spent by HUMANITY GUILD is a cost borne entirely by the founder of HUMANITY GUILD as his means of helping to bring about the cherished goal of PEACE ON EARTH. We ask our Readers who are interested in combating the war mongers, to aid us with their contributions.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

The Humanity Guild, Inc.
Balance Sheet
February 28, 1962

ASSETS		
Cash in Bank	5204.17	
Unused postage deposit	4211.62	
N.Y. Telephone Co. deposit	50.00	9465.79
FIXED ASSETS		
Furniture and Fixtures (net of depreciation)		1112.83
Total Assets		10578.62
LIABILITIES		
Accrued and withheld payroll taxes	261.41	
Due Harry G. Kriegel	303.25	564.66
RESERVES		
Principal Fund-October 1, 1961	4542.63	
Income Fund - Exhibit B	5471.33	
Reserves Balance		10013.96
Total Liabilities and Reserves		10578.62

The Humanity Guild, Inc.
Income Fund
Four months ended February 28, 1962

Now listen to Walter Lippmann, the veteran, solidly conservative commentator whose opinions, it is said, have a strong influence on President Kennedy. This is what he said in an address to the Women's National Press Club in Washington, January 10:

> Always in the past, war and the threat of war, whether it was aggressive or defensive, were usable instruments. . . . War was the instrument with which social, political and legal systems of large areas were changed. Thus, in the old days before the nuclear age began, war was a usable—however horrible and expensive—instrument of national purpose: old wars could be won. . . .
>
> The poor dears among us who say they have had enough of all this talking and negotiating and now let us drop the bomb, have no idea what they are talking about. . . They belong to the past, and they have not been able to realize what the present is.
>
> In this present, only a moral idiot with a suicidal mania would press the button for a nuclear war. Yet we have learned that while a nuclear war would be lunacy, it is nevertheless an ever-present possibility. Because . . . the nerves of a nation can stand only so much provocation and humiliation, and beyond the tolerable limits, it will plunge into lunacy. . . . There is a line of intolerable provocation beyond which reactions become uncontrollable. It is the business of the government to find out where that line is and stay well back of it.
>
> Those who do not understand the nature of war in the nuclear age, those who think that war is what it was against Mexico or Spain or in the two world wars, regard the careful attempts of statesmen not to carry the provocation past the tolerable limit as weaknesses and softness and appeasement. It is not any of these things. It is not softness. It is sanity.

At his press conference on February 14, President Kennedy was asked to comment on the charge of his right-wing critics that U.S. foreign policy is now based on a "no-win" policy in the cold war. President Kennedy, after declaring that every American wants the U.S. to be se-

way." How can this deceit and fraud take place? Reader, it is **your** fault and **our** fault because we do not take enough interest and do not participate sufficiently in the affairs of our country. But, let's do something **now**. Join with us. Let us work to abolish war and the preparation for war with its accompanying corruption.

AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE:

No one wants war, we all want peace, but, the Geneva disarmament talks irk neutralist nations because of the absence of any real negotiation on the test ban issue. India, Burma, Ethiopia and Sweden expressed forebodings about **the planned U.S. resumption on atomic testing.** These countries feel that there will be no real results in the Geneva discussions and the **new atomic tests will take place.** Dr. Gebre-Egzy of Ethiopia expressed disappointment that none of the suggestions offered for a compromise had even been explored by the three nuclear powers. The same point was made by India's Foreign Secretary, M. J. Desai, who complained of the "take-it-or-leave-it attitude" shown by the major powers. Surely, Citizen John Smith, U.S.A. wants no atomic war. And surely, Comrade Ivan Pavolich of the U.S.S.R. wants no war. Maybe the trouble is that Citizen John and Comrade Ivan ought to exert more pressure on their respective governments that in this Atomic Age we must **learn to live together.**

BERLIN AND GENERAL CLAY:

General Lucius D. Clay returned from Berlin and his report was that his special assignment to raise the morale of the West Berliners and people of West Germany has been accomplished. Yet, there is evidence that the opposite is the case. The General disclosed that early in April he had been on the verge of leaving his assignment as personal representative to President Kennedy in Berlin. Clay's role in Berlin has been an anxious one not only because of problems with the Soviet but because he has objected to Washington's policies and also to the conflicting chains of command in Berlin. At this time, in accepting termination of his assignment, Administration quarters are said to believe that the General's stay in Berlin is not only unnecessary but possibly undesirable. We cannot relax our feeling of tension over Berlin even momentarily, until all American, British, French and Russian troops are out of Berlin. Why die for Berlin?

LIABILITIES			
Accrued and withheld payroll taxes		261.41	
Due Harry G. Kriegel		303.25	564.66
RESERVES			
Principal Fund-October 1, 1961		4542.63	
Income Fund - Exhibit B		5471.33	
Reserves Balance			10013.96
Total Liabilities and Reserves			10578.62

The Humanity Guild, Inc.
Income Fund
Four months ended February 28, 1962

INCOME			
Contributions and Gifts received			
From: Harry G. Kriegel		63000.00	
outside cash donations		812.55	
Total Income			63812.55
Operating Expenses			
Circular material, printing and mailing services		47011.65	
Postage for mailings		7088.38	
Payroll		2059.88	
Payroll taxes		67.54	
Postage permits		50.00	
Typing service		30.00	
Free lance researcher		434.50	
Research material		155.81	
		56897.76	
OTHER EXPENSES			
Rent	600.00		
Telephone	102.58		
Stationery & office supplies	304.85		
Accounting, Legal & corporate expenses	315.00		
Licenses	5.00		
Insurance	60.00		
Advertising	16.83		
Dep.-Furn. & Fixt.	39.20	1443.46	
Total Expenses			58341.22
Excess of Income over expenditures			5471.33

GLANTZ AND SANK
Certified Public Accountants
305 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Note: As of April 30, 1962, at the time this report goes to press, the founder has added $30,000.00 additional to the $63,000.00 shown above making his contribution $93,000.00 to date.

is sanity.

At his press conference on February 14, President Kennedy was asked to comment on the charge of his right-wing critics that U.S. foreign policy is now based on a "no-win" policy in the cold war. President Kennedy, after declaring that every American wants the U.S. to be secure and "the cause of freedom around the world" to prevail, continued:

"We want to do that of course without having a nuclear war. Now, if someone thinks we should have a nuclear war in order to win, I can inform them that there will not be winners in the next nuclear war if there is one, and that this country and other countries will suffer very heavy blows. So that we have to proceed with responsibility and care in an age where the human race can obliterate itself."

In the recognition by both sides that nuclear war is unthinkable and can and must be avoided lies the basis for peaceful coexistence.

This does not mean that peaceful coexistence in Kennedy's book and in Khrushchev's mean the same thing. It does not mean that we can count on sanity to prevail, or that we can be sure our government will not go beyond the line of intolerable provocations. It is perilously close to that line in Vietnam today. We cannot leave it to the government "to find out where that line is and stay well back of it." The American people must have their say about this too.

This will be difficult indeed to achieve in view of the apparent belief of the power elite of the United States and West Germany that together they can, and must, rule the world. What other explanation is there of our government's Formosan Laotian, Vietnamese, Berlin, Chinese and Cuban policies? All these issues belong in the United Nations because all of them concern all mankind.

It is time for the people of the United States to take a good, hard, honest look at the postwar policies of the U.S. power elite.

HUMANITY GUILD, Inc.

853 Broadway New York 3, N. Y.

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- ☐ 1 year *SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP*. I will receive an EMBOSSED MEMBERSHIP CARD; a gold-filled LAPEL EMBLEM beautifully filigreed PEACE ON EARTH; 52 issues of "BETWEEN THE LINES"; a weekly news analysis that will expose propagandists and selfish interests, and will promote the cause of PEACE FOR ALL TIME; and all OTHER MATERIALS PUBLISHED ..... $ 5.00 per year
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- ☐ *LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP*, including all the above $100.00

My name is _____
(Please print clearly)

Address: _____

City: _____ *Zone:* ____ *State:* _____

Total enclosed _____. Please make all contributions to HUMANITY GUILD, Inc., a nonprofit, nonsectarian organization with no political affiliations.

Would you like to be an active member in your community? Yes____ No____

The reaction of the stock market to "peace scares" indicates the U. S. Government's predicament in seeking disarmament.

By Edward Drew Gourley

President Kennedy has said that "Our fundamental task is to understand the forces which move the future." It seems to me that an even more basic and urgent task is to understand the forces which threaten to destroy man's hope of having any future at all. Ignorance of these forces merely adds to collective frustration and makes for a nation of apathetic and indifferent bystanders.

We view with alarm the continuing crisis, the destructiveness of modern weaponry, the increased arms appropriations, the enlargement of the military establishment, the failure of government spokesmen to achieve disarmament, the resumption of bomb testing, the stepped-up promotion for bomb shelters, and the growing number of hate organizations, bent on locking the lips of political and religious liberals, as well as stifling every intelligent approach to the problem of peace and reconciliation.

Never before in peace time history has the military assumed such influence and power. Prof. C. Wright Mills declares that "The warlords . . . have now more means of exercising power in many areas of American life which were previously civilian domains; they now have more connections; and they are now operating in a nation whose elite and whose underlying population have accepted what can only be called a military definition of reality." In a nation which spends the greater part of its $90-billion budget on security, it might be well for all of us to heed President Eisenhower's farewell warning that "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex."

IMPACT OF PEACE NEWS

What is behind this dangerous drift? In the search for an answer to this question let us review some of the highly informative reports which appeared in the financial media about the time of the Korean episode. Here are a few typical examples: "If peace should come," said an investment banker, "it is difficult to imagine what would take the place of the defense program in holding up our economy." A newspaper columnist told his readers that "Stocks suffered from a miniature peace scare last week." The *Journal of Commerce* reported that "If the international situation had not taken a turn for the worse, we would be inclined to take a serious view of the business outlook." *Moody's Investment Service* told its clients that "Only increasing arms out-

we find a continuation of the old refrain in the *N. Y. Times:* "The stock market reacted to Pres. Kennedy's disarmament plea yesterday with the sharpest decline since Premier Khrushchev made a similar plea a little more than a year ago." So it is quite evident that whether we are involved in wars—cold or hot, the result is always the same: Peace news is bad news!

Why does our economy recoil from the prospect of peace? In an article in *The Nation* of March 28, 1959, Paul A. Baran, Professor of Economics at Stanford University, stated that "the threat of chronic large scale unemployment faces us in spite of the fact that nearly $50 billion are spent annually for military purposes. . . . What would happen to the economy if the military pillar were to disappear is not easy to visualize. Federal taxes, undoubtedly, could be reduced, but not even the most optimistic economic analyst would expect the resulting increase in private spending to exceed or even equal the decline in government purchase . . . The producers of military 'hardware' represent now . . . a powerful articulate bloc of vested interests whose survival is predicated upon the continuation of the armaments program. The 'Contervailing power' of those who speak for reason, sanity, education, health, (etc.) is alas! no match for the modern 'merchants of death' and their witting and unwitting allies. . . . America's program for peace and prosperity depends crucially on the elimination from power of those whose vital interests are inexorably bound up with preparation for war. The nationalization of the armaments industry and the development of an imaginative, long-term plan of economic reconstruction are the basic prerequisites for the growth of a free, democratic society."

WHO WANTS ARMS?

An important book which sheds considerable light on the economics of disarmament is *World Without War,* by John Desmond Bernal, considered by many as the leading scientific mind in Great Britain. Here is a particularly pertinent paragraph which confirms much of the thesis already presented: "Another factor," says Dr. Bernal, "is the effect of the changeover from military production in both capitalist and socialist countries, which would be the natural consequence of any serious disarmament programme. It is perhaps the fear of this in capitalist circles that has, as much as anything else, held up

It is quite evident that Western protocol has not been formulated on humanitarian principles, but rather upon the basis of economic expedience. Therefore, the plenipotentiaries of nations thriving on arms production, cannot be expected to enter disarmament parlays with peace in their hearts. They are duty-bound to the socio-political system they represent and, often believing it sacrosanct, are seldom annoyed with qualms of conscience when rising to its defense.

Right or wrong, America is our country. When it is in the right we should feel a sense of pride, but when it is in the wrong we should not rest until the wrong is righted. This is the mark of true allegiance! This is an enlightened loyalty which transcends the narrow boundaries of conformity, because its noble fidelity is bound up with America's future rather than its status quo. It is more vitally concerned with the welfare of the many than the privilege of the few. It infuses in us that great sense of oneness with all humanity, and strengthens us to build our own happiness on the promotion of happiness for others.

We shall continue to live in a "community of fear" as long as our economy rests on an immoral foundation. America's contribution to the edifice of peace depends on two essential elements—First: an economy geared to human needs, for the inability to prosper on peace is the confession of moral bankruptcy. Second: a foreign policy which *welcomes* disarmament, puts an end to the Cold War, and gives forth enough good will to hold mankind in common fellowship. We must be true to ourselves and if the first essential is implemented, the second will "follow as night the day" and then no one can say we are "false to any man."

For the happy rapprochement between the East and the West we should reject Kipling's dismal prediction that the "twain" shall never meet, and take to our hearts Richard Hovey's affirmative assurance that "The East and the West in the springtime of the world shall blend." This world is still in the springtime of its history and as its present guardians, you and I must help to remove the obstacles which are preventing the human family from moving forward into a securer and happier future.

HUMANITY GUILD, Inc.

Incorporated March 27, 1939

HARRY G. KRIEGEL, Founder

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Professor FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

On Nuclear Testing

Because of press distortions of the Soviet position at the Geneva test ban conference, a brief review is in order. The test ban negotiations had been going on for three years without results. While many separate items of a treaty had been agreed upon, there was wide disparity on the extent of control and inspection necessary, the USSR holding that in view of the proved possibility of detecting most tests, the Western demand for a large number of on-the-spot inspections amounted in fact to a desire to gain intelligence information.

With negotiations at stalemate, the USSR took the position during 1961 that the best solution would be to merge the discussion of banning tests with disarmament talks, declaring repeatedly that once an agreement was made on complete and universal disarmament, the USSR would accept any proposals for control and inspection offered by the West, and that these should accompany every step of a disarmament program, which would necessarily also include the question of nuclear weapons and their tests.

The West denounced the Soviet proposal as an attempt "to drown the effort to get a test ban treaty." U.S. negotiator Arthur H. Dean told the UN last fall that test ban negotiations could soon be completed "if the Soviet Union will abandon its insistance on merging such negotiations in general and complete disarmament."

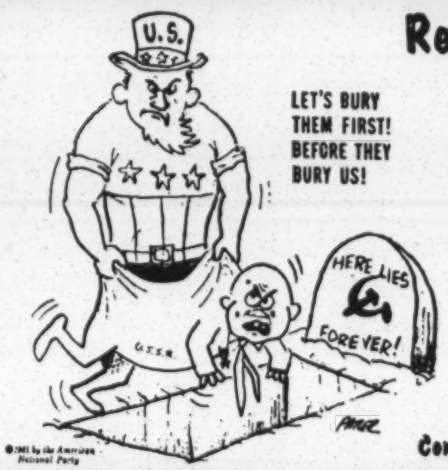
During the summer of 1961 the international situation gravely deteriorated. The moratorium was in fact broken by French atomic tests in the Sahara, supported by Britain and the United States. West Germany was encouraged in its demand for nuclear weapons. Cries for war over Berlin were heard in Washington, and President Kennedy's July

typical examples: "If peace should come," said an investment banker, "it is difficult to imagine what would take the place of the defense program in holding up our economy." A newspaper columnist told his readers that "Stocks suffered from a miniature peace scare last week." The *Journal of Commerce* reported that "If the international situation had not taken a turn for the worse, we would be inclined to take a serious view of the business outlook." *Moody's Investment Service* told its clients that "Only increasing arms outlay seems likely to prevent a marked business setback." And the *U. S. News* reported that "Present prosperity is underwritten by billions being spent for armaments: it makes one shudder to think what the sudden outbreak of peace might mean to the American economy." All of which led economist Stewart Chase to question: "Must prosperity depend upon disaster?" More recently (Sept. 26, 1961) *World Without War*, by John Desmond Bernal, considered by many as the leading scientific mind in Great Britain. Here is a particularly pertinent paragraph which confirms much of the thesis already presented: "Another factor," says Dr. Bernal, "is the effect of the changeover from military production in both capitalist and socialist countries, which would be the natural consequence of any serious disarmament programme. It is perhaps the fear of this in capitalist circles that has, as much as anything else, held up disarmament negotiations for so long, because here the apparent interests of the capitalist and socialist countries are most violently opposed. It is quite clearly in the interests of socialist countries engaged in rapid construction, and having no fear of over-production or slumps, to wish to reduce their military expenditures; but, as already indicated, the military expenditures of capitalist countries is a kind of insurance for full employment and profits even in peace-time, and its abandonment is looked at with fear greater than war.

Mr. Gourley is an artist, lecturer and free-lance writer.

WE WANT WAR!

Red Russia Must Perish!



LET'S BURY THEM FIRST! BEFORE THEY BURY US!

To remain free, America must attack and destroy the nerve-center of the Communist conspiracy while we still have the strength to win.

WE DEMAND AN END TO ALL TALKS AND COEXSISTENCE.

WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Communism Must Perish! Better Dead, Than Red!

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL PARTY
POST OFFICE BOX 191 GRACIE STATION NEW YORK 28, N. Y.

WAR PROPAGANDA LIKE THIS IS THE MARK OF THE LUNATIC FRINGE

Do the brainwashed SUPER PATRIOTS think for one moment that the U.S., one third the size of Russia, could destroy such a vast area, plus China with over 600 million people, who have reason to hate the U.S.? What lunatic can think of ATOMIC WAR? Can these brilliant minds think that Russia and China would not retaliate just as quickly and destroy tens of millions of Americans, their homes, factories, etc.? Are these HEROES willing to sacrifice tens of millions of American people because some sections of the U.S. press, who call themselves public opinion, have inculcated HATRED into their feeble minds? Can these SUPER PATRIOTS guarantee us that Russia would not use their 10,000 pound earth satellites speeding overhead at 18,000 miles an hour capable of dropping atom bombs on all our towns and cities to cause annihilation for 90% of our population?

PLEASE LOOK ON OTHER SIDE FOR MORE INTERESTING FACTS

HUMANITY GUILD, Inc.
Incorporated March 27, 1939
HARRY G. KRIEGEL, Founder

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Publisher, E. Des Moines, Iowa

During the summer of 1961 the international situation gravely deteriorated. The moratorium was in fact broken by French atomic tests in the Sahara, supported by Britain and the United States. West Germany was encouraged in its demand for nuclear weapons. Cries for war over Berlin were heard in Washington, and President Kennedy's July 25th speech, announcing the call-up of reserves and a second big increase in military spending, and initiating the shelter hysteria, sounded like a call to arms. Demands for renewing tests were increasingly heard from the Pentagon, AEC and others in Washington. We are indebted to Albert Bofman of Chicago for the information that from April 17 to the end of August no fewer than 45 U.S. Senators and Congressmen on 64 occasions called for resumption of tests while only four of our legislators urged caution.

President Eisenhower, before he left office, had declared that the United States was no longer bound by the moratorium. President Kennedy last summer issued a last chance warning to the Russians that the U.S. would resume tests if agreement was not reached in Geneva.

During all this time, tunnels were being prepared in Nevada for underground tests, the only ones the United States was interested in at that time. Let us not forget this fact when we hear the pious castigations of the Russians for double-dealing in preparing for tests during the Geneva negotiations.

The Soviet delegation came to the Geneva Conference with a new offer. They proposed an agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere, under water and in space, relying on existing means of detection of each country, with a moratorium on underground tests until a system of control could be worked out in connection with a disarmament agreement.

TOWARD WAR OR PEACE?

Millions of Americans agree.

"No more tests, East or West" is the cry that goes up from the grass roots across the country.

WHO LOVE'S NGO DIEM?

When President Ngo Diem of South Vietnam decided to have a little outing and invited the diplomatic corps and the foreign press to come along on a picnic in the countryside, he had to take along a regiment of soldiers to safeguard everybody from any uninvited guests. The regiment probably didn't enjoy this extra tour of duty. They were undoubtedly still tired from their vain foray into the jungle to rescue some troops who had been on a training expedition. It was at this training expedition that two American sergeants were killed and two more captured, and the whole squad of "trainees" vanished.

* * *

Subscribe to **BETWEEN THE LINES**, the weekly that will give you important facts in condensed form. Not to be found in any other news media—see coupon on other side and mail today!

HUMANITY GUILD, INC. PEACE ON EARTH

PEACE or PIECES

Russia and the United States persist the Ultimate of the H-Bomb War: The world comes to an end. This is a distinct possibility. To survive the U.S.S.R. *must have peace*—Humanity must have total disarmament and all people must act in honest cooperation eagerly and sincerely in that direction. *The people of the United States* must also have PEACE to remove the burdens of armaments, to utilize these economic resources for our people, and remove apprehensions of disaster which are creating for us a nation of sheep and psychopaths. But the economic and political manipulators who rule our country *must have war* to keep their exploitive economy alive. They move as eagerly toward the H-bomb WAR,—a WAR promoted by Special interests and WAR MONGERS—as Khrushchev moves towards total disarmament.

No leadership exists anywhere at levels of decision in the United States to turn the world from DISASTER to PEACE. The tide is toward WAR. If WAR COMES, the blame must fall on the heads of the Superpatriots, Nazi Fascists, de Gaulle, Franco, Salazar, Adenauer, Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Dulles, Stevenson, the Rockefellers, Du Ponts, Mellons, Morgans, Lemnitzer, Taylor et al.—if any are left to be accused.

Disarmament and Peace: Once more dire peril to the United States is bringing our people face to face with domestic causes. We may expect our wavering "allies" to back down. They have all had many a taste of defeat. They stand under the guns of the U.S.S.R. There are already many within their gates who believe "Better Dead Than Red." They will—they *must*—back down, leaving the United States isolated.

If our "Batistas" in the State Department and Pentagon still vote for an H-bomb WAR, we will disintegrate into dust.

These are several direction the "Atomic Nemesis" may take: **Russia Will Back Down:** So the wiseacre's say in the controlled mass media, to permit world tensions to continue as before and to preserve a monopolistic economy founded on war and preparations for war, and to extend the world fear of disaster. This expectation is stupid and may well be disastrous.

Russia has endured an undeclared war (cold and hot) of the United States and its allies for over 40 years—has endured Stalingrad—has fought to establish a new society even now surrounded by 33 bases foisted on other countries by dollars and pressure. Russia in the face of this bitter hostility of the West—is able to out-gun us in every military department—and has at last found its "place in the sun." (It is a pipe dream to believe that she would ever surrender the powers of H-bomb blackmail, the international weapon created at Hiroshima by the U.S.) It is under no compulsion to do so. All the odds are in its favor. In this poker game Russia plays with Aces—the west with Jacks and Deuces.

Monopoly Capitalism will collapse into wreckage, burying

FACTS ABOUT HUMANITY GUILD

As a result of the work we do, HUMANITY GUILD receives thousands of pieces of mail. Much of it praises us. Some of it abuses us. The latter type of mail only makes us resolve that much more, to carry on the work we are doing. There are a few who imply that we profit from our activities. Here are the facts: The founder of HUMANITY GUILD, Inc. has for over 23 years worked for PEACE, and now devotes over 14 hours daily to HUMANITY GUILD. He has contributed over $120,000 in the last 9 months and not a single dollar of that has been used for the personal use of himself or his family. The Certified Public Accountant's statement shown below attests to that.

JACK GREENSTEIN
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT
129 BETTY ROAD
EAST MEADOW, NEW YORK
IVANHOE 3-4087

October 1, 1962

Humanity Guild, Inc.
853 Broadway
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

We have examined the Balance Sheet and related Statement of Receipts and Disbursements as of August 31, 1962 of Humanity Guild, Inc. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted accounting and auditing principles applicable in the circumstances and included all the procedures and tests we considered necessary.

Subject to the accompanying comments, the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statement of Receipts and Disbursements present fairly the financial position of Humanity Guild, Inc. as of August 31, 1962.

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HUMANITY GUILD, INC.
BALANCE SHEET
AUGUST 31, 1962

ASSETS		
Cash In Bank		$1879.24
Prepaid Expenses		243.98
Security Deposits		75.00
Furniture and Fixtures	$1543.54	
Less: Allowance for Depreciation	159.05	1384.49
TOTAL ASSETS		$3582.71
LIABILITIES		
Accrued Payroll Taxes	$ 253.44	

START HUMANITY GUILD CLUBS

The importance of HUMANITY GUILD CLUBS cannot be overemphasized for PEACE on EARTH and GOODWILL to MEN is the most important issue of our time. Clubs can be started with five members. When they grow to 30 members, new clubs should be organized among the membership to keep the groups compact and operational. Full information and instructions are available from the national office of Humanity Guild, Inc., 853 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

Humanity Guild, Inc. was organized in 1938. It obtained its New York State Charter on March 27, 1939, has published "HUMANITY" magazine from 1938 to 1940, a publication devoted to the rescue of thousands of unfortunate refugees in the Nazi-Fascist era. We also published and distributed millions of 24 page pamphlets some of the titles being "Refugia," "Am I My Brother's Keeper," "The Truth Will Prevail," and "Eternal Heritage." We were also the publishers of "HAPPINESS MAGAZINE" and "YOUR HAPPINESS MAGAZINE" and "IT CAN HAPPEN" plus other educational material.

We are now on press publishing the most sensational remarkable expose of our time, "THE GREAT CONSPIRACY," that will hold you spellbound from beginning to end. "THE GREAT CONSPIRACY" originally had been sold at $3.50 per copy. So important is this book that we are printing "THE GREAT CONSPIRACY" in pocket book format at a $1.00 price. Members of Humanity Guild will receive "THE GREAT CONSPIRACY" *FREE*. Humanity Guild intends to publish the most important books and brochures for its members and the general public as a comprehensive guide to evaluate the news issues of day to day facts that are distorted or hidden by the controlled mass media, radio, T.V. and the rabid commentators.

It will be obvious that by these procedures Humanity Guild will be a powerful factor to help all Americans to evaluate all the facts from fiction and distortion. We must know that the powerful controlled news media in the U.S.A. prepares the general public to assume and insinuate that anyone who believes in PEACE is a hindrance on the American scene, WHICH IS FALSE. Thus the great majority of the so called free world people are brainwashed so thoroughly that only a HOLOCAUST can awaken them from their stupor and then it will be too late.

True to its devotion to PEACE and GOODWILL, HUMANITY GUILD has decided to cease publication of "BETWEEN THE LINES" because two publishers claim a prior right to the name. Although we originally produced our "BETWEEN THE LINES" as of May 1, 1947, Humanity Guild decided to stop publishing "BETWEEN THE LINES" for the present. Therefore, to all our members and prospective members, and friends of HUMANITY

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Monopoly Capitalism will collapse into wreckage, burying the Wall Street Dictatorship. NATO, the revived "unHoly Empire" instrument for the "Holy War" being waged by our manipulative system, will come to its historical end.

The United Nations is our only hope if the U.S. will allow it to be FREE. Adenauer, de Gaulle, Franco, Salazar and other "Batistas" in Europe will perish or become fugitives from justice.

The people of Latin America will overthrow its "Batista" dictatorships and will eventually drive out the money changers and will free itself from political and economic bondage.

West Europe will have no place to go but Communist. All Asia, North Africa, Central Africa, South Africa will be lost to the West.

FIND 'EM, FIGHT 'EM, FINISH 'EM. In our role in South Vietnam, one of our contributions in the effort to "civilize" the Vietcong, who are opposed to the corrupt Diem Government, is our rousing battle slogan, "FIND 'EM, FIGHT 'EM, FINISH 'EM!" Thus we instruct the pro-Diem.

Another of our civilizing roles is this: When with the help of many of our pilots and troops in American helicopters, some Vietcong troops are tortured and slain, reporters and photographers are ferried to the scene so that pictures may be taken of the dead bodies and stories written of the "VICTORY." This is intended to encourage the Diem forces, and to strike terror into the Vietcong rebels. The New York Times reports on April 26, 1962, "there were twenty-six bodies lying in two rows in the hot sun." The Vietnam countryside is being fertilized by the bodies of American boys who died, some of our own wounded were wondering what they were doing in that strange land fighting native people who wanted to determine their own form of Government. Dead bodies serve not only as fertilizers but also as a source of disease and pestilence, which are no respectors of any human body on which to breed. Dead bodies also serve to outrage and rally partisans on both sides to greater hatred and battle—a perilous situation indeed in this nuclear age.

The U.S. press reports gloatingly with big headlines, how T.V. and radio commentators dramatize our glorious work. How we murdered thousands of Vietnamese who seek freedom from our Diem stooges and his murderers. We have helicopters and planes dropping napalm bombs with no mercy in their hearts for innocent Vietnamese. We tear their guts apart just because they want a better future, but our generals and monopolists only have one viewpoint: "Find 'em, fight 'em, finish 'em."

Do you want disaster to be universal? There will be no place to flee to, no place to return. "ATOMIC NEMESIS," born of corruption and violences within our gates will spread destruction, disaster and death everywhere. We need not die! We need not choose between foreign concepts of "Communism" and death. We are free to choose our own concepts of "Americanism," extended into the economic field. For long years we have been casting our own pearls before swine in high positions.

There is "blood on the moon." Millions are doomed through the treachery and stupidity of those who are sworn to protect us. UNLESS—unless, we are awake to truth. We must reject corruption and work intelligently to save ourselves and our families in these last hours which remain for survival. Truth and an "Act of God!" can save America.

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Prepaid Expenses		243.98
Security Deposits		75.00
Furniture and Fixtures	$1543.54	
Less: Allowance for Depreciation	159.05	1384.49
TOTAL ASSETS		$3582.71
LIABILITIES		
Accrued Payroll Taxes	$ 253.44	
Accrued Expenses Payable	1740.16	$1993.60
RESERVES		
Balance October 1, 1961	$4327.63	
Excess of Disbursements over Receipts	(2738.52)	1589.11
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND RESERVES		$3582.71

HUMANITY GUILD, INC.
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
OCTOBER 1, 1961 TO AUGUST 31, 1962

RECEIPTS		
Contributions from H.G. Kriegel	$116247.22	
Outside Contributions	3567.59	
Discounts Received	826.76	$120641.57
DISBURSEMENTS		
Circulars, Paper, Printing	$ 96743.83	
Postage	18669.07	
Payroll	4062.15	
Research and Free Lance Materials	590.87	
Office Expenses	390.66	
Rent	1500.00	
Telephone	222.05	
Professional Fees	530.00	
Insurance	81.93	
Subscriptions	127.57	
Electricity	30.82	
License Fees	15.00	
Repairs and Maintenance	120.00	
Payroll Taxes	137.09	
Depreciation - Furniture and Fixtures	159.05	123380.09
EXCESS OF DISBURSEMENTS OVER RECEIPTS		$ 2738.52

of day to day facts that are distorted or hidden by the controlled mass media, radio, T.V. and the rabid commentators.

It will be obvious that by these procedures Humanity Guild will be a powerful factor to help all Americans to evaluate all the facts from fiction and distortion. We must know that the powerful controlled news media in the U.S.A. prepares the general public to assume and insinuate that anyone who believes in PEACE is a hindrance on the American scene, WHICH IS FALSE. Thus the great majority of the so called free world people are brainwashed so thoroughly that only a HOLOCAUST can awaken them from their stupor and then it will be too late.

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As a SUSTAINING MEMBER you will receive 52 issues of a weekly newspaper, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Founded in 1948, the GUARDIAN has lived on as the voice of a progressive America. Devoted to peace, equal rights and journalistic integrity, the GUARDIAN prints the facts about test ban and disarmament negotiations; the truth about Berlin, Vietnam, Cuba and many important world events in explicit detail. It documents every political sell-out, the business corruption and judicial frame-up. It is a paper you cannot afford to be without if you are concerned with HUMANITY'S SURVIVAL and its progress. We urge you to put a check mark in the box on the coupons below. Return the coupon to us at once so you will start receiving your NATIONAL GUARDIAN or instead if you prefer, we will obtain a year subscription for the remarkable monthly magazine, the NEW WORLD REVIEW. Either of the above we will gladly subscribe for you *FREE* for one year by joining HUMANITY GUILD as a Sustaining Member. You will also receive an EMBOSSED MEMBERSHIP CARD; a gold filled LAPEL EMBLEM beautifully filigreed PEACE ON EARTH and a THANK YOU RECEIPT.

HUMANITY GUILD, Inc.

853 Broadway New York 3, N. Y.

FRIEND OF PEACE, As a conscientious American interested in PEACE, I want to do something about it. Please send me:

- ☐ 10 booklets, "IT CAN HAPPEN," as sample enclosed, postpaid ..... $ 1.00
- ☐ 1 year Membership in HUMANITY GUILD. I will receive an embossed Membership Card ..... $ 1.00 per year
- ☐ 1 year SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP. I would like to join HUMANITY GUILD and receive 52 newsweekly issues of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for one year. The regular price is $7.00, however, I understand that my check for $5.00 (enclosed) entitles me to all the above as a sustaining HUMANITY GUILD member and other important facts published constantly ..... $ 5.00
- ☐ 1 year SUSTAINING MEMBERSHIP. I would like to receive the remarkable factual monthly magazine, the NEW WORLD REVIEW, for one year. I understand that my check for $5.00 (enclosed) entitles me to all the above as a sustaining HUMANITY GUILD member and other important facts published constantly ..... $ 5.00 per year
- ☐ 1 year CONTRIBUTING MEMBERSHIP; including all the above ..... $ 10.00 per year
- ☐ LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP; including all the above $100.00

My name is _____
(Please print clearly)

Address: _____

City: _____ *Zone:* _____ *State* _____

Total enclosed _____. Please make all contributions to HUMANITY GUILD, Inc., a nonprofit, nonsectarian organization with no political affiliations.

Would you like to be an active member in your community? Start a chapter? Yes___ No___

THE NEW CUBAN "CRISIS"

The U.S. claims to be the strongest power in the world. We shoot at Venus and have push buttons that can destroy everything in the Soviet Union. Yet, we are in a state of hysteria because a tiny island neighbor we have long been threatening has received defensive weapons that can only reach targets about 25 miles away. Our Secretary of State dashes everywhere to put high pressure on our allies not to let ships take supplies to Cuba, although such actions would be an absolute violation of international law. We are always claiming to be a champion of the oppressed people. Are we?

During the past few weeks there have been reports of increased shipments of supplies, both military and non-military to Cuba from the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. In this country this development has been met by increasingly extravagant statements of concern, including recommendations that the United States intervene militarily to prevent what is called a "build up of Communist military power" in the Western Hemisphere, and climaxing in a Congressional action widely described as a "ready-to-fight" resolution. The Monroe Doctrine has been cited repeatedly, by our superpatriotic United States Senators.

In this it corresponds to American observation posts in Turkey, Iran and Formosa, to mention only three. We have 33 such bases and posts much closer to the Soviet Union than Cuba is to the United States, yet it is inconceivable that our Government would accept this fact as a justification for Soviet armed intervention into any of these countries. Also, of course, we maintain a military base at Guantanamo on the island of Cuba itself in complete disregard of the wishes of the Cuban Government. Is it moral that a great, rich and powerful country like the U.S. to strangle and blockade a small weak country like Cuba and create starvation for innocent people who want to solve their own way of life for a better future?

For those who have been watching developments in Cuba, the increase in help from the Soviet Union should come as no surprise. The dilemma of the Soviet Union with respect to Cuba has been freely discussed for months. The economic difficulties and our starvation tactics created by the United States blockade of Cuba, and in their desperate need for survival is due to increasing restrictions against the Cuban people who are the real sufferers because it means that the so-called "Communist showcase" in the Western Hemisphere was proving very damaging to United States prestige. It has been openly predicted that Khrushchev must make a decision either to abandon Castro or to increase aid to him very substantially. Obviously the Soviet Government chose the second of these alternatives.

On the basis both of Soviet statements and those of our own President, the largest part of the shipments to Cuba have been non-military, and most of the military equipment has been of a defensive nature and why should they not defend themselves considering the threats our mass hysterical media is creating?

Cuba is a very small country with a population of six and one half million totally vulnerable to American power, with a supply line extending

sphere has indicated our own essential abandonment of the Doctrine as a whole.

Its continuation through economic blockades, embargoes, pressured and extended to other countries, or through our military intervention may possibly succeed in crushing the Castro Government at a terrible loss of life for their people and ours and possibly an atomic holocaust, but in the process it will leave a residue of bitterness and resentment that will be a breeding ground for far greater troubles, if it does not result in ATOMIC WAR itself.

A different and Friendly View of Cuba From A Newly Returned U.S. Historian by Samuel Shapiro, Dept. of History, Michigan State, back from Cuba recently, he stated in a letter to the New York Times, September 17, 1962, the following:

"While I saw much evidence of suppression, mismanagement and food shortages, I am still impressed by the positive achievements of the revolutionary regime. The Cuban economy has managed to survive the total loss of $600 million a year in United States imports fairly well: gasoline, for example has never been rationed and still sells at the old price of 32 to 34 cents a gallon.

"Despite the loss of American technicians, raw materials and replacements parts, the refineries, the electric power plants and the telephone system are functioning normally. Cuba has all but wiped out illiteracy and is engaged in a massive program of technical education; the construction of new homes, hospitals, schools and vacation hotels continues on a scale hardly matched elsewhere in Latin America. I am convinced that Castro is still supported by a majority of the Cuban people. These are some of the good features of the revolution that might be better reported if Castro relaxed the ban on American newspaper men. Cuban control of the press, however, it is understandable that many American papers have printed grossly inaccurate accounts of what has taken place on the island....

"Cuban censorship is in part a measure of self defense against American economic, diplomatic and military measures. The United States regularly continues to violate Cuban territorial waters and air space, to encourage acts of sabotage, to permit hit-and-run raids by Cuban exiles based in Miami, and to insist that it will "never" recognize Castro and we are still doing it.

"Our own ban on travel to Cuba, and the recent conviction of U.S. correspondent, William Worthy, for traveling to Cuba without permission, indicated that our devotion to freedom of the press is somewhat less than perfect. While recognizing the unpleasant totalitarian aspects of the present regime, it would be unrealistic not to admit that some of them are necessary.

"Castro and his advisers remember what happened to the Arbenze regime in Guatemala in 1954; they will certainly not relax their grip as long as the Kennedy Administration continues to cling to its policy of implacable hostility."

CUBA left alone, REALLY LEFT ALONE, to work out its destiny may accomplish their dream for a better future and it may show the rest of the hemisphere how it can create security and happiness for its people in spite of the pressures of the

From a Letter to Women Strike for Peace

VIETNAMESE MOTHERS' APPEAL

Dear Friends:

Vietnam is thousands of miles away from the United States, and certainly there has been no enmity between our two peoples. Whether we, as wives and mothers, live in Vietnam or the United States, we cherish peace, and love our sons and husbands. These are feelings which women all over the world share whatever their nationality. This identity of emotion gives us hope that you will sympathize with the situation of our people in South Vietnam. We hope that you will be moved to join us in demanding that the hostilities launched by the United States Government in the southern half of our country be brought to an end.

The Geneva agreements, concluded on July 20, 1954, undertook to restore peace to Indo-China on the basis of respect for Vietnam's independence, unity and territorial integrity. They stipulated that nation-wide free elections be held on July 20, 1956, reunifying our torn country. Were it not for the intervention of the United States Government, the national elections would have been held; and the country would have been reunited.

Supporting the tyrannical regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, United States agencies have prevented this normalization of Vietnam. The "undeclared war" in the south of our homeland has resulted in rivers of blood and tears. The terroristic raids conducted against the civilian population by American and Ngo Dinh Diem forces spread terror, sorrow and devastation. U.S. planes have been dropping noxious chemicals to destroy crops and vegetation, burning thousands of homes and plundering hundreds of tons of the people's rice paddy. People are rendered homeless, herded into concentration camps euphemized as "strategic hamlets."

Let us take just one day in South Vietnam. On May 27, 1962, fifty U.S. planes dropped 100 tons of bombs on the provinces of Quang-ngai, Quang-nam and Kontum. The bombardments lasted for six hours. Think of all the people, including women and children, who were killed! Think of all the families deprived of their homes! Think of all the children who are orphaned and the wives who are widowed!

We have deep sympathy for those American women who have lost their sons and husbands in wars. There is no legitimate reason why the fighting in our country should continue to cost the lives of American sons and husbands. Let us as Vietnamese and American mothers do our best to stop our sons from killing each other.

We are moved by the knowledge that there are people in America, particularly women and intellectuals, who have raised their voices against the U.S. aggressions committed on our soil. We warmly hail their humanity and integrity. The voices of justice must be raised everywhere in order to bring to an end this tragic bloodletting.

We sincerely thank you for speaking up for the human conscience and we convey our warm wishes for ever greater success to your Women Strike for Peace movement.

On behalf of the mothers of Vietnam

and create starvation for innocent people who want to solve their own way of life for a better future?

For those who have been watching developments in Cuba, the increase in help from the Soviet Union should come as no surprise. The dilemma of the Soviet Union with respect to Cuba has been freely discussed for months. The economic difficulties and our starvation tactics created by the United States blockade of Cuba, and in their desperate need for survival is due to increasing restrictions against the Cuban people who are the real sufferers because it means that the so-called "Communist showcase" in the Western Hemisphere was proving very damaging to United States prestige. It has been openly predicted that Khrushchev must make a decision either to abandon Castro or to increase aid to him very substantially. Obviously the Soviet Government chose the second of these alternatives.

On the basis both of Soviet statements and those of our own President, the largest part of the shipments to Cuba have been non-military, and most of the military equipment has been of a defensive nature and why should they not defend themselves considering the threats our mass hysterical media is creating?

Cuba is a very small country with a population of six and one half million totally vulnerable to American power, with a supply line extending 7,000 miles back to the Soviet Union. To assume that the Cuban Government in such circumstances would seriously allow the island to be made into a military threat against the United States is ridiculous or that the Soviet Union would extend its own lines into so vulnerable a position, is wholly unrealistic. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American-affairs, Edwin M. Martin, has asserted that "Cuba is no military threat to the United States or any other Latin American countries."

The Monroe Doctrine is a totally unsatisfactory basis for any foreign policy decisions in the present context. Its assumptions are generally unacceptable in Latin America, and United States' intervention into affairs of the Eastern Hemi- standable that many American papers have printed grossly inaccurate accounts of what has taken place on the island....

"Cuban censorship is in part a measure of self defense against American economic, diplomatic and military measures. The United States regularly continues to violate Cuban territorial waters and air space, to encourage acts of sabotage, to permit hit-and-run raids by Cuban exiles based in Miami, and to insist that it will "never" recognize Castro and we are still doing it.

"Our own ban on travel to Cuba, and the recent conviction of U.S. correspondent, William Worthy, for traveling to Cuba without permission, indicated that our devotion to freedom of the press is somewhat less than perfect. While recognizing the unpleasant totalitarian aspects of the present regime, it would be unrealistic not to admit that some of them are necessary.

"Castro and his advisers remember what happened to the Arbenze regime in Guatemala in 1954; they will certainly not relax their grip as long as the Kennedy Administration continues to cling to its policy of implacable hostility."

CUBA left alone, REALLY LEFT ALONE, to work out its destiny may accomplish their dream for a better future and it may show the rest of the hemisphere how it can create security and happiness for its people in spite of the pressures of the U.S. and its half hearted allies. However, if we created friendly relations with the Cuban Government and people showing our good intentions to help them, don't you think we could accomplish more good that way? Instead of our war mongering threats creating a harrowing psychosis, blockading and starving them into submission only makes the Cuban people more determined to grasp at any help they can get. Cuba's downfall will reverberate all over the world and what will we gain? We can have greater friendship throughout Latin America if we showed understanding and a desire to help instead of plotting their destruction, crushed by American power it will create the hatred in the hearts of the Latin hungry and oppressed people which will do us no good in the future.

hamlets."

Let us take just one day in South Vietnam. On May 27, 1962, fifty U.S. planes dropped 100 tons of bombs on the provinces of Quang-ngai, Quang-nam and Kontum. The bombardments lasted for six hours. Think of all the people, including women and children, who were killed! Think of all the families deprived of their homes! Think of all the children who are orphaned and the wives who are widowed!

We have deep sympathy for those American women who have lost their sons and husbands in wars. There is no legitimate reason why the fighting in our country should continue to cost the lives of American sons and husbands. Let us as Vietnamese and American mothers do our best to stop our sons from killing each other.

We are moved by the knowledge that there are people in America, particularly women and intellectuals, who have raised their voices against the U.S. aggressions committed on our soil. We warmly hail their humanity and integrity. The voices of justice must be raised everywhere in order to bring to an end this tragic bloodletting.

We sincerely thank you for speaking up for the human conscience and we convey our warm wishes for ever greater success to your Women Strike for Peace movement.

On behalf of the mothers of Vietnam,

Mrs. Nguyen thi Thuc Vien, Professor
Vice-Chairman of the Vietnam Women's Union

Hanoi, June 28, 1962

WE WANT WAR!

Red Russia Must Perish!

To remain free, America must attack and destroy the nerve-center of the Communist conspiracy while we still have the strength to win.

WE DEMAND AN END TO ALL TALKS AND COEXSISTENCE.

WE DEMAND AN IMMEDIATE DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Communism Must Perish! Better Dead, Than Red!

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL PARTY
POST OFFICE BOX 191 GRACIE STATION NEW YORK 28 N.Y.

WAR PROPAGANDA LIKE THIS IS THE MARK OF THE LUNATIC FRINGE

Do the brainwashed SUPER PATRIOTS think for one moment that the U.S., one third the size of Russia, could destroy such a vast area, plus China with over 600 million people, who have reason to hate the U.S.? What lunatic can think of ATOMIC WAR? Can these brilliant minds think that Russia and China would not retaliate just as quickly and destroy tens of millions of Americans, their homes, factories, etc.? Are these HEROES willing to sacrifice tens of millions of American people because some sections of the U.S. press, who call themselves public opinion, have inculcated HATRED into their feeble minds? Can these SUPER PATRIOTS guarantee us that Russia would not use their 10,000 pound earth satellites speeding overhead at 18,000 miles an hour capable of dropping atom bombs on all our towns and cities to cause annihilation for 90% of our population?

120 BILLIONS DOWN THE DRAIN

We would be far better off if we would find some media to retard the tensions around the globe where the United States and the Soviet Union and many countries of the world are now devoting 120 billion dollars a year preparing for war. Of this amount more than 50 billion dollars can be attributed to the United States, about 30 billion is the cost to the U.S.S.R. The balance of 40 billion dollars can be divided amongst other countries. If we could consolidate all this horrible waste for one year alone, we could build homes for one half of the world's population and give them food and sustenance and create a better life and prosperity for all mankind.

TOWARD WAR OR PEACE?

Millions of Americans agree.

"No more tests, East or West" is the cry that goes up from the grass roots across the country.

Saigon, Vietnam, October 7th, 1962. Seven more American service men were killed today, totalling 21 the U.S. military authorities announced plus many seriously wounded or burned from the wrecks of the two Army helicopters 330 miles northeast of Saigon. Is it necessary that even one life of our American service men should be lost in the thick jungled swamps and mountains of South Vietnam?

DIEM EIGHT YEAR RECORD

In eight years in office, Diem has not effected one reform requested by the United States, desperately needed by the Vietnamese. Instead he has purged himself of all capable anti-Communist leaders, imprisoned 50,000 anti-Communist Vietnamese nationalists, stripped the populace of all rights of freedom, forced the people into cruelly administered concentration camps, murdered many hundreds of innocent families in the name of "anti Communism," to let the Communist Vietcong control and terrorize the country right up to the city limits of Saigon!

Now Diem requests additional United State financial "guarantees" to prolong his jungle war—so that he can stay in power for 20 years or more to continue the graft to amass greater family wealth and power. Hated and feared by 90 per cent of his people, continuing domestic policies that would shame Hitler, Diem stays in power only because of United States support.

In the pending showdown with international Communism on all fronts, the hour is very late for South Vietnam, for Southeast Asia. These realities demand America's agonizing reappraisal of its "only-alternative with Diem" policy in South Vietnam or the unconditional abolition of colonialism, imperialist oppression and neo-colonialism that are "indispensable for the elimination of the catastrophic dangers of a thermonuclear war and for the consolidation of world peace and security."

MOURN NOT THE DEAD!!! BUT RATHER MOURN THE APATHETIC THRONG, THE COWED AND MEEK, WHO SEE THE H-BOMB THREAT; KNOW IT'S WRONG AND DARE NOT SPEAK.

HUMANITY GUILD, Inc.

HARRY G. KRIEGEL, Founder

Incorporated March 27, 1939

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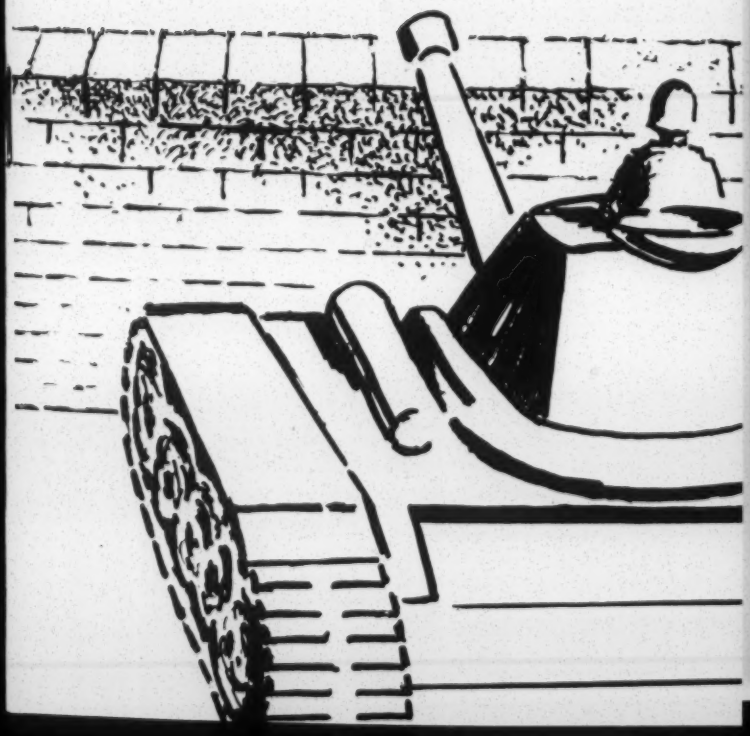
IT
CAN HAPPEN



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INTRODUCTION

Humanity Guild, Inc., a nonprofit, nonpolitical, nonsectarian organization founded in 1938, strives to arouse public opinion for PEACE NOW! ALL GOVERNMENTS MUST NEGOTIATE THE ISSUES. Our booklet "IT CAN HAPPEN" and our four-page "letter of sanity" have been sent to all heads of Governments. We urge:

1 – WORLD GOVERNMENT UNDER THE U.N.
2 – ABOLITION OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS
3 – TOTAL DISARMAMENT

Nor do we quibble about which of the three comes first. Humanity Guild wants to see progress on each and all of these propositions—so that people everywhere can begin to feel relief from WAR fears. Security and survival are the issues.

Humanity Guild would gladly give up all its activities the very day we are assured that PEACE ON EARTH becomes a reality. Until that blessed day arrives, Humanity Guild will continue to work day and night to present FACTS. By radio, TV, speakers', caravans going East, West, North and South – covering cities, towns and villages.

With the above program now prepared, we have printed and mailed out one million 24-page illustrated booklets entitled "IT CAN HAPPEN" also letters and magazines to every home we can reach and millions more to follow.

We know the road will be rough. We expect some people to raise "holy" passions against us. We know too that many selfish interests will try to block our aims. But we also know the ever-present danger of 10-20-50-100 Megaton Bombs hanging over us. We dare not allow this to happen to millions of Americans – to our Homes and our Democratic way of life. Until now, our country has not been despoiled by invasions. And we must strive by every means possible to avoid destruction of our nation by Nuclear War.

It is, therefore, our job to acquaint every person here and the world over to work for PEACE ON EARTH NOW or we will all suffer TOTAL ANNIHILATION because of our apathy.

You have probably noted that since we started our mass circulation of a million 24 page illus-

trated booklets, "IT CAN HAPPEN," and over a million 4 page letters of facts mailed and distributed throughout the nation and other countries that there has been a simmering down of the bombast in the press, radio and television, even the multimillion magazines, weekly and monthly, have softened the WAR provoking psychosis.

This is because numerous fine PEACE organizations all over the world have invigorated hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who are on the march protesting and paying the penalty by going to jail for their beliefs. Which are: To work for programs to keep the PEACE – and to stop the brink of war mentality.

On Monday, January 15, 1962, thousands of women and children picketed in a driving rain in many parts of the country and thousands of these determined "Women Strike for Peace" sloshed through rain puddles in Washington, D. C. with placards stating "NEVER SAY DIE." One little girl waved a poster stating "WHEN IT RAINS IT POURS – STRONTIUM 90." The significant part of this rally was that PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY was watching this scene through the window of the White House and on that very same day at a news conference he answered one questioner as follows:

> "Well, I think it's that these women are extremely earnest, that they talk, they are as concerned as we all are at the possibility of a nuclear war. They talked this morning to Mr. (Adrian S.) Fisher, who is the deputy director of our disarmament agency, and they – we stressed the effort we are going to put into the disarmament conference coming up in March. I saw the ladies myself. I recognized while they were there, there were a great number of them, it was in the rain, I understood what they were attempting to say, therefore, I consider that their message was received."

Humanitarians, Theologians of every denomination, Historians, Philosophers, Scientists, Professors, Writers, Artists, Doctors and human beings of every color and creed demand that the enormity of a possible mishap SHOULD NOT HAPPEN!!! AT ANY TIME!!!

> We must be true to ourselves and if the first essential is implemented, the second will "follow as night the day" and then no one can say we are "false to any man."

". . . Shelters are an absolute delusion"

— Walter Lippmann

THE principal danger of the present program is the false sense of security engendered. It is much like a quack cure for cancer. If we are lucky, the "treatment" may not kill us, but in the meantime, while the cancer is growing and becoming incurable, we fail to go to a reputable physician for sensible treatment. By buying a shelter program which does not shelter, and thereby believing that we can survive a thermonuclear war, we are increasing the probability of war. This probability increases both, because we may be more willing to "go to the brink" if we think survival is possible and because we are less likely to devise and take any of the constructive steps which may ease tension and secure the peace.

BACK TO THE CAVES

In a large midwest American city this Fall, the planning commission held public hearings for the purpose of deciding how best to protect the inhabitants of the area in the event of an enemy nuclear bomb attack. One of the persons called to testify before the commission was the planning director of the community, Charles Washburn. Asked for his recommendations as to what kind of shelters the city could construct, Mr. Washburn replied: "I have no use for them. If society has reached that stage, I would rather take my chances in the next world. We crawled out of caves only a few thousand years ago and I have no intention of crawling back in again."

Mr. Washburn's summary is indeed one which all of us must face up to.

The unhappy but unarguable fact is that shelter from an H-bomb in a target area is not

possible. As Senator Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa declared: "If you don't get killed in the blast, you may get killed in the radiation. If you don't get killed in the radiation, you get killed in the firestorm. If you don't get killed by the fire, you get killed by lack of oxygen."

Imagine a family, cowering in the dark confines of a small damp shelter, knowing that death is all around them, that they will come up into a world totally different from what they have known, not even sure that they themselves are not being fatally affected in spite of their preparations. There would be no electric power, no lights except for makeshift candle or flashlight. Attempts to cook or produce heat would consume more oxygen and complicate the task of the member of the family pumping the hand ventilator system. Food would be limited in both quantity and variety, and to all the other uncertainties would be added the possibility that there would be no more food available when they came out. Can anyone believe that there would not be far more than "overt regressions" in human beings subjected to such an experience?

Radioactive fallout is a threat not only to humans but also to animals, crops and unpackaged food. It can contaminate your homes, cars, yards, fields, and water supplies to the extent that they should not be used until they have been decontaminated.

How do you deal with these things? When an underwater nuclear bomb was exploded at Bikini in 1946, the test ships, inundated with radioactive water, could not be boarded except briefly and by heavily protected workers a year later, and then some ships had to be sunk. How do the survivors go about decontaminating the myriad things they have to handle and walk on and live in? We stand at the crossroads of World Peace or World Destruction.

There are no other possible solutions before us other than a complete extinction or the prospect of a modern-day cave life.

Before we can realistically consider living for short or long periods in bomb shelters, we must, have a clear idea of just what faces us.

Wars have always been part of man's experience. But never until today, never before now, has man himself possessed weapons that enable him to destroy all life on this planet.

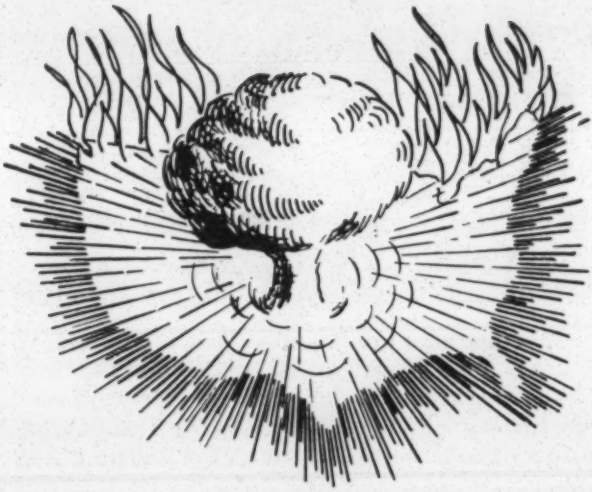
Sudden Death

The death and destruction that modern weapons and missiles can wreak is unthinkable. Heretofore the greatest single act of destruction in the history of man occurred at a few minutes past 8 o'clock on a sunny Monday morning August 6, 1945, when an American Army Air Force plane dropped an atom bomb over the city of Hiroshima. That one act, by one pilot, by one plane, in a matter of seconds obliterated an entire city of 400,000 inhabitants. In a matter of minutes, nothing remained of a busy city except a burning scar. The city's power, transportation and communication facilities were instantly destroyed. In a flash, close to a quarter of a million men, women and children lay dead, dying or maimed.

Such sudden death and destruction knows no parallel in all human experience. But yet, according to all scientific and military experts, the Hiroshima bomb is now outmoded — as out-of-date for a war of the future as was the static trench warfare of World War I to the mobile tactics of World War II.

Here are facts given by renowned experts: In testimony before the special sub-committee of the Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, Dr. Kellogg, one of America's great research scientists, described the predicted effect of a nuclear bomb attack upon the United States. Based on the 1958 population figures of 175 million Americans, Dr. Kellogg believes that 83,000,000 of our countrymen would meet their deaths, that 25,000,000 would sustain serious injury. To recognize that 83,000,000 of our people would die in a single nuclear attack and to consider the accompanying destruction to homes, hospitals, schools and other of our institutions, leads one to the frightening realization that a nuclear war would end our lives and our society.

Great Sea of Fire



Scientists Harrison Brown and James Real have attempted to describe what such a phenomenon would mean to an American city in a nuclear war, taking Los Angeles as an example. (The reader should bear in mind that the description is based on the assumption that the city has been hit by a single 10-megaton bomb, and that the probability is that in a struggle so desperate as all-out nuclear war, major cities would be hit by several bombs, rather than one.)

The area would be one great sea of fire, which would burn until there was nothing more to consume. A good proportion of the metropolitan area's three-and-a-half million cars and trucks would be lifted and thrown like grotesque Molotov cocktails, to spew flaming gasoline, oil and automotive shrapnel onto and into everything in their paths. In an instant most underground gasoline and oil tanks would rupture and explode within the blast area, and a large proportion of the remainder within the firestorm radius would follow, each in its own particular manner — pumps and pipes sheered and, finally, higher and higher ambient temperatures which would soon expand, rupture, and explode the remainder. It seems safe to speculate that in Los Angeles at least a twenty-five mile radius and an unknown distance beyond it would be, within minutes, engulfed in a suffocating firestorm that would persist for a long time.

It is worth stating the significant sentence which Brown and Real conclude their account:

"Rationally, were we to make vigorous efforts to survive a large-scale nuclear war, we would forget about our existing cities, reconcile ourselves to the loss of their inhabitants, and concentrate our efforts in other areas."

No Hiding Place

What protection, as individuals, can we hope for from any of the shelter programs that are being urged upon us?

Californian Allan Jonas, director of that state's CD office, was described in a California newspaper as having "suddenly decided that all planning is of questionable value." Mr. Jonas was quoted as saying, "There is no hiding place in California."

(1) The radioactive "cloud" from a single, relatively small nuclear bomb may be expected to cover an area downwind for fully 200 miles. Since no one knows how many bombs would be dropped, or what the weather conditions would be, an attack may be presumed to cover a large area surrounding the target with lethal fallout.

(2) The downgrading of fallout as a danger is connected with the presumed building on a large scale of "fallout shelters." Estimates vary as to the length of time it would be necessary to remain in such a shelter after an attack, but few are willing to guess less than two weeks, and some scientists calculate the time in months. No one has maintained that human beings anywhere near the target area are likely to survive the fallout unless they are in adequate shelters. This is an important point to remember in evaluating the total CD program.

CD literature speaks optimistically of the "do-it-yourself" basement shelter, yet no one knows the effectiveness of any shelter against a thermonuclear blast. These shelters, (already protected by the superstructure of the house), call for a minimum of 8 inches of concrete, 12 inches of earth, or 30 inches of wood.

Apparently, the huge expense involved in excavation and construction precludes 2/3 of our population; people who can't afford to own homes, let alone basement shelters therein; people who, ironically, will carry the greatest load of the subsidized shelter program!

The N.Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN of July 24, 1958, the office of Defense and Civilian Mobilization has had "an engineering study undertaken by Guy B. Panero and associates of 420 Lexington Avenue, New York City . . . and paid $18,000.00 for it." This study calls for the carving out of a mammoth shelter in the solid rock that lies under Manhattan, 800 feet deep, in which four million city dwellers could take shelter.

The plan provides for blowing up the entrance ramps after everyone is in, and would in effect create an underground city, complete with "restraint areas" for those who can't take it, and occupational therapy for sufferers from claustrophobia. Estimates of its cost range from $3 to $6 billion, (spending on a fabulous scale, you see, is easier than facing the truth.) Of this plan, Dan Wakefield comments: "Aside from the economic feasibility of burrowing an entire city underground, there are still some old-fashioned segments of the population who resent the notion of living like moles."

A few additional observations about the "city underground" are in order. Again leaving aside the economic practicability of building shelters to house the 48 million residents and workers in the 130 American cities of more than 100,000 population, these added obstacles exist:

This is not really a shelter concept, but a form of evacuation. Four million people can't move anywhere in 18 minutes, so that the population would have to go underground before the attack, i.e., the war, begins. Such a move is subject to all the criticisms of evacuation proper. When

would the move be made? If the attack did not occur, but tension continued, would they stay underground indefinitely? Since these are not really underground cities, but only living quarters for the city's inhabitants, what would happen to commerce and industry?

If people were evacuated and the attack did not come, how could the life of the city continue? Who would operate its power stations, its hospitals, its banks and businesses? If all these things came to a stop, what would happen to the economy of the country as a whole?

Who would make the decisions to return to the city if the attack did not occur? Could such a return be made without exposing people to the same danger from which they had fled? Or would their return have to wait until the settlement of political differences had relaxed tension? (And would it not be better and easier to settle them before the tension had reached such a point rather than after?)

But such plans are not really worthy of extended discussion. The spending of uncounted billions of dollars to dig holes in the ground can only be the product of minds that have become separated from reality.

One more point needs to be made, unpleasant though it be. It was summed up succinctly by noted author Philip Wylie, who served as a consultant to FCDA during both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Wylie tried mightily to arouse Americans from what he regarded as their "apathy" toward civil defense against A-bomb attack, but changed his attitude completely with the advent of the H-bombs, when he "became certain that an all-out engagement with such weapons would create conditions in cities, towns, the countryside, and elsewhere for which no plan — whether of city evacuation, shelters, early warning — radar lines, or anything else — would be of value."

In support of his conclusion he cited much the same kind of considerations as have been included in this pamphlet, and then added:

Instant Blindness

"But, this matter of taking shelter or getting out in time, would create such a hideous situation that no program could be imagined that would control it. Granting clear weather, the explosion of the medium-sized H-weapon, day or night, would cause all persons indoors or out within view of the fireball to look at it by uncontrollable reflex. And such people . . . would be made blind instantly, even at a distance of 40 miles from the explosion. Sudden light, thousands of times brighter than the sun, would make them turn around to see the source . . . and that instinctive glance would burn their retinas so that they would be sightless forever. Their cars, trucks, trains and planes would smash. People in the countryside would be unable even to find their way home (over an area) on the order of 5,000 square miles per 'shot.'"

Commissioner Robert Moses, who has built and supervised most of New York's major traffic arteries, declared "you can't evacuate cities in a short time on the basis of any warning system, however effective. You cannot get the inhabitants quickly out of town without killing and maiming more in the process than would be lost or wounded in the explosions, fire, concussions, and fallout . . . The key strategic places of congestion in all big cities are at water crossings and main streets. Within half an hour after an alarm had been sounded, not only would these bottlenecks be completely choked up, but there would be devastation due merely to cars and people being run down."

Right or wrong, America is our country. When it is in the right we should feel a sense of pride, but when it is in the wrong we should not rest until the wrong is righted. This is the mark of true allegiance! This is an enlightened loyalty which transcends the narrow boundaries of conformity, because its noble fidelity is bound up with America's future rather than its status quo. It is more vitally concerned with the welfare of the many than the privilege of the few. It infuses in us that great sense of oneness with all humanity, and strengthens us to build our own happiness on the promotion of happiness for others.

Twenty Minutes — Everybody Out

If evacuation does not begin until the attack is launched, the city will have less than twenty minutes to empty itself. Can anyone who has ever seen the slow-moving lines of traffic clogging the roads out of a city on a summer Friday afternoon believe that this can be done? Every car in the city trying to get out at the same time! Drivers struck by panic, driving recklessly, fighting for space! Men trying to cross the main lines of traffic to reach their families! It defies reason not to believe that within minutes of the alarm every road out of the city would be hopelessly blocked.

Suppose these millions of men, women, and children, invalids, babies, the infirm, the occupants of prisons and mental hospitals, all were successfully moved out—what then? How would they be fed, housed, cared for: The modern city is an incredibly complex system of collection and distribution that can be thrown into confusion by a two-day strike of tugboat operators or a heavy snowfall. Lines of trucks and freight cars move into a city daily bringing the food, milk, fuel and other necessities of life for its inhabitants. Huge water pipes bring their contents from miles away; elaborate sewage systems are needed to dispose of the city's daily waste.

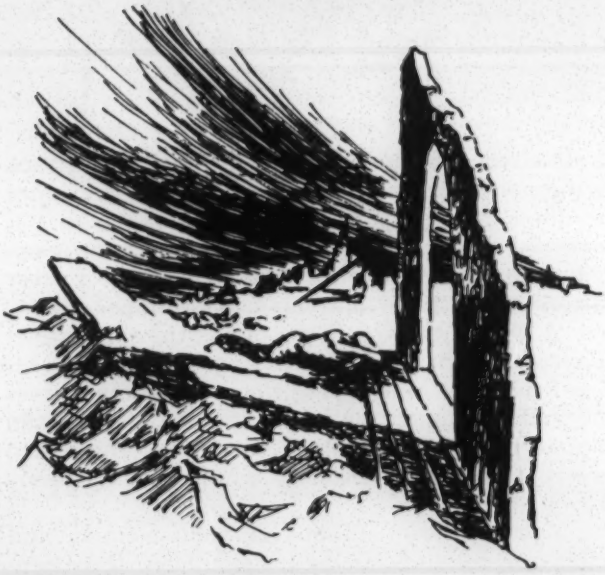
What will take the place of all these for the scattered inhabitants? A few cities are supplied by farms and orchards within easy access, but most have to bring their food from many miles

away. The imagination reels at the storage capacity needed to handle even a week's stockpile of necessities, to which must be added the further complication of the need for protection from radioactive contamination.

The same consideration would apply to shelter. Even if the weather permitted, such devices as huge tent cities would provide practically no more protection from radiation than it would be standing in the open.

As the doughty Senator from Ohio, Stephan M. Young, puts it: "It is just too absurd to consider evacuation plans under the circumstances."

The Poisoned Earth



Where do our survivors find food and fuel? There are still a few places in our country where people live, on what they grow, on their own land. Such people might have a fighting chance to survive and try to build a new life. But most Americans depend now on an enormous mechanized complex of production and distribution that, for all its size, is as delicate as a watch. That system would disintegrate. Roads, railroads, airfields would be destroyed. The massive control and distribution centers in the cities would be buried beneath mounds of radioactive rubble. Our survivors would come out of their cramped shelter to a world of little or no food, contaminated water, poisoned earth — and, of course, death.

The inescapable fact of the post-war world would be death — vast, massive death, with all the horrifying complications that go with it. What preparations can be made to deal with 50 or 100 million corpses, especially when removal of the dead may have to be delayed to allow for safe handling due to decay because of the radioactivity?

A sampling of what this task means was given by the officer in charge of disposal of the dead when Americans reoccupied Manila after hard fighting in 1944. In an interview he described the horror of the maggots and flies which multiplied prodigiously in the vicinity of unburied bodies. He told of the difficulty in hiring laborers to bury decomposed dead, even at high rates and with extra incentives, such as food and the looting of bodies. He told of contaminated water supplies; sewers clogged with the dead . . . Only a few of the American soldiers had ability to withstand the psychological aspects of the work. With a few exceptions, nausea, vomiting and loss of appetite occurred after a few days. This occurred with a total of 39,000 bodies to be disposed of in eight weeks.

Civil Defense will not work. It will not work because nothing will. If all-out nuclear war between the two giants of the world should come, then all mankind will have lost. Those who survive would survive by chance: a missed bomb, a change in the wind. From that point on, they would have to improvise. Few of them probably would improvise well enough; most of them would die a little later on.

To talk of "victory" in such circumstances, as some of our military commentators still do, is to mock. Even if, by some macabre calculation, one side or the other would be adjudged to have "won," the victory would be meaningless. All that we prize of freedom and hope would be lost in a welter of death and terror; all that man has created of beauty and dignity would be among the radioactive particles floating down to poison the whole earth.

The fact is that war can no longer be tolerated.

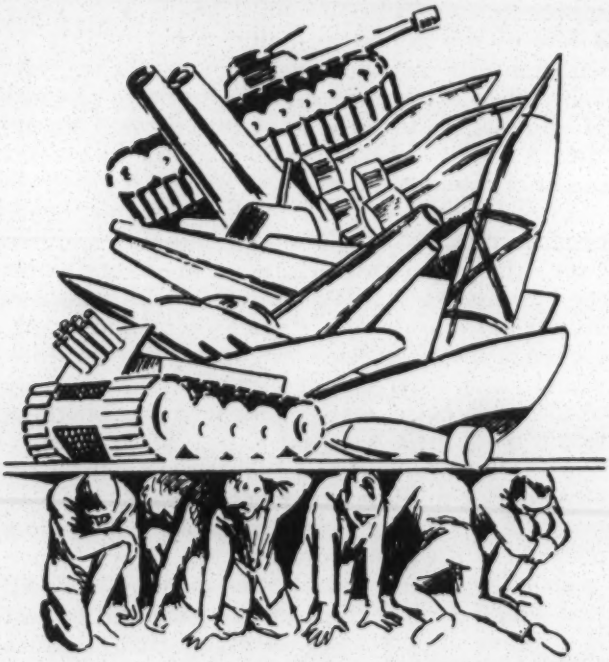
"There is now," said former President Eisenhower, after the results of an H-bomb test had been announced, "no alternative to peace."

It is true. There is no alternative to peace, and so all the best efforts, the passionate concern of all men, must be turned to the making of peace.

Disarmament, the resolution of political conflicts, negotiation, compromise — these are what we must concentrate on.

Civil Defense diverts us from this all-important task. It contributes to the image of a nation making ready for war. It sustains the deadly myth that war is inevitable, and defrauds us with the pretense that somehow man can manage to deal with it. We can spend our wealth burrowing fearfully into the ground, sacrificing everything to the possibility of questionable survival in a primitive poisoned world for a relative handful of people. Or we can put the same money and effort into a vast effort at massive reconciliation; providing homes for the homeless, food for the hungry, throughout the world.

Crushing Taxation



Of such a program Governor Meyner wrote: "Instead of spending the $150 billion or $200 billion that would be required for a national network of underground shelters, let us put just a fraction of that money and work into a massive effort to make our world safe for human habitation—while there is yet time. We ought now to be talking about building 200 million pre-fabricated homes for the homeless people of Asia and Africa—instead of bemusing our-

selves with the cruel nonsense about underground shelters.

We ought to be forging links with other peoples instead of forging iron doors to deep cellars. Our ties to other people — the good will we can earn, the support we can justify for world leadership — these will contribute far more to our safety and peace of mind than the holes we can jump into when it is too late. . . ."

There are two kinds of preparedness. One is the kind represented by the big bombs. If we are ever in a showdown on that level, God help us.

Then, there is the other kind of showdown looming ahead in the world — and it requires another kind of preparedness. This is the non-military showdown. It will be determined by the side that has the most to say about human freedom for all peoples, and by the side that can earn and keep the respect and support of the overwhelming majority of the world's people.

Surely this nobler, more rewarding concept of life could be expected to send a thrill of hope around the world. To pose as the constructive power of human dignity and concern against the forces that would degrade and debase humanity would be to capture for the democratic idea the dynamism that it has largely lost. There is no certain way to safety in a world that lies in the shadow of the Bomb, but this is at least the course that holds the only promise of conserving human dignity and decency.

The Danger — Can We Chance It

A nuclear-armed Bomarc missile was almost fired accidentally at an Atlantic seaboard missile base in the spring of 1960. A group of Air Force officers sitting down to dinner, happened to look out the window and noticed that fumes were coming from the electronically controlled Bomarc's tail pipe. Rushing out to the missile, the officers were able to halt the firing by disconnecting wires and throwing switches. After months of investigation, the cause of the near firing is still undetermined. One theory is that radio signals from passing cars might have combined with signals from a radio station in a way that fed a fire order into the Bomarc's electronic brain.

"Are we," wrote George F. Kennan, former Chief of the State Department's policy planning division, "to flee like haunted creatures from one

defensive device to another, each more costly and humiliating than the one before, cowering underground one day, breaking up our cities the next, attempting to surround ourselves with elaborate electronic shields on the third, concerned only to prolong the length of our lives while sacrificing all the values for which it might be worthwhile to live at all? If I thought that this was the best the future held for us, I should be tempted to join those who say "Let us divest ourselves of this weapon altogether; let us stake our safety on God's grace and our own good consciences and on that measure of common sense and humanity which even our adversaries possess; but then let us at least walk like men, with our heads up, so long as we are permitted to walk at all."

AS QUOTED:

Pope John XXIII Christmas message of December 21, 1961 over the Vatican City radio: This authority, alas, full of humanity and meekness and holding out the joy of universal peace, remains, with the passing of the years, a sign of contradiction and of the obstinacy of men in their relations with one another.

If we look at the events of recent times, we might well say that in our day fear and alarm are producing a burning fever of strangement one from another, and though this is unconscious in many cases, it is, for all that, noticeable in dealings with others, and leads to continuous disturbance in domestic, social, civil and international relationships.

Such an observation is all the more tragic when one reflects that in the Creator's providential plan, men are meant to understand, to help and to complete one another, by brotherly cooperation, by patiently overcoming differences, by sharing the goods of the earth fairly, according to charity and justice.

But here, on the contrary, under the cloak of fair words, when at least, the outward appearance is maintained, and even that unfortunately is not always the case, there is often a spirit opposed to peace.

It is the pride of the man of power who tramples under foot. It is the greed of the man of wealth who hardens his heart to the needs of his brothers.

It is the callousness of the complacent man who pays no heed to the great cry of suffering which exists in the world. It is the selfishness of the man who thinks exclusively of himself.

The invitation should be all the more pressing for mutual distrust is making conditions progressively worse.

Man is no longer brother, good, merciful and loving, to his fellow men, but has become a stranger, calculating, suspicious and selfish.

Every individual must be good, because he is the mirror of a clear conscience, which does not admit of duplicity, cunning, hardness of heart.

The family, too, must be good, with mutual love burning like a flame in the exercise of all virtue.

There is furthermore that goodness which should rule our actions outside the confines of the home, though in union with it.

As an invitation to the exercise of this duty, we turn to the appeal, which with all trust we started out to make in this radio broadcast — to desire peace and to eliminate all obstacles in its way.

We cannot believe that the terrific energy now under the control of man will be released for the world's destruction. For side by side with elements of fear and apprehension, there are positive signs of goodwill that is constructive and productive of good.

While we give thanks to the Lord, the source of goodness, we also give voice to a heartfelt appeal that all those who control the economic forces should risk everything but not the peace of the world and the lives of men — to seek every means that modern progress has put at their disposal to increase the welfare and security of the world, and not to sow disgust and mutual suspicion.

We also appeal to those responsible for forming public opinion, even if only in a limited area, to fear the severe judgement of God and of history and to proceed with caution, governed by a sense of balance.

On not a few occasions in modern times — and this we state with candor and regret — the press has contributed to the production of an atmosphere of aversion, enmity and discord.

We appeal to the rulers of the nations, who today hold in their hands the fate of mankind. You also are men, fragile and mortal. Upon you

are the anxious eyes of our fellow men, who are first your brothers before they are your subjects.

Think of the tragedy of initiating a chain reaction of acts, decisions, resentments that could erupt into rash and irreparable deeds.

You have received great powers not to destroy but to build, not to divide but to unite, not to cause tears to be shed but to provide employment and security.

These are the various applications of that goodness that should penetrate every aspect of human life.

May it appeal to all men of goodwill to make salutary reflections on the applications of those principles upon which well-ordered social life is founded.

* * *

"That both sides begin anew the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction."

—President Kennedy in his Inaugural Address

* * *

FORMER PRESIDENT EISENHOWER put it: *"If I were in a very fine shelter and they (his family) were not there, I would just walk out. I would not want to face that kind of a world and the loss of my family."*

"We are in the era of the thermonuclear bomb that can obliterate cities and can be delivered across continents. With such weapons, there can be no victory for anyone. Plainly, the objective now must be to see that such a war does not occur at all."—**Dwight D. Eisenhower**

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. We pay for a single fighter plane with a half billion bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people . . . is there no other way the world can live?"—**Dwight D. Eisenhower**

* * *

U. S. Senator STEPHEN M. YOUNG, Ohio:

"Civil defense today is a myth, based on theories as antiquated as mustache cups, tallow dips, and civil war cannon balls. In the nuclear age, there can be no realistic civil defense programs. We must devote our efforts to the utmost toward

finding a peaceful solution to the world's problems. It is our only permanent shelter."

* * *

Gov. ROBERT B. MEYNER, New Jersey:

"The basic purpose of modern warfare is to kill an entire city . . . If a city like San Francisco or Los Angeles or Trenton were to be hit by a few megaton bombs, everything in the civil defense handbook would go out the window. There is one and only one defense against a nuclear war — and that is peace."

"These facts would be enough to make me skeptical about the effectiveness of fallout shelters. But there is also the matter of warning time. An intercontinental ballistic missile can travel well over 5,000 miles in less than half an hour; a rocket launched from a submarine 200 miles off the East Coast would reach New York in a matter of minutes. If the U.S. were hit by surprise, few people would have time to climb, crawl or fight their way into shelters."

"What would happen to those who did? When would it be safe to come out? Survivors of a nuclear attack would discover that our society and civilization no longer existed. The psychological and physical consequences of this realization — raw shock — are almost beyond comprehension."

"Man would have to depend solely upon his own devices to exist. He could not grow nourishing food because the soil would be shot through with radioactivity, particularly strontium 90, a long-term byproduct of nuclear explosions. As direct fallout, it settles on vegetation which is consumed directly by animals and humans; it also lodges in the soil and seeps into growing matter through root systems. Like calcium, when ingested, it lodges in the bone structure. Strontium 90 is a breeder of bone cancer and leukemia. Thus many survivors would literally die a lingering death."

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT:

"I think it is nonsense to build bomb shelters. It is quite evident, from all we are told about modern nuclear weapons, that the shelters would be useless. We had better bend our efforts to preventing nuclear war and not worry about how we can preserve our own skins. I do not approve of individuals building shelters, and I would consider it a waste of government money to build them for public use."

"Wars can be prevented just as surely as they are provoked and we who fail to prevent them must share in the guilt for the dead."—**General Omar Bradley**

* * *

ADMIRAL YARNALL, who preceded Halsey as Pacific Fleet Commander, told an audience at Brown University:

"I think the United States lost the moral leadership of the world when it dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki when Japan was at that time a defeated nation and was suing for peace. It was a diabolic act of no military value and resulted in the death of hundreds of thousands of civilians . . . If we are to use such weapons in the future, or engage in indiscriminate area bombing by aircraft as practised on both Germany and Japan, civilization as we know it is finished."

* * *

"Today we are faced with the pre-eminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships, the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace."—**Franklin D. Roosevelt,** (in his last recorded message)

* * *

We think the problem for today and tomorrow is one of avoiding extreme positions, and it seems to us that a national shelter system, built by the government and used by the government as part of its military deterrent shield, would encourage tendencies toward extreme positions rather than encouraging them.

The heads of governments of the world must persistently and constantly cooperate to find a way out of the dangerous impasse that through stubbornness endangers the innocent people everywhere on the face of the earth. We are too near to the brink of war and nuclear holocaust NOW, which could exterminate life on this planet.

How can we be assured that the 10,000 pound earth satellites speeding overhead at 18,000 miles an hour, capable of dropping atom bombs on the world's cities, will not be used to create the greatest holocaust and destruction of mankind on our planet. If we want to avoid imme-

diate calamity it is up to you to do your bit for yourself, your family, your relatives, and for mankind the world over. Write to your president, and the cabinet members, senators, congressmen . . . AND URGE OTHERS TO DO SO NOW.

THIS WE BELIEVE . . .

Far from being ignored, the so-called common man wields an incalculable power. If he speaks for Peace he can be heard; if he is heard, he can be free; if he is free, he can grow to build bridges of understanding with other men of other lands.

Currently, the Russians are making proposals for a cessation of nuclear testing and for a conference on general disarmament. Surely, the Russians are not everything we want them to be, yet if we examine our own fears, we may come to understand theirs. We must accept the new thinking which is essential if we desire prospects of survival more than we desire hanging to the bitterness of old quarrels.

In disseminating information on Peace and world disarmament, the Humanity Guild, Inc., seeks to make a contribution to the greatest crusade of our time — the crusade for the survival of mankind through the preservation of World Peace. Is this effort worthy of your ininterest and support?

The greatest weakness of the models about behavior in wartime which are computed on paper and which treat men as if they were two-dimensional, is that they do not cope with the emotional undergirding of man's actions. Thus, any posture which encourages men or nations to push other men or nations into positions from which they cannot emotionally retreat is a dangerous posture indeed.

It is our feeling that a national shelter program which was intended to harden the national will would be perceived by our leadership and by the public in such a way as to encourage undue adventurism and truculence in our diplomatic and power politics maneuvering. As such

we could very easily push an enemy into a position which would leave him no alternative than the emotional irrational one of attack, or of in turn pushing us into a position which could only lead to violence on our part.

The only immediate solution for peace on earth NOW is TOTAL DISARMAMENT WHICH SHOULD INCLUDE THE ELIMINATION OF ALL STOCKPILES OF *ALL* BOMBS AT ONCE from *all* countries who possess its capabilities for the destruction of the world and mankind.

WITHOUT A CONCERTED EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE NATIONS AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL WITHIN THESE NATIONS, ALL THE fall-out shelters which could be built in the next half-century will be to no avail. "PEACE IN OUR TIME" was the slogan of World War II—Humanity Guild, Inc. says "PEACE NOW OR NEVER"—atomic fission and hydrogen blast do not wait for "OUR TIME."

We need your financial help NOW so that we can mail and distribute millions of our booklets, "IT CAN HAPPEN," and millions of our four page "letters of sanity" sending facts everywhere. We plead for any contribution your heart and ability can spare for this most vital cause.

THIS IS NO IDLE DREAM – IT IS MAN-KINDS NEED – IT IS UP TO ALL OF US. IT MUST BE DONE!! NOW!! JOIN US AT ONCE FOR "PEACE IN OUR TIME."

Humanity Guild was formed in 1938 to dramatize dynamically the aims and hopes of peace-loving peoples the world over. You can organize a branch in your community and we will cooperate with you. PEACE-MINDED PEOPLE MUST GAIN THE POWER WHICH IS RIGHTFULLY THEIRS FOR A PEACEFUL WORLD FOR SURVIVAL AND SECURITY. Price of additional booklets 10 for $1.00 postpaid in U.S.A.

HUMANITY GUILD, Inc.

853 Broadway New York 3, N. Y.

A non-profit, non-politically affiliated organization dedicated to

"PEACE ON EARTH, TO MEN OF GOOD WILL"

Printed in U.S.A

Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence
1014 Piedmont Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
July 20, 1967

Dear Friend,

Since the Workshop opened four months ago we have passed out more than 60,000 leaflets, answered hundreds of inquiries from people requesting information on the war and on the draft, sponsored 5 major demonstrations and dozens of minor ones, and provided comprehensive draft information to dozens of draft-age men.

All of this costs a good deal of money, over $400 a month, in fact. Here's how we spend that:

$200 for salaries and expenses
85 for rent
15 for phone and utilities
80 for paper and ink
20 for other office supplies.

A few notes--the $200 works out to $150 for Henry and Sue, $25 for Harvey Clemens, and $25 for whichever poverty-stricken volunteers are sleeping on our floors and working full time. Everybody else works free. $80 buys 16,000 leaflets and 1,000 copies of the Newsletter every month. "Other office supplies" includes also special leaflets that we buy from other organizations and give away free.

Is it worth it all? We think so. More than anything we have done our constant leafletting has brought results. Practically every day there are 4 or 5 coupons from our leaflets in the mail from people who want more information on the war and from men of draft age who want CC counselling. On Mondays following the Friday and Sunday vigils there is often a deluge. Our draft leafletting, especially, is paying off. We are currently counselling about 5 CO's a week--an unprecedented number for Atlanta. This is especially significant for those of us who believe that wars will stop when men refuse to fight in them.

The $400 a month has to come from somewhere, though. $200 we get from the War Resisters League, another $50 to $100 from friends outside Atlanta, and about $25 from the sale of literature (including the Newsletter,) buttons, and magazine subscriptions. This leaves $75 to $125 that we must raise every month from Georgians just to maintain our present activities.

In addition, the special Hiroshima Day march sponsored by the Atlanta Alliance for Peace is going to need help. The Alliance has asked its member organizations to help raise money for publicity and speakers' expenses. The Workshop is not the richest peace organization in Atlanta, but we want to do our part in financing Hiroshima Day. We stuck our necks out and promised to try as hard as we could to raise $100 for the Alliance. Needless to say, we can only do this with your help.

-OVER-

It is hard to be always asking you for money. We know how many worthy causes are on your mind. However, the war goes on and on. Each month more billions are spent on killing. We must continue to spend hundreds on saving lives.

Peace,

Henry Bass

Henry Bass

Sue Bass

Sue Bass

Harvey Clemens

Harvey Clemens

☐ I enclose $_____ for the work of the Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence.

☐ I enclose $_____ for the Hiroshima Day project of the Atlanta Alliance for Peace.

☐ I am planning to attend the Hiroshima Day march.

☐ I will be able to help with leafletting, posters, etc., for Hiroshima Day.

☐ I will be able to put up _____ out-of-town demonstrators for the weekend of August 5-6.

☐ I will be able to do draft leafletting/general leafletting every _____ afternoon/evening. (day of week)

☐ I enclose $_____ for a subscription to WIN/the National Guardian/Liberation/the Southern Patriot. (New or renewal?)

☐ Please add the following names to your mailing list:

NAME _____ PHONE _____
ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____ PHONE _____
ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ ZIP _____

☐ Please remove my name from your mailing list.

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ ZIP _____

Please make all checks payable to the Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence and send to P. C. Box 7477, Atlanta, Georgia 30309.

(new file) PEACE MOVEMENT

AT THE WORKSHOP

flower power

The most exciting event coming up for Atlanta peacemongers is the Hiroshima Day march on August 6 sponsored by the Atlanta Alliance for Peace, of which the Workshop is a member. The groups that make up the Alliance are expected to express their efforts for peace in a variety of ways. The Workshop is working on a 7 foot peace dove of papier mache and a magnificent yellow submarine to carry in the march. Some groups are expected to march either in mourning or at least wearing black armbands. A Red Cross bloodmobile will probably be at the Saturday evening rally and along the parade route on Sunday. A call and schedule for the Hiroshima weekend of August 5-6 is enclosed. Please read it and plan to come to march with one of the groups. Also, the Alliance needs help on both advance publicity and providing accommodations for out-of-town demonstrators. Please fill in the coupon on the yellow sheet if you will be able to help.

Our draft program and our general leafletting are both increasingly successful --we get an average of 4 coupons a day returned and are seeing 5 draft counsellees a week. With more work those totals should keep increasing. But even to maintain our present pace we need more help from you. Going leafletting every afternoon and evening is pretty dull. If you could give a few hours every week it would help a lot.

War Games, an already famous new movie about what happens after THE BOMB falls on England, is coming to the Festival Cinema for at least a week beginning Monday, August 28. It's an important movie for you to see and an ideal one to bring your friends to. The Workshop is planning a theatre party. Details will be announced in the August issue of the Newsletter.

The Workshop is now selling subscriptions to both WIN magazine (leaflet enclosed) and the National Guardian for a profit, and we are dickering with Liberation magazine and the Southern Patriot. You get your subscriptions at the regular price, and you are helping the Workshop at the same time. We'll be sending out a Guardian subscription blank later on. In the meantime, those prices are $7 for 1 year (52 issues,) $3.50 for students. Please send your new, renewal, and gift subscriptions for the four periodicals to the Workshop.

Keep these dates in mind:

EVERY THURSDAY, 8 PM--Workshop meeting.
EVERY FRIDAY, noon to 1 PM--silent vigil for peace at Five Points.
EVERY SUNDAY, 10 to 11 AM--vigil and leafletting, 1st Baptist Church, Peachtree and 5th Street.
AUGUST 5-6--Hiroshima weekend. See the complete schedule.
AUGUST 28--War Games opens at the Festival Cinema.

NOTE: The social book discussion group has been adjourned for the summer and will resume in September. The schedule for future meetings of the seminar on nonviolent tactics will be announced in the next issue (August) of the Newsletter.

--Sue and Henry Bass

ATLANTA ALLIANCE FOR PEACE

334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta Ga. 30303 Telephone 404 - 522 - 1420

A SOUTHWIDE CALL TO ACTION TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

American Friends Service Committee

Atlanta Committee to End The War in Vietnam

Atlanta Peace Center

Atlanta Veterans For Peace

Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence

Atlantans For Peace

Georgia State Committee on Social Issues

Mennonite House

Peace Education Project

Quaker House

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Southern Student Organizing Committee

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Vine City Council

On August 6, 1945, Hiroshima suffered the horror of the first atomic bomb. Twenty-two years later, on August 6, 1967, we will gather in Atlanta to protest the war in Vietnam. It is fitting that we meet on Hiroshima Day to demand an end to this immoral and illegal war, especially since each escalation in Vietnam brings us closer to a nuclear holocaust. Today's hydrogen bomb is 200 times more destructive than the bomb which obliterated Hiroshima; and many nations now stock-pile this terrible weapon. We must learn to avoid war or face annihilation.

A growing number of Americans from all walks of life oppose the war in Vietnam. On April 15 almost half a million of them marched in New York City, and in Atlanta and 144 other cities concerned citizens stand each week in silent vigil to protest the war. We differ in our reasons for opposing the Vietnam war. Some of us oppose it as militarily unsound. A growing number of us, both black and white believe it to be a racist war of genocide and that the U.S. government is again showing a contempt for Asians in its cruel and inhuman weapons never employed in Europe. Some of us feel that American claims of defending democracy are hypocritical and that instead U.S. troops are defending American business investments. Others see that the Vietnam war has undermined the anti-poverty program.

The children of Mississippi, the slum-dwellers of New York, the unemployed of Appalachia, the poor of Vine City, and the napalmed children of Vietnam are all victims of the war in Asia. All of us are united in opposing this unjust war. We believe that we can best support efforts of peace by bringing the troops home now.

JOIN US IN ATLANTA ON AUGUST 6th!

HIROSHIMA DAY

A SOUTHWIDE WEEKEND TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

August 5-6

sponsored by

THE ATLANTA ALLIANCE FOR PEACE

SATURDAY, August 5---RALLY!

7:30 PM, Piedmont Park: Sing out, art festival, nationally famous singers

11 PM, Piedmont Park: All night vigil for peace led by Father Malcolm Boyd

SUNDAY, August 6----------

MARCH FOR PEACE

1:30 PM: Assemble at Piedmont Park

2 PM: March to Grant Park

3:30 PM: Speakers and entertainment

PARTIAL LIST OF SPEAKERS:

RALPH ABERNATHY
FATHER PHILIP BERRIGAN, S. S. J
JAMES BEVEL
HONORABLE JULIAN BOND
FATHER MALCOLM BOYD
MRS. AMELIA BOYNTON
DICK GREGORY
CLARENCE JORDAN
RABBI JACOB WEINSTEIN

for more information,
for accommodation for out-of-town marchers
contact:

Harry Willson
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga. 30303
522-1420
522-6506

Henry Bass
1014 Piedmont Ave.
Atlanta, Ga. 30309
872-1137

Charles Webster
Rm 502, 41 Exchange Pl
Atlanta, Ga. 30303
523-6629

What have you been missing?

find Out iN

WIN PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

the biweekly magazine of the peace & nonviolence movement in America

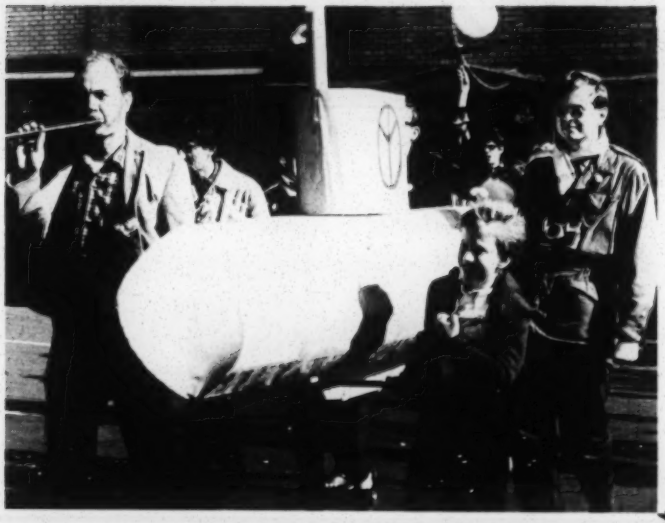
So you don't believe war brings peace
tyranny means democracy
hate is love.
A lot of people don't.
But what are you doing about it?
And what are they doing about it?
That's what you'll find out in WIN.
Turn the page. Read on.

SPRING MOBILIZATION pp.5-12
draft card burnings
boston-pentagon peace walk

WIN

PEACE & FREEDOM THROUGH NONVIOLENT ACTION

VOLUME III NUMBER 8 APRIL 28, 1967 25¢



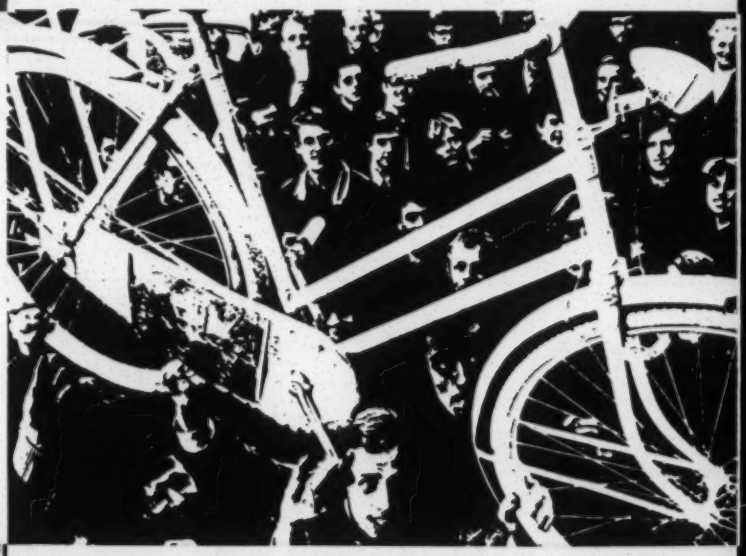
—photo by Don Auclair

WIN is a twice-monthly radical pacifist magazine of the peace movement that tells you and shows you, in words and photographs, what's going on—in peace action across America. On picket lines, at demonstrations, at meetings and conferences, whenever civil disobedience is committed. Wherever people walk, dance, march, sit, stand, laugh, cry, talk, and sing for peace and freedom. From Duluth and Phoenix, the Bay Area, Iowa, and New York. Peace action reported by people who create it.

What do flying kites, white bicycles, balloon happenings, yellow submarines, manifestivities, Gentle Thursdays, and flower power have to do with peace?

WIN readers know. Do you?

WIN readers also know about burning, mutilating, and eating draft cards; about draft resistance and noncooperation; about income tax refusal, telephone tax refusal; about all kinds of civil disobedience and other creative forms of nonviolent direct action.



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WIN is a "how to" guide to better, more effective demonstrations. Advice for the novice protester. Discussion and criticism for the advanced resister. How to mount demonstrations. Observations on leafleting and fasts. Ideas about picketing, vigiling, police relations, courtroom strategy, jailhouse etiquette. All about nonviolent direct action, what works and what doesn't work—exploring nonviolent tactics as a means to change in a violent world.

—photo by Bill Wingell

WIN is full of choice tidbits of information essential to any peace activist. There are reviews of books and movies on war and peace, in Vietnam and around the world. New and old peace actionists debate the old and new tactics, radical versus reformist politics, personalities ranging from Gandhi to Freud to Malcolm X, the relationship of nonviolence to revolution and civil rights.

—photo by Neil Haworth

WIN is published by the Committee for Nonviolent Action and the New York Workshop in Nonviolence.

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Finally, a pacifist journal put out by the front (picket) line participants in peace action. —Jim Peck

Your publication is an inspiration to a novice in the peace movement. The accounts of various demonstrations are truly heartwarming—encourage me not to lose hope in my city of apathy!

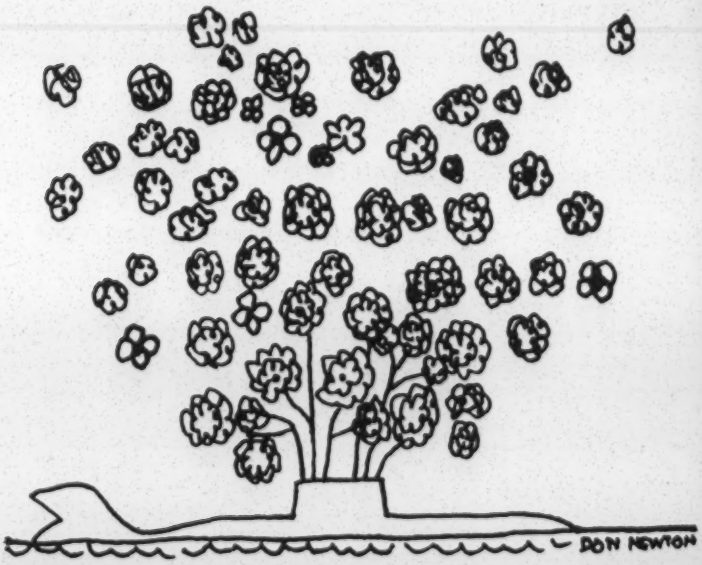
—Mary Hodsdon
Wilmington, Delaware

Your magazine continues to be a wellspring of creative and challenging pacifist thought in a very arid desert made dry by the narrowness and patness of the usual, more formalistic approaches to questions of war and peace.

—Dan Raphael
Seattle, Washington

Joy, affirmation, chaos, flowers to the enemy. Political nonviolence, psychedelic pacifism, terror to the Old Left. WIN is all these and more. Good poetry and bad. Bad articles and brilliant. Pushing, provocative, singing. Read WIN and dance in the streets.

—David McReynolds



Atl. J+C 5/26/63
L.E.

Here's First Part Of Ragen Report

Here is the text of the first portion of the Ragen report on the George penal system. Mr. Ragen, a penologist from Illinois, made the study at the request of the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government. His report was released Wednesday by Gov. Sanders and the commission.

Texts of the other portions of this report will be published in The Atlanta Journal, beginning Monday.

The Ragen ★ Report

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

The Department of Corrections in the state of Georgia is administered by a director who is responsible to a Board of Corrections for the operation of the department. The board and the director are in practicality accountable to the governor. Of course, if there is to be a Department of Corrections Board, its members should be appointed for staggered terms and politics should have no part in their appointment.

However, the experience has been that board members have little or no practical knowledge of statewide penal administration and at times, for various reasons, block progressive movements of an efficient department head. Competent leadership, competent policy making and competent execution of those policies are essential to successful penal and corrections administration. The system existent now in Georgia does not tend in that direction.

The director ideally should be appointed by the governor and charged with the operation of the department, and he alone, held responsible by the governor for all divisions within the department. No correctional institution or penal system can be operated efficiently if politics has any part in the program, or in the selection or dismissal of personnel. (Politics control in the Georgia Department of Corrections to the exclusion or relegation of the welfare and rehabilitation of its inmates.)

All employes should be under the Merit System of Personnel Code, excepting the director and division heads on the policy-making level.

ANY INDIVIDUAL being considered for the position of director must be an administrator or successful executive, and should possess some knowledge of the state laws. He must have fortitude and determination, and be progressive in undertaking the improvements so urgently needed. Initiative is a vital factor. He must be firm in his convictions and guided by common sense.

A combination of these qualities should lead to a successful functioning of the

divisions of the department. Any employe found in violation of the rules should be subject to disciplinary action, dependent upon the seriousness of the violation. This could be in the form of a reprimand, suspension from duty, or even discharge, should the nature of the offense warrant it.

If discipline for employes is lacking, it follows that there can be no discipline for inmates, and consequently there can be no successful program in the institutions.

Favoritism, politics, etc., must play no part insofar as employes or inmates are concerned, and it is most important that the director support the division head if he is competent and qualified.

Properly trained personnel are most essential to the successful operation of a prison. A guard training school should be established at Reidsville as soon as possible, to train all custodial personnel for all divisions of the department. Personnel must be competent if the program is to be successful, and there must be an employe for each required post.

IF PRACTICAL prison procedure is followed, only felons should be placed in the prisons and state prison camps. All misdemeanants should be confined to the various county camps that are livable.

The Department of Corrections should set up standards and programs and inspection of county units as to housing, treatment, operation, etc. This practice should be inaugurated as soon as possible, and all county camps should be approved or disapproved by the Department of Corrections.

Legislation should be enacted excluding certain categories of misdemeanants from the state prison system.

The department should establish or use a central institution for acceptable misdemeanants from the county units and for the misdemeanants from counties that do not have a camp.

In a few extreme cases, such as known escape risks, psychopaths, etc., it may be necessary to assign a misdemeanant to a prison. These, however, must be proved by records, etc., and should be an exception rather than a practice.

Under no circumstances should inmates be moved from one location to another to satisfy some citizen or the inmate, as is presently the practice. The combined housing of felons and misdemeanants

ANY INDIVIDUAL being considered for the position of director must be an administrator or successful executive, and should possess some knowledge of the state laws. He must have fortitude and determination, and be progressive in undertaking the improvements so urgently needed. Initiative is a vital factor. He must be firm in his convictions and guided by common sense.

A combination of these qualities should lead to a successful functioning of the department. If the director lacks any one of these essential qualifications, the system can only be expected to wallow and deteriorate, and Georgia will continue to be in the same position it is in today. No director, however, can operate the Georgia Department of Corrections successfully unless he has sufficient money available to employ competent personnel, construct buildings and furnish them with needed equipment, set up proper educational and industrial programs, etc.

Prisons are big business and are supported by the taxpayers and should be operated in a business-like manner. The handling of public funds is a public trust, and each division should set up a budget of sufficient amount to carry out a practical program. Each division head should attempt to live within his budget.

THE DIRECTOR should have as his assistant, an individual who has had experience in the operation of a prison or camp. He must know inmates and personnel, the value of work programs and educational programs. He should know and understand the importance of discipline and rehabilitation, and visit all institutions in the state as often as possible, with a view of making progressive recommendations concerning programs, food, housing, etc., to the division head and director.

The director, through policy, regulations and visitation, should supervise and direct the operation of each and every division within the department. Division heads, of course, must be competent. Establishing policy and regulations and directing the operation of their particular division is most important.

No institution head can sit in his office and run a successful program. It is also most important that the director visit each installation and familiarize himself with the operations and programs as often as possible.

At a later date, the individual records of inmates should be removed from the director's office to the institution wherein the inmate is confined. The parole office in Atlanta, however, should maintain a file on each inmate, containing a copy of all information pertinent to the prisoner.

This should include a copy of a letter from the prosecuting attorney covering the crime involved, a classification report from a professional classification board, the FBI report and all other pertinent information. It is realized that it will be impossible to move these records until such time as the diagnostic center is established and inmates are properly classified.

IN ALL institutions and divisions, there should be a system of rules and regulations and guidance covering assignments and operations to govern employes of all

misdemeanants from counties that do not have a camp.

In a few extreme cases, such as known escape risks, psychopaths, etc., it may be necessary to assign a misdemeanant to a prison. These, however, must be proved by records, etc., and should be an exception rather than a practice.

Under no circumstances should inmates be moved from one location to another to satisfy some citizen or the inmate, as is presently the practice. The combined housing of felons and misdemeanants in one institution is not in keeping with good prison administration. It can only breed crimes.

IN STATE CAMPS (branches) now operated by the Department of Corrections, only felons should be assigned; they should be very carefully screened and for the most part, used in reforestration of state land and parks and land salvage programs.

As time goes on, less emphasis should be placed on state road and bridge construction by the use of inmate labor and eventually it should be discontinued. While I understand the practice of using inmates on road work in Georgia has been followed for a long period of time, I seriously doubt its feasibility and rehabilitative results. This practice is followed in very few states today.

If the state camps are to continue, I strongly recommend that only the younger felons be assigned, and that they be carefully selected. For the most part, these youngsters do not know how to work, nor do they understand discipline. No one has said "no" to them and made it stick; many are school dropouts.

They must be taught to work and the meaning of discipline. As mentioned, escape risks, sex deviates and those incapable of absorbing rehabilitative help should not be considered for placement in the state camps. These camps should have both academic and vocational educational programs.

FOR THE SUCCESS of a program, it is to be understood that the director and each division head have an adequate and efficient staff to manage the over-all operation of the entire department. No prison or camp can be successfully operated without an employe at each assignment and post.

I feel there is a desire and determination to improve the prison system of Georgia by the governor, and the outstanding commission he has selected. There will be no difficulty in finding competent people in the great state of Georgia, qualified after training, to carry out this program, but to do so, reasonable working hours, a living wage for custodial and lower bracket employes (minimum $300 per month), and a good training program for the employes, are essential.

There is nothing mysterious about prisons or the Department of Corrections as some people would have the public believe. Visiting, by permission, should be encouraged for professional, civic and church groups.

Good government is indicative of good politics and successful politicians demand good government.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The State Prison at Reidsville.

Atl. Jour. 5/27/63
L.E.

REIDSVILLE

Overcrowding Perils Prison; More Personnel Needed

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

The State of Georgia purchased the Reidsville institution from the federal government and has used it since that time to house felons and misdemeanants.

A large percentage of the inmates confined have been rejected, so to speak, by the various county institutions because of physical disability, or in some cases, more extensive custody was necessary other than is offered by the county or state camps. Only felons, however, should be confined to Reidsville. The misdemeanants should be removed to other locations at an early date to eliminate the serious overcrowding that is dangerous to any institution.

ROBERT BALKCOM, the warden, is doing a very creditable job for the state of Georgia, with the money and equipment that has been furnished him. I am sure that a great number of the citizens of Georgia do not know, or realize, how well Warden Balkcom has managed with so few of the essentials necessary in the operation of a penal institution.

The lack of proper classification of inmates, and the existing dormitories, with very few cell houses, add to the tremendous job of the warden, and the other personnel. Every dormitory I visited was overcrowded.

Prisoners should never be housed in dormitories unless they have been carefully selected, and a custodial officer should be assigned to each dormitory around the clock.

THE OLDER cell houses are very much in need of repair, and I especially refer to the locking devices, which are dangerous in their present state.

Two modern cell blocks, however, have been constructed at a cost of $1,400 per cell, which is most commendable. This was done under the supervision of Warden Balkcom by a civilian tradesman and inmate labor. The cell houses are modern and will serve the state of Georgia well. I was told, however, that they are unable to occupy one of the cell blocks at the present time because the warden is unable to obtain sufficient personnel to supervise the men. Proper supervision is most important, even though inmates are locked in cell houses at night.

IN MY OPINION, it will al-

The Ragen ★ Report

This is the text of a portion of the report on Georgia's prison system made by an expert penologist from Illinois and released by Gov. Sanders and the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government. The texts of other parts of the report will appear in The Atlanta Journal.

NO. 2

ant for prison personnel to have all information pertaining to a prisoner.

WITH THE SPACE available near the present administration building an addition could be constructed on each side, or a second story added, to make sufficient room for the important funcions of the business administration and record offices.

A most unusual situation exists at Reidsville in that Warden Balkcom has been "holding court," so to speak, and handling all of the discipline of inmates who violate rules of the institution, rather than placing this authority in the hands of someone who is not properly qualified. It is a sad state of affairs when there are not sufficient capable people who could be assigned to the handling of discipline and assignment of inmates.

The "court" as it is commonly known, is one of the nerve centers of any institution, and certainly, if it is not properly supervised by a prison-wise person, very serious results can, and in all probability will occur.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Other Phases of the Reidsville Operation.

serve the state of Georgia well. I was told, however, that they are unable to occupy one of the cell blocks at the present time because the warden is unable to obtain sufficient personnel to supervise the men. Proper supervision is most important, even though inmates are locked in cell houses at night.

IN MY OPINION, it will always be impossible to obtain qualified personnel until the salary is increased to a minimum of $300 per month and all employes work only eight hours a day. Then too, there must be sufficient help—a man for each post—if Georgia is to properly operate this institution without criticism.

Funds must be made available and Reidsville permitted to establish a school for the training of personnel, where all personnel for the various assignments throughout the state can be trained in the same manner and then transferred to the institution or camp where they are needed.

All employes should be civil service or merit, and all should be thoroughly investigated as to background and character, and if found lacking should not be employed. All advancements should be made through the ranks.

During the employe's training period, he should be supplied with books of rules and regulations for the guidance of inmates and employes.

Administration Records

There is insufficient space for the competent operation of a practical business administration. This is not meant, in any way, to reflect upon any employe. It is the system.

I also found the record office inadequate in space and proper record keeping. There is little or no information in an inmate's file.

Each file should contain a letter from the state's attorney of the county of conviction, covering the inmate's crime, complete court history, proper classification reports submitted by professional people, a copy of the FBI report, and any and all other information pertaining to each and every inmate. (A copy of all record office files should also be in the hands of the assigning and disciplinary officer, who should be a qualified captain in rank).

UNDER THE PRESENT system employed by the Department of Corrections, it is necessary that records, even though inadequate, be available to the director for his assignment of inmates to the camps and institutions throughout the state, which in my opinion is dangerous.

With the establishment of a diagnostic center and a qualified classification board, these records should be removed from the director's office in Atlanta, and, as previously stated, the warden of the institution where the inmate is assigned should have complete information — a copy of every record pertaining to each inmate.

The chances for rehabilitating an inmate without positive and complete records at hand, are practically nil. It is very import-

Atl. Jour. 5/28/63
L.C.

REIDSVILLE

Prison's Medical Service More Than Adequate

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

The hospital at Reidsville is modern and the medical service, in my opinion, is more than adequate. Four doctors are more than ample to care for the medical needs of an institution of this type.

Certainly, if the misdemeanants are not longer committed to the Reidsville institution, one full-time doctor and a part-time surgeon, with the services of a full-time dentist, will take care of the medical and hospital needs and requirements.

Much thought, however, should be given to employing a pharmacist to order, make up and dispense medicines. A capable pharmacist will more than justify the salary paid him, and he of more value than the three doctors.

The Ragen Report

This is the text of a portion of the report on Georgia's prison system made by an expert penologist from Illinois and released by Gov. Sanders and the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government. The texts of other parts of the report will appear in The Atlanta Journal.

NO. 3

Solitary Or Isolation

Solitary or isolation is a necessity in any prison.

I am sure that most wardens would be glad to abolish this assignment, but always there are a percentage of inmates who will not live within the rules either by denial of privileges or loss of good time, thereby making it necessary to remove them from the general population, in some cases for a few days, others for longer periods of time depending upon the seriousness of the violation and type of individual. In some cases, it becomes necessary to confine a man in segregation with no time set for release.

The so-called "solitary" is composed of modern cells in the administration building adjoining the hospital. Men are confined for a maximum period of 30 days and are served bread and water during their stay, excepting for a full meal every third day. The doctor visits solitary daily and any man in need of medical attention is removed immediately. It is recommended that there be a limit of 15 days for those confined in solitary and that one full meal be served each day, the same as is served in the general dining room at noon.

I would suggest that the word "solitary" be discarded and "isolation" be used instead.

Segregation

The men in segregation are confined in modern cells, furnished a bed, three full meals a day and given library privileges. They are assigned for no definite period of time, which is proper, but are released periodically into the general population on trial or probatiton. This is in keeping with good prison administration.

If there were employment and educational programs at Reidsville, the number of men in segregation and isolation could be reduced by 75 per cent. This people are troublesome people.

Academic Vocational Program

Reidsville has no educational program for inmates, neither academic nor vocational, which is not in keeping with modern prison procedure for the rehabilitation of prisoners.

Buildings adequate to carry on these programs should be constructed as soon as possible. A detailed description of the procedures and requirements of these programs will be found elsewhere in this report.

A vocational school is most necessary and should be a part of the educational program. A building should be constructed which could consist of four walls, a roof and floor, with low partitions to separate the various vocations.

In all vocational and educational buildings, there should be no rooms or enclosures where the men cannot be supervised by an officer or teacher at all times, and partitions should be of glass to eliminate "hideouts."

Library

It is my understanding that few library books are presently available to the inmates, but I was shown a new building under construction which will house a library and was advised by Warden Balkcom that more books will be at the disposal of inmates in the near future. Properly selected books and periodicals, including sufficient educational, fictional and nonfictional material is most important to the inmates in any penal institution. Books must be kept in circulation and properly supervised by employes in order to eliminate trafficking.

Chapel and Religious Services

The chapel is very small, but I was advised by the warden that it serves Reidsville. All inmates are encouraged to attend church services, and many do.

I talked with both the Protestant and Catholic chaplains—Rev. Edgar Lee Jenkins and Father George Mathis. They indicated they receive full cooperation from the warden and supervising officials of the institution, and at no time had they seen or witnessed an act of unusual punishment of inmates.

It is recommended that qualified chaplains be selected and made full-time employes. Each should hold at least one service per week and should be available five days a week to counsel the inmates in religion. A good chaplain is very important in any prison, but his duties should be confined to religious activities and perheps counseling with relatives or friends of an inmate.

Theater

There is a small theater and it is my understanding a movie is shown each week. Due to its size, it is necessary to show the movie several times so it can be seen by the entire population. Properly selected movies are very important for educational as well as recreational purposes.

Alcoholics Anonymous Program

This institution has an active Alcoholics Anonymous program, conducted each Sunday by outside AA members. It is suggested that this program be encouraged and expanded.

Parole Officer

The assignment of a parole officer at the Reidsville institution is an innovation and the agent appeared to be very interested and concerned with his responsibilities. It is my belief that all prisoners, if and when released, should be by parole and should be supervised for a period of time.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Farm and Other Operations at Reidsville.

WISHING WELL

6	5	3	8	4	7	2	6	5	3	8	4
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V	A	A	L	A	L	H	N	R	B	I	T
8	4	2	6	7	3	5	8	4	6	3	2
H	N	E	D	N	N	I	R	E	W	A	G
6	4	3	5	4	8	6	2	7	3	5	4
O	C	F	O	D	I	R	I	E	O	F	N
3	5	4	8	2	6	3	5	4	7	2	2
R	C	E	L	F	K	T	H	W	T	T	U
7	6	3	5	7	4	2	6	8	3	7	5
I	J	N	E	V	S	S	O	L	E	E	R

Count the letters in your first name. If 6 or more, subtract 4; if less than 6, add 3. The result is your number. Letters under your number spell a message.—(c1963.)

Atl. Jour. 5/29/63
L.E.

EQUIPMENT NEEDED

Reidsville: Bright Spot In Dim Prison Picture

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

Reidsville and all of the buildings on the reservation are clean, which is most commendable. The kitchen, bake shop and cold storage were clean and amply stocked with commodities. The equipment appeared to be in fair condition; however, there should be some replacements and some new equipment added. The food being served at the time of my visit was appetizing and well prepared.

Canning Plant

Vegetables and fruits raised on the institution farm are canned and stored for use at the Reidsville institution. The surplus is transferred to other prisons within the state.

The plant is not fully equipped and is, therefore, not operating to full capacity.

It is recommended that this plant be removed to a new building outside of the enclosure and properly equipped. In transporting produce inside the enclosure, a certain amount of danger is involved. There is always the possibility of contraband being brought in in crates and boxes. It would also afford a saving in time.

A properly equipped canning plant at Reidsville and planting and production from the excellent farm could supply sufficient canned goods for all of the hospitals and prisons of the state, at a savings to the taxpayers. It would also provide employment to many inmates now unassigned and would serve as good vocational training.

If this canning plant is removed to a new building, the space now being used can be utilized by the proposed road sign and metal working plant.

There is a small print shop for institutional needs which employs a few men.

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NO. 4

Print Shop

There is a small print shop for institutional needs which employs a few men.

License Plate Plant

There is an inadequacy of equipment in this plant. If it were enlarged and properly equipped, metal road signs for the Highway Department, now being purchased from another source, could be manufactured.

Tailor Shop

This shop should be transferred to the new proposed institution after completion.

Mattress Shop

It is my understanding mattresses are manufactured for institution use only. This should be enlarged and mattresses manufactured for all institutions.

Storage Building

The building now being used for storage inside the enclosure should be remodeled and converted into an industrial building, or removed, and a warehouse constructed outside the enclosure. This would eliminate deliveries being made inside by commercial vehicles, which is a good precautonary measure. Also, there is less danger of loss by carelessness, theft or fire.

Farm

It is my understanding that approximately 1,100 men are assigned to the prison farm. In my opinion, 400 would be ample. The farm is one of the most modern prison farms in America; it consists of approximately 8,000 acres and produces almost a million dollars worth of vegetables, milk, grains and livestock yearly. It produces all of the vegetables

or fire.

Farm

It is my understanding that approximately 1,100 men are assigned to the prison farm. In my opinion, 400 would be ample. The farm is one of the most modern prison farms in America; it consists of approximately 8,000 acres and produces almost a million dollars worth of vegetables, milk, grains and livestock yearly. It produces all of the vegetables necessary for table use and 200,000 gallons of vegetables and fruits are canned. It also supplies all of the needed pork, beef and milk used at the institution. At the time of my visit, there were 3,000 hogs, more than 1,400 beef cattle, 350 dairy cows, 13,000 chickens and 8,000 laying hens.

There is also an excellent nursery which supplies pine seedings for the Department of Forestry.

Georgia can be justly proud of its farm; it is outstanding. It is recommended, however, that a dormitory be constructed outside of the enclosure to eliminate the necessity of moving men in and out of the institution each day. The possibility of carrying information and contraband in and out is always a hazard. Supervision for those outside the wall apparently is adequate as there were only six escape attempts in 1962.

Reidsville, to supplement its farm program, is in need of a well-rounded industrial program, which is covered elsewhere in this report.

Former Women's Prison

After the transferring of all female prisoners from the Reidsville institution to Milledgeville, the building formerly occupied by them was converted to housing male prisoners. The men confined are relatively older and physically unfit for conventional employment and unable to follow the regular routine at the Reidsville institution.

The building is both inadequate and over-crowded—conditions which can only provoke criticism—but it was clean. Due to its location, it should be considered an annex to Reidsville and tradesmen from Reidsville could construct an addition to this building, providing adequate space for those confined and an industrial program as well as an educational program.

Light industries could be installed to occupy time and afford some training for self-sufficiency on release.

By all means, only felons should be confined at Reidsville and the annex.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The Georgia Industrial Institution at Alto.

R.E.-

ALTO NEEDS ATTENTION

Privacy at Dormitories Should Be Done Away With

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

At one time, the buildings of the Alto Institution were used as a hospital, the patients were moved to another location and an attempt is being made to convert the institution into a reformatory for young offenders. At the time of my visit, the population was approximately 800, the majority were felons, with some misdemeanants, most of them under 20 years of age.

Some of the larger rooms in the main building are being used as dormitories, with bars installed over windows and doors. Dormitories are extremely impractical in most institutions, particularly for younger offenders. Since the prison system cannot be transformed over night, it is recommended that observation points be made by cutting windows in the hall walls of the dormitories, and within the dormitories, remove half-walls and walls of toilets and showers, thus eliminating the danger of hideouts and violations that follows, such as strong-arm tactics and unnatural sex practices, etc.

An officer should be assigned to each dormitory, with a competent supervisory officer checking on the officer after lockup so that proper surveillance is maintained at all times. The so-called "private rooms" should be eliminated at once. There should be no room or section unsupervised by an officer. A dormitory, if it is to be used in prison housing, must be so constructed to afford constant supervision throughout a 24-hour period.

Very serious consideration should be given as soon as possible, to the construction of cell houses to eliminate the dormitories and thus provide proper housing for the youthful offenders committed to Alto. Cell houses are more practical, not necessarily for security alone, but to house offenders separately, thus avoiding violations that might otherwise occur and resultant scars that may never heal.

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It would have been more practical had cell houses been erected at the time the institution was occupied, and the space now used as dormitories converted into classrooms and shops. I have visited nearly every penal institution and reformatory in America, and Alto, in my opinion, is most inadequate in management, housing, program, and purpose.

Confined in this institution are the younger type offenders. For the most part, these boys are undoubtedly school drop-outs, have never held a job, do not know how to work, no one has ever said "NO" to them and made it stick, and therefore, are in need of discipline and a program to fit them. If they are not reached or rehabilitated and returned to society better equipped, they will, without a doubt, return to crime.

Alto, as it is operated today, is a fertile crime-breeding ground. It is not difficult to escape from this institution, as the records indicate. When an inmate does escape the chances are he will commit another crime to effect a successful getaway, such as stealing an automobile, burglary for money or clothing, rape murder, etc.

Kitchen and Dining Room

The kitchen and dining room are not properly set up for the preparation and serving of food. These areas were disorderly and the men in charge had little dietary experience. The equipment was only fair and the food being prepared appeared to be inferior. The housekeeping was bad and there was a complete lack of supervision and "knowhow" on the part of those in charge.

Medical Program

A medical and hospital program is very much needed at Alto.

Academic Program

At the present time, a new building is being constructed to be used as an academic school. Apparently no thought was given to the proper type of construction for a school to educate the type of inmate-student confined at Alto. I was told there would be classes from the first grade through four years of high school. If this materializes as anticipated, it is commendable.

I urge that windows and doors be installed in the walls of each room so there can be supervision from the hallway at all times. As previously indicated, inmates especially in this age category, should never be left unguarded or unsupervised in a classroom, or elsewhere in an institution.

Within this same building, an auditorium and gymnasium are being completed, which should be adequate for indoor recreation.

It is strongly urged that those who complete the school requirements be issued a diploma and an arrangement made with the county superintendent of schools or the superintendent of the Cornelia high and grade schools to hold examinations, grade papers and issue diplomas, the same as those given to the graduates of the Cornelia schools. This, of course, providing the reformatory teachers have the required credentials.

The inmates confined at Alto are failures when they enter, but if they improve themselves by education, etc., the diploma they receive should not carry a prison brand, such as the plan followed today. The Jack Forrester School is a prison brand and steps should be taken to alter the method immediately.

There is in effect at the Alto institution, I was told, a plan whereby teachers are assigned under the jurisdiction of the superintendent of schools for the purpose of establishing an educational program. This is commendable, and with proper leadership and prison training, could greatly benefit the institution and those confined. While I am sure, however, the individuals ars excellent instructors in the public school system, without proper custodial training and some prison "knowhow" little will be gained; most certainly, they can get no help as Alto is operated today. It is my suggestion that all educational personnel spend several weeks in an institution of a similar type. (Pontiac, Illinois, is recommended for proper instruction and custodial training).

Vocational Training

The construction of a new vocational training building is contemplated when the academic building program is completed. In my opinion, however, it would be much more practical to construct a cell house rather than the vocational building, and some of the present dormitories used for classrooms and shops.

The building or space used for vocational training should have no inside walls or partitions; vocational classes should be divided by separations, not more than 40 inches in height. Thus, various vocational crafts could be taught in specific areas and enable more effective supervision.

As a part of the vocational training program, there should be classes and actual work in the maintenance of the institution, under the supervision of qualified civilians. This should include plumbing, electrical work, woodworking, refrigeration, machine shop, welding, etc., as well as auto body and fender work on state owned vehicles; auto mechanics, bricklaying, carpentry, cement finishing, sign and display, spray painting, typewriter and business machine repair.

Each student should be given an aptitude test before his assignment to any class. It is common for boys and inmates to overestimate their potential and capabilities.

Industrial Program

The Alto institution should have, and can carry, a properly selected industrial program.

Farm Program

The farm program is nil, and the dairy, as it is operated, can only be classified inferior. This program is greatly in need of expansion and improvement. Additional land should be acquired and the present buildings remodeled or replaced. A general "cleanup" is badly needed and a good housekeeping program established. A competent farm superintendent should be employed and trained at Reidsville and given the complete support and help of the institution administrator. There is no reason why, if more land were purchased, a practical farm operation could not be carried on.

Library

A library is very important and necessary in any penal institution or reformatory. It should be stocked with approved books, educational, fictional, etc., and operated under the supervision of a qualified civilian. This is not being done at Alto.

Religion

I viewed a new chapel which is under construction. Full - time chaplains should be employed to hold weekly services and counsel the inmate population. Good chaplains are very important to a successful prison operation.

Superintendent

The superintendent of the Alto Reformatory should be a man not more than 45 years of age, having an academic and vocational background; should be an executive capable of delegating authority to competent employes so that his program can be carried out. He must be dedicated to establishing and furthering an educational program, so urgently needed. If he lacks prison background and training, he should spend at least one month in an institution having a program such as should be established at Alto. He would be most welcome to visit the Pontiac Institution in Illinois. His assistant should be prison wise and capable. Paramount, of course, is safe custody and discipline, followed closely by a program.

Lack of leadership is evident throughout the institution. The guards, of which there are too few, are untrained, underpaid and have few, if any, rules and regulations to follow. The "chain of command" accompanying this report should be used at Alto in setting up procedures for personnel, the same as recommended at Reidsville.

I wonder too, about the value of exploiting inmates by transporting them throughout the state in a bus.

If there is to be a worthwhile program at Alto, new and competent leadership is needed and sufficient properly trained and paid personnel to administer the program for young offenders. If inmates at Alto are not rehabilitated during their stay, without a doubt, they will return to crime. Alto today, in my opinion, is a crime school. What a boy does not know when he gets to Alto, he will learn after his arrival, and after release, society will again pay, either in loss of property, and not beyond thinking, loss of life, but most positively, in tax monies expended for the arrest and conviction of the individual, who may have been reached had the program been one of rehabilitation.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: County and State Camps.

6/2/63

Inmates Do Jobs To Serve Georgia

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

This confinement of male and female prisoners in separate divisions on a single reservation is unique in that inmates are working for another State Department in a worthwhile capacity while serving their sentences. They replace civilian personnel whose services would otherwise be required to perform these duties, and whose salaries, I am sure, would be at the "prevailing" rate in the community, which, of course, would be paid by tax monies from the Hospital Operating Fund. This appears to be a very satisfactory arrangement and I see no reason to change the program; however, the male population should be only felons.

The male division has a population of 186 inmates—94 misdemeanants and 92 felons. There are 43 employes in this division, whose salaries range from $255 per month for the guards to $845 per month for the warden. Employe-personnel work eight hours a day, six days a week, and all are serving under the Georgia State Personnel Code, which is commendable.

The female division is on the same reservation, in a frame building, but widely separated from the male division, and has a population of 240 inmates—159 felons and 81 misdemeanants. Thirty matrons supervise these female prisoners under the direct supervision of a certified female captain. All employes are under the direction of Warden W. N. McHan, and the salary range is $285 to $367 per month.

This is the only prison in the state where the employes are paid the rate established by the Personnel Code, which is commendable.

Women's Division

Many of the prisoners are assigned to the laundry where they perform work for the patients and staff of the hospital. The quality of their work is comparable to laundry work of private enterprise.

Others are assigned to the kitchen of the hospital and assist in the preparation of meals for patients and personnel.

Still others work in the medical laboratory and the X-ray department.

These assignments, in all probability, are in keeping with the duties some of these inmates would be performing if they were committed to any women's institution away from the state hospital.

Because of the expense involved,

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paid a small salary for their work. This could be $10 to $20 per month. It should be compulsory that at least one-half of these earnings be saved for the day they will be released and enter free society.

New Fire-Proof Building:

As previously stated, it would be impractical to have separate institutions for the housing of female felons and misdemeanants because there are so few female prisoners; however, I cannot stress too strongly the importance of constructing a fireproof building in which to house them. This should include sleeping quarters, proper bathing facilities, ample dining and kitchen space, a sewing room where all clothing should be made as indicated herein, recreation and educational area and space for segregation for various types of inmates. No prisoner, male or female, should be locked or confined in any building that is not fireproof. It is to be remembered that in all prisons there are mental defectives, paranoid cases, psychotics and psychopaths who could, and in some instances, would, start a fire to satisfy a desire, or a means to escape. Buildings housing prisoners should be fireproof.

Men's Division

There is a new, modern building which adequately serves as living quarters for the men; however, there is need for better housekeeping—a place for everything with everything in its place.

All care should be used in choosing male inmate personnel, and no one with a history of sex violence or deviation, or who might

Others are assigned to the kitchen of the hospital and assist in the preparation of meals for patients and personnel.

Still others work in the medical laboratory and the X-ray department.

These assignments, in all probability, are in keeping with the duties some of these inmates would be performing if they were committed to any women's institution away from the state hospital.

Because of the expense involved, and the small number of female convictions of both felons and misdemeanants, in my opinion, it would be impractical to operate two institutions—one for felons and the other for misdemeanants. It is recommended that both female felons and misdemeanants be committed to the one institution.

Academic Program:

It is strongly urged that an academic program be established and carried on in cooperation with local school authorities. Those qualifying and meeting the requirements should be given recognition bearing no prison identification. The women could continue in their working assignments and the educational program carried on in the evening after working hours.

Beauty Culture:

It is further recommended that equipment be made available so beauty culture can be taught to those who are qualified and interested. It is a very good vocation which can be offered after working hours, with a qualified teacher supervising the instruction.

Women, not employed in a particular assignment in the hospital, should do the house work and serve the meals in the women's living quarters. Most institutions have some inmates who are not physically able to perform routine duties or who require maximum security, who can also be assigned to the housekeeping in the women's prison quarters.

Manufacture of Women's Garments:

The manufacturing of all garments for the women prisoners; and, if possible, some hospital patients, should be done by those in need of maximum security and others who would fit into the program, under the supervision of a qualified seamstress.

Payment for Services:

It is recommended that all women confined at Milledgeville be owners should be fireproof.

Men's Division

There is a new, modern building which adequately serves as living quarters for the men; however, there is need for better housekeeping—a place for everything with everything in its place.

All care should be used in choosing male inmate personnel, and no one with a history of sex violence or deviation, or who might be considered an escape risk, should be selected for this assignment. All should be felons with long sentences.

It is my understanding that male inmates assigned to the Milledgeville institution are tradesmen, or men desiring to learn a trade, who work under supervision of a qualified civilian employe. This is as it should be.

The housekeeping in the maintenance shop could be greatly improved. Most important is the establishing of a tool crib. A tool check should be made at the beginning and end of each work period, and all tools checked in and out of the tool crib.

Vocational Training Program:

Every effort should be made to inaugurate a vocational training program in maintenance work, and all male inmates should be encouraged to participate, both in the shop and classroom. Books, courses and practical and qualified leadership should be furnished so that a man can learn a trade and become qualified to earn a living in free society. After all, these inmates are saving the state many tax dollars.

Men are also being taught the barbering trade, which I understand is under the supervision of a qualified teacher of barbering, and when the men meet the requirements of the state board, receive a license to practice in the State of Georgia. This is indeed important and very creditable. . . .

Academic Program:

An academic program should also be established in the Men's Division. Classes could be carried on after working hours as recommended for the Women's Division.

Payment for Services:

As recommended for the female prisoners, male inmates assigned to the Milledgeville Hospital who do maintenance work, should be paid a sum from $10 to $20 per month, half of which should be saved for their release day.

AS PREVIOUSLY indicated, the Milledgeville arrangement is unique and appears to be a very practical operation—persons serving time for crimes against society in the State of Georgia, paying their debt to the state and at the same time saving the taxpayers many dollars which would have to be paid to civilian employes to do the same work. . . .

Warden McHan impressed me as being capable, conscientious and having full knowledge of his responsibilities.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Rock Quarry Prison Branch at Buford.

L.C.

'UNFIT FOR HUMANS'

Citizens Would Abandon Buford Rock Quarry

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

I am sure if the citizens o Georgia were permitted to visi the Buford branch, they would condemn it as unfit for the confinement of human beings. It should be abandoned, the men moved to another institution and later confined in the annex recommended to be constructed adjoining the proposed diagnostic depot.

The men incarcerated here are classified under the present mostly non-existent, inadequate classification system. The warden, however, advised he has little or no trouble and stated the discipline was good. Though termed "non-conformists," they should still be treated and confined in an institution acceptable by correctional standards.

The warden in charge has had little practical prison training, but if given proper training and guidance, I am sure he would make a useful employe. Without a doubt, the men respect him. He is strict, and I understand, fair, and I believe he is doing the best he can with what has been made available to him and in view of his lack of practical prison training.

THE INSTITUTION is inadequate. The housing in no way conforms to even the minimum of present day standards. The housekeeping is bad.

There are 38 guards and their maximum salary is $220 per month. They receive no training or guidance. They can only hope they do not make a mistake. There is no advancement through the ranks. There are few written rules or regulations for inmates or employes.

The men are housed in a dormitory-type cage or steel structure, with a runway on all sides. Supervision is by armed guards in a tower above the cage, which also serves as the armory. There is no central control of keys, locks, culinary equipment and tools, and no numbering of keys or locks.

The Ragen ★ Report

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This condition is extremely dangerous.

There is no academic or vocational training program; no classification program; no information or record of any significance is maintained as to the inmates.

The food is prepared by an unskilled steward with the help of inmates. The best of food ingredients, not properly prepared and served, constitutes a waste.

The doctor visits the institution twice a week, but I am advised he is on call.

The commissary privileges are inadequate. I was told money is not allowed in the hands of the inmates, but the warden indicated that contraband does appear from time to time.

The inmate library contains very few books and the men confined in the dormitories are allowed a radio and television. The general population is permitted Sunday newspapers.

THE PRISON reservation consists of 100 acres of land. A large quarry is located on the reservation, with the remaining acreage in pasture for the few cows that supply a part of the milk used. A few hogs are raised and, while there is no farm program, a few vegetables are grown.

The only employment is provided by the rock quarry. It is my understanding that rock is crushed and piled, and a little is used for road construction. This operation is costing thousands of dollars each year and little constructive or useful is being accomplished. When an inmate works, he should be able to see the fruits of his labor.

MEN ARE removed from the building to an adjoining one on the outside of the cell houses, where they are dressed in clothing for work in the quarry. Perhaps this is thought to be a safeguard, but is a health hazard as well as degrading to the men.

The segregation unit is on the second floor of the building. It perhaps would be suitable for isolation, if remodeled, but is not, in my opinion, proper for segregation of men.

Isolation is located in the basement and is a disgrace and discredit to the state. It is dark and the ventilation is bad. No one was confined at the time, but certainly no human should be in this section.

As previously stated, this institution should be condemned as unfit for the housing of human beings and should be abandoned as soon as possible; however, the building could be gutted and modernized and another section added, converting it into dormitories that could be properly supervised and used to house misdemeanants that are acceptable from the county camps.

There should be an academic and vocational program established to give help to these misdemeanants during their confinement.

TO FURTHER occupy these men, I would suggest that a toy repair project be inaugurated. The service clubs of Atlanta could furnish material (paint, a few nuts and bolts, dress goods for doll clothing, etc.) which I am sure they would be glad to do, and with advertising through the press, radio, etc., discarded toys could be picked up at a designated location or locations throughout the city. Truck and transportation companies, I am sure, would also cooperate if a definite day were set to pick up these discarded toys, and would return a completed load to a central location to be distributed to poor and underprivileged youngsters at Christmas and Easter time. Without a doubt thousands of toys could be renovated and the program would serve a twofold purpose — afford a little happiness to poor children, and just as important, occupy the men and in some cases, teach a trade beneficial to them after release.

Also recommended is the establishment of an upholstery and repair shop for used furniture.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Reception and Diagnostic Center.

L.E

DIAGNOSTIC CENTER

Psychiatrist, Dentist Needed With Room for Expansion

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

The need for a Diagnostic Center for the classification of all felons in the Georgia State Prison System is clearly ascertained. This center should be established at the earliest possible date.

This department should be adequately staffed with at least a psychiatrist, psychologists, sociologists, a competent medical man and one dentist. These staff members should be constituted as the Classification Board. Each felon sentenced to the prison system could then be examined and classified by the board and transferred to the institution recommended by the board.

It should be established and constructed where there is the greatest concentration of population within an area not more than 40 miles from a university so that the recommended professional staff can be recruited. It is practically impossible to obtain qualified personnel if the center is far removed from the university area, where there are graduate programs in psychology and sociology.

IT IS IMPORTANT that this professional staff be practical and cooperative. In all fields there are so-called "do-gooders" who are most impractical in an effective prison program. In a desirable classification program the staff members, in addition to their professional knowledge, must have their "feet on the ground" so to say, and must follow practical recommendations most beneficial to the rehabilitation of the inmate.

They must also keep in mind that the Department of Corrections is first responsible for the safe custody of prisoners and then rehabilitation; academic and vocational education; religious training; recreation, etc. and that by all means discipline be imposed; for without proper discipline there can be no program.

This Classification Board should act in an advisory capacity to the director and should have no administrative authority in the custody or general operation of the Diagnostic Center.

Every warden, where possible, should follow the classification recommendations as closely as possible in assignments and treatment.

THE FINDINGS of the Classification Board, upon admittance of the inmate, will also be very helpful to the Parole Board in evaluating inmates for parole. It is also recommended that prior to the parole of an inmate, the Parole Board request a member of the Classification Board to re-evaluate the inmate so that the Parole Board members may have the benefit of current findings. This reevaluation by the Classification Board member would be accomplished at the prison where the inmate is housed.

The Diagnostic Center should be a well-constructed cell house, composed of approximately 200 cells and not more than two galleries high. It should have a number of divisions where men can be segregated if the need should arise.

There should be at least 10 small interview rooms and a

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conference room for the use of the professional staff in conducting group therapy and counseling.

There should also be adequate office space for the staff and a stenographic pool, and a first aid room for medical and dental examinations. (If surgery is indicated, the inmate should be removed to hospital facilities in the proposed adjoining institution).

The Diagnostic Center should be within an enclosure with ample security measures for a recreation yard, and in my opinion should cost no more than $750,000 if inmate labor is used, with practical civilian supervision.

Proposed Institution Adjoining Diagnostic Center

Within an adjoining enclosure, but not connected to the Diagnostic Center, should be another cell house, or two, for the housing of 300 to 400 inmates of the recidivist, non-comformist and non-improvable type.

The Rock Quarry institution should be abandoned as soon as possible so far as housing felons is concerned, and the type of men assigned to Buford removed to this proposed institution as soon as it is completed, or to Reidsville.

I am sure that in Reidsville, and in some of the camps, as well as in the new men being committed, there will always be enough of the above mentioned types that should not be committed to institutions where there are men of the improvable type. There are many men in prison who do not want anything but a life of crime. Many prisoners, subsequent to being released from prison, go back to crime for a livelihood. They consider arrest and conviction an occupational hazard.

Inmates of this type (and many have long prison records) serve their time and after release follow the same line of endeavor. Ninty-five per cent of this type are good prisoners and serve their time and cooperate in an institutional program.

There is a small percentage of men in all prisons who are psycopaths and troublemakers. This type, in many cases, must be segregated; therefore, within this proposed institution, there should be a building with 25 cells to separate the troublemakers from the general population. Many men, however, after being segregated for a period of time, can be successfully released into the general population, but most men of this type need close supervision.

I am very familiar with the type of inmate suggested for this proposed institution and I know that these men will serve time with more ease if the discipline is strict, but fair, and if they are given assignments to keep them occupied.

Also within this proposed adjoining enclosure, should be constructed the buildings necessary for the successful operation of an institution housing approximately 500 men—kitchen, dining room, bakery, laundry, heating plant, small, but completely equipped hospital, etc.

The food for the men in the Diagnostic Center should be prepared here and served from steam tables on wheels. Laundry should also be done for the center, thus eliminating the expense of installing separate kitchen, laundry, heating, etc., facilities at the Diagnostic Center. Medical and dental personnel can serve both institutions.

In this proposed institution, there should also be a garment department of sufficient size to employ approximately 200 men, to manufacture all of the clothing needs (everything from a handkerchief to a suit of clothing) for all male wards of the state, including patients in the state hospital.

There should also be an academic and vocational training program. While most of those assigned would be of the non-improvable type, there will be a certain percentage who will improve if given some help and guidance.

At a later time, it may be desirable to establish more industries. I, therefore, suggest sufficient land—at least 80 acres—be acquired for expansion purposes.

I am sure if the suggested program is followed, it will pay great dividends to the Georgia Prison System in a few years. With competent civilian supervision and inmate construction workers, this annex should cost less than $3,500,000. Plain, practical building construction is all that is needed—so-called gingerbread and a lot of walls and corners cost money and serve no useful purpose.

It is my understanding that Georgia, by using prison labor can construct at the rate of approximately $3.50 per square foot.

Proposed Prison In Hart County

Farm land in Hart County, Ga., which I understand was purchased by the Department of Corrections as a location for a proposed prison, is only a few miles from the South Carolina border. I do not consider it a practical location for several reasons:

1. It is not centrally located.
2. It is far removed from Metropolitan areas from where a high percentage of prison populations emanate.
3. Staffing and transportation would be very expensive.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: General Guidelines on Running a Prison System.

L.E.

MAN IT 24 HOURS A DAY

Armory of Prime Importance To Any Penal Institution

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

An armory is a most important assignment. A major institution should have a strong room in the administration building, manned by an employe throughout the 24-hour period, who aids in the supervision of passageways and movement of inmates in the administration building, and in particular, the opening and closing of gates where inmates may be passing through the guardhall.

Guns, munitions, keys, flashlights, hacksaw blades and other instruments which would be dangerous should they fall into the hands of inmates should be kept in the armory, and maintained in top condition at all times.

ALL ARTICLES withdrawn should be receipted for, either by the depositing of employe's numbered identification tag or a written receipt that is returned to the individual on return of the article. At the end of each work period, the armory officer must notify his relief as to all items not returned and give him other pertinent information pertaining to the assignment.

Keys should be numbered, as should be corresponding locks on doors, windows, etc., throughout the institution, and the keys for a particular assignment or shop, carried on one large key ring.

It is of prime importance that an accurate inventory be maintained of everything in the armory, firearm numbers, etc., and also of the tags and receipts deposited for the items issued therefrom.

Commissaries

There should be a commissary or PX where prisoners, with money on deposit in their account, can purchase snacks, tobacco, candy and other permissible items; however, no inmate should be permitted to spend more than $6 per week. If there is no limit on commissary purchases, merchandise will be used as a medium of exchange in place of money.

INMATES SHOULD NOT be permitted to carry or have money in their possession at any time. If this is not now in effect in any Georgia prisons, an order should be issued giving them 2

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of an institution within the Georgia Department of Corrections.

Education Program

The Department of Public Safety in Illinois, and I know the same arrangement exists in several other states, has set up educational programs in each institution by making arrangements with local school authorities in the community where an institution is located to recognize the prison schools. Qualified teachers are employed to teach prison schools and in some cases qualified inmates are used under the supervision of civilian teachers. The curriculum of the prison schools is in line with that of the community schools.

INMATES, capable of learning and with less than an eighth grade education, must attend school until they have completed eight grades, at the end of which a member of the local school faculty holds an examination, grades the papers, and if the inmate qualifies, he is given an eighth grade diploma, the same as any child receives who graduates from the eighth grade in the community school. After graduating from eighth grade, all inmates are encouraged to attend high school, the same arrangement with the high school in the community of the institution prevailing as is followed in the grade school set-up.

It is to be understood that the prisons have qualified civilians in charge of the prison schools. In some institutions, college courses by TV are carried on in the above mentioned manner and recognition is given by the college in which the program originates.

THEN TOO, every institution should have a vocational program whereby at least 40 vocations can be offered and due recognition is given to those who finish the vocation of their selection. It is most important to administer aptitude tests to inmates before assigning them to any vocation to see whether they are capable of carrying it. Many will over-rate their ability.

It is most important that the Georgia institutions set up a rule book covering all assignments of the particular institution. However, as time goes on, after the rule book has been completed, it will be necessary to issue information and orders covering rules and regulations. It is most important that all employes understand and know of new orders covering rules and regulations, therefore the following procedure should be followed:

The new orders should be read at roll call and copies placed on the bulletin boards and a copy placed in a loose-leaf binder at the entrance of the institution proper, preferably at the guardhall gate where employes who may have been on vacation or on sick leave at the time the order was issued will have the opportunity to bring themselves up to date on the latest rules and regulations pertaining to the institution.

IN ADDITION to a rule book for inmates, it will also be necessary to issue orders and regulations for inmates; a copy of such should be placed in each assignment in the institution and also read over the institution public address system. In this way, there will be no excuse for inmates claiming they are not up on the rules and regulations of the institution.

Food

Good food is very important in any penal institution. It should be of first quality, properly prepared and served, if full value is to be derived. Under no circumstances should its preparation and serving be left in the hands of an amateur. A qualified steward should be appointed for each institution. The saving in waste, properly balanced meals and the feeling good food creates will more than compensate his salary. Bad food or that haphazardly prepared and served, only causes discontent and unrest.

All food in camps or institutions should be served cafeteria style. The cafeteria system will not only save food but it will be warm at time of serving.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Housekeeping, Parole and Other Phases of Prison Operation.

Commissaries

There should be a commissary or PX where prisoners, with money on deposit in their account, can purchase snacks, tobacco, candy and other permissible items; however, no inmate should be permitted to spend more than $6 per week. If there is no limit on commissary purchases, merchandise will be used as a medium of exchange in place of money.

INMATES SHOULD NOT be permitted to carry or have money in their possession at any time. If this is not now in effect in any Georgia prisons, an order should be issued giving them 2 weeks in which to turn in the money; thereafter, money found on anyone should be considered contraband, turned in to the Inmates' Benefit Fund and the possessor disciplined. Money is most dangerous in any prison; favors can be bought, illegitimate activities engaged in and unfortunately some employe personnel will deal with inmates for cash considerations.

Construction

I find that by using inmates in construction programs under the supervision of qualified civilian construction foremen, the cost of most buildings would be no more than $3.50 per square foot, which, in my opinion, is constructing practical buildings at a very minimum cost; it is giving employment, which is so important in a prison operation. Then, too, it is most important to teach inmates some sort of a vocation during their term of confinement.

Discipline

Most inmates find their way to institutions because of lack of discipline in the home, school and in the free community. People who are not supervised and guided during their formative years, in later years, in many cases, build up a desire to resist authority, and are particularly the type people who find their way into institutions.

THEREFORE, it is most important that in addition to the proper educational program and guidance, discipline for inmates must be positive but fair.

Any employe in charge of an assignment must have full control over those inmates in his charge, or any so-called gain towards rehabilitation will be lost. Institutions without discipline for inmates or employes will fail.

No warden can be expected to carry the responsibility of covering all assignments in the institution, and he must, by necessity, delegate responsibilities to other competent employes.

The chain of command, if followed by those in authority, will be helpful in the administration

Atl. Jour. 6/6/63
R. E.

Employment Help

New Clothes, Few Dollars Should Go With Release

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

It is my understanding that inmates being released from an institution in Georgia today are given very few clothes and no money, other than a ticket to the county of conviction. The Department of Correction should establish a system whereby each felon released should be given a suit of clothes, shoes, underwear, etc. and at least $20 in cash to sustain him until he finds employment. Misdemeanants should be given a cheap suit of clothes and a few dollars.

Housekeeping

Cells, shops and every assignment throughout the institution should be spic and span at all times. There should not be a given time for cleaning up—it should be on a continuous basis.

Most inmates must be taught the art of housekeeping. They are notorious for hoarding contraband, clothing and other paraphernalia, which is certainly not in line with good housekeeping. They should be issued a given number of articles of clothing—underwear, pants, coat, shirts, shoes, etc. and should be charged therewith. Under no circumstances should anything be replaced unless the old or worn articles are turned into the Clothing Room.

Informers or Stool Pigeons

An institution should not be operated on the basis of inmate stool pigeons or informers. While I know that every institution is populated by men who are more than ready to tell stories on others to gain a point for themselves, under no circumstances should any inmate be punished on the word of another inmate and if word comes to any prison personnel, it should be thoroughly investigated before action is taken. Stool pigeons or informers are dangerous to any institution.

A warden, if he is to be successful, must have a properly trained custodial force and operate on their findings rather than the word of any inmate, but most important, all information received by an employe should be checked for authenticity, etc.

Mail

Inmates confined in any institution must keep in contact with their family or friends so that if and when released, there will be someone interested in helping him when returned to a free society. It is most important that inmates

The Ragen ★ Report

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speak, and enter society without supervision.

Georgia has provision for minimum and maximum sentencing. In this manner, those thought to be good parole risks can be released by the Parole Board after serving an eligibility period; others held until ready for release, and whether we like to think so or not, there are a few in prison who should never be released, or at least should be held for many years.

Men being released should be fitted with acceptable street clothing so as not to be identified as ex-convicts, and should be given at least $20 to carry them until a check is earned.

Plant Maintenance

Most important to any institution is a capable plant maintenance man titled the chief engineer or the master mechanic. Working under his supervision should be sufficient maintenance men of various trades, whatever the needs may be, to maintain equipment, buildings, etc., of the institution. Inmates assigned to these men should be capable of learning the trade and each trade should be a vocation and a school build around each trade. Available to inmates and civilians should be a proper library covering all phases of plant maintenance and maintenance work in general. Inmates, if they have the money, or if the institution can pay for it, should be permitted to take courses by correspondence or classroom training under the supervision of qualified maintenance people.

With proper maintenance and good supervision, the State of Georgia can save many, many dollars and at the same time, while inmates are serving their time in the institution, they can be learning a trade which would be an asset to them after their release into a free society.

Those who finish the trade and qualify should be given some sort of a certificate or diploma, if at all possible, issued after an examination by a qualified person at the local high school, or tradesmen who are qualified to sign the certificate, with no identification so far as the prison is concerned.

Radio

In each institution, be it a maximum security prison or a prison camp, a master radio should be installed and each inmate issued a pair of earphones. This master radio should be located so that the programs can be supervised by a civilian while on duty. Several stations can be made available if switch boxes are placed where the earphones are plugged in. The system today is not only impractical but inmates who want to read or sleep must listen to radio programs selected by someone, be they good or bad.

Then, too, there are some programs that should not be permitted — crime, riots, etc. In many prisons, escapes have been made possible because of the noise of radios and TVs. The sound of sawing of bars, etc., is covered by the noise of the radio.

Recreation

Very important in any institution is a worthwhile recreational program; work, education, religious services, of course, should always come first, but at the end of a work period, there should be time allotted in the recreation yard so inmates may be enabled to "blow off steam," so to say. It is urgently recommended that a well - rounded recreational program be established in each institution encompassing such sports as baseball, softball, volley ball, badminton, horse shoes, checkers, chess, dominoes — anything to change the routine of prison life for an hour at the end of a work period.

Reservation

Prisons as a rule are well supplied with manpower. The lawns and gardens should be neat and be a beauty spot so far as landscaping is concerned. Landscaping and horticulture is a fine vocation if taught by a qualified leader. Proper landscaping will be one of the fine scenic aspects that an institution can offer to the citizens and visitors.

Surplus Property

It is my understanding that there is equipment in institutions in other governmental departments of the State of Georgia that is not in use. I refer particularly to an abattoir, or slaughterhouse, and a feed mill at the Milledgeville institution, which is under the jurisdiction of another state department.

There should be a property control setup, whereby all surplus property could be listed by institution and if needed by another institution, be transferred to various State Departments or Divisions.

Sex Perversion

There are sex offenders confined in all institutions. It is most important that they be classified, closely supervised, segregated and assigned to details where they will be under the close supervision of an officer at all times. Sex deviates are a potential source of serious trouble in an inmate population and unless there is the closest supervision, stabbings, possibly killings and certainly unrest can be expected.

Contraband

Show me an institution with loose upervision of tools and equipment and I will show you an institution full of contraband.

A tool crib should be established on each assignment—a place not to deposit some of the tools, but all of them. The tools for each assignment should be identified with a code number or letter, and tools when issued should be charged to the person (inmate or employe) to whom they are issued and he should be held responsible for the safe return of the tool at the end of the work period.

Contraband can mean knives, "escape tools" and other items dangerous and detrimental to the welfare of the institution and its population (inmates and employes.) The checking and counting of tools and close supervision of equipment, emery wheels, lathes, etc., is most important.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Prison Industries.

A warden, if he is to be successful, must have a properly trained custodial force and operate on their findings rather than the word of any inmate, but most important, all information received by an employe should be checked for authenticity, etc.

Mail

Inmates confined in any institution must keep in contact with their family or friends so that if and when released, there will be someone interested in helping him when returned to a free society. It is most important that inmates be permitted to list those people whom they expect to have visit them and correspond with them.

Inmates should be permitted to write at least one letter each week and be permitted to receive all mail that is forwarded to them; however, both incoming and outgoing mail should be carefully censored.

Most important to an institution is that nothing comes in from the outside to inmates. I refer to boxes and packages of food stuff, clothing or any parcel whatsoever. The inmate commissary or PX should carry all permissible items and in most cases the commissary items purchased by inmates in the PX will be cheaper than relatives and friends can purchase them on the outside. Then, too, the profits of the PX should be returned to inmates in the way of athletic equipment, library books, etc.

Money and Valuables

Under no circumstances should inmates be permitted to have money on their person or be in a position where they can get money. All monies and valuables belonging to inmates should be held in the business office. If there is money in the institution at this time, it is suggested that inmates be given 10 days to two weeks to turn in their money to the business office and be given a proper receipt.

After that date, money should be considered contraband and those in possession of it should lose it and it should be placed in a benefit fund where it could be spent for athletic equipment, library books, school supplies, etc.

By no means should money be transferred from one inmate to another. All care should be taken to see that an inmate with money in the institution does not forward it to someone on the outside and have them return it to another inmate in payment of a debt, who is a friend of the inmate having the money.

Newspapers

Inmates who have money and can buy daily newspapers should be permitted to do so providing they come from the publisher. Under no circumstances should second hand papers be mailed in from the outside nor should relatives be permitted to subscribe for papers for them. All subscriptions should originate in the institution. Friends and relatives who want the inmate to have periodicals or newspapers can deposit the money for them in the institution.

Parole

It is my opinion that under ideal custodial and post-release procedures the release of all felons should be by parole and parole only or by conditional release where parole is not indicated. No one should be discharged with "no strings attached," so to

PRODUCTIVE WORK

Prison Industry Facilities For 1,500 Are Needed

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

A survey of the Georgia Prison System reveals the startling information that less than 100 prisoners are provided with full time productive employment in prison industries. More than 1,500 should be working and producing useful items in manufacturing enterprises.

It is very evident, of course, that these extremely large and disproportionate number of work assignments outside the prison are due to the fact that there is nothing for the prisoners to do inside.

It is only necessary to compare the Georgia Prison System with other states of approximately the same size and similar conditions to realize the tremendous potential for improvements in prisoner work programs with the accompanying rehabilitative opportunities.

IT IS ALSO significant to review recent suggestions and recommendations made by some officials in the Georgia Department of Corrections in the past, as well as resolutions and bills passed by the Georgia Legislature. Without exception, these recommendations, resolutions and requests have been directed towards a program of expansion in the area of prison industries.

In spite of these efforts on the part of some officials and legislators during the past period of years, nothing has happened.

The purpose of this report is to make some positive recommendations for a program of prisoner employment in a diversified program of industries, which will result in full time productive employment for 1,500 to 2,000 prisoners. This cannot be accomplished immediately. However, the plan for future developments can be established now and, if programmed properly, will result in the ultimate goal being reached within a period of five years.

The Ragen ★ Report

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FIRST OF ALL, a planning program requires that certain assumptions be made and certain requirements be spelled out. For the purpose of planning a prison industries program, certain assumptions have already been spelled out in this report in terms of the number, type and size of correctional institutions where one or more industrial shops will be desirable.

The main state prison at Reidsville is now and will continue to be the largest single institution. It will house adult males and will conduct a continuing large agricultural program, but at the same time, plans should be made there for the largest industrial facilities in the prison system of Georgia. The institution should provide facilities for felons, only with sentences of more than one year. No misdemeanants should be housed at Reidsville.

The Georgia Industrial Institute in Alto should continue to be an institution for youthful offenders, but should not be limited to a maximum age if a useful purpose is to be served by transferring a limited numbers of older prisoners to this institution.

AN AGRICULTURAL program, in terms of dairy, truck farming and other similar activities should continue, but must be greatly improved and enlarged. Emphasis should be placed on academic education and vocational training programs with industrial assignments available for a limited number of inmates. Industrial assignments should be of such a character that the academic and vocational training facilities will contribute towards a certain number of production workers.

The women prisoners at Milledgeville should continue to carry on their very productive and useful work assignments at the State Hospital, but a small percentage of women should be available for a small production type garment factory with emphasis on training for future outside employment.

A new institution should be constructed which would serve as a reception and diagnostic center, with an annex that would provide facilities for a group of maximum security prisoners. It is estimated that between 400 and 500 maximum security prisoners will be maintained at this institution as more or less permanent assignments.

On the basis of the above assumptions, recommendations are made for each of the above institutions with indications where special requirements should be provided and in the case of the main prison at Reidsville, the industrial plans suggested are listed in the order of recommended priority.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Prison Industries at Reidsville.

Reidsville Needs Several Industries

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By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

A diversified group of prison industries is being suggested for Reidsville, where the majority of the state prisoners will be assigned.

It has been demonstrated in other states that diversification is a very important element to be considered when planning and activating the prison industrial program. There also should be diversification of products within each industry as much as possible.

A number of small to medium industrial activities will provide a much broader basis for training programs and permit more effective placement in terms of classification than a few large industrial enterprises. In addition, by diversifying industrial plants, the impact on any one outside industry in terms of competition is very much reduced and usually would be most insignificant.

The total prison population of 2,000 at Reidsville, all or certainly most of them to be confined within the main enclosure, will provide adequate labor for all the recommended industrial plants. However, it is strongly recommended that a dormitory, with all facilities, be constructed for inmates assigned to the farm outside the enclosure.

If there is not sufficient area within the present fenced enclosure of the institution to permit the construction of sufficient floor area to house the industries suggested, additional area requirements should be provided by constructing a single fenced enclosure outside of the present institution which will be designated as the industrial area and will be provided with necessary security facilities, such as guard towers, to permit assignments of any of the prison population to the work areas.

The guard towers for the industrial area, of course, should be manned during the daytime or working periods only, since all prisoners would return to the main enclosure at the end of each work day.

Metalworking Industry

The metalworking industry has been given top priority for several reasons:

1. Modern equipment should replace present obsolete license plate industry machinery.
2. It is logical, practical and profitable to expand from license plates into other metal products.
3. This industry provides the greatest source of diversified inmate training.
4. Profits or savings from the sales of metal products are higher than any other industry.
5. Adequate and suitable space is presently available.

The present license plate factory recently acquired two new presses, but the remainder of the machinery still being used is antiquated and worn out. It lacks adequate capacity and is so badly worn that it is impossible to maintain satisfactory standards of quality. This plant should be modernized and equipped with the latest and most efficient equipment now available for the license plate industry.

Many states have demonstrated the feasibility of expanding from license plates into highway

The metalworking industry is the only production shop suggested for the present factory building inside the main prison. The same building probably will have adequate space to provide room for a group of maintenance shops as well as the production requirements for the metalworking plant.

Canning Industry

The present canning plant is inadequate and much of the equipment is in need of replacement. Because of the high productive land available at Reidsville, it is reasonable to suggest that the canning operation should be modernized and expanded so that productive capacity not only will be sufficient for the correctional institutions but also will have a surplus for use at other state institutions.

The canning operation should be moved outside the present enclosure and installed in a new building located in the industrial area. This building should be designed for the specific purpose of housing canning machinery and structural designs should be incorportated which will permit the most efficient operating methods.

Meat Packing and Processing

Reidsville has one of the finest and most productive prison farms in America and, in my opinion, can grow to maturity enough cattle and hogs to take care of all State Hospital and prison meat needs. There is no reason an abattoir of sufficient size could not be made a part of their industrial program.

Fresh and smoked meats and sausages, etc., could be processed and delivered in refrigerator trucks to all institutions. It may be necessary at times to purchase livestock on the hoof if the farm could not supply the needs.

Garment Factory

There is a small nucleus of a production garment factory at Reidsville now, but it should be expanded and moved to the proposed annex to the Diagnostic Center. The production in this shop should be primarily the manufacture of all cotton work garments required for the state institutions, as well as similar products required by other state institutions or institutions of any political subdivision desiring them.

The plant should be equipped with modern machinery, and production methods as well as plant layouts should conform to accepted outside manufacturing standards. At a later date, wool garments should be manufactured.

Book Repair Industry

The best example of a successful book repair industry in a prison is the plant at the State Penitentiary in South Carolina. The savings to the textbook agency exceeds $150,000 annually. This industry has a rather unique characteristic in that it provides employment to a substantial number of physically handicapped or elderly prisoners who could not otherwise be given productive employment.

Aside from the very impressive savings to the using agencies, this industry will show a profit to the Prison Industrial Department

and give training and skills as well as good work habits to a substantial number of inmates.

A new building will be required for this operation, and the planning for this structure should incorporate sufficient floor area to permit the printing industry to be operated in the same building with the book repair operations.

The bookbinding plant should be located in the annex of the former women's prison.

Soap Plant and Paint Factory

These two industrial plants can supply all state needs. They quite often are operated together and it is advantageous to house them under the same roof. This is not because of similarity in production equipment or methods, but because of some of the quality control requirements maintained in the chemical laboratory.

Aside from the training value for prisoners and the savings in cost to the using agencies, these two industries have demonstrated that by maintaining close and accurate control over raw materials and formulations, the consistency and quality of the finished product can be maintained at a very high level.

Laundry

With the population at Reidsville, it is strongly suggested that a building be constructed and laundry equipment be purchased to do laundry work for state hospitals within a hundred miles. Trucks and trailers in which to deliver the clean laundry and pick up the soiled laundry will be a requirement. Laundry work done by prisons today is a practical operation and is being followed by many states in the above fashion.

Knitting Industry

This plant would be equipped with machinery to produce all types of knitted underwear, sweaters and men's, women's and children's hosiery. The assembly operation for knitted underwear requires a variety of sewing machines, and maintenance mechanics can be taught to inmates.

Tobacco Industry

This plant would be designed for the production of tobacco and tobacco products currently being issued as free items to patients of state hospitals as well as inmates of the correctional institutions. Smoking tobacco undoubtedly would be the biggest item, although other products such as chewing tobaccos also would be manufactured.

Florida recently has modernized and expanded the tobacco industry at the state prison. It has been a very successful operation for many years. Georgia's farm land can supply the tobacco for this industry.

Wood Furniture

Although the state undoubtedly is purchasing a substantial volume of wood items (cabinets, trays, tables, chairs, etc.) for offices and other purposes, this activity has been given comparatively low priority because of the rather high cost of machinery, equipment and buildings, together with the fact that to be successful, there must be available supervisors and technical personnel with experience and training in these specific areas of institution furniture requirements.

Quite often this type of instructional personnel demands higher compensation than prison industries are permitted to pay, with the result that quality and quantity of production suffers. The possibility should not be ignored.

Summary

If all of the above recommended industrial programs are activated at Reidsville, they should provide full time employment for 1,200 to 1,500 prisoners. It is inconceivable that all of these activities can be installed in a short period of time. A planning program which contemplates an initial expenditure of $500,000 to $750,000 for buildings and equipment for the first year and $150,000 to $300,000 over a period of succeeding years until completion should provide a reasonable and practical schedule of expansion.

Eventually the value of production from these shops should total $2,000,000 to $2,500,000 annually, and the earnings or profits from operations should be sufficient to substantially offset their initial cost and return continual dividends to the state—both tangible and in the eventual rehabilitation of the men and women whose lives are reshaped by this constructive effort.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Industry and Training at Alto, Milledgeville and Elsewhere.

5. Adequate and suitable space is presently available.

The present license plate factory recently acquired two new presses, but the remainder of the machinery still being used is antiquated and worn out. It lacks adequate capacity and is so badly worn that it is impossible to maintain satisfactory standards of quality. This plant should be modernized and equipped with the latest and most efficient equipment now available for the license plate industry.

Many states have demonstrated the feasibility of expanding from license plates into highway signs and other sheet metal products. There is a similarity in various areas of production and it is very logical, practical and profitable to integrate, coordinate and organize equipment and production methods for a variety of metal products and metal furniture.

The production of highway signs and road markers for the State Highway Department will provide employment for a very substantial number of prisoners and the counties and cities of the state will significantly increase the market for these items. The expansion recommended would include facilities for the manufacture of steel lockers, shelving, cabinets, cupboards and other similar products used by state institutions and agencies.

No other prison industry offers the diversified and valuable training opportunities that are to be found in the metal-working plant. More than 20 different work assignments are available and skills can be acquired in the areas of press and shear operators, tool and die set-up men, welders, both gas and electric, as well as spray painting and finishing assignments. This is the type of work that appeals most to men and because it is a man's occupation and many skills can be acquired, the motivation of workers is much greater than with some less attractive industrial work programs.

There is a very substantial and attractive margin of profit or savings from the operation of this industry because the difference between raw materials and normal selling price of all products is considerable, and therefore the earnings for this industry will usually exceed any other production shops.

There is ample space now available in the license plate factory to permit modernization and some expansion. More space will be available as soon as the industrial area outside the prison enclosure becomes a reality and new industry buildings are erected in that compound.

Book Repair Industry

The best example of a successful book repair industry in a prison is the plant at the State Penitentiary in South Carolina. The savings to the textbook agency exceeds $150,000 annually. This industry has a rather unique characteristic in that it provides employment to a substantial number of physically handicapped or elderly prisoners who could not otherwise be given productive employment.

Aside from the very impressive savings to the using agencies, this industry will show a profit to the Prison Industrial Department

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New Building Needed

FURNITURE PLANT AT ALTO SUGGESTED FOR TRAINING

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

This institution, with a population of youthful offenders, most of them requiring academic or vocational training opportunities, has certain inherent problems which appear when a production industry is introduced.

There are, of course, a limited number of young men in an institution of this kind, who will benefit more from exposure to a production routine than from strictly academic or vocational training programs. There would be another group that would benefit through a combination of academic, vocational and industrial training.

TUBULAR FURNITURE: The equipment and variety of job assignments present in a tubular production line makes this industry particularly well adapted to the programs mentioned earlier. Many of the skills and occupational know-how can be obtained within relatively short periods of time. Furthermore, the actual work assignments are of such a character that they create an interest in the younger men so that their interest and attention can be maintained.

Some efforts have been made in the direction of tubular school furniture production at this institution, but its productive capacity is very definitely limited and restricted because component parts are purchased rather than manufactured. Equipment for the actual production of all components permits a much more flexible operation, a more diversified line of products and economies in manufacturing costs. Adequate and suitable space is not available for a complete manufacturing plant so that a new building would have to be planned and constructed.

FURNITURE REPAIR AND UPHOLSTERING: This particular type of work has been selected because of its important training value and the possible application of skills on jobs after release. Every state, county and city have large quantities of both wood and metal furniture that can be salvaged and restored to usefulness and, if properly equipped with tools and materials, the work can be performed by young prisoners with resulting good quality finished items and valuable training for future application.

The upholstering of settees and chairs produced in the tubular steel furniture factory is only one of many applications. The resto-

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expect preferential consideration and by all means, clothing for female prisoners and some hospital patients should be manufactured.

Reception and Diagnostic Center And Annex

This is a new institution recommended in another section of the report. In addition to having facilities for receiving and classifying new prisoners, it is proposed that the annex institution be provided with cell facilities for four to five hundred men and a small maximum security facility designed to provide living and working quarters for four to five hundred prisoners requiring custody controls not available at other institutions.

In this annex institution, it is recommended that a modern tailor shop be constructed in which to assign at least 200 men to manufacture everything in the clothing line from a handkerchief to a finished suit and overcoat. This shop would not only provide employment but real trade training for men during confinement.

Expansion of Prison Industries

There is a critical need for expanding prison industries in the Georgia correctional institutions. Present operations are not only completely inadequate from the standpoint of providing needed employment, but do not provide a diversified base of training for prison population.

It is not the purpose of this report to provide specialized advice on the expansion and improve-

Incentive Pay, Time Allowances

It has been well established by experience in other progressive correctional systems that the successful operation of prison industries makes it necessary that adequate incentives for productive work and accomplishment be provided. The present pay plan for prisoners who are employed in the Georgia institutions is not adequate for this purpose.

Consideration should be given to the establishment of the pay scale arrangement whereby men employed in productive industries would be paid on a basis in keeping with their productive efforts. Consideration should also be given to providing special good time allowances for those employed in industry. This has been found to be most helpful in generating good work habits and maximum production.

Industries Law

It is noted that the present statutes under which Georgia prison industries are operated contain the necessary provisions to enable the development of a sound and comprehensive state use type prison industries system. The statutes provide the necessary authority to require state departments to purchase items which can properly be made in the institutions. It would appear that failure to utilize this authority properly be made in the institutions. It would appear that failure to utilize this authority properly is the result of lack of funds and lack of aggressive administration and that this failure has not only resulted in a loss of revenue to the state in terms of savings and state purchases, but has contributed to the idleness and lack of rehabilitation in the institution. Experience has shown that with the proper management of prison industries on a business-like basis and the establishment of industries which have been carefully determined to fit into the state use requirements, as discussed above, prison industries can, over a period of years, become self-supporting and actually return funds to the State Treasury.

Several systems now having established state use type industries with revolving funds, return periodically substantial sums of money to the government. However, it is to be remembered that a good product must be manufactured. Unless the product is good, other tax-supported bodies will and should refuse to accept them. It costs no more to produce a good product than an inferior one, but to produce a good product there must be competent civilian leadership and discipline.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: The need for training in prison.

lar type of work has been selected because of its important training value and the possible application of skills on jobs after release. Every state, county and city have large quantities of both wood and metal furniture that can be salvaged and restored to usefulness and, if properly equipped with tools and materials, the work can be performed by young prisoners with resulting good quality finished items and valuable training for future application.

The upholstering of settees and chairs produced in the tubular steel furniture factory is only one of many applications. The restoration of institution and office furniture requiring re-upholstering is in itself a trade on the outside.

Women's Prison at Milledgeville

The women at this institution are performing a very valuable service to the hospital and at the same time many of them are receiving instructions and training which will provide them with occupational opportunities after discharge.

There is need for an academic educational program for more of the women and undoubtedly a small industrial operation such as a production type garment factory would be very valuable. It need not be large to have high productive capacity.

Equipment should be as diversified as possible so as to offer training in as many areas of the sewing trade as is practical. All equipment and production methods should be patterned on outside factory procedures so that women assigned to this project will obtain the training and skill which can be applied to work opportunities in outside industry.

It is of more than a passing interest to note that each year sees more garment factories established in the Southern and Southeastern states and the opportunities for obtaining employment are on the increase. Therefore, those with experience should naturally

ing for men during confinement.

Expansion of Prison Industries

There is a critical need for expanding prison industries in the Georgia correctional institutions. Present operations are not only completely inadequate from the standpoint of providing needed employment, but do not provide a diversified base of training for prison population.

It is not the purpose of this report to provide specialized advice on the expansion and improvement of the Prison Industries Program. Georgia should obtain the advice of well qualified prison industries specialists in this area before proceeding with any capital expenditure, either to improve existing industries or provide additional factories. Failure to do this can result in extensive outlays of funds for industries which are either not suited to the needs or are improperly laid out and developed. There is only one company in this field — the John R. Wald Co. of Huntingdon, Pa. — and I would suggest that it be consulted.

I would also suggest, because of the need for such products, that serious consideration be given to inauguration of the following industries:

MATTRESS FACTORY: This is one of the most profitable industrial plants in a prison, one that will give employment to people who are not qualified for tedious work. Mattresses can be made, not only for the prisons, but for all state institutions.

SHOE FACTORY: A shoe factory to supply shoes of all kinds for all wards of the state is a good industry for any institution.

COTTON YARN: Because of the cotton raised in the state of Georgia, serious consideration should be given to the construction of a cotton mill to process cotton and for the spinning of cotton yarn.

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REHABILITATION IGNORED

Untrained Guards Create Disrespect Among Inmates

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

In the Georgia Penal System today, little thought has been given to the selection or training of employes. The only qualifications a guard is expected to have is the "right connections" politically, and to be able to "hold his own." If he fulfills these qualifications, he is given a uniform and an assignment.

Too often, he lacks the requirements necessary for the just performance of his assignment. As a result, he creates within the inmates disrespect and fear and fails to gain their respect or trust.

No thought is given to rehabilitation or preparation of inmates for their return to society even though a great percentage of the prisoners will eventually be released.

It is a recognized fact that the prison guard is the person that is most in contact with the prisoners, and therefore, he is expected to develop within them a desire to prepare themselves for their return to free society. In addition, he must be firm, but fair, and have the know-how and ability to cope with nonconformists, sharp operators, etc.

After selecting employes who appear to be potentially fitted for work in the field of correction, it is then necessary for prison administrators to provide these employes with the proper and adequate training which will enable them to attain their highest degree of usefulness.

THE COMBINATION of ability, training and experience which go into the making of an effective correctional employe is not something which can be purchased, it must be created.

Today, many of the penal institutions of our country are being staffed with highly trained personnel. All custodial officers are chosen from a Civil Service or Personnel Department list of persons who have qualified by examination. Each is thoroughly investigated before employment by the Department of Correction.

There is no really solid Civil Service or Personnel Code now in effect in the Georgia Prison System except at the Milledgeville Hospital Branch.

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In my opinion, all employes with the exception of the warden of an institution, should be under the personnel or Civil Service Code. They should be selected by the warden after successful completion of an examination, interview and an investigation made by an independent investigative agency. This investigation should inquire into the man's background and standing in the community, relative to the type of person he may be, and if the person does not measure up to the standard set, he should not be employed.

Training Program

Applicants accepted for the position of guard in a modern penitentiary first undergo several weeks of training designed to acquaint them with the many problems that arise in handling men and women who have violated the laws. The result of this training is evidenced by the greater efficiency in the operation of the prisons, in the protection of the officers, the civilians and the taxpayers.

The purpose of a training school for guards is to develop and train prospective members of the custodial staff of the penal institutions so they will develop the qualifications necessary for the handling of inmates.

The basic requirements for leadership are stressed, and the student guard is trained to meet any emergency. The course is designed to develop a complete knowledge of the duties each officer may be executing so the student, upon completion of the course, may be able to immediately function as an active member of the custodial staff. . . .

The transition for personnel from civil employment to correctional work is, to say the least, difficult. The job he is to do must look very complex to the ordinary new correctional officer. In his orientation classes, he must be told and must thoroughly understand that he is not only to guard individual with an individual personality and treat each impartially. If rehabilitation of inmates is to be successful, it would seem he must possess almost every virtue of mankind.

It is most important that there be sufficient employes to cover every post; no institution can be operated successfully unless there is sufficient personnel.

In-Service Training

Programs for recruitment, basic orientation and continuous training of employes in correctional institutions have long since passed the stage where they were regarded as innovations and have become generally accepted as necessary adjuncts to the successful management of reformatories and prisons.

The need for such programs, linked closely as they are to the institution philosophy of correctional treatment, is, however, more acute in some areas than in others. As research into the knowledge of criminal behavior compel an unceasing revision of attitudes and beliefs, so, too, must the methods of custody and treatment undergo continuous change.

ONE OF the important precepts of correctional work is that human behavior, as found in its worsened and more extreme forms behind the walls and bars of penal institutions, is not something to be dealt with according only to prejudice and superstition. The analysis of and evaluation of human behavior are a many-faceted science, encompassing sociology, psychology, medicine and law, as well as other branches of human behavior.

Often too lightly regarded as a rehabilitative measure is the creation of a wholesome environment in prison. Reasonably pleasant and comfortable surroundings are essential in creating a receptive attitude on the part of the inmates toward the balance of the treatment program; however, custody is a penal administrator's first obligation.

WE REALIZE that custody alone is not enough and that treatment, training, occupation and physical care of inmates provide the foundations for a complete program. Discipline and training are the most important phases of institutional life. Until these objectives are achieved, little else can be accomplished.

This description of routine duties of a correctional officer may sound exaggerated, but it is typical of the performance expected in a well-operated institution. In larger maximum security prisons especially, no one maintains as close contact with the inmates as the officer on the inmates' assignments.

He is the one person who has

those who qualify. Those who fail to qualify should be reduced in salary or be removed from the service.

A living wage must be paid to custodial employes in the prisons and certainly this wage must be increased over the salary paid to employes in the Georgia prisons today. Unless a living wage is available, no institution can be expected to move forward, but by all means salary should be paid according to the job or post held—not on an individual basis; in other words, a captain should be paid a captain's salary; a lieutenant, a lieutenant's salary; a sergeant, a sergeant's salary; and a guard, a guard's salary, regardless of who the individual might be.

Retirement

I understand that Georgia does have an acceptable retirement program; this is most important for prison personnel. Georgia, by all means, should encourage participation therein so that after a man has served his state for the years required to be eligible for a pension, he will have something to look forward to in his old age.

Rules and Regulations

Available to every employe in every institution should be rules and regulations covering every assignment. . . .

It is impossible to include every rule and regulation in any rule book; therefore, as it becomes necessary, new rules and orders emanating from the warden only and over his signature, must be issued in bulletin form and read at the roll call of employes

A copy should be placed on bulletin boards throughout the institution and one in a loose-leaf binder located in the guardhall of the institution easily accessible to employes who may have been absent on vacation or sick leave. At the end of the year, these bulletins should be bound and placed in the officers' library for the information and benefit of new employes entering the service.

Discipline-Employes

Very important is the handling of employe discipline. If there is no discipline for employes, there can be no effective disciplinary program for inmates.

Employes who violate rules and those who do not measure up to satndard should be warned first by pink sheet. If no improvement is forthcoming, a suspension without pay, and as a last resort for those who do not comply or improve, discharge.

It is to be remembered, however, that there must be sufficient qualified personnel to cover all posts to give proper supervision. This, Georgia does not have; therefore, its program is very lacking in accepted prison management standards.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Education Program for Adults and Youths in Prison.

signed to develop a complete knowledge of the duties each officer may be executing so the student, upon completion of the course, may be able to immediately function as an active member of the custodial staff. . . .

The transition for personnel from civil employment to correctional work is, to say the least, difficult. The job he is to do must look very complex to the ordinary new correctional officer. In his orientation classes, he must be told and must thoroughly understand that he is not only to guard against the escape of prisoners and to maintain order, but he must also supervise the quantity and quality of the inmates' work.

He is expected to act as counselor to inmates in personal matters, consider each inmate as an

piece program. Discipline and training are the most important phases of institutional life. Until these objectives are achieved, little else can be accomplished.

This description of routine duties of a correctional officer may sound exaggerated, but it is typical of the performance expected in a well-operated institution. In larger maximum security prisons especially, no one maintains as close contact with the inmates as the officer on the inmates' assignments.

He is the one person who has an opportunity to become thoroughly acquainted with the inmate, to learn the inmate's faults, his virtues, his capabilities, his limitations, his moods, etc.

Every successful prison administrator realizes that the result of his program depends upon the effectiveness of the personnel. It is the correctional officer who is in the key position to exert the most effective influence upon the inmate. Therefore, it is most important that the correctional officer be equipped by temperament and training to make the best possible use of his position.

Library-Employes

It is very important to maintain an employes' library in every institution, stocked with books and magazines pertinent to operation, routine and treatment. It is understandable that prison personnel will not always see eye to eye with some of the views expressed, but some benefit is derived from learning the mode of operation of others.

Promotion Through

Custodial officers must have complete confidence and understand that when vacancies occur in positions of higher rank, each member of the custodial staff will be given equal consideration for promotion, and that one will be chosen. Politics, religion, nationality, etc., have no part in any promotion—only efficiency and ability. It must be understood that if employes are not capable of handling the position into which they are promoted, they will be demoted to their former rank.

Salaries

To obtain qualified personnel, it is most important that at least prevailing salaries in the community in which the institution is located, and in some communities more, be taken into consideration. There should be a 40-hour week, with at least a two-week vacation after a year of service, and advancement in salary under the merit system by steps for

Atl. Jour. 6/12/63

ADULT EDUCATION

Discipline of Schooling A Challenge to Prisoners

By JOSEPH E. RAGEN

The Ragen ★ Report

This is the text of a portion of the report on Georgia's prison system made by an expert penologist from Illinois and released by Gov. Sanders and the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government. The texts of other parts of the report will appear in The Atlanta Journal.

NO. 16

Academic training is one of the most outstanding treatment programs available for prison inmates.

Men of all ages who have lacked proper discipline in their formative years find that academic education presented in a sound and interesting, as well as demanding, program can be a challenge that they want to meet. An educational program that is not demanding of the time and effort of this class of students is a failure from the start.

The program must be structured so as to insure that constant supervision of students results in active participation of all students. A great number of students who attend class passively and put out no effort to improve themselves will eventually deteriorate the classroom discipline. Supervisors must constantly review records of the students and interview them to further motivate all students. Intelligent students must be pushed so as to accomplish more than average performance. Slower students must also be counseled so as to give credit for progress as well as to point out shortcomings.

Usually a standard adult education course will serve adequately for a youthful group; however, this young group is not as aware of the importance of education on a personal project basis. Older groups have been made aware of higher education requirements through personal experience and failure. Students must have the end results of a good education pointed out to them. They must be made aware of their future and their own ability to change their civic, social, and economic standards.

Among any group of adult education courses, the prospective students or assigned students should not be humiliated because of their lower educational standing. Sarcasm from custodial personnel, as well as inmates, can ruin the entire educational program. A well-rounded public relations program, inside as well as outside the institution, will offset this problem and as an end result will give added prestige to the educational department.

THE FIRST FACTOR to be considered in setting up a penal educational program for youthful or older offenders is discipline. Discipline is most important in any penal educational program; for a youthful group it is mandatory; but it must be fair.

At least 90 per cent of the youthful offenders are school drop-outs. The primary reason that they originally had to leave school was the fact that schools in free society were unable to exert a proper amount of discipline over the student. Where supervision is normally lacking in the home and where the student finds lax discipline in the free society schools, he will rebel against the authority — to a degree, therefore, the pattern of rebellion against lax authority will follow in a penal educational program unless the staff of the educational program has full command. Discipline must be administered firmly as well as in a fair manner.

Penal students may be allowed the privilege of smoking in school; however, smoking should be limited to five-minute breaks between classes. In the event the students are careless and disregard rules of cleanliness with regard to their smoking habits, this privilege can be revoked for a definite period of time.

This type of discipline should be handled through and by the authority of the senior disciplinary officer of the institution, as should other behavior problems within the school; however, civilian teachers must report violators to disciplinary officers.

FREQUENTLY, penal schools are limited in scope due to the small number of civilian certified teachers that are available through budgets and appropriations. A penal school can expand with a limited number of these teachers if it implements a program using inmate instructors under competent civilian supervisors. Teachers should be allotted by the state for this purpose as they are allotted to the public schools. These supervisors can organize inmate teachers into well - rounded, stable instructors in particular fields of specialty. The use of college trained inmates as instructors is most desirable; however, an inmate with a high school education who displays a propensity for any of the elementary, primary, or even secondary subjects, can do an excellent job of teaching if he is properly guided.

Most curriculums should be explicit as to the sequence of subject matter to be taught. If possible, lesson plans for every class should be prepared and kept on file. The starting point would be a strong course curriculum. As the inmate instructors develop themselves, they can develop the lesson plans and put them on file. The curriculum in this type of teaching experience must be rigid as opposed to flexible. This type of stability will offset most of the instability of normally unqualified teachers.

IT HAS BEEN observed in Illinois — particularly at the Stateville Prison, Joliet, Ill. — that in some cases, inmates respond to inmate instructors to a higher degree than to civilian instructors. Inmates are more apt to become successfully involved in the learning process due to the fact that they are being taught by one of their own rather than by a civilian teacher, who in a sense would represent the administration and police authority.

Further, the civilian supervisory teaching staff must not be relieved of the responsibility of maintaining the discipline and security program. Programs of rehabilitation, discipline and security must be the concern of all levels of correctional workers, and this applies to teachers as well as custodial officers.

PRIMARY CONCERN in administering a penal educational program with inmate instructors is that of certification. In Illinois, certification of the program is achieved through the issuing of certified diplomas or certificates of equivalency, issued both by the county and by the state. These diplomas or certificates do not indicate that they were earned in prison.

This certification can be obtained through local schools or at the state level. The Illinois system presently has the county superintendent of schools issue diplomas for elementary level; high school equivalency certificates through the State G.E.D. testing program. Under both programs, students are tested according to the requirements of the local school system or the state agency. But it is to be remembered that all examinations must be given by civilian teachers and graded by them. The Illinois prison diplomas are recognized by the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges. In short, prison high school graduates can enter any major university or college.

NEXT IN THE ATLANTA JOURNAL: Physical Plant for Education; a Vocational School.

L.E.

ADULT EDUCATION

Separation of Facilities Proposed for Each Phase

By JOSEPH R. RAGEN

In regard to the physical plant for an adult education program, it is desirable that each phase of the educational program be kept separate from the others; therefore, depending on enrollment figures, it would be advisable to have the elementary and secondary programs in separate areas—even separate buildings.

The design of new school buildings should allow for a maximum amount of observation of the entire school situation by the custodial officers. Classrooms should be partitioned off in order to avoid acoustical problems. These partitions should be part masonry and mostly glass. A 40-inch masonry wall with a glass partition from the masonry to the ceiling will allow for good lighting and a maximum amount of observation.

Any further educational programs, such as educational television, should be quartered separately also. Education by television is rapidly becoming a stimulus to many penal educational programs.

The Stateville Penitentiary and the Women's Reformatory at Dwight offer two years of college and award an associate in arts degree from the Chicago Junior Colleges as certification. This is accomplished through the educational television channel in Chicago. An entire two-year curriculum is offered through this medium. Testing that normally requires students to appear at testing centers throughout the city its accomplished by bringing the tests into the prison.

IT IS DESIRED that students participating in the above outlined educational programs do so on a full-time basis. For those students unable to participate in a full-time program, it is suggested that an institutional correspondence school be established in conjunction with the regular educational program.

This can be accomplished by using the same textbooks as are used in normal classes, then setting up a brochure of instruction for the correspondence students. This operation would be controlled and co-ordinated by the school system.

Outside college correspondence courses should be encouraged for those inmates qualified for such. Nearby colleges and universities should be invited to offer college level courses in the prison.

The Ragen ★ Report

Today's installment concludes the report on Georgia's prison system. The report, made by an expert penologist from Illinois and released by Gov. Sanders and the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government, has been printed by The Atlanta Journal as a public service.

NO. 17

A GOOD LIBRARY is essential to a good educational program. The library must not only be available to students, but to the general inmate population as well. The library must be structured so as to allow the maximum amount of circulation of the books in it.

A civilian librarian would be desired to run the library program; however, inmates can function in this capacity quite effectively. Proper supervisory practices must exist so as not to allow the inmates to traffick with the library books.

The school library must have the type of books available that are in normal schools for reference work. Encyclopedias should be made available to students on a library loan basis. Further, old textbooks should not be discarded. They can be implemented into the library program.

It is surprising how many inmates, not actively engaged in full-time educational programs within an institution, are interested in obtaining a full set of elementary grade textbooks for private study, or just interested in obtaining an English textbook. These books, although out of date for normal classroom use, are important tools in motivating intellectually stagnant inmates to obtain a higher level of education.

Textbooks used in classroom study should be up to date and present the modern approach to the teaching of a specific subject matter. In particular, books used in the elementary program—specifically at the primary levels—should be of the adult education variety. Reader's Digest publishes adult education readers for grades one through five. These types of books are very effective. Further, certain publishers will take standard type novels or classics and rewrite them to elementary level, thus creating a more palatable type of reading matter for adult education reading programs.

Although it has been suggested that the above type of educational program be as rigid as possible in regard to curriculum, it must also be considered that a stagnant educational program can be as inefficient as an overly ambitious one. New ideas must be worked in, but must be done in a manner so as not to interrupt the current cycle.

It is most important that the academic program be set up in cooperation with the public educational facilities within the district where the institution is situated so that recognition can be given to inmates completing the requirements. It would be equally beneficial if the same policy could be followed with the vocational training program of the institution so that certification of vocational skills could be obtained through either county or state accreditation.

Vocational School

The Vocational School should be under the supervision of a qualified civilian superintendent with civilian asistants, as well as qualified inmates, to teach worthwhile trades to inmates.

Following are some of the vocations recomended:

Printing	Body and Fender
Refrigeration	Auto Mechanics
Welding	Sign Painting
Bricklaying	Typewriter Repair
Carpentry	Radio and TV
Drafting	Small Appliance Repair
Machine Shop	Lawn Mower Repair
Plumbing	Washing Machine Repair

There are many vocations that can be taught.

To operate a successful vocational school, an aptitude test should be administered to interested inmates before they are assigned to the school, thus eliminating those who are not capable of absorbing or learning.

When an inmate has fulfilled the requirements, a certificate should be issued to him, bearing no identification so far as the prison is concerned.

In addition to vocations taught in the vocational school proper, many other trades can be taught in the prison industrial shops, maintenance shop, culinary department, laundry, etc., where men may learn the habit of factory routine as well as the trade.

Law Enforcement

Official Shuns Part Of Ragen Report

By The Associated Press

State prisons director Fred Hallford says he disagrees with some sections of the Ragen report on Georgia's prisons system.

Hallford said Tuesday his department has no plans to implement some of the recommendations of the Governor's Commission for Efficiency and Improvement in Government.

The director, who assumed his duties in July, outlines his opinions on the operation and improvement of the Georgia penal system in response to inquiries.

Hallford said the report "probably accelerated improvements" in the Georgia system, because it "accelerated public interest" in the system. But he said several of the needs cited were in the works before the study was made.

The report to which Hallford referred was made by Illinois penologist Joseph E. Ragen, who was hired by the state to make a thorough investigation of the Georgia prison system and recommend improvements. The report stirred considerable controversy when released in May.

ONE SECTION of the Ragen report which Hallford said "I don't agree with at all at the present time" concerned the setting up of a blanket policy of separating felons from misdemeanor prisoners throughout the prison system.

"Some of the misdemeanants who have past records are a worse influence in prison than some of the felons," he said.

Hallford said there is no plan to restrict county public works camps to prisoners serving misdemeanor sentences as was recommended.

"There is an indicated need for closer supervision," he said, but added that he sees "no advantage" in excluding felons from the camps.

The New York Times Magazine
FEBRUARY 12, 1967

PERSONALITIES

'. . . It Swings. We're Part of an Adventure'

The People Around Bobby

By RICHARD REEVES

ON a cold, clear October morning in 1959, 16 people met in the living room of Robert F. Kennedy's home in Hyannis Port, Mass., to plan the Presidential campaign of John F. Kennedy. They talked until dark and when the day was over each man knew what he had to do to put John Kennedy in the White House.

In addition to the candidate and his brother, there were three other members of the Kennedy family in the room: their father Joseph P. Kennedy, brother Edward M. Kennedy and brother-in-law Stephen Smith. Also listening as John Kennedy spoke from in front of the large fireplace that dominates the room were Theodore C. Sorensen, the candidate's speechwriter; Kenneth O'Donnell and Lawrence F. O'Brien, a pair of Massachusetts political friends; Pierre Salinger, a former California newspaper editor; John Bailey, the Democratic chairman of Connecticut, and pollster Louis Harris.

In writing about this meeting, Theodore H. White, in his book "The Making of the President 1960," said:

"John F. Kennedy in his 14 years in politics has had many servants, many aides, many helpers. As he has outgrown each level of operation, he has gently stripped off his earlier helpers and retained only those who could go on effectively with him to the next level. These men here assembled were those who had survived a decade of Kennedy selection."

There are few people interested in American politics who do not believe that some day there will be a similar meeting, probably in the same room, to plan another Kennedy Presidential campaign. This time Robert F. Kennedy will stand where his brother stood.

Who will be with him? Certainly some of the same people who came for his brother will come again. But they would be joined by others—the servants, aides and helpers who have been selected during more than a decade by Bobby Kennedy.

In his years as Senate investigator, campaign manager, Attorney General and Senator from New York, Kennedy has developed his own circle of friends and advisers. That does not mean that there is a well-defined Inner Circle or Shadow Cabinet or Kennedy Brain Trust.

"You know what he's like," said Kennedy's administrative assistant, Joseph F. Dolan, flipping his hand toward the desk in the Senator's blue-carpeted Washington office. "Robert Kennedy knows somebody who knows a lot about any subject. He talks to a lot of people. Who he talks to depends on what he's doing at the time. He doesn't talk to John Galbraith about organized crime."

Life magazine attempted to compile lists of those people last fall. "That's silly," Bobby snapped when a Life reporter showed him hundreds of names listed under such headings as "Inner Circle" and "Political Advisers."

Life editors abandoned the project when they decided it was impossible to answer such questions as whether Joe Dolan is more important to Kennedy than, say, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. Is Dolan in the

(Continued on Page 82)

RICHARD REEVES is a reporter on the staff of The New York Times who specializes in politics.

"There is a special bond between R.F.K. and those who fought the Teamsters with him, who were in the big game against Hoffa U." Here, as Attorney General, in 1963, with Burke Marshall (left) and Ed Guthman.

People Around Bobby (Cont.)

(From Page 25)

Inner Circle because he talks to the Senator all day, hired the Kennedy staff and carries the Kennedy cigars? Or is Schlesinger more important because Kennedy constantly calls him for advice and lets him use the Kennedy apartment in New York?

Ironically, what Life couldn't do in several months, Look magazine editors did in several angry days this year during the wrangle over the serialization of William Manchester's book on the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Look editors very privately called their little list "the Kennedy goon squad." It included the names of the Kennedy family's representatives during the fight over "The Death of a President"—Edwin O. Guthman, John Seigenthaler, Burke Marshall, Richard N. Goodwin, Schlesinger and Sorensen.

These were some of the people Manchester was apparently referring to when he said, "The Senator is surrounded by people who have hitched their wagon to his star . . . people who are betting their futures on another Kennedy administration, who are willing to do anything."

THAT group of six men is evenly divided between men who served John Kennedy—Goodwin, Sorensen and Schlesinger—and men whose primary loyalty has always been to Robert Kennedy. Guthman, Seigenthaler and Marshall all were brought to the Justice Department by Attorney General Kennedy and fought alongside him during the battles to convict James R. Hoffa and to integrate the Universities of Mississippi and Alabama.

Robert Kennedy was the 31-year-old chief counsel of the Senate's rackets committee in 1957 when he

Joseph F. Dolan

John J. Burns

met Ed Guthman in Seattle and John Seigenthaler in Nashville. He sought out both of them for the same reason — Guthman was a Seattle Times reporter investigating corruption in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and Seigenthaler was a Nashville Tennessean reporter doing the same thing.

Guthman, who is 47 years old, and Seigenthaler, who is 39, teamed with Kennedy to dig up evidence that sent several Teamster officials to jail and eventually led to the conviction of Jimmy Hoffa for jury tampering. When Kennedy became Attorney General in 1961, he immediately called both men, asking Guthman to become his press secretary and Seigenthaler to be his administrative assistant.

Guthman stayed with Kennedy until after his election to the Senate, then joined The Los Angeles Times as national news editor. Seigenthaler, who is generally credited with writing Kennedy's book, "The Enemy Within," stayed two years—he was once clubbed unconscious while protecting Freedom Riders in Alabama—then was named editor of The Tennessean. Both men left Kennedy reluctantly—more money was one reason—but both have the essential Bobby quality, absolute loyalty, and both will almost certainly be back when he needs them.

Guthman and Seigenthaler are somewhat typical of the kind of men Bobby likes. They are rugged men—"So many of Kennedy's guys look like Marlboro men," a reporter observed—who give the impression they could still wear their old football uniforms. His friends have been men like David Hackett, his prep-school friend and an Olympic hockey player, and the late Dean Markham, a college buddy who died in a plane crash last September and whom Kennedy once described as "the meanest lineman in Harvard history."

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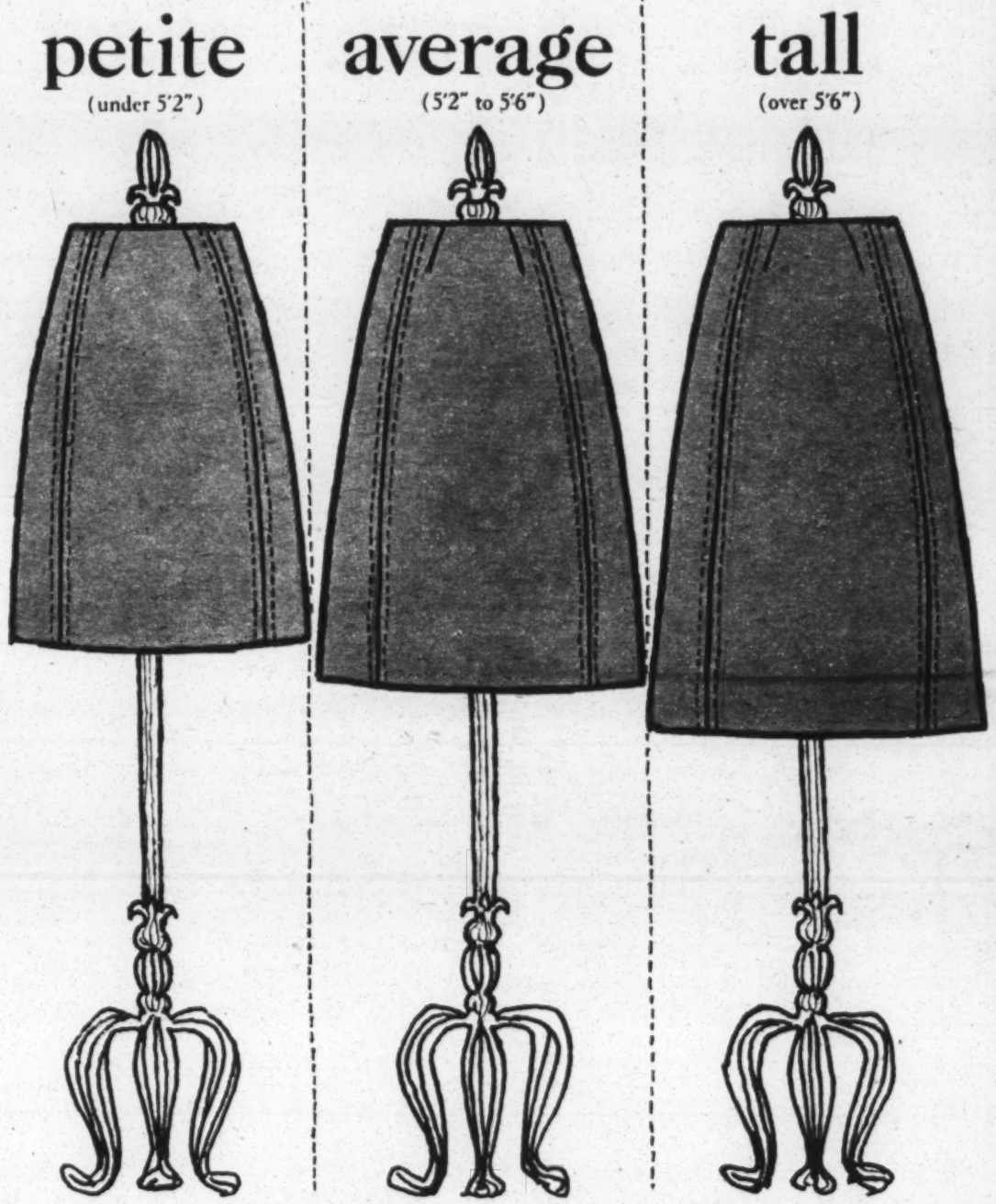

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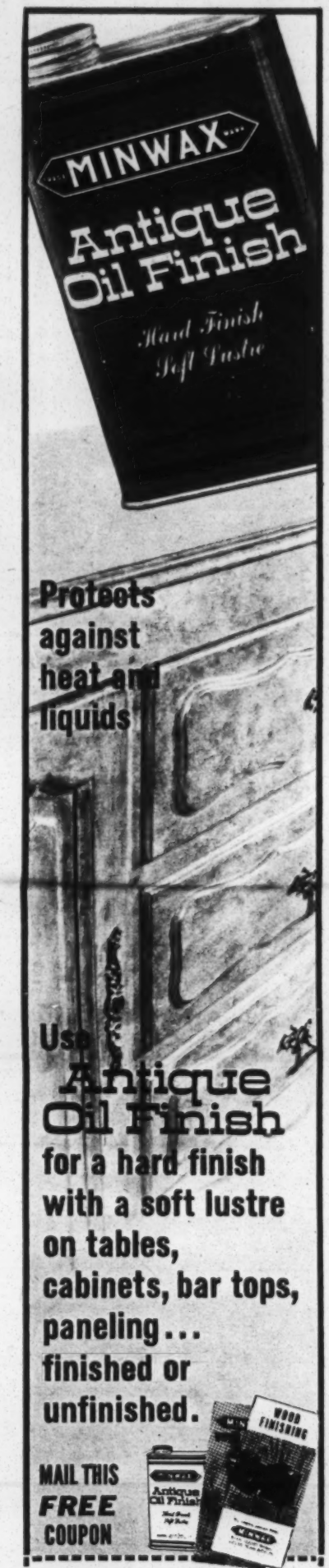

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Football and Kennedy. He loves the game and once described it as the best training, except for war, that a man could have. In fact, traveling with Bobby reminds a man of going to the game in the high-school team's bus. There is the excitement, the manliness—instead of the uniforms and leather pads there are rolled-up sleeves, cigars and rumpled hair—the thrill of going to the stadium where everybody will cheer you and you'll show them that you're the best. Guthman and Seigenthaler were on the team for the big game—against Hoffa U. There is a special bond between Kennedy and the people who battled the Teamsters with him. After Hoffa was convicted on March 4, 1964, Kennedy's staff presented him with a wallet embossed with the words: "We, the jury, find the defendant guilty as charged."

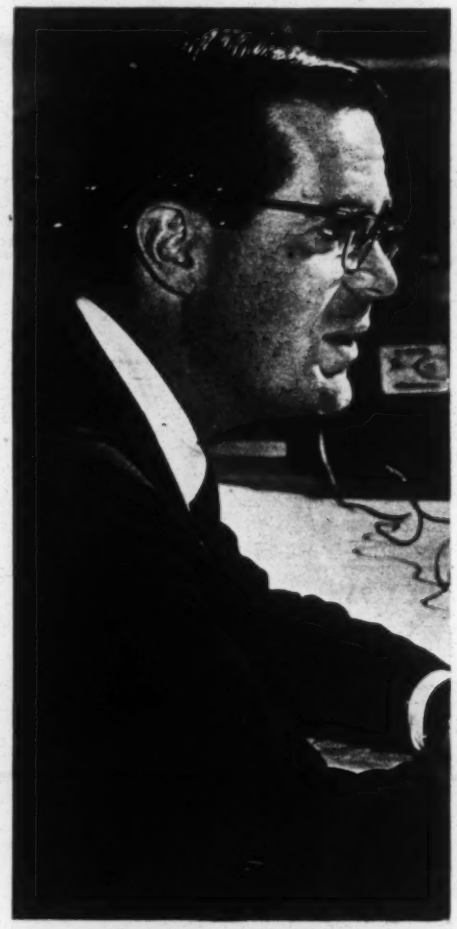
Kennedy held a party in his office last year to reward a young girl who had prepared a complicated bill he introduced that day. During the party, the excited girl, wearing a corsage given to her by the Senator, was asked how she felt.

"This is the second greatest day of my life," she answered.

"What was the greatest day?"

"The day we got Hoffa!" she said firmly.

"You have to go through something with Bob Kennedy before you have



Theodore C. Sorensen

a relationship with him," Guthman said. "And relationships are everything with him. It's hard to explain but it's straight. He's absolutely honest with you."

Guthman and Seigenthaler have gone through a lot with Bobby. He usually wants to know what they think about his problems; they were the first two men he asked to read "The Death of a President."

In Los Angeles last October, Kennedy broke off campaigning for Gov. Edmund Brown to visit Guthman's wife when he learned she was in Cedars of Lebanon Hospital. He was obviously more interested in the Guthman family ("How's Jo-Ann? How's Les doing at school?") than in the cheers of a few more crowds.

While tens of thousands of people were cheering Kennedy during his tour of Latin America last year, Seigenthaler would occasionally stand on the edge of a crowd and yell: "Kennedeee, Go Home!" Not many men are close enough to Bobby to do that.

BURKE MARSHALL, chief of the Justice Department's civil-rights division under Kennedy, might be close enough, but shouting isn't his style. There is a legend that neither man spoke for five minutes when Marshall first met Kennedy, who often waits for other people to speak first.

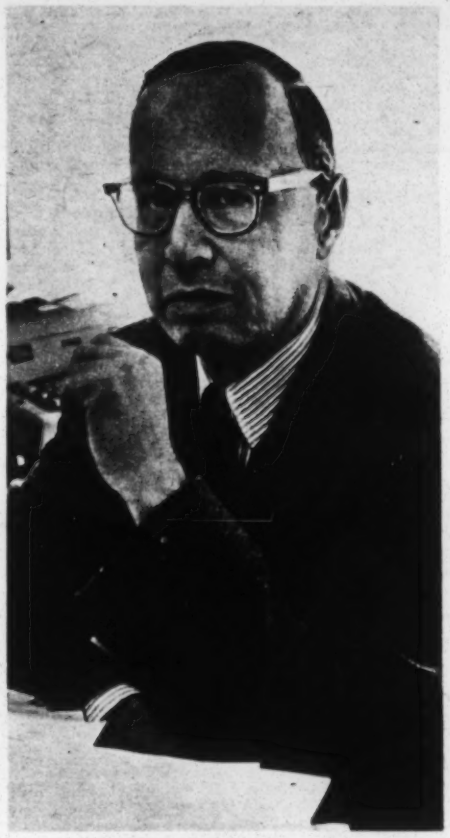
Marshall, a brilliant 44-year-old lawyer, now vice president and general counsel of International Business Machines, was the anonymous "Kennedy family spokesman" who first announced that the family might go to court to force Look and Harper & Row to make changes in Manchester's manuscript. The statement he read at that time was written by Sorensen, whose New York law firm represented the family.

"Call Burke Marshall and ask him about that" is often Kennedy's first reaction to a problem, especially in the field of civil rights, according to members of his staff. "I once heard the Senator say that Burke Marshall has the world's best judgment on anything," said one Kennedy aide.

A slight man who doesn't fit the football mold—he looks like a high-domed payroll clerk—Marshall had never met a Kennedy until January, 1961, when he was invited to talk to the Attorney General, who had heard of Marshall's reputation as an outstanding Washington antitrust lawyer. Marshall thinks so highly of privacy that after Kennedy offered him the job, he took his oath of office from a notary public.

DICK GOODWIN, who has paddled a dugout canoe in Brazil with Bobby and written his speeches, is probably the most important holdover from John Kennedy's team. While Sorensen, who is 38, and Schlesinger, 49, are tied down with their own careers, Goodwin, 35, has more freedom as Senior Fellow at Wesleyan University's Center for Advanced Studies and has time to answer any call from Bobby.

There have been a lot of calls. Goodwin traveled through Latin America with Kennedy in 1965—they almost drowned together paddling a dugout through a tropical storm on a branch of the Amazon River—and has worked on every important Kennedy speech. Before being drafted by Bobby, Goodwin wrote President Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" speech and President Johnson's "Great Society" speech.



Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

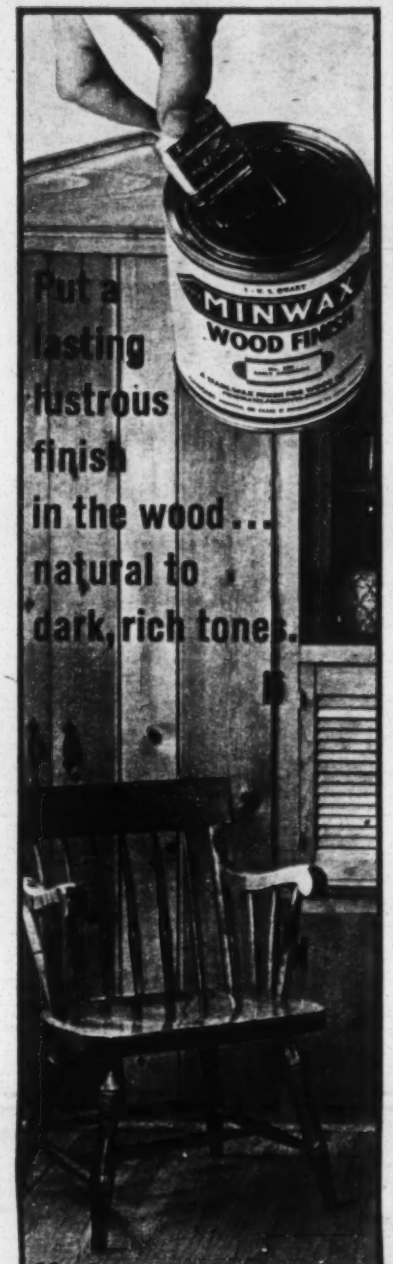
No one really knows where Dick Goodwin's talents end. In his 35 years he has managed to finish first in his class in Tufts and Harvard Law School, to clerk for Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter, investigate rigged quiz shows in the nineteen-fifties, be a special assistant to Ted Sorensen, John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, help organize the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress, be a Deputy Assistant Secretary of State and a Presidential consultant on the arts, write several books, represent Jacqueline Kennedy in the Manchester dispute and play touch football with Bobby.

Playing football must have been Goodwin's greatest challenge. He has the pallid complexion of a librarian who hates sports and his rumpled suits hang unevenly on his unmuscled body. When a group of reporters who didn't know Goodwin saw him board a plane for California last fall with Kennedy, they tried to guess who he was. Their consensus: he was a hung-over Italian newspaperman.

"One of the reasons I'm with Kennedy," he told a reporter during that flight, "is that he's one of the focal points that affords intellectuals the opportunity to get their ideas into the arena of public affairs . . . there's something about him—a modern quality—that reflects the tempo of the times. He's the most profound man in public life today. It's not just that he's willing to talk to John Kenneth Galbraith and Robert Lowell, it's that he's willing to talk to Galbraith about poetry and Lowell about Vietnam."

Then he took another puff on one of the long cigars favored by Kennedy and the people around him and turned to Bobby, who was talking to someone else, and said, "Don't worry, I won't tell him what you're really like." They both laughed.

KENNEDY says that Sorensen and Schlesinger are now "pretty remote," compared to their close relationship



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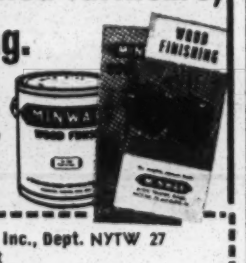

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with his brother. But, in a way, that's a geographical distinction. Both men have careers in New York —Sorensen as a lawyer, Schlesinger as a professor at City University of New York — but Bobby knows their telephone numbers and dials them when anything important is happening in Washington.

"Sorensen and Schlesinger are his utility infielders," said a Kennedy aide. "They can play any position. He checks with them on everything he's doing to see what they think. Schlesinger gives him the liberal judgment and he tempers it with his own instincts."

Kennedy recently picked Sorensen as chairman of an advisory group to make recommendations for rebuilding New York's crumbling Democratic organization. That move started talk that Sorensen planned to run for New York's other Senate seat in 1968, but Sorensen privately calls the speculation "ridiculous."

Kennedy's No. 1 man in New York is his 39-year-old brother-in-law, Steve Smith, who is married to Bobby's sister Jean.

Family, of course, is everything to the Kennedys. If political writers must draw circles around Bobby, Smith and 34-year-old Ted Kennedy are inside a line that no outsider can ever cross. New York's Senator Kennedy and Massachusetts' Senator Kennedy are in constant touch and many of the 98 non-Kennedy Senators grumble because Teddy and Bobby sit in for each other on the important Labor and Public Welfare Committee. When both brothers are present, they sometimes pass needling notes back and forth. Once, when Bobby was fumbling questions about an amendment he obviously had never

(Continued)

William vanden Heuvel

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(Continued)

read, a committee aide saw him get a note from Teddy that read: "Keep it up, Robbie boy, you're doing a great job."

Steve Smith manages both Kennedy political campaigns and the family's $300-million investment portfolio from an office in New York's Pan Am Building. He is a handsome,

William D. Rogers

quiet man who avoided personal publicity even when he managed the Senate campaigns of the Kennedy brothers. But as a member of the family, he can't always avoid Bobby's anger. On one bad campaign day in Westchester County in 1964 when Bobby was several hours behind schedule, he reached Smith on a car telephone and shouted: "Steve, I just want to tell you one thing. It wasn't like this when I ran my brother's campaign!"

Bobby slammed down the phone and discreet staff members looked out the car windows. They rarely see that kind of anger. "If he's mad at us, he just turns the steely blues on us," one said.

But Smith, whom a reporter once described as "a hard-boiled Freddy Bartholomew," is certainly tough enough to take two hot Irish sentences. He's a no-nonsense type from a Brooklyn Irish family that owns a prosperous river barge company. When Ted Kennedy was seeking his first Senate nomination at a Massachusetts Democratic convention, Smith walked by a party being held by an opposing candidate with this comment: "Look at those guys. They're having fun and getting drunk. Where will they be tomorrow?"

Smith has been called the best all-round athlete—Bobby might argue about that—in the athletic Kennedy family, and the bruising sports he played in prep school tell something about him. He was the goalie on the hockey and lacrosse teams.

New York politicians interested in talking to Kennedy usually have to reach him through Smith, state Democratic chairman John J. Burns, 45, or William vanden Heuvel, a 37-year-old Park Avenue lawyer. Vanden Heuvel has traveled around the world with Kennedy, carrying his shirts and protecting him from surging crowds in a dozen countries.

Shirt-carrying — Kennedy always changes his shirt several times a day —and running for tea, looking for his lost shoes and toting his bags are part of being around Bobby. "If you want to be Secretary of State you have to know how to get his shirts out of those plastic bags," said one slightly bitter ex-aide.

Body-blocking is another essential talent for a Kennedy friend. Big men like vanden Heuvel and Guthman are like Green Bay Packer linemen protecting Bart Starr when the "Bobby, Bobby, Bobby!" mobs blitz their Senator.

Vanden Heuvel, who has his own political ambitions in New York, will be Kennedy's top man at the New York State Constitutional Convention which begins in April. He has had a remarkable career of association with famous men since leaving Rochester, N. Y., where his mother ran a boarding house and his father was a factory worker. Before joining Kennedy in the Justice Department in 1961, he was a law partner of Republican Senator Jacob Javits, an aide to former New York Governor Averell Harriman and a partner and aide of the late "Wild Bill" Donovan, the Republican lawyer-general who headed the O.S.S. during World War II.

Vanden Heuvel and his wife, who is the daughter of Jules Stein, chairman of the board of Music Corporation of America, are two of New York's "beautiful people." Probably the most publicized members of that set, Mr. and Mrs. S. Carter Burden—New York papers call them "the beautiful little Burdens"—have also made

Richard N. Goodwin

it with Bobby. Amanda Burden, a daughter of Mrs. William S. Paley, was named America's best-dressed woman in 1965 at the age of 21. Her 25-year-old husband is an aide in Kennedy's New York office. "Most people don't know it," said a friend of the Senator's, "but he really gets a kick out of mingling with those jet-set people. I'm not jealous, but I think that's part of the reason he has those people around."

KENNEDY has a personal staff of 40, most of them in his Washington office under the watchful blue eyes of Joe Dolan. The Kennedy staff —young and dedicated to working 60 to 90 smiling hours each week—is crammed into five small rooms in the Senate Office Building. Dolan is in a 10-foot-square cubicle with a secretary, and Press Secretary Frank Mankiewicz is wedged into another cubicle with Legislative Assistant Wendell Pigman and three girls.

Books, folders, newspapers, memos with Bobby's cramped "Keep me posted" written in the margins and pictures of Kennedy children are piled everywhere. It's almost impossible to move without two excuse me's and three collisions with cheery girls. Everything is cheerful. On the day William Manchester attacked the Kennedys in an interview that included the quote, "Mao Tse-tung and Jackie are the two most inscrutable people I know," staffers answered excited calls with this line: "We're trying to get Chou En-lai to say Mao is more inscrutable."

But, occasionally, overcrowding can be embarrassing. Lying among the telephone books and crumpled notes scattered on the carpet a couple of weeks ago was this confidential memo from a staff member:

"I managed to meet Thomas Vail, editor and publisher of The Cleveland Plain Dealer. He says he's a good friend of Ed Guthman's. I think we can count on him. He borders on being an unconditional friend. His attractive wife is another asset."

Besides Dolan and Mankiewicz, the most important staff men are two hustling young legislative aides, Adam Walinsky, 30, and Peter Edelman, 29, and Thomas Johnston, a 30-year-old former television producer, who runs Kennedy's New York office.

"Adam and Peter do most of the Senator's speeches," a former aide said. "They think of themselves as the Sorensen and Schlesinger of the future."

Although he chain-smokes Kools, Mankiewicz looks like another Marlboro man. He was Latin American director of the Peace Corps before joining Kennedy last June. He turned down several lucrative offers to take the job, which pays less than the $25,000 he made as a Los Angeles lawyer in 1960.

Mankiewicz, who is 42 and a nephew of movie producer Joseph Mankiewicz, left California to become a minor Peace Corps executive in 1961. He first met Kennedy late in 1965 when he was one of two dozen men asked to brief the Senator before his Latin American trip. Six months later, Kennedy called again, and Man-

Stephen Smith

kiewicz, who was once city editor of a Santa Monica weekly newspaper, began handling the demands of the dozens of American and foreign newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations that ask for exclusive interviews with Bobby each day. On slow days, he talks to one of at least 15 writers currently working on Bobby books.

Mankiewicz's salary is paid personally by the Senator. Like most other Senators, Kennedy also pays his legislative assistants with his own money. Dolan gets $24,900 a year, which is paid by the Government.

JOE DOLAN, a 45-year-old former Assistant Deputy Attorney General, gives most people the impression that he is some sort of Disorganization Man. He once shook hands with the same reporter three times within 20 minutes in a small room. Each time he stuck out his hand, he said: "Hi, I'm Joe Dolan." When he met the same reporter again an hour later, he shook hands and said: "Hi, I'm Joe Dolan."

But Joe Dolan must be doing something right. "It's hard for us to figure out why Joe is so valuable to Bob," said a Kennedy friend. "But he depends on Joe's judgment, and he wouldn't have that job unless he was damn good."

Dolan is a tall, sandy-haired man who wears glasses at several different angles. He has the nasal voice of a soft-spoken New York cop (and does a good imitation of Bobby) but lost the city accent by spending 12 years in Colorado after graduating near the top of his class at St. John's Law School.

He worked for Robert Kennedy in the Rocky Mountain states during the 1960 campaign and after the election resigned his seat in the Colorado House of Representatives to go to the Justice Department. During those years, Dolan saw Kennedy two or three times a month as he specialized in screening possible Federal judicial appointments and took a few obscene insults while leading Negro students into the University of Alabama.

"When he decided to go to New York and run," Dolan said, pushing his glasses down until the lenses pointed toward the floor. "I told him

(Continued)

Peter Edelman, Adam Walinsky

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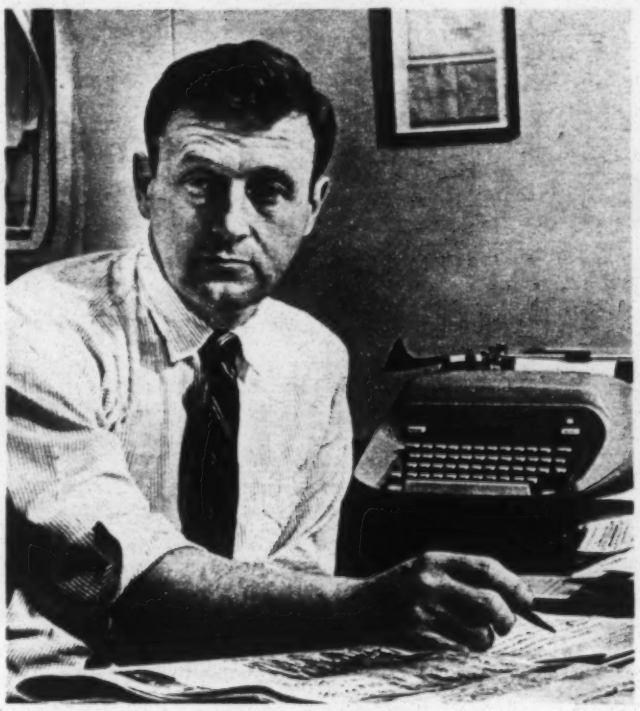
(Continued)

I wanted to go, too. He said, 'All right, if you want to.' Real enthusiastic! Then he asked me if I wanted to come back to Washington with him and I said, 'O.K.' We get along fine."

ADAM WALINSKY, a Yale Law School graduate (Order of the Coif) who had worked more or less un-



John Seigenthaler

noticed in the Justice Department, also wanted to be on Kennedy's campaign staff. "I really wanted in. I'm from New York and I thought he needed me," Walinsky said, sitting at a desk littered with copies of Dissent, Foreign Affairs and several other journals not sold in drugstores. "I had to knock down doors, but I made it and now I'm working for the best man in this town."

Walinsky is a brash young man who brags about his reputation as Kennedy's top speech writer and shrugs off his reputation as the most unpopular staffer on Capitol Hill. He happily refers to his critics as "those clucks." One of them described him as "nasty and brilliant, in that order."

He does most of his writing at home in McLean, Va., which not coincidentally is the town where his boss lives. With a devotion not uncommon around Bobby, Walinsky searched for months to find a piece of property close to the Kennedys' Hickory Hill estate.

A Kennedy speech may be born with the casual words, "I want to say something about Latin America." The writing is anything but casual. His long Senate speech on Latin America last May was the product of six months of work that began when William D. Rogers, a 39-year-old former Alliance for Progress official who is a close friend of Kennedy's, prepared a list of several dozen Latin-American experts.

Walinsky talked to everyone on the list, which included Kennedy loyalists like Dick Goodwin, academic neutrals like Raymond Vernon of Harvard and Kalman Silvert of Dartmouth, and American college students from South American countries. "About two dozen people—Frank Mankiewicz was one—were really exceptional," Walinsky recalled. "We arranged for the Senator to speak to them. Then the Senator and I sat down for hours to talk about theme and approach."

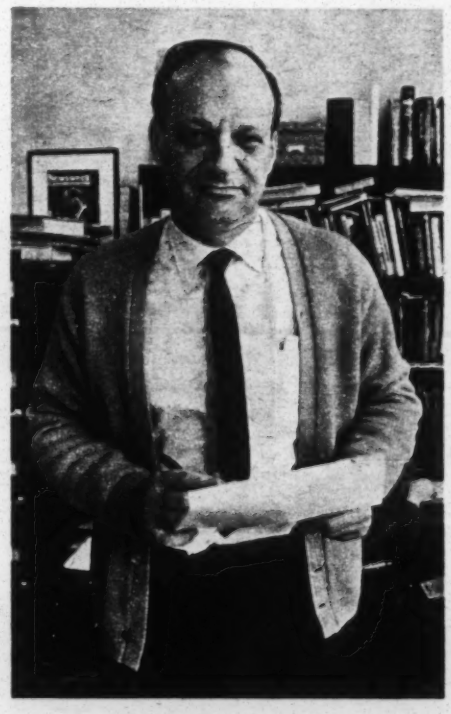
Walinsky wrote the first draft after Kennedy's tour of Latin America. Then the two men sat down together again. "What I really want to say is this," Bobby would say and write a sentence in longhand. Or, "Let's put in what those miners said to me in Chile." And, "Check that part with Dick Goodwin."

"After that," Walinsky said, "the Senator starts asking people he likes and trusts what they think of it. That's when he telephones people like Sorensen and Schlesinger."

The night before his February, 1966, speech suggesting that the Vietcong be part of a future Vietnamese Government, Kennedy called former Presidential adviser Richard E. Neustadt three times from McLean. Professor Neustadt, 47, is director of Harvard's Institute of Politics, which was attacked last month as a Kennedy talent-recruiting center. The attacks were turned away by college officials who drily commented that the Senator would find it easier to take over the Government than to take over Harvard.

A month earlier, when Kennedy wanted advice on what to say about New York City's transit strike, he called United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, who was his brother's Secretary of Labor.

The telephone is Bobby's link to the hundreds of people whose names were on the Life magazine lists. The green console phones on the desks of staff members have 18 buttons. The 18th button is red and it lights if Kennedy is using his office phone. "I know the instant he walks into his office that my light will flash on," Joe Dolan said. "If the light is off for more than a couple of minutes, that means he's left."



Frank Mankiewicz

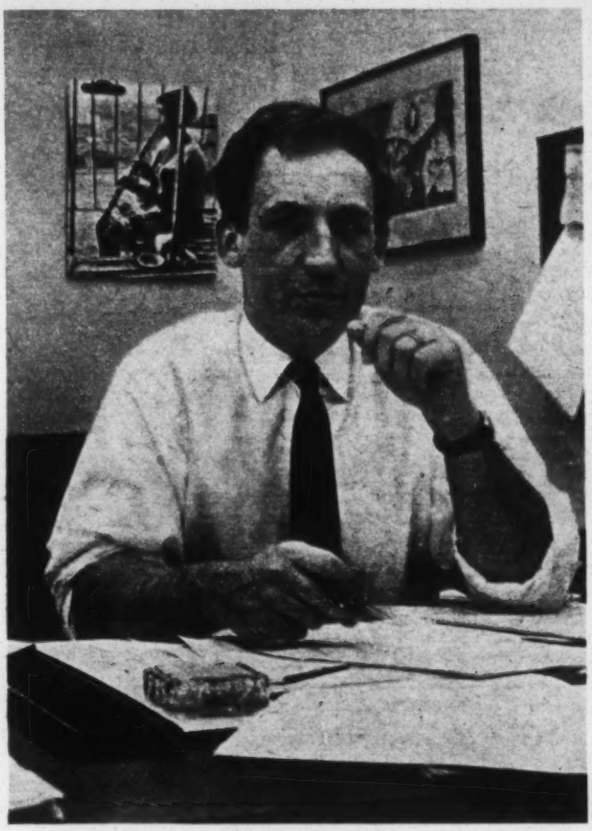
The list grows longer every day. Kennedy seeks advice from close friends such as 47-year-old Washington lawyer Louis Oberdorfer and former Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric, 60, and from strangers, such as Laurence Cole, a 30-year-old social worker on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Many of the people he calls are officials in the Johnson Administration. "And some of them aren't very anxious to have their names published on any Kennedy list," an aide noted.

Not all Kennedy speeches, of course, are discussed for as long as the one on Latin America. The final draft of his civil-rights speech last October at the University of California at Berkeley was finished by Walinsky and Goodwin in a Fresno motel at 5 A.M. on the day it was delivered. The text was then typed by Kennedy's faithful secretary, Angela Novello, and the Senator made final changes while riding in a car filled with local politicians.

One more of Kennedy's bright young men on Capitol Hill is legislative assistant Peter Edelman, a Harvard Law School graduate (*magna cum laude*) from Minnesota, who was also a Justice Department assistant. Although his dark hair and glasses make him look like Walinsky, Edelman is known as the quiet Kennedy man who does most of the research and drafting of legislation.

"We get very irritated about those brain-trust stories," Edelman said, puffing a Kennedy-length cigar in the same uncertain way the Senator does. "Of course, the Senator relies on his friends the way any man does. But the work is done here."

THE Senator doesn't mix his workers with touch-football players. If staff members go to Hickory Hill, and they seldom do, they go to work. In fact, the only complaint—whispered, of course—they ever make about Bobby is his habit of departing for a weekend with Ethel and the children and leaving the staff with enough work to make sure they won't have time to play with their own kids. "Give me a memo Monday morning on that poverty bill" is not a young father's idea of an ideal Friday afternoon farewell.



Thomas Johnston

"You have to be willing to take a hell of a licking if you want to work for Bob Kennedy," Ed Guthman said. "But, it's worth it," he added.

So, while Bill Rogers or General Maxwell Taylor plays tennis with Bobby and Ethel, Adam Walinsky or Peter Edelman may be bent over a typewriter. "Of course it's worth it," Walinsky said. "I wish I could find the words. Have you ever read about Lee's lieutenants during the Civil War? The feeling they had for him? I mean it's just that it—it swings. We're part of an adventure." ■

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PERSONALITIES
NYT 3/10/67

Dean Quits Harvard To Aid Negro College

By FRED M. HECHINGER

The dean of Harvard College announced yesterday that he would resign to devote full time to the education of struggling students at a small Negro college in Birmingham, Ala..

John U. Monro will leave one of the most prestigious positions in American undergraduate education on July 1 to become director of freshman studies at Miles College, an institution that is only just approaching full accreditation. He will also head a faculty committee to revise the curriculum.

"I want to disassociate myself from any idea that this is a sacrifice," the 54-year-old Massachusetts-born, Harvard-bred educator said at a news conference at the New York Hilton Hotel. "I see it as a job of enormous reward."

The announcement was made jointly by Mr. Monro and Lucius

Continued on Page 23, Column 1

"CASINO ROYALE" IS TOO MUCH for one James Bond! Woody Allen is James Bond!—Advt.

DEAN OF HARVARD JOINS MILES STAFF

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

H. Pitts, president of Miles, who was born the seventh son of a cotton tenant farmer in Georgia in 1915. He welcomed Mr. Monro to Birmingham as a "town of perpetual promise and problems."

"This is not a new decision," Mr. Monro said. He recalled that he had spent three summers at Miles helping to prepare a special curriculum for freshmen and grooming graduates of nearby Negro schools for college.

"I came to the point where I had to decide whether I could go on with this and still do justice to my work at Harvard," he said.

He added that he had come to like Birmingham and to admire "the courage and determination of President Pitts."

At Harvard, President Nathan M. Pusey and Franklin L. Ford, dean of the faculty of arts and sciences, expressed regret over the loss of "a great Dean of the College" and said a successor to Mr. Monro would be appointed soon.

Mr. Pusey said Dean Monro had been "among the first to seek out submerged talents among the nation's youth, and bring them into the great stream of higher learning." He devoted much of his time during his nine years as dean to programs directly concerned with the teaching of undergraduates.

Miles College—with an enrollment of 1,000—is perhaps as different from Harvard as the vast diversity of American higher education permits. Compared with the Ivy League institution's endowment of over $1-billion, the 62-year-old coeducational college for Negroes, founded by the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, had lost its accreditation in 1958 because of its deficient library facilities and lack of Ph.D.'s on the faculty.

It had an endowment income of less than $20,000 annually and before Mr. Pitts agreed to assume the presidency in 1961, the school considered closing for lack of support.

Shortly after Mr. Pitts took over a "mile of dimes" campaign was begun in which students with tin cups solicited funds from Negro families to stock the library. When Eugene Conner, then Commissioner of Safety, halted the drive, national publicity resulted in nationwide donations to buy 65,000 books.

During the last four years, the college has raised and spent more than $1.55-million for capital improvements. It has attracted Ph.D.'s for the regular faculty as well as others who serve temporarily without pay.

"We have an international faculty," said Mr. Pitts. It has included Cuban refugees, volunteers from India and Africa, one Ph.D. each from Malaysia, Lebanon and Turkey, a husband and wife team from Holland, both holding doctorates, a white Mississippian and a Woodrow Wilson scholar.

Asked why he chose Miles for his new mission, Dean Munro said: "Because the man asked me down."

It was a reference to a call by Mr. Pitts in the summer of 1964 to teach English in a special pre-college session. With him came six student-teachers from Harvard and Radcliffe.

Mr. Pitts said that nearly 4,000 Negroes graduated from the Birmingham high schools annually and that Niles, situated on a 32-acre site in Jones Valley at the city's outskirts, "is still the only four-year college regularly open to Negro students within 50 miles of Birmingham."

Dean Monro warned that excessive stress on Ph.D.'s for accreditation, "not only for Negro colleges but for scores and scores of white ones too" overlooked the need to "get people who know something about teaching."

Miles College has a faculty of 58, including 15 Ph.D.'s, with 15 in the special freshman program that Mr. Monro will head. Mr. Pitts said the accreditation committee would review the school's qualifications in April.

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, in addressing the press conference, said:

"At this time, when the news media are filled with stories of racial conflict and the indiscretion of a Negro Congressman and debates over black power, this is a significant incident. I wish only it got equal play."

Educational Handyman

John Usher Monro

Special to The New York Times

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., March 9—The office of the Dean of Harvard College is situated where the action is, overlooking the Yard, through which at some hour of the day almost every student in the college passes on his way to class, to the Square, or to his dormitory. That is the way that John Usher Monro, an administrative general handyman for 21 years, likes it. Today, in New York, Mr. Monro formally acknowledged a decision he reached last summer—to go to Birmingham, Ala., to become director of freshman studies at Miles College. The other day, in an interview in his office, he said, "The educational institutions of this nation have a job to do to fulfill the educational needs of our young people, because that is what this country is all about, but by and large they are not doing it."

Man in the News

But at Miles, where he has been working for the last three summers, Mr. Monro said he found the situation he had in mind, a college that had an intimate relationship with the community it was serving.

Miles is a Negro college. There are no dormitories. The 1,000 students commute daily from the surrounding area. About half of the faculty are white, a recent development, according to Mr. Monroe.

Aware of Social Problems

Mr. Mönro has been concerned with closing the gap between gifted students and the money to finance their education, since the end of World War II. He worked his way through Phillips Academy at Andover, Mass., as a grocery errand boy and was a scholarship student at Harvard. But he is also aware of the social problems in education.

Several years ago, discussing the problems of admissions officers, Mr. Mönro said.

"You break your back getting some tough little kid from a slum to come here, you give him a full scholarship, and then he leaves in the middle of his freshman year because he just can't take it. He's unhappy, we're unhappy. You ask yourself, 'Did you do this for him or for yourself?' You just don't know."

In the seven years before World War II, Mr. Monro served as a writer in the Harvard news office and as a correspondent for The Boston Transcript. When the war broke out, he enlisted in the Navy in public relations, applied for sea duty and eventually became damage control officer of the aircraft carrier Enterprise.

As a result of his "organizational leadership," after a kamikaze attack on the carrier off Okinawa in 1945, Mr. Monro was awarded the Bronze Star.

The war over, Mr. Monro was on the verge of turning to newspaper work as a member of the staff of the short-lived New York Daily PM when he stopped by at Harvard on his way to New York. Wilbur J. Bender, then adviser to returning veterans, invited him to join the university as his assistant.

From that day, Mr. Monro has spent most of his time combing the hinterlands, including small towns, farms and the city slums for talented students to bring to Harvard and educate. His titles have been director of the financial aid office, assistant to the provost, instructor in English and dean of the college, an office he assumed in 1958.

The New York Times

Found what he had in mind

(Dr. Monro at news conference yesterday in New York.)

Helped Develop Service

During his directorship of the financial aid office, Mr. Monro was instrumental in developing the College Scholarship Service, through which more than 800 colleges share financial data on student applications for aid.

When he is asked about what he does with the rest of the time he is not working Mr. Monro answers, "There isn't any rest of the time."

Yet, despite his not following any particular physical regimen, Mr. Monro looks at least 10 years less than his 54. He has a shock of gray hair, black eyebrows and deepset, gray eyes. The educator is trim of carriage, favors blue button-down shirts and sports jackets with leather elbow patches.

In a university community that is extremely sensitive about its traditions and prerogatives, Mr. Monro is respected as one who will listen and talk about even the most embarrassing incidents.

These have included a confrontation with Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara by an unruly group of students, from which resulted a more orderly discussion between students and Arthur J. Goldberg, chief United States Representative to the United Nations.

Mr. Monro was born in North Andover, Dec. 13, 1912. He is married to the former Dorothy Stevens Foster. They have two daughters and a grandson.

In the summer, when he allows himself to get away from his work, Mr. Monro enjoys brief stays at a family summer place in Freeport, Me.

PERSONALITIES

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HEW Choice Finds Racism a Misnomer

AC 3/26/68

BY JACK MILLER

WASHINGTON (AP)—The man President Johnson has nominated as secretary of Health, Education and Welfare disagreed Monday with the conclusion of a presidential commission that white racism is a principal cause of riots.

Wilbur J. Cohen, acting secretary of the department, said at his first news conference since Johnson announced his nomination as secretary Friday:

"I think you could also say that there is black racism and brown racism and red racism . . . I'm not sure that its (the term's) use is a great help."

Cohen's statement on the riot commission report differs from the views of many liberals but is in line with criticism voiced by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, who has said the report overstressed the racism angle.

Cohen said "I wish some of the energy that has gone into rioting" had gone instead into self-improvement. Without specifying Negroes, he said he sees a need for oppressed people to be "lifting themselves up by their own bootstraps."

While he did not deny that white racism plays a part in causing riots, Cohen said he feels the riot commission oversimplified the situation by attributing too much of the problem to that phrase.

The acting secretary added he thinks many civil rights groups and reporters have "been repulsed by those who think Black Power means black segregation."

Cohen, 54, was undersecretary to John W. Gardner, who resigned March 1 and has become chairman of the National Urban Coalition.

Cohen said he and his wife both plan to campaign for the reelection of President Johnson.

When asked his view of Gardner's statement that Americans do not realize the gravity of the nation's domestic problems, Cohen said "if people like my wife and other women would go out and speak" on problems such as child health and poverty, "there might be more support for some of these programs."

Cohen said he believes the Social Security program should be expanded so that fewer people would have to be on welfare. He made clear, however, that he does not anticipate a fusing of the social security and welfare programs.

GRANNY GRAND'$

POLICE

is it wrong to handcuff the police?

The Warren Court has taken the lead in insuring to the poor the rights that the rich take for granted.

WILLIAM J. DEMPSEY, JR.

On October 5, 1953, President Eisenhower appointed Earl Warren Chief Justice of the United States. This selection of the extraordinarily popular governor was not controversial. It seemed likely that he would be a middle-of-the-roader who might use his political skills to keep the Court in tune with dominant public opinion.

Thirteen years later, Warren is variously pilloried as an arch-enemy of the people and praised as one of the greatest Chief Justices since John Marshall, and the "Warren Court" has become the most controversial bench since the "Nine Old Men" were thwarting President Roosevelt's efforts to deal with the Great Depression.

It all began on May 17, 1954, when the Chief Justice, for a unanimous Court, handed down probably the most important decision in the country's history—*Brown* v. *Board of Education*, the desegregation case. There the Court required us finally to begin redeeming the promise made to the Negro in the Civil War. The effort is painful, and the Court has been bitterly assailed for forcing us to make it.

But if the *Brown* decision were the Warren Court's only departure from precedent, it is unlikely that any serious attack upon the Court could have been long sustained. A series of decisions before *Brown* had undermined the old "separate but equal" doctrine, so that, while *Brown* was the final and decisive step, it was hardly unexpected. More importantly, the harsh injustice of the country's treatment of the Negro was perfectly evident, so that the *Brown* decision carried the authority of high moral principle that could not for long be denied.

It is now clear, of course, that *Brown* signaled only the beginning of a remarkable period of judicial innovation. However, for some time after *Brown* the course the Warren Court would chart was uncertain. Shortly after *Brown*, the Court dealt with the first wave of cases generated by the McCarthy-inspired legislative investigations of Communists past and present, real and alleged. When the Court sharply limited those investigations, the reaction was just as abusive, and possibly more broadly based, than that which followed *Brown*. However, the Court retreated in its next group of Communist-investigation decisions, leaving the law cloudy and the critics confused.

This sort of ambiguity in the Court's attitude toward politically sensitive questions was due primarily to Justice Frankfurter, whose vote was frequently decisive in a narrowly divided Court. While Frankfurter sometimes expressed personal sympathy with the liberal approach of the Chief Justice and Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan, he believed that the Court should pay great deference to the Congress and to

the states. Consequently, more often than not he struck a cautious—some would say a timid—note in the name of what he termed "judicial restraint."

In 1962, however, Frankfurter was replaced by Arthur Goldberg, who in turn has been replaced by Abe Fortas. The impact of this shift in *dramatis personae* has been enormous. Building on some scattered prior decisions, the Court has in the past few years imposed important new limitations upon federal and state governments respecting such matters as reapportionment of legislatures, the relationship between government and religion, and law enforcement.

Of these recent decisions, none have been more controversial than those dealing with criminal law. In one speech and article after another, law enforcement officers have complained bitterly that they have been "handcuffed" by the Court, and they have been seconded by a battery of journalists and lawyers. While the Court has also had its defenders, the drumbeat of criticism, against the background of mounting concern over "crime in the streets," has generated a wave of antagonism toward the Court.

To be sure, the Court has been at the center of maelstroms before during its long history and has often emerged with enhanced stature. Still, if the current criticism of the Court is well founded, Justice Frankfurter's fears for the Court may yet be realized. The question, then, is: "Who is right, the critics or the Court?"

If the controversy could be resolved by answering the question whether the Court has "handcuffed" the police, cloture on the debate would be quite in order. There is no doubt that this is precisely what the Court has done. That is to say, there is no doubt that the Court has made more difficult the policeman's job of putting criminals in jail.

But framing the question in such terms is just a debater's trick. It scores points with the audience, but does not represent a genuine effort to appraise the Court's decisions.

The fact is that the Bill of Rights was specifically designed to put "handcuffs" on the government in its dealings with its citizens. Thus, although the legislature may rightly conclude that domestic peace would best be secured by stilling a dissenting political or religious minority, the First Amendment says: "Thou Shalt Not." And although the police may believe that dragnet arrests and indiscriminate searches would make law enforcement more efficient—a belief that is surely well founded, as the experience of Nazi Germany demonstrates—the Fourth Amendment bars the way.

Thus the question is not whether the police have been "handcuffed," but to what purpose and to what extent. While the answer in large measure turns upon an analysis of the relevant constitutional provisions, this is not as arcane a subject as some would have it appear. Consider the principle decisions:

In 1961, the Court ruled in *Mapp* v. *Ohio* that evidence seized by the police in violation of the search and seizure provisions of the Fourth Amendment may not be used in state criminal prosecutions. It could be, and has been, argued—as it is

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Admitting that the Supreme Court has made the policeman's job more difficult, William J. Dempsey, Jr. examines the reasons for the Court's recent decisions applying the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Amendments to the work of law enforcement officers. He compares the 1966 Miranda *decision to the 1954 desegregation decision, because in it the Court was staking its fortune upon our capacity to live up to our American ideals. The author, a graduate of Yale Law School, is a practicing attorney in Washington, D.C.*

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most artfully put—that just because the constable blunders the criminal should not go free.

While that argument has an appealing ring, it was ultimately rejected by the Court because experience demonstrated that the police could not be deterred from violating the Constitution except by removing the incentive—that is, except by preventing convictions based on illegally secured evidence.

While as a matter of abstract logic the decision in *Mapp* could have gone either way, surely the Court's view was best designed to secure to the public the safeguards of the Fourth Amendment. There was compelling evidence that, in those states permitting the use at trial of illegally obtained evidence, the police had blatantly ignored the strictures of the Constitution.

If the police themselves, or state or local legislative units, had enforced sanctions against these police transgressions, *Mapp* might never have been decided. But who ever heard of a policeman being fired or demoted because he conducted an illegal search or seizure? And since the victims of this sort of police illegality are almost invariably the hapless poor, private lawsuits against offending police were virtually nonexistent. Enforcement of the Fourth Amendment fell to the Court by default.

Moreover, it seems most unlikely that *Mapp* will have untoward impact on law enforcement. Federal authorities have been bound by the *Mapp* exclusionary rule since a Supreme Court decision in 1914; and by the time of *Mapp* over half of the states had adopted the same rule as a matter of state law. In these circumstances, it is hardly credible that one need fear venturing onto the streets at night because of *Mapp*.

Requiring a layman to defend himself against a criminal charge is like requiring him to take out his own appendix.

Next, in 1963 the Court, in *Gideon* v. *Wainwright,* ruled that the states are obliged to provide attorneys to defend all indigents charged with felonies. The Sixth Amendment secures the right of counsel in criminal cases, and in 1938 the Court ruled that this provision means, not merely that a rich person may have a lawyer defend him, but also that the federal government must provide counsel to the poor person. In *Gideon* (which was argued by then Mr., now Mr. Justice, Fortas), the Court extended this same principle to the states by virtue of the "fundamental fairness" doctrine of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The reasonableness of this decision hardly seems open to question. Anyone should realize that requiring a layman to defend himself against a criminal charge is like requiring him to take out his own appendix. So the aftermath of *Gideon* dramatically demonstrated, for on a new trial, this time with the aid of counsel, *Gideon* himself was acquitted.

Once again, the impact of this decision on law enforcement will probably be minimal. The federal government has survived since 1938 under the *Gideon* right-to-counsel rule, and in *Gideon* some 22 states urged the Court to apply the same rule to the states. This widespread governmental support for the *Gideon* principle suggests that the picture of a cagey lawyer securing acquittal of a guilty defendant by a masterful stratagem is, by and large, the product of TV scenario writers, not of the courtroom.

In a related series of cases, the Court has made other efforts to keep the true balance between the rich and poor by requiring the states to provide counsel for indigents on appeal as well as at trial, and to provide a transcript of the trial so that

the right to appeal might be meaningful. The justifications for the decisions, as well as their probable impact on law enforcement, are of the same order as *Gideon's*.

The Court's most recent important criminal law decision, *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, is the most controversial and the most difficult. There the Court, in a 5-4 decision, determined that no conviction based upon a confession would be sustained where the defendant had not been warned that he had the right to remain silent, that anything he said could be used against him, that he had the right to speak with counsel before speaking to the police, and that if he could not afford a lawyer one would be provided for him.

The Court based *Miranda* upon the Fifth Amendment, which prescribes that no one may be compelled to incriminate himself in a criminal case. In principle, the decision seems unexceptionable. A confession is obviously "incriminating," so that the question is whether a confession obtained through police interrogation is "compelled" within the meaning of the Fifth Amendment where the accused is not advised of his rights and does not have the chance to consult counsel. Certainly there must be grave doubt whether such a confession is truly voluntary rather than compelled.

Moreover, since a person who is arrested *does* have the right not to confess and the right to talk to a lawyer, it is hard to see how anyone could reasonably object because the Court insists that a person be told that he has those rights.

Of these recent decisions, none have been more controversial than those dealing with criminal law.

In addition, in *Miranda* as in *Mapp*, the Court was troubled by the continuing failure of the police to police themselves. The 1931 disclosure by the Wickersham Report of widespread police brutality, coupled with the repeated judicial injunctions against such practices, should have led to their elimination long ago. Yet cases still arise all too frequently in which the police have literally beaten confessions out of the accused.

The Court was also influenced by the fact that, although police have probably abandoned the crudest methods of coercion, the more sophisticated techniques of psychological pressures have come into widespread use. The advice of one popular police manual cited by the Court is this:

> Where emotional appeals and tricks are employed to no avail, [the interrogator] must rely on an oppressive atmosphere of dogged persistence. He must interrogate steadily and without relent, leaving the subject no prospect of surcease. He must dominate his subject and overwhelm him with his inexorable will to obtain the truth. . . . In a serious case, the interrogation may continue for days, with the required intervals for food and sleep, but with no respite from the atmosphere of domination.

Or, as a prosecuting attorney put it in one case in somewhat more earthy terms:

> Why this talk about being undressed? Of course, they had the right to undress him to to look for bullet scars, and keep the clothes off him. That was quite proper police procedure. That is some more psychology—let him sit around with a blanket on him, humiliate him there for awhile; let him sit in the corner; let him think he is going to get a shellacking.

The Bill of Rights was specifically designed to put "handcuffs" on the government in its dealings with its citizens.

That methods short of physical coercion are effective on guilty and innocent alike is demonstrated by the recent New

York case in which a Negro confessed to two murders and rape that he had not committed.

The dissenting Justices in *Miranda* thought that instances of physical or psychological coercion could be dealt with on a case-by-case basis without the imposition upon the police of any inflexible rules. But assuming that this is so—and the disheartening experience under this traditional approach suggests that it is not—it does not explain why there should be any criticism of the Court's effort to make doubly sure that the Fifth Amendment is not breached.

There is, of course, an explanation. It emerges clearly from the dissenting opinions as well as from other attacks upon *Miranda*. It is that we cannot really afford to apply the Bill of Rights in full measure.

To be sure, if a wealthy person is arrested he is bound to call his lawyer right away, and there is nothing that can be done about that. But the vast majority of criminal defendants are poor and have no lawyer to call, and they must not be permitted to see one before they confess lest our system of law enforcement collapse. So reads the indictment of *Miranda* in what is doubtless its least attractive, but also its only plausible, form.

The plea to that indictment must at this moment be the Scotch verdict "not proven."

Some scattered post-*Miranda* returns suggest that those who claim that the psychological urge of a guilty person to confess is almost overwhelming may be correct, so that warning him of his legal rights may have little impact. But the data is too slim for judgment.

More importantly, perhaps, there is no reliable information respecting the importance of confessions in law enforcement. We know, of course, that confessions are often used; but we do not know to what extent they are essential. One hope is that, deprived of the easy confession route to conviction, the police may do more hard investigative work.

Thus, the Los Angeles District Attorney has stated: "It begins to appear that many of these seemingly restrictive decisions are going to contribute directly to a more effective, efficient, and professional level of law enforcement." Again, the Court in *Miranda* suggested that the experience of some foreign countries and of the FBI, who for some time have substantially followed the *Miranda* rule, bears out this prediction. This is surely encouraging, particularly given the fact that the author of *Miranda*, the Chief Justice, was for some years a prosecuting attorney known for his relentless enforcement of the law and also for his rigorous adherence to court-established police standards. Still, the fact is that no one really knows what the impact of *Miranda* will be.

But of course now we will know in due course, whereas if the Court had not decided *Miranda* we never would. Obviously, this is risky business. But if the Court had denied persons arrested the right to be informed of their rights, the risks would have been just as real, even though on a lower level of visibility. Such a decision would at bottom have amounted to an admission that one of the principles we pretend to hold inviolate—the right of the citizen to be free of police power until proven guilty—must in practice be sacrificed. The sacrifice would be corrosive, for the principle is of the highest order, proceeding as it does from centuries of experience in limiting the power of the state over the person. As the Court put it in *Miranda*, the "one overriding thought" behind the Fifth Amendment is "the respect a government . . . must accord to the dignity and integrity of its citizens," the respect for "the inviolability of the human personality." This is a noble expression;

one rooted deeply in the Judaeo-Christian ethic; one not to be cast aside without cost.

In more immediate terms, consider the relationship of *Miranda* to our cancerous dual problems of race and poverty. *Miranda,* together with the *Mapp* enforcement of the search and seizure amendment and the *Gideon* enforcement of the right to counsel amendment, are in a most important sense emanations of our growing moral sensitivity to the plight of our poor and our oppressed. The civil rights movement and the war on poverty have brought to general attention what should have been obvious: the poor—who are also generally the Negro—have been severely put upon by our society for a long time, and one instrument of their degradation has been their treatment by the police. It is hardly any wonder that crime is a prominent dividend of our sins of injustice and want of charity.

As the Warren Court in *Brown* took the lead in desegregation—to the everlasting shame of the Executive and the Congress—so too in *Miranda* it has taken the lead in insuring to the poor the rights that we recognize as a matter of course for the rich.

There is no reliable information respecting the importance of confessions in law enforcement.

In taking this step, the Court has staked its fortune upon our capacity to live up to our own ideals. Perhaps our society has become so complex and our ills so grave that we cannot.

Or perhaps, by encouraging the police to accommodate themselves to the new standards and by sacrificing so that they can be given the financial resources necessary to effective law enforcement, we can. The Court has taken a generous, rather than a mean, view of our capacities and our goodwill. We may pray that the Court is right.

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POLICE AID SOUGHT IN CALMING CITIES

POLICE

New Ideas Urged to Ease Racially Tense Areas

6/28/67

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

EAST LANSING, Mich., May 26—Specialists in police-community relations urged at a conference here this week new concepts in law enforcement, in an effort to calm racially tense areas of the nation.

"Instead of rating our police officers in terms of how many tickets they write," asked Nelson A. Watson, an official of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, "can't we rate them in terms of the good human relations contacts they have made?"

Dan W. Dodson, director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies at New York University, suggested an overhaul of police examinations in an effort to attract policemen who would have rapport with "ghetto dwellers."

He said most recruitment examinations reflected the standards of the nation's white majority, and thus tended to eliminate large numbers of Negroes from police service.

At Michigan State

The suggestions were made at the 13th annual Institute of Police and Community Relations, which ended at Michigan State University today after a six-day session. Louis A. Radelet, the institute's director, said about 375 policemen and representatives from civic and community relations organizations attended.

Many others, he said, were turned away as a result of the decision to keep the institute at a manageable size. He attributed the interest, in part, to rising concern over summer racial disturbances and a growing awareness on the part of police of the need for an "improved relationship" with the public.

The concern over rioting and other "civil disturbances" was reflected again and again here in the questions that institute participants asked veteran law enforcement officers and community relations specialists. Many wanted to know what steps they could take immediately to insure a calm summer.

Lieut. Robert Rice of the Pennsylvania State Police said his organization had made progress in the Philadelphia area by assigning two men to work full time in meeting and talking with "potentially hostile people" and organizations in both the Negro and white communities.

To Build Confidence

He said this served to build confidence in the police and to turn potential enemies of law enforcement into allies.

"We're doing much the same thing," said a San Diego policeman, "'and we've had people [extremists] like that stop a riot."

And Herbert L. Carter, a con-

munity relations specialists. Many wanted to know what steps they could take immediately to insure a calm summer.

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"We're doing much the same thing," said a San Diego policeman, "'and we've had people [extremists] like that stop a riot."

And Herbert L. Carter, a consultant with the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, said his organization was taking steps to promote discussion between policemen and members of ghetto groups that the police consider "extremists."

"There are a lot of bugaboos about this black power business," commented Mr. Dodson of New York University in urging the police to make an effort to understand militant minority groups.

On 'Being Pushy'

"I want to say that I do not believe it is possible for a member of a group which is powerless in a society to grow to maturity without some trauma in the perception of his himself. Most minority groups have been accused at some time of being pushy."

Mr. Watson said that riots frequently occurred as a result of the following chain of events: An officer attempts to arrest a ghetto dweller, the dweller refuses to submit to arrest peacefully, a crowd gathers, and the policeman uses force to make the arrest on grounds that his authority will be undermined if he "backs away."

"Now I ask the question, Does this mean that a different approach to law and order is required in these [ghetto] areas as compared to others because of basic psychological and environmental differences?"

Several speakers, including Mr. Dodson, said a major part of the blame for racial unrest in recent years lay in poor housing conditions and inadequate incomes in Negro ghettos. This, they said, creates tension and despair and makes it possible for a relatively minor incident to trigger a riot.

"Aside from police training," added Mr. Watson, "we must take steps at the community level to reduce the sensitivity of the trigger by correcting those situations which lead to expressions of dissatisfaction, and, perhaps, eventual rebellion."

Close-Up

POLICE

'Brutality' or 'Rudeness,' It's a Serious Problem

AC 7/13/67

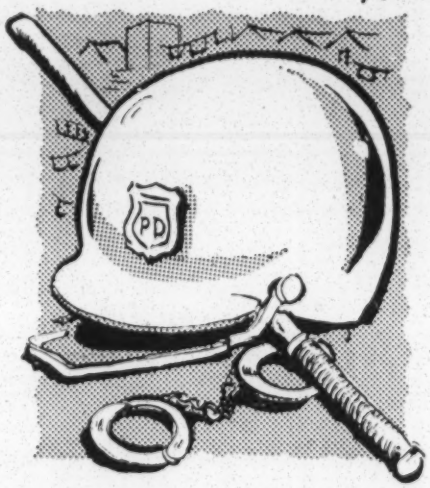
Three plainclothes detectives shouldered their way into a private Negro club on Simpson Road, looking for crimes of vice. They found none. As they entered, a club member touched a detective's arm and asked to see identification. He was jailed for interfering with an officer.

Minutes later the detectives were down the street at a shopping center, closing in on a clutch of Negro youths on the sidewalk as though stalking arch-villains. The police admittedly hadn't known the boys previously, but said they had heard them cursing loudly. This reporter had heard no cursing or undue noise. The youths were frisked, lined up, harshly questioned and then packed in a paddy wagon under a blanket public disturbance charge.

The next day the shopping center owner was at police headquarters asking for increased police patrols because the youths were threatening to break every window in the center in retaliation for police harassment.

Less than a week later, near a shopping center a short distance away, a man lay dead in a doorway, a child was seriously wounded and two others were injured when shotgun blasts turned Dixie Hills into a war front. Large scale street violence had erupted in Atlanta for the third time in less than a year.

The arrests this reporter witnessed were not exceptions and not unrelated to the ensuing Dixie Hills uprising. They were samples of the continuing police methods that build the frustrations that feed the fires set by the Stokely Carmichaels.



Dixie Hills is no traditional slum of dense, gut-level poverty. Some wondered why violence struck there. Perhaps one reason was that Negroes there have something basic in common with their kin in Vine City and Summerhill — the frustration of being trapped in a ghetto and a deep, trembling fear of police.

In their turn the police feel frustration at Supreme Court rulings, spiraling crime rates, mounting unrest among Negroes and demands for more sophisticated policing. They take it out on Negroes, tightening the grip of authority, and the tension spiral climbs toward its point.

The same arm of the law which must carry shotguns and helmets into violence-torn ghettos is the arm which also must carry a measure of the blame for that violence. The jailings I witnessed in pre-riot Dixie Hills were, in my opinion, on trumped up charges. The detectives harassed. They contributed nothing toward calming Negro nerves.

There have been many complaints of police brutality. They were heard in Dixie Hills and on Broad Street downtown. Though often called upon to be with police on the scene, I have never seen proof of outright brutality. What I have seen is more subtle, harder to fight in court. Alderman Richard Freeman, who heads the Police Committee, asked if it wasn't "discourtesy, not brutality" about which Negroes in Dixie Hills complained. My term would be stronger: Rudeness, which the dictionary says includes the "desire to wound."

Perhaps it is not brutality to call a Negro "boy," or to refuse to step aside to let a Negro pass, or to shoulder a Negro aside needlessly. A court wouldn't call it brutality when detectives joke at length about starting a "rout" and calling in a mythical truckload of bricks "if they want some trouble." But such has been all too common among Atlanta police, as it was that night on Simpson Road.

The Negro jailed for asking to see a detective's identification said he was from the North. "I don't know how you do things down here," he told the officer. Later the same detective explained "how" to another Negro club member: "I don't want any of you touching me," he said several times.

Police have a hard enough job. The pay is low, the work thankless. Yet too often, out of ignorance or frustration, police aggravate their own working conditions. The officer on the street is the hand of the white man which most often touches the ghetto-trapped Negroes, too frequently and too dramatically driving home to them what Carmichael berates as "white power."

Atlanta knows it must meet the slum tragedy head-on if it is to silence the angry. It must provide opportunity for jobs, housing, education. More immediately it must see to it that those with authority in their hands recognize that Negroes are due their rights, including the same personal dignity all men seek, and that Negroes, too, are innocent until proven guilty.

The editorial page is a page of opinion, an unusual forum for a reporter whose customary role is to record fact without commentary. But I was there last September in Summerhill, and again on Boulevard, and the racial tension I see now in Atlanta demands this speaking out.

Coourtesy is not the exclusive responsibility of the select few in the police department's Crime Prevention Bureau or the bi-racial Community Relations Council which hears with tiring regularity the catalogue of tragic slum stories. Both agencies have used common decency well in opening lines of communication so Atlanta's slum-dwellers may be heard. They must not work alone. Theirs is the responsibility of all men, and all policemen.—DICK HEBERT.

Pol.
~~Rel. Rights~~ - Gen.

Election 1962:

Thunder on the Right

WHEN THE Conservative party of New York State cried out recently against the "tyranny of liberal interlopers" in the Republican party who had "again and again . . . imposed on the voters of New York a meaningless choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee," their indignation echoed back over several decades. "Me-tooism" has been the recurrent cry of right-wing Republicans, as their party has brushed aside more orthodox candidates to nominate a series of men called "upstart" or "watered down" Republicans: Willkie, Dewey, the triumphant Eisenhower, and Richard Nixon. No wonder the public is bored, they assert, with pallid political debate. Let us be done with compromise; let us recover our integrity, and penetrate the prevailing political fog with stirring convictions, clearly stated and courageously defended.

And why not? The call to political purity has an enduring appeal; Eisenhower was elected in 1952 in part because of a public weariness with "politics as usual" and a yearning for a purer, more elevated governmental plane. It eventually became evident that despite the Eisenhower crusade and the President's genuine indifference to politics, politics as usual had not, after all, been abolished, and the minks and freezers of the Truman era were followed by the saga of Sherman Adams, which, in turn, was followed by Billie Sol Estes. Nevertheless, hope springs eternal that the body politic may one day be cleansed of its compromise and corruptions, that a new political day may dawn in which issues are faced and fought forthrightly.

The same argument is used on the other side, too; it is not only the Right which longs for freedom to speak its own voice. "Who needs the South?" impatient Northern liberal Democrats have been heard to suggest. But today, for the most part, the thunder is from the right, as conservatives seek to define a position against what they see as the predominant liberal consensus. Their hope is that Americans may be awakened, before it is too late, by True Conservatives able to bring the national peril into focus, and that candidates who stand rather than straddle will bring to the polls millions of apathetic voters who have sat out years of "Me-Tooist" elections.

It is most unlikely to happen. Discontented New York Conservatives who claim the Republican leadership under Rockefeller has "made the Republican party on the state level virtually indistinguishable from the Democratic party" will do well to look back to the year 1949, when the parties and their candidates could be readily distinguished. That year, old-line liberal Democrat Herbert Lehman was running for the Senate against a Republican candidate who had had enough of Me-Tooism and took a clear conservative line—the late John Foster Dulles. Dulles spoke out firmly against the "welfare state" and was roundly defeated by Lehman by a margin of 200,000 votes.

Unfortunately for conservative hopes, those apathetic citizens who sit home on election day are not, for the most part, Republicans at all, either of modern or conservative stripe; they are Democrats. In 1960, when our pre-election surveys used a series of questions about past voting habits and present voting intentions to divide respondents into those likely or unlikely to vote, Democrats represented 49 per cent of the likely voters and 60 percent of those unlikely to vote. The same pattern was evident in 1956.

IN 1960, although no True Conservative was running for President, it was the Republicans who were more involved in the election. Asked in September how important they thought the outcome of the election, 59 per cent of the Republicans interviewed replied that it was of major importance that their candidate won. Only 49 per cent of the Democrats echoed this sentiment. One month later, 74 per cent of the Republicans and only 65 per cent of the Democrats reported that they were "very much interested in the coming election." The silent America is, for the most part, a Democratic America; the hidden America waiting to spring to voting action at the "True Conservative" call just doesn't exist.

If ultra-conservatives wish to contribute their convictions to the national political dialogue, they have a right—and a duty—to do so. But they should not do so under the illusion that they can arouse a groundswell of latent conservative sentiment, that they can persuade the nation to follow them. The Republicans who might have large followings are liberals such as Richard Nixon, Nelson Rockefeller, Jacob Javits, John Sherman Cooper, Clifford Case. If the ultra-conservative Republicans kill them off, they will kill their party.

We are a moderate nation, long used to following the middle of the road, capable at most of brief attraction to intermittent eruptions from left or right. In the early Thirties, the nation was for a while willing to go along with *all* of Roosevelt's experiments, but by the end of the decade, the people were calling a stop to further social innovation. So, in the Fifties, McCarthyism, while never enjoying majority support, had for a time some popular appeal; but a few months before the Senator's death, only 16 per cent of the public approved of him, 20 per cent disapproved, and the rest were "neutral." Today, among those who have heard of the John Birch Society, only 8 per cent hold a favorable opinion of it.

This moderation is nothing new. American politics, like that of all healthy democratic countries, is based on compromise, and the way we work out our compromises is *within* our political parties. In such a large and heterogeneous country, any winner in the political arena must represent a coalition of forces; no single ideological or regional view can prevail. This has been true from the beginning, and the first Me-Too candidate was William Henry Harrison, who brought the conservative Whigs to power in 1840 through a frontier-flavored, Jacksonian-type campaign. Our political party history has been characterized by a series of shifting coalitions, as political, social and economic forces waxed and waned on the political scene. When one party has begun to represent too fixedly the limited beliefs or interests of any single group, becoming unresponsive to the popular forces of the day, that party has eventually lost power. Sometimes liberalism has found its best home in the Republican party, sometimes in the Democratic. Minority protests against the prevailing majority have only found effective expression through influencing a major party's policies; third parties have produced much oratory, but have left little mark in elected candidates. Dictatorship remains man's only escape from political compromise, because political compromise is part of the essential fabric of the democratic way of life.

—ELMO ROPER.

1/9/63

1963 Pol. General

JOHN W. McCORMACK, a Representative from the State of Massachusetts, Speaker, and Ralph R. Roberts, a citizen of the State of Indiana, Clerk of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-eighth Congress.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution (H. Res. 5) and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-seventh Congress, together with all applicable provisions of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended, be, and they are hereby, adopted as the Rules of the House of Representatives of the Eighty-eighth Congress, with the following amendment therein as a part thereof, to wit:

Strike out subsection (p) of rule X and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(p) Committee on Rules, to consist of fifteen Members."

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks, and I ask unanimous consent that all Members may revise and extend their remarks on the subject under discussion at this time.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Oklahoma is recognized.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this resolution is to increase the size of the Committee on Rules from 12 to 15 members.

This resolution will do no more nor less than make permanent the rule under which we operated during the 87th Congress.

The experience of the last 2 years has allayed every fear which was expressed at the time the temporary rule was adopted.

Opponents of this resolution contended that if it was passed it would lead to packing and purging of all the committees of the House, to floods of closed rules being reported, and to other consequences too dire to contemplate.

The experience of the 87th Congress under two Speakers has proved that these fears were unfounded. Now our Republican friends want to purge and to pack: they want to purge a Democrat and pack on a Republican.

This change in the Committee on Rules did not dismantle the Committee on Rules or undermine its authority.

It had no adverse effect on any other committee of the House.

It did not alter the prerogatives of the chairman or any other member of the Committee on Rules.

All it did was to establish the principal of majority rule and responsible government in the Committee on Rules and make the Committee on Rules the servant and not the master of the House.

There is nothing sacrosanct about a 12-man committee.

Historically the Rules Committee has consisted of an odd number of members during many Congresses.

Under the permanent rules of the House every committee of the House has an odd number of members except the Committee on Rules where a tie vote thwarts the entire legislative process.

Opponents of this resolution argue that it is not needed—that under other procedures the majority may always express its will.

Any Member who has served in this House as much as one term knows that as a practical matter this is not true.

They talk about suspension of the rules.

This is an extraordinary procedure requiring a two-thirds vote under which debate is limited and the opportunity to offer amendments is denied.

This procedure is one under which historically, except on very rare occasions, major legislation is not considered.

They talk about the discharge petition.

This is only a safety valve, which may be used to circumvent not only the Committee on Rules but all legislative committees of the House.

If we were to start reporting a large number of major bills of a controversial character under discharge petitions, we might as well abolish the committee system.

We would be denying ourselves the use of those procedures which have been developed through the years for the orderly consideration of legislation.

This extraordinary procedure is certainly no substitute for the general rules of the House.

They talk about Calendar Wednesday.

Every time a matter is brought out under the Calendar Wednesday procedure, the same Members who oppose this resolution resort to every kind of dilatory tactic, every kind of delay, every kind of filibuster which the rules of the House make possible.

Calendar Wednesday is limited in scope.

This is not a procedure designed to protect majority rule: This rule is available only to committees.

We believe that the majority of the Members of this House should have a reasonable opportunity to have major legislation considered under the regular rules of the House.

This is the issue here.

I hope the resolution is agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK].

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to the adoption of this resolution. It is unwise, it is unnecessary, it is inadvisable, and I think it is highly improper that we adopt it at this time. It is no secret that I was against this sort of move 2 years ago. My view did not prevail at that time. The Committee on Rules membership was increased from 12 to 15.

If I understand the majority leader correctly—and I do not have to elaborate here on the high respect and regard I have for him—he said that many things we prophesied did not come to pass.

Let me comment on that by saying from what I could observe it did not make much difference that the membership of the Rules Committee was increased from 12 to 15. An education bill came before the committee of 15 in 1961 and it was defeated decisively in committee. I recall that subsequently an omnibus educational facilities bill was called up on Calendar Wednesday, bypassing the Rules Committee. What happened? The House of Representatives correctly refused to consider it, by a vote of 242 to 170.

I say the pending proposal is unwise. You will observe that this is a permanent increase in the committee membership. In the resolution, reference is made to the 1946 Reorganization Act that established the size of the committees. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to change the basic act with respect to numbers. Certainly, temporarily we have increased numbers, but never have we attempted to make the change permanent before today.

May I say the arguments for this proposition are based on erroneous and invalid assumptions. Even the Chief Executive—for whom I have the highest regard, and for whom I have come down here in the well of the House and fought for things he said were important, some of them not very popular back home in my area—has stated, "I hope that the Rules Committee is kept to its present number, because we can't function if it isn't. We are through if we lose. Our whole program, in my opinion, would be emasculated."

I say the record disproves that.

If I may be permitted to add, with all humility, that the President's statement is something of an affront, not only to the Republican members of the Rules Committee, on which I served at one time, but to all members of the Rules Committee—and I am not so sure the affront does not apply to the whole Congress, because, after all, it is our business, our responsibility, to legislate for the good of this country.

I say that the record disproves the validity of the President's contention because the Republican members of the Rules Committee for years, including the last 2 years, have helped to vote out rules on highly controversial measures, many of them they did not believe in. Who can stand up here and say that the Members on my side, and I say generally on both sides of the aisle, did not support measures that needed to be enacted?

There are times when the Rules Committee should not report measures. I have been majority leader twice. I am proud we had a Rules Committee that had courage enough and stamina enough to stand up against reporting measures to the floor, many of which would have bankrupted the Treasury of the United States.

So I say again, Mr. Speaker, whatever is reported by any legislative committee, whether the Rules Committee is 15 or 12, has its fair chance of being considered on the floor.

I trust the resolution will be voted down, and that then we can proceed to the adoption of rules of the House as they existed before the past Congress.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] 5 minutes.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I would venture that at the time that we debated this issue at the beginning of the 87th Congress the vast majority of the Members of this body did not even know that the resolution which we adopted with respect to the Committee on Rules was limited to the 87th Congress. I am convinced of the fact that most of them thought at that time that we were permanently changing the ratio on the Committee on Rules to 15 to 10. So, this is not a new issue confronting us today. What we are trying to do is maintain the committee at 15.

Now, I had hoped that this issue would not come up. I can say, and I think with all sincerity, that the leadership cooperated with the chairman and the other members of the Committee on Rules throughout the 87th Congress. I know of no effort at any time on the part of the Speaker or anyone else associated with the scheduling of legislation to run roughshod over the Committee on Rules or any other committee. Early this winter some of our Members, upon returning here, began talking about the 21-day rule and of curbing the jurisdiction of the Committee on Rules. I was opposed to this and it was my feeling that the matter would be resolved without any difficulty and that the chairman of the committee would not join issue in light of existing full cooperation between him and the Speaker. That did not happen. So, here today we are debating the matter all over again.

Now, let us reduce this thing to its fundamentals. We are told that this is a packing device. That is a word that so many people use. I have heard this committee compared to a court. It has no relationship to a court, as everybody knows. It is an agency of the Congress of the United States, created to carry out the will of the majority of the Congress of the United States and to carry on the business of legislating. For 80 years the Committee on Rules was not even a standing committee of the House. In five Congresses the Speaker did not even appoint a Committee on Rules. The membership has been 5, 11, 12, 14, and 15 at various times. The notion that there is something sacrosanct about the number is not so.

Now, let us talk about "packing." I read in the press—and I do not know whether this is so or not, but I read—and if I am wrong, I want someone to correct me—that at the Republican conference on yesterday the conference voted unanimously 145 to nothing, as I read it, to vote down the previous question here today so that an amendment could be offered which would provide for a Committee on Rules of 9 to 6 rather than 10 to 5. Now, if I am wrong about that, I hope that the minority leader will correct me. Am I wrong about that news report?

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOGGS. Surely.

Mr. HALLECK. I was down at the White House, and the gentleman was present at the meeting.

Mr. BOGGS. Yes.

Mr. HALLECK. And I was not here at the conclusion of the caucus. But I think his understanding of what happened is correct, and shortly the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD] will explain that in some detail.

Mr. BOGGS. I thank the gentleman from the bottom of my heart.

What this means is that this so-called packing issue has gone out the window. The Republican opposition wants to pack the committee by adding a Republican and purge it by removing a Democrat.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman from Louisiana yield to me?

Mr. BOGGS. Surely.

Mr. HALLECK. It is true that the gentleman from Louisiana is a member of the great Committee on Ways and Means?

Mr. BOGGS. Correct.

Mr. HALLECK. It is composed of a membership of 15 to 10, is it not?

Mr. BOGGS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HALLECK. And has been that way since we have been here?

Mr. BOGGS. Right.

Mr. HALLECK. If the gentleman will yield further, would the gentleman think of us putting two or three more Democrats on that committee just because the gentleman wanted to get something out of that committee that the gentleman could not otherwise get out?

Mr. BOGGS. The Ways and Means Committee is a legislative committee. The Rules Committee is procedural, but the gentleman has not replied to my statement, because I said to the gentleman if there be a principle involved—and I think there is—I think the principle is whether or not democracy works, and not one of packing.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] has expired.

Mr. BOGGS. Would the gentleman from Oklahoma yield me additional time? May I have 3 additional minutes?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. BOGGS. Back in the 87th Congress, some people proposed that my good friend, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. COLMER], be purged from the committee. I was one of those who went to Speaker Rayburn—God bless his soul—and said "Mr. Speaker, this cannot happen." I was opposed to it. Now I am opposed to a proposition today which will purge from this committee Congressman SISK if the Republican proposition is adopted, because that is exactly what it means.

Members of the House know that the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] who is my good friend, made a speech here in 1961 and here is what he said. I quote from him directly:

> I remember in the 83d Congress when we won by a majority of 6, at which time we packed the Rules Committee, if one wants to use that term, 2 to 1 or 8 to 4, the Ways and Means Committee 15 to 10, the Appropriations Committee 30 to 20. The principle is a sound principle and I think in this instance we make a mistake as the Republican Party to oppose this basic proposal.

In other words, what the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. CURTIS] was saying was that had the Republicans elected a majority of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HALLECK] would have had his way. The Committee on Ways and Means would be 15 to 10 Republicans rather than 15 to 10 Democrats. The Committee on Rules would be 15 to 10 Republicans rather than 15 to 10 Democrats. Yet no one would call this purging or packing these two committees.

But bear in mind that the Rules Committee is not a legislative committee. It is a policy committee and designed to respond to the majority whether it be Republican or Democratic.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield to me?

Mr. BOGGS. I would be happy to yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. On the question raised by the distinguished minority leader in changing the membership of the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Ways and Means is a legislative committee and the matter of a 2-to-1 ratio on legislative committees has never been the practice of the House of Representatives. The Committee on Rules is a committee which has more to do with the procedures of the House of Representatives than any other body in the Congress.

Mr. BOGGS. Exactly. Let me make this one final point, and I do not say this in any partisan way. I address this to my dear friends, my colleagues who come from the South. I like to use the expression that the great former Speaker used: "I am a Democrat without prefix or suffix." I am proud to be a Democrat. I am proud to be a southerner and a native of Mississippi. I am proud to be a citizen of the greatest country on earth—the United States of America.

There were many people who predicted that those of us who said democracy ought to work, that the majority ought to be able to assert its will, that 435 Members ought to be able to vote rather than just 6 Members on an issue, that we were going to be defeated. What really happened? I look over here and I see my great friend, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LONG] sitting in Congress. He defeated a very dear friend of mine, the gentleman from Louisiana, Mr. Harold McSween, who voted the other way.

Then I look about and I see a young man from Georgia sitting back here. He looks like a very fine man. I was devoted to Judge Davis. He was very close to my dear friend, the gentleman

from Virginia [Mr. SMITH]. He took the well of this House, if I remember correctly, and predicted all of these dire things. Well, there sits this young man. I am sorry that Judge Davis is not here.

I could go on and call this roll. Over here on your side I saw today the distinguished new Governor of Pennsylvania, Governor Scranton, and God bless him. I think he is going to make a great Governor. But I remember how he voted on this issue, and I look back and I do not believe there is a single Member who sits on the Republican side who voted to let democracy work who was defeated.

I say to the Members of the House from the South who are afraid, "Do not be afraid. The Democratic Party is being built stronger than ever in the South." I am glad the Republicans are making strides in the South. I think it is a good thing for our country. It is good to have a strong two-party system.

But these are the issues. I trust that the motion of the gentleman from Oklahoma will prevail.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD].

FAIRPLAY AMENDMENTS

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, I think it is well for us first to review where we are in the House proceedings. The gentleman from Oklahoma, I understand, will move the previous question after his hour has expired. We will have a vote on whether to put the previous question at that time. If the previous question motion carries, debate will be ended and there will be no opportunity to consider amendments to the Rules of the House of Representatives for the 88th Congress.

I believe it is most important that today we be given an opportunity to discuss fully and fairly the Rules of the House of Representatives. There have been many times during my 10-year period of service here in the House when I have heard Members on both sides of the aisle criticize various House rules. This is the proper time to give real consideration to the Rules of the House of Representatives. It is my hope that the motion on the previous question will fail. If this motion fails it is my intent to see that the amendments approved by the Republican conference yesterday are offered.

The fairplay amendments are as follows:

Amend the resolution by striking out line 6, page 1, and inserting in lieu thereof the following amendments therein as a part thereof, to wit: Strike out subsection (p) of rule X and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"(p) Committee on Rules, to consist of fifteen Members (nine majority and six minority)."

That rule XI is hereby amended by adding at the end thereof:

"(r) All House standing and investigative committee staffs shall be composed 40 per centum of members selected by, responsible to, and serving at the pleasure of a majority of minority committee members."

That rule XXVIII, clause 2, is hereby amended by striking out the period and inserting a colon, and adding the following: "*Provided*, That time for discussion on conference reports shall be divided, with 50 per centum of the time to be controlled by the majority party and 50 per centum by the minority party."

I do not see why the majority party should fear these amendments. They should be willing to debate them individually, and then vote them up or down. By moving the previous question adequate debate on these amendments cannot be had and it would not give the minority party an opportunity to present its case fully and thoroughly.

In this last election 48 percent of the American people voted for Republican congressional candidates. It is true that as far as the membership is concerned we have only 40 percent of the Members. But we feel that as a minority party we should be given recognition for that 40 percent membership here in the House of Representatives if representative government is truly to work. We are not asking for 48 percent; we are asking for 40 percent which represents our membership.

It should be understood that if I should ever be fortunate enough to be a member of the majority party in some future Congress, I would support these very same amendments for the minority. These fairplay amendments are absolutely necessary and vital so that the House of Representatives may have true two-party interplay.

Mr. Speaker, what are these amendments. The first proposed amendment to the rules providing for fairplay would establish that the Rules Committee be made up of 15 members. We will not argue with the majority if they insist on that particular number. I do not want to get into a numbers game as far as the total membership is concerned, but this amendment would provide that the minority would have the same representation on this committee as we have Members in the House of Representatives; the same ratio that prevails in the Committee on Ways and Means, the same ratio that prevails in the Committee on Appropriations. That is 40 percent, which is our representation in the House.

The second amendment would provide that 40 percent of the committee staffs would have to have the approval of a majority of the minority.

The majority party has access to a tremendous amount of help from the executive branch of our Government.

The minority party is in a position where it has responsibilities to a vast segment of the people of the United States, but we do not have adequate staffing of many of the committees. This would provide that 40 percent of those staffs would have the approval of a majority of the minority.

The third amendment which we would like to propose with the approval of the Republican conference would provide that the minority party would have equal time of conference reports. Legislation today is being written more and more in conference. It is most important that the minority party, in order to present adequately its position on the floor of the House and to the American people, be given the assurance that when a conference report comes to the floor of the House of Representatives the minority party under the rules of the House of Representatives be recognized for one-half of the time.

These are the three amendments we propose. But if the previous question is voted down, it gives an opportunity for other amendments that may have been discussed by other Members to be considered as well. It is my hope that the previous question will be voted down. Certainly the minority party cannot be placed in a position where it supports the adoption of the rules as set forth in the Albert resolution, because they do not give proper protection to the minority. We in the minority are simply asking for fairplay.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. HÉBERT].

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, I was born a Democrat, I have lived as a Democrat, and I will die as a Democrat. I learned the philosophy of the Democratic Party at the knee of my father, who echoed the philosophy he heard at the knee of his father about the principles of the Democratic Party. I believe in that philosophy today as I believed in it then. Principles do not change with the times. I still live in the shadow of that which I learned in my youth, in full cognizance of the fact that, while being a member of the Democratic Party, I have the right to disagree and not be disagreeable.

I am not a party hack and I am not a party pawn. Let us get the record straight. I am opposed to the packing, fixing, stacking, or whatever other synonym you may use, whether it comes from my own side of the aisle or from the other side of the aisle. The principle of packing is wrong, no matter who advances it, whether it be from the Democratic or Republican side, and it is on principle that I speak and address you today.

As dean of the Louisiana delegation, I declined to call a caucus on this subject. I held this was a matter of decision and determination for each individual to make with himself, his constituency and his conscience. I accept that rule myself and feel confident that I echo the wishes and the will of my constituency, which has sent me here for 22 years, longer than any man in the history of my district. So I think I represent their wishes. My conscience dictates that I stand up to the principles in which I believe. If I failed to rise here today and take this opportunity to state my position I would not be worthy of the seat which I occupy in this House.

Walk with me in spirit down to the Jefferson Memorial. Lift your eyes and read what is written in that circle above the statue of Thomas Jefferson:

I have pledged upon the altar of God eternal hostility to any form of tyranny over the mind of man.

That is the principle involved here today. This may not be the most sophisticated group of individuals in the world, but it is certainly not the most naive. We all know that this proposition is a device for control. This is changing the

rules to suit the purpose of the moment. This is a device, not even subtle, to use the tyranny of control by numbers over the Rules Committee.

It was 50 years ago—almost to the day, that the then called liberals in the House changed the rules of this body and wrested the power of tyranny and control over the minds of individuals from the then Republican Speaker Joe Cannon. The fight was led by that great Missourian Champ Clark who became one of our great Speakers of the House of Representatives and almost the Democratic nominee for the office of President of the United States. He was backed up by that great Alabaman Oscar Underwood from the South—yes. And, incidentally, I might say I have no objection to being called a southern Democrat. I am proud of it and I hope I always hold my head high and say, "Yes, classify me as a southern Democrat, if you will; you pay me tribute and homage, and do me honor."

What did these liberals do 50 years ago? They formed a Rules Committee to wrest the power of tyranny from the then Speaker of the House. My distinguished colleague from New Orleans has told you this is a permanent piece of legislation. He is correct, and therein is the danger. There is the real danger.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will my colleague and dear friend yield?

Mr. HÉBERT. Certainly, I yield to my colleague.

Mr. ALBERT. Does not the gentleman think it is just as important to wrest undue power from six Members as the House wrested such undue power from one Member in the past?

Mr. HÉBERT. I think it is most important that the will of the majority of this House be worked. I think the majority here should prevail and I do not think anybody in this House should have the power and control over what the majority of the House wants. I do not care whether it is 1 man, 6 men, or 20 men. The gentleman has put his finger on the real issue. Any time 218 Members of this body want a bill considered on the floor of this House, they just have to walk a few steps and sign a discharge petition and the fact that the majority does not sign such a petition means that they do not want it.

It is the principle of majority rule that I fight for today, be it on a committee or in the House itself. Packing is not majority rule, packing is the exercise of tyranny over the minds of men which Jefferson cried out against and to which I subscribe. Packing a committee or a court is repugnant to the democratic processes and I denounce it.

Anybody who believes in majority rule cannot support this insidious device to thwart the will of the duly constituted Committee on Rules as provided in the Reorganization Act.

It should be of more than passing interest to the membership of this House and particularly to my southern colleagues to review the names of the organizations and individuals who have joined together to send letters to Members of Congress urging them to pack the Rules Committee.

This list speaks more eloquently than anything I may say here today. Read the list and ask yourselves if you accept the philosophy of how many of these organizations from the NAACP down to the very end.

It is most interesting to see some of my colleagues from the South and some of my conservative Republican friends standing shoulder to shoulder phalanx-like with such organizations.

Here is the list:

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: Roy Wilkins, executive secretary.

American Veterans Committee: Murray Gross, national chairman.

American Civil Liberties Union: John deJ. Pemberton, Jr., executive director.

Textile Workers Union of America: John W. Edelman, Washington representative.

International Union of Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers: James B. Carey, president.

Friends Committee on National Legislation: Edward F. Snyder, executive secretary.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations: Rabbi Richard G. Hirsch, director religious action center.

Japanese American Citizens League: Mike Masaoka, Washington representative.

American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees: Arnold S. Zander, president.

American Jewish Committee: A. M. Sonnabend, president.

Transport Workers Union of America: Matthew Guinan, secretary-treasurer.

Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice: Rev. Robert Zoerheide, vice chairman.

American Newspaper Guild: Charles A. Perlik, Jr., secretary-treasurer.

United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Workers of America: Walter P. Reuther, president.

National Farmers Union: James Patton, president.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith: Benjamin R. Epstein, national director.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (U.S. Section): Dr. Dorothy H. Hutchinson, president.

Americans for Democratic Action: Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., vice chairman.

Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO: Walter P. Reuther, president.

American Jewish Congress: Rabbi Joachim Prinz, president.

Catholic Council on Civil Liberties: Matthew Clarke, Washington representative.

National Alliance of Postal Employees: Ashby G. Smith, president.

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority: Miss Marie Barksdale, executive director.

Jewish War Veterans: Morton L. London, national commander.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum & Plastic Workers of America: George Burdon, president.

Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ: Dr. Ray Gibbons, director.

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: A. Philip Randolph, president.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. ROOSEVELT].

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, there are a number of us from both sides of the aisle who had hoped today to offer an amendment to the rules that would deal with the transfer of the jurisdiction of the House Un-American Activities Committee to the Committee on the Judiciary. However, it becomes very obvious today that the only way to do this would be to help the Republican minority defeat the proposition of the previous question and thus to attack the leadership from this side of the aisle; therefore, there are a number of us who have introduced and will introduce a House resolution to accomplish our purpose. This resolution will be referred to the Committee on Rules and I am happy to tell my colleagues that the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALTER], has agreed with me that he would join in a request that it be heard by the committee. I am satisfied therefore this House will at a later date be able to work its will on this question. Those of us who want this action to be taken will have our day in court. We have no right to ask for more. I hope therefore that the leadership on this side of the aisle will be supported and a large majority cast for the motion of the gentleman from Oklahoma. The basic issue involved in my resolution will be fully discussed soon.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 7 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN].

(Mr. BROWN of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, almost an hour ago I listened with very rapt attention to one of the most eloquent speeches I have heard in a long, long time, when our beloved Speaker, and my good personal friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts, JOHN MCCORMACK, assumed the speakership of this House for the 88th Congress.

In his great address, it is true, he indicated his rather firm conviction and belief that perhaps all of the virtues which have come to mankind throughout the centuries now rest within the confines of his own political party, while all of the vices to which men have fallen victim throughout the centuries belonged to those of us who may be members of the opposite party. There may be some disagreement about that.

But I do not believe any of us can disagree with that which the Speaker said when he called upon the membership of this House to cast aside partisanship in the consideration of the great issues that come before us. So, despite some peculiar statements which have been made here, I shall not make a political speech or attempt to make a political issue out of the problem that now confronts us.

Let me fix in your minds clearly, if I may, my position. I have the very firm conviction that it is just as ethically and morally wrong for a President of the United States to attempt to pack a committee of the Congress of the United States for purely political purposes and to gain his way, whether he be a Democrat or Republican, as for a President of the United States to attempt to pack the Supreme Court in order to get a judicial decision that will please him and go the way he wants it to go; or just as wrong

morally and ethically as for a great labor leader to attempt to pack a jury in order to get an acquittal of a criminal charge against himself.

I say to you that such is wrong, that it is evil, that regardless of whether we are Democrats or Republicans we should have the manhood and the moral fiber to stand up and denounce that which is evil and is wrong, and to vote against it, because there can be nothing gained permanently by doing that which we know in our own hearts and souls is wrong. As the ranking minority member of the Rules Committee I am just a bit provoked, discouraged and disheartened by statements to the effect that legislation will be emasculated in our committee unless the committee is packed by the addition of three new members which, of course, in turn would reduce the effectiveness of the minority Members of the House, and of the committee itself.

Let us look at the record, as the late Al Smith—by the way, a great member of the Democratic Party—often said in the past. There are about 20,000 bills and resolutions introduced in each Congress. Out of that number relatively few ever come before the Rules Committee of the House for 90 percent are stopped in the legislative committees of the House. Do we hear nothing about their being obstructionists? No. Many of them are stopped in the Ways and Means Committee of this House, the great Ways and Means Committee, or in the Judiciary Committee, and some other great committee where we have very able and honest men. That is where such bills are stopped.

Let us look further at the record for a moment as to what happened when we had only 12 members of the Rules Committee, 8 from the majority and 4 from the minority party, and I refer to the 86th Congress. Requests for hearings were made for 146 bills. Hearings were held on 124, and rules were granted to send to the floor for consideration 111 of those bills. Only five rules were denied. One of the bills that was before the Rules Committee, and not heard, was passed on the Consent Calendar, eight under suspension, and some were superseded by other bills when mistakes were found in them.

Nineteen Senate bills came before the House committee in the 86th Congress. There were requests for hearings on that number, and on 15, hearings were held. Fourteen rules, out of the fifteen requested, were granted.

Does that look as if there was any blocking of the House's right to vote on this legislation?

Let us look at the record for another moment. Reference was made a while ago as to the right of the Congress to get a vote on any bill any time it pleases by signing a discharge petition. In the last 24 or 25 years there have been only 2 discharge petitions signed by a majority of the Members of this House, out of some 212 discharge petitions filed. Does that look as if the great, bad ogre, the Rules Committee, whether it be made up of Democrats or Republicans, has been blocking the House of Representatives from working its will? Only one bill was passed on a Calendar Wednesday. Dozens were turned down.

I say to you, this whole proposal, this whole suggested resolution, is simply to cover up, and to control the actions, politically if you please, of a committee of this Congress, something that is morally and ethically wrong, and you and I know it.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH].

(Mr. SMITH of Virginia asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, we are talking today about a question that has been debated in this House ever since most of us were born, as to what to do about the Rules Committee. It will be debated when we are gone. Everything has been said about it, I think, that can be said. Certainly I have debated it on numerous occasions. I do not want to go into an extended debate because I have not the allotted time.

As you were told by the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. HÉBERT], the Rules Committee was set up in order to take away the power of one man to determine what should come before this House. This is an effort to put it back where it came from.

The previous Speaker, our beloved friend, Mr. Rayburn, did not want it as a permanent proposition, and he wrote the resolution, or had it written, that fixed it as a one-term proposition.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to say a few plain words to some folks who come from my part of the country.

I have been a Democrat all my life. I have never voted anything but the Democratic ticket. I have some prefixes and suffixes which the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS], my distinguished friend, said he did not have. I am a conservative Democrat, I am a southern Democrat, and I believe my country's welfare is more important than any political party and I further believe that this matter of packing the Rules Committee affects more closely our area of the country than anywhere else.

If this resolution passes, you all know what it means, and it will happen again, and that is to say whenever the President wants a bill passed or the Speaker wants a bill submitted to the floor, he gets it. Now, I think that there ought to be some discretion about this matter so that the Committee on Rules could do now like they have done in the past, at least give the matter some looking over, give it some consideration and a little time, so that the country might know what some of these measures are about. I hope none of my southern friends are going to be complaining around here when certain measures come up that are going to come up, and come up quite promptly, if the Committee on Rules is packed again. And, I hope that when they go to vote on this resolution that they will remember that there are some things involved in this that will greatly and adversely affect their States; not just how many people should be on the Committee on Rules or who shall govern the Committee on Rules. But, it is known that there are many important things to our part of the country that are involved in this packing of the Committee on Rules as it was 2 years ago. And, I hope that at least those Members who voted against the packing before will see fit to do the same thing again, because I believe it is vital to the interests of their States, and I know there are some things that will be coming up that I know you will be against. Do you want it to come out of the committee like the Committee on Ways and Means or some other committee one day, get a rule the next day, bring it up the next day before you have a chance to study it and know what it is about and providing your people an opportunity back home to express their views to you? Now, I am not talking about civil rights. We got licked on that. It should have taught us a lesson, but I am afraid it did not.

Let me say for the benefit of some of the new Members who will soon learn this procedure, we are here in a very difficult fiscal situation. We have run deficit budgets for years and years and years on top of years. We have increased our debt until the interest on it is twice what the whole budget was when I came to the Congress. And, we are over $300 billion in debt now. And, there will not be but 2 or 3 months from now when you will be called upon to again increase the debt limit, and you are going to have to do it if you pass the kind of a budget that the papers say will be presented to us, which will be the largest budget presented to this or any other country at any time in the history of the world, while along with that you are going to be asked to vote a tax cut while you increase expenses. Now, are you going to put yourself in a position like that? Are you going to yield up every little leverage or every little weapon you may have to defeat measures so unsound? Are you going to yield some of your prerogatives and privileges here today that are going to adversely affect your people for the next 20 years? If you do, that is your business and none of mine. I hope that the Members will vote on the rollcall like they would vote if this was a secret ballot, and I would have no fear of its consequences.

I conclude my remarks by including the following editorial from yesterday's Evening Star of Washington, D.C., which expresses my views completely, succinctly, and accurately:

RULES FIGHT

As all brave men must, Speaker MCCORMACK talks confidently of leading his forces to victory in tomorrow's battle over the size of the House Rules Committee. And perhaps the vote will vindicate him on this score.

But we do not think the Speaker is justified in his gloomy forecast of party failure if the size of the committee is restored to 12 instead of 15. Mr. MCCORMACK did not

go as far as the President, who said last month that his program would be emasculated unless the committee is again enlarged. But the Speaker did suggest that the Democrats, as the majority party, could not discharge their responsibilities with a 12-member Rules Committee.

The facts, in our judgment, do not support this despairing view. Someone has to decide which bills will be brought before the House for action and which will not. Otherwise chaos would result. For years, until severe pressure by the newly elected President brought about the packing of the Rules Committee in the 87th Congress, that group did the job. And on the whole it did well. If the Rules Committee should be packed again with complaisant members so that it becomes nothing more than a rubberstamp, then the Speaker, presumably acting by direction of the President, will decide which bills will be voted on and which will not. If such a situation appeals to the House, all well and good.

The fact is, however, that it is not necessary to pack the Rules Committee in order to get a vote on any bill which a majority of the Members wants to vote on. There are several ways in which a bill that is bottled up in the committee can be brought to the floor. The simplest, perhaps, is through a petition signed by a bare majority of the House membership. This is more difficult, of course, than cracking the whip over a packed committee. But it is not unduly difficult if the desire is there.

The real difficulty arises in the case of administration-backed bills to which House Members are opposed, but for which they would have to vote for political reasons if the measures should be brought to the floor. In these situations, the reluctant Members are happy to see the bills buried in the Rules Committee and, of course, will not sign discharge petitions. But it does not follow from this that the Rules Committee is thwarting the will of the majority, and every House Member knows it.

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, I intend to support the resolution offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT] to fix the membership of the Committee on Rules at 15 members.

The issue here, as I see it, is a very simple one. It is not a matter of whether the various bills reported by the Committee on Rules are or are not good and sound bills. It is simply a matter of whether the decision as to the merits of legislation reported favorably from the various standing committees of the House should be made by the House itself or by a single committee of the House.

I cannot subscribe to the theory that it is well or proper for any committee or group of Members to hold a veto over the action of the House as a whole. I cannot support the theory that the right to determine whether a particular bill reported by a standing committee should or should not be passed can properly be delegated to any small group of Members of the House. I believe these decisions can only be made by the House as a whole. If the day ever comes when Members of the House have to be protected from themselves by having the Committee on Rules make decisions for them, then we have no business continuing to serve.

The enlargement of the committee is intended to facilitate its proper function which is simply to determine the circumstances under which legislation will be considered by the House, and to prevent the committee from improperly exercising the function of passing finally and ultimately on the merits of this legislation.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, this is an open attempt by the executive branch of the Government to control directly one of the most powerful committees of Congress. Executive control of the House Rules Committee means another step toward a Hitler-type rubberstamp Congress. Already the Supreme Court has dangerously usurped the legislative power of Congress. This cold, blatant bid to further dominate Congress—this time by the executive branch—is a stark, naked attempt to deprive the people of a direct voice in national affairs and national legislation.

In 1961 the rule-packing forces were led by the House Speaker, an officer of our own choosing in the legislative branch. This time the rule-packing campaign is commanded by the executive branch openly, which is an unconstitutional, unwarranted, and unnecessary effort to usurp the power of Congress as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Executive packing of the Rules Committee will be the first step to launch the Nation on another Federal wild-spending spree. It is the first step of the Washington planners to nationalize education, to control and nationalize medicine and hospitalization, and to legalize and establish a domestic peace corps. It will lead to expanded welfare and so-called depressed area giveaways, also needless additional foreign aid. It will be a grandiose freedom ride on a national scale and further regimentation of the States, local communities, and the individual.

Those of us who oppose packing of the Rules Committee are for constitutional government. We are for States rights, rights of communities, and individual freedom. We are for a sound dollar which will benefit all of the American people, but most of all the workingman. We are for a balanced budget. We are for eliminating deficit financing. We are for fiscal responsibility.

If this Nation is to be preserved and kept fiscally sound and the value of our dollar protected and gold protected, we must defeat this nefarious attempt to pack and make a rubberstamp of the Rules Committee.

Mr. RYAN of New York. Mr. Speaker, I support the resolution offered by the distinguished majority leader which will increase the size of the Committee on Rules from 12 to 15 members. I believe that this is a minimum change which is needed to deal with the power of the Committee on Rules to block legislation. I do not believe that the Committee on Rules, consisting of 12 or 15 or any other number of members, should be able to determine the substantive merit of particular legislation. Yet, this is exactly the role the Committee on Rules has assumed. And the gentleman from Virginia, Judge SMITH, has said candidly and unequivocally that a 12-member committee is in the interest of the conservative bloc. I will vote for the 15 members, but I believe more basic reforms are necessary to overcome the obstructionism of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. Speaker, it is most regrettable that the House will not have the opportunity to consider adoption of the 21-day rule and the 7-day rule on conference reports.

The 21-day rule would provide that, if the Committee on Rules shall adversely report, or fail to report within 21 calendar days after reference, any resolution pending before the committee providing for an order of business for the consideration by the House of any public bill or joint resolution favorably reported by a committee of the House, on days when it shall be in order to call up motions to discharge committees it shall be in order for the chairman or any member of the committee which reported such bill or joint resolution to call up for consideration by the House the resolution which the Committee on Rules has adversely reported or failed to report. Therefore, the House could make its own decisions on recommendations made to it by its legislative committees.

The 7-day rule on conference reports would permit the House to send bills passed by both it and the Senate to a House-Senate conference, after 7 legislative days of inaction by the Committee on Rules. Thus, the entire House, not merely two or three members of the Committee on Rules, could decide whether or not to send the bill to conference.

It should be noted that the 21-day rule was adopted by the 81st Congress, and it worked very well in 1949–50 in bringing important measures to the House floor for a vote. For example, it brought an anti-poll-tax bill and a rivers and harbors bill to the floor for a successful vote, and it forced action on housing and minimum wage bills. In fact, seven of the eight measures brought to the floor by use of the 21-day rule passed the House.

The mere expansion of the Committee on Rules to 15 will not necessarily enable the House to deal effectively and constructively with the multitude of crucial and pressing domestic and international problems this Nation faces. In fact, even with an enlarged committee, vital legislation was blocked in the 87th Congress. The administration was blocked on 2 major bills, aid to education and a Department of Urban Affairs, and was also stopped cold on 22 other bills. Among the bills drafted and voted out by legislative committees and bottled up by the Committee on Rules were: The mass transit bill, the Youth Conservation Corps bill, bills to provide grants for medical and dental school construction and loans for medical and dental students, three migratory labor bills passed by the Senate and reported by the House committee, a bill to establish a Federal Equal Employment Opportunities Committee, and a bill to prohibit Federal aid to impacted school districts which are segregated.

Mr. Speaker, the great unfinished business facing America is civil rights. It is very doubtful that the 15-member committee will clear civil rights measures. Therefore, the 21-day rule is essential to prevent the Committee on

Rules from blocking effective civil rights legislation.

To regain its constitutional and necessary role as the major policymaking and problem-solving branch of Government, Congress must revise its organization and operations.

For example, the House must have the power to send bills to a House-Senate conference to work out differences in House and Senate versions, when a conference has been blocked by inaction of the Committee on Rules.

The House must also overcome its inability to consider home-rule legislation for the District of Columbia. The House Committee on the District of Columbia has never permitted a home-rule bill to reach the floor for a vote, notwithstanding the fact that five times since 1948 the other body has passed home-rule legislation, both major party platforms have advocated it since 1948, and Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy have all supported home rule.

I have introduced today a concurrent resolution to establish a Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress. This resolution is identical to House Concurrent Resolution 577 which I introduced in the 87th Congress. The proposed committee composed of seven Representatives and seven Senators would make a full study of the organization and operation of the Congress and recommend improvements to strengthen it, simplify and expedite its work, improve its relations with other branches of Government, and enable it to meet its constitutional responsibilities.

The committee's studies would include the organization and operation of each House of Congress and the relation between them, their relations with other branches of Government, and the employment and remuneration of officers and employees of the two Houses, their committees, and Members.

The committee would also study the structure of, and relation between, the various committees, the rules, parliamentary procedure, practices, and precedents of either House, and the matter of consolidation and reorganization of committees and their jurisdictions.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the establishment of this committee with the hope that it will make recommendations, which, if adopted, will enable the Congress to function as a truly representative and democratic body, able and willing to effectively enact legislation on all the major problems of today.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JOHN McCORMACK.

(Mr. McCORMACK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, to listen to the arguments of some of our friends, one would think that there is something sacred in the number 12 for the Rules Committee. As the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. BOGGS] pointed out, the Rules Committee at one time was five, an odd number. Another time it was 11, an odd number. The odd number enables the majority vote. A 6-to-6 vote means that a rule is not reported out. If my friend, the distinguished gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH], took the floor and said that a 6-to-6 vote would be an affirmative vote, the gentleman would be on sounder ground. But a 6-to-6 vote is a negative vote.

I have always felt throughout the years that the Rules Committee should be a majority. Two years ago we did not make it 13 because we wanted to keep the ratio of 2 to 1. If we went to 13 there would be 9 Democrats and 4 Republicans, and we did not want to disturb the ratio. That is an agreement which has existed between the parties and the leadership for years, that on the Committee on Rules there would be a ratio of 2 to 1. Also that the Committee on Ways and Means would be 15 to 10. We are not going to try and disturb the Committee on Ways and Means now, although you give us the precedent for doing so in the action of your conference yesterday when you wanted a Rules Committee of 15, with 6 on the minority side. We could construe that as a violation of the understanding over the years, but as far as I am concerned I see no intention of doing so now.

The Republican conference yesterday agreed to the proposition of 15. There is no principle involved in connection with the size of a committee. It is purely a procedural matter. In what position will my Republican friends be when now they admit the committee should be composed of 15 members when they vote against the 15-man committee when that vote comes up in the House, as I expect it will a little later in the afternoon?

The great majority of my Republican friends—you note I say the "great majority"—have opposed the 15-man committee in the past. Now they say a 15-man committee is desirable by a division of 9 of the majority and 6 of the minority.

If one studies the Rules of the House of Representatives, one will find that there is not one committee which divides among the majority and the minority. The Committee on Banking and Currency is to consist of 27 members, the Committee on the District of Columbia is to consist of 25 members, the Committee on Education and Labor is to consist of 25 members, and so on down the line.

This is the first time that I know of when an attempt has been made to write into the Rules of the House of Representatives the number that shall be on the majority side and the number that shall be on the minority side. That has always been a matter of discussion from Congress to Congress between the leadership of both parties. Then when there is a little embarrassing situation in one party or another, we recognize that and we sort of get together and take care of it. For example, we have increased any number of committees. The Committee on Agriculture under the rules is 27. It is now 35. We will have to keep that increase a little later by resolution of this Congress. The Committee on Appropriations under the rules is 43. It is now 50.

The Committee on Banking and Currency under the rules is 27, and it is now 30. The Committee on Education under the rules is 25, and it was 31 in the last Congress and it will be 31 in this Congress. So on down the line. I can name any number of other committees where under the rules there is prescribed a certain membership, but actually in the last Congress and in the past Congresses their membership is greater than the rules provide. In each Congress we had to provide for that and we will have to do it in this Congress.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman agree with me in the statement that I made when I talked on this matter that in no instance where we have increased the number of members on a committee has it been for the sort of purpose that is here involved?

Mr. McCORMACK. Will the gentleman please repeat that statement?

Mr. HALLECK. Will the gentleman agree with the statement that I made heretofore—and he realizes that he and I have sat together as majority and minority members to work out the division on the committees—will he agree with me that in no instance when we have increased the number on a committee for a particular Congress has it ever been done for the purpose that is perfectly obvious here in connection with this increase from 12 to 15?

Mr. McCORMACK. Of course, what is perfectly obvious is the fact, as I hope, that a majority of the House will want to make the Committee on Rules more representative of the will of the House, and enable the Members of the House to have a reasonable opportunity to pass upon major measures. Now, to answer specifically the gentleman's question, I will say this. I cannot answer for every Congress in the past, but we have sat down and ironed these things out, and the committees, practically all of them, are greater in number than is provided by the rules. So there is nothing sacred about the number of members on the committees. That is what I am emphasizing.

As Sam Rayburn said 2 years ago—and I quote:

> I think the House should be allowed on great measures to work its will and it cannot work its will if the Committee on Rules is so constituted as not to allow the House to pass on those things.

That is a sound proposition. With an even number of members on the Committee on Rules, it constitutes as to many measures a means of denying the House the opportunity to pass upon important legislation. The step we took 2 years ago was a wise one. The step we took 2 years ago was a proper one. The step we are now about to take, to make this number permanent, if the resolution is adopted, is a sound one because, if my Republican friends by any chance should win 2 years from now, they will not be faced with this situation that faces us today.

This is a procedural matter and from every angle that anyone can look at it, the number of 15 members on this committee should be maintained.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to adopt the resolution.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

Mr. Speaker, I take this time to state the parliamentary situation. As I understand from the remarks of the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. LAIRD], a separate vote will probably be demanded on the previous question, which I shall move at the conclusion of my remarks. The position of the majority is that the vote should be "yea" on the previous question and "yea" on the resolution.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, it has been my understanding that if the resolution offered by the gentleman from Oklahoma be defeated, immediately thereupon the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH] as chairman of the Committee on Rules, will be recognized to offer the rules of the 87th Congress as the rules of the 88th Congress.

Mr. ALBERT. The majority leader is not in a position to know whom the Speaker will recognize on the disposition of this matter.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The question is on ordering the previous question.

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 249, nays 183, not voting 1, as follows:

[Roll No. 3]

YEAS—249

Abbitt
Addabbo
Albert
Andrews
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Baring
Barrett
Bass
Beckworth
Bennett, Fla.
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bonner
Brademas
Brooks
Brown, Calif.
Buckley
Burke
Burkhalter
Burleson
Byrnes
Cameron
Carey
Casey
Celler
Chelf
Clark
Cohelan
Cooley
Corman
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Davis, Tenn.
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Doyle
Dulski
Duncan
Edmondson
Edwards
Elliott
Everett
Evins
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Finnegan
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Fogarty
Forrester
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Fuqua
Gallagher
Garmatz
Gary
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gill
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Grant
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Hagan, Ga.
Hagen, Calif.
Haley
Hanna
Hansen
Harding
Hardy
Harris
Hawkins
Hays
Healey
Hébert
Hechler
Hemphill
Henderson
Herlong
Holifield
Holland
Huddleston
Hull
Ichord
Jarman
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Wis.
Jones, Ala.
Jones, Mo.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
Keogh
Kilgore
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kornegay
Landrum
Lankford
Leggett
Lennon
Lesinski
Libonati
Long, La.
Long, Md.
McDowell
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald
Madden
Mahon
Marsh
Matsunaga
Matthews
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Minish
Monagan
Montoya
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Brien, Ill.
O'Brien, N.Y.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill
Passman
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Pilcher
Poage
Pool
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Rains
Randall
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, Alaska
Rivers, S.C.
Roberts, Ala.
Roberts, Tex.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rogers, Tex.
Rooney
Roosevelt
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan, Mich.
Ryan, N.Y.
St. Germain
St. Onge
Scott
Secrest
Selden
Senner
Shelley
Sheppard
Shipley
Sickles
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Smith, Va.
Staebler
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Thomas
Thompson, La.
Thompson, N.J.
Thompson, Tex.
Thornberry
Toll
Trimble
Tuck
Tuten
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vinson
Waggonner
Walter
Watson
Watts
Weltner
White
Whitener
Wickersham
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—183

Abele
Abernethy
Adair
Alger
Anderson
Arends
Ashbrook
Auchincloss
Avery
Ayres
Baker
Baldwin
Barry
Bates
Battin
Becker
Beermann
Belcher
Bell
Bennett, Mich.
Berry
Betts
Bolton, Frances P.
Bolton, Oliver P.
Bow
Bray
Brock
Bromwell
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown, Ohio
Broyhill, N.C.
Broyhill, Va.
Bruce
Burton
Byrnes, Wis.
Cahill
Cannon
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Chenoweth
Clancy
Cleveland
Collier
Colmer
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtin
Curtis
Dague
Derounian
Derwinski
Devine
Dole
Dwyer
Ellsworth
Findley
Fino
Ford
Foreman
Frelinghuysen
Fulton, Pa.
Gathings
Gavin
Glenn
Goodell
Goodling
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Harrison
Harsha
Harvey, Ind.
Harvey, Mich.
Hoeven
Hoffman
Horan
Horton
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Jensen
Johansen
Jonas
Keith
Kilburn
King, N.Y.
Knox
Kunkel
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lindsay
Lipscomb
Lloyd
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
McIntire
McLoskey
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin, Calif.
Martin, Mass.
Martin, Nebr.
Mathias
May
Meader
Michel
Miller, N.Y.
Milliken
Minshall
Moore
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Nelsen
Norblad
Nygaard
O'Konski
Osmers
Ostertag
Pelly
Pillion
Pirnie
Poff
Quie
Quillen
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rich
Riehlman
Robison
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
St. George
Saylor
Schadeberg
Schenck
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Short
Shriver
Sibal
Siler
Skubitz
Smith, Calif.
Snyder
Springer
Stafford
Stinson
Taft
Talcott
Teague, Calif.
Thomson, Wis.
Tollefson
Tupper
Utt
Van Pelt
Wallhauser
Weaver
Westland
Whalley
Wharton
Whitten
Widnall
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Wilson, Ind.
Winstead
Wydler
Wyman
Younger

NOT VOTING—1

Murray

So the previous question was ordered.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee and Mr. ASHLEY changed their votes from "nay" to "yea."

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 235, nays 196, not voting 2, as follows:

[Roll No. 4]

YEAS—235

Addabbo
Albert
Ashley
Aspinall
Ayres
Baldwin
Barrett
Bass
Bates
Bennett, Fla.
Bennett, Mich.
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Bonner
Brademas
Brooks
Broomfield
Brown, Calif.
Buckley
Burke
Burkhalter
Byrne, Pa.
Cahill
Cameron
Carey
Celler
Chelf
Clark
Cohelan
Conte
Cooley
Corbett
Corman
Daddario
Daniels
Davis, Ga.
Dawson
Delaney
Dent
Denton
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Doyle
Dulski
Duncan
Dwyer
Edmondson
Edwards
Elliott
Ellsworth
Evins
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Finnegan
Fino
Flood
Flynt
Fogarty
Forrester
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton, Tenn.
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gill
Glenn
Gonzalez
Grabowski
Gray
Green, Oreg.
Green, Pa.
Griffiths
Grover
Hagan, Ga.
Hagen, Calif.
Halpern
Hanna
Hansen
Harding
Harris
Hawkins
Hays
Healey
Hechler
Hemphill
Henderson
Holifield
Holland
Horton
Hull
Ichord
Jennings
Joelson
Johnson, Calif.
Johnson, Wis.
Jones, Ala.
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
Keogh
King, Calif.
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Landrum
Lankford
Leggett
Lesinski
Libonati
Lindsay
Long, La.
Long, Md.
McDade
McDowell
McFall
Macdonald
Madden
Mahon
Martin, Mass.
Mathias
Matsunaga
Miller, Calif.
Mills
Minish
Monagan
Montoya
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Morrison
Morse
Moss
Multer
Murphy, Ill.
Murphy, N.Y.
Natcher
Nedzi
Nix
O'Brien, Ill.
O'Brien, N.Y.
O'Hara, Ill.
O'Hara, Mich.
O'Konski
Olsen, Mont.
Olson, Minn.
O'Neill
Osmers
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pike
Pilcher
Poage
Pool
Powell
Price
Pucinski
Purcell
Rains
Randall
Reid, N.Y.
Reuss
Rhodes, Pa.
Rivers, Alaska
Roberts, Ala.
Roberts, Tex.
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rooney
Roosevelt
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan, Mich.
Ryan, N.Y.
St. Germain
St. Onge
Saylor
Secrest
Senner
Shelley
Sheppard
Shipley
Sibal
Sickles
Sikes
Sisk
Slack
Smith, Iowa
Staebler
Stafford
Staggers
Steed
Stephens
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Taylor
Teague, Tex.
Thomas
Thompson, La.
Thompson, N.J.
Thompson, Tex.
Thornberry
Toll
Trimble
Tupper
Tuten
Udall, Morris K.
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vinson
Wallhauser
Walter
Watts
Weltner
White
Wickersham
Willis
Wilson, Charles H.
Wright
Young
Zablocki

NAYS—196

Abbitt	Fountain	Moore
Abele	Frelinghuysen	Morton
Abernethy	Fulton, Pa.	Mosher
Adair	Fuqua	Nelsen
Alger	Gary	Norblad
Anderson	Gathings	Nygaard
Andrews	Gavin	Ostertag
Arends	Goodell	Passman
Ashbrook	Goodling	Pelly
Ashmore	Grant	Pillion
Auchincloss	Griffin	Pirnie
Avery	Gross	Poff
Baker	Gubser	Quie
Baring	Gurney	Quillen
Barry	Haley	Reid, Ill.
Battin	Hall	Reifel
Becker	Halleck	Rhodes, Ariz.
Beckworth	Hardy	Rich
Beermann	Harrison	Riehlman
Belcher	Harsha	Rivers, S.C.
Bell	Harvey, Ind.	Robison
Berry	Harvey, Mich.	Rogers, Fla.
Betts	Hébert	Rogers, Tex.
Bolton, Frances P.	Herlong	Roudebush
	Hoeven	Rumsfeld
Bolton, Oliver P.	Hoffman	St. George
	Horan	Schadeberg
Bow	Hosmer	Schenck
Bray	Huddleston	Schneebeli
Brock	Hutchinson	Schweiker
Bromwell	Jarman	Schwengel
Brotzman	Jensen	Scott
Brown, Ohio	Johansen	Selden
Broyhill, N.C.	Jonas	Short
Broyhill, Va.	Jones, Mo.	Shriver
Bruce	Keith	Siler
Burleson	Kilburn	Skubitz
Burton	Kilgore	Smith, Calif.
Byrnes, Wis.	King, N.Y.	Smith, Va.
Cannon	Knox	Snyder
Casey	Kornegay	Springer
Cederberg	Kunkel	Stinson
Chamberlain	Kyl	Taft
Chenoweth	Laird	Talcott
Clancy	Langen	Teague, Calif.
Cleveland	Latta	Thomson, Wis.
Collier	Lennon	Tollefson
Colmer	Lipscomb	Tuck
Cramer	Lloyd	Utt
Cunningham	McClory	Van Pelt
Curtin	McCulloch	Waggonner
Curtis	McIntire	Watson
Dague	McLoskey	Weaver
Davis, Tenn.	McMillan	Westland
Derounian	MacGregor	Whalley
Derwinski	Mailliard	Wharton
Devine	Marsh	Whitener
Dole	Martin, Calif.	Whitten
Dorn	Martin, Nebr.	Widnall
Dowdy	Matthews	Williams
Downing	May	Wilson, Bob
Everett	Meader	Wilson, Ind.
Findley	Michel	Winstead
Fisher	Miller, N.Y.	Wydler
Ford	Milliken	Wyman
Foreman	Minshall	Younger

NOT VOTING—2

Murray	White

So the resolution was agreed to.

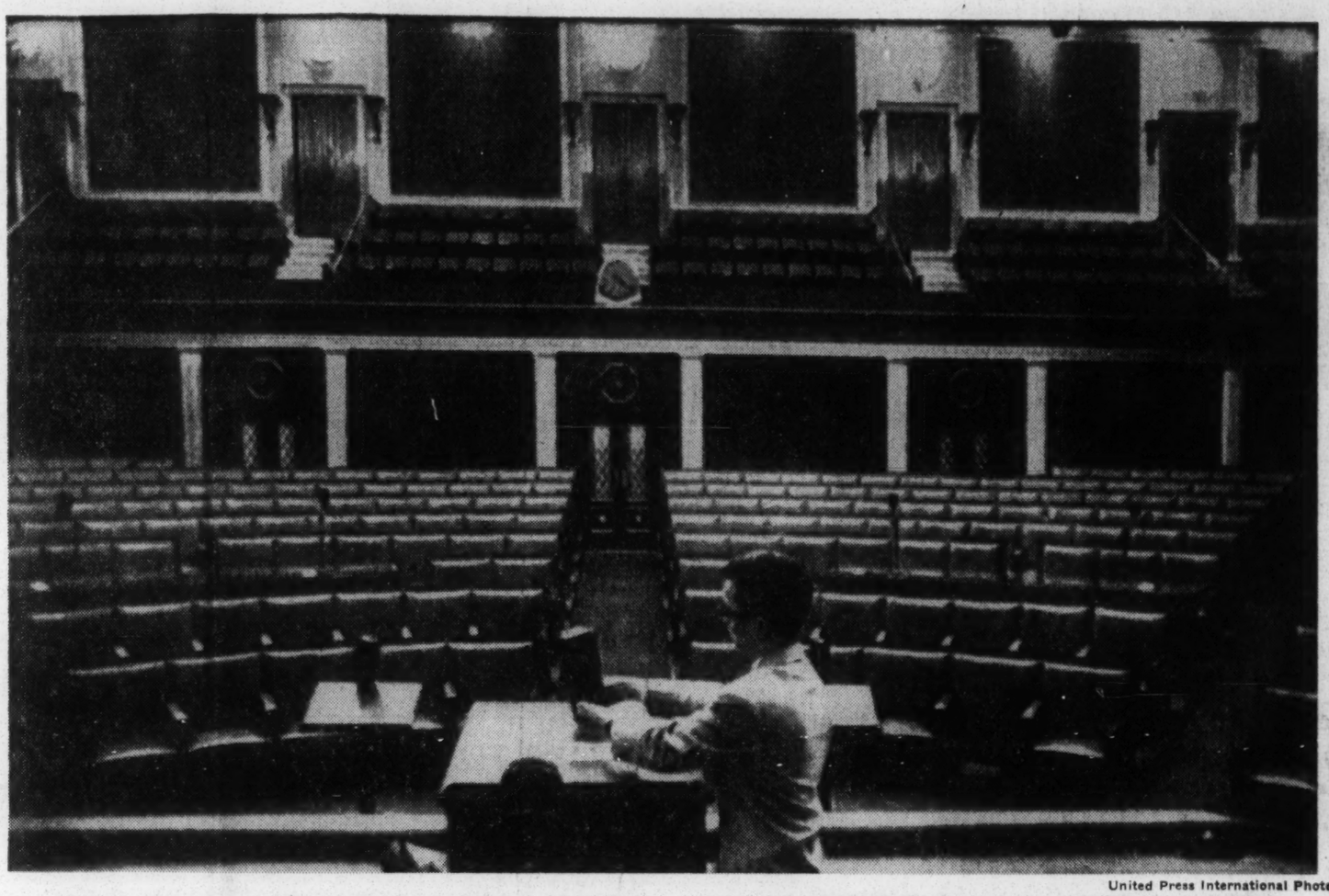
The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Pol. Gen.

United Press International Photo

FRESHMEN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMEN FROM GEORGIA
Ready to Go to Work in Washington Are C. L. Weltner (L) and J. R. Tuten



United Press International Photo

HOUSE SPEAKER'S PAGE GETS READY BY REMOVING COVER FROM MIKE IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
16-Year-Old Robert F. Barnes Is Only Person Here; Soon It Will Be Crowded With Lawmakers

Capital More Like Old Self As Congress Again Bustles

By MARTHA COLE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 9 (AP) — The capital looked more like its old self Wednesday. Its pulse was faster, its pace quicker.

But also the change was a little like that which comes over a household when a rich but sometimes cranky uncle pays his annual visit. There was both pleasure and pain.

As the taxicab driver said when he swung down Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol — "I'm glad to see Congress come back, but it sure stirs up this traffic."

Things were stirring all over town. President Kennedy had returned from his Florida vacation, and Congress was reassembling at noon.

For the 12 new senators and

diana, Birch E. Bayh, the Democratic Campaign Committee of Indiana was throwing an afternoon reception for which 1,500 Indiana meat balls had been ordered, 1,500 fancy finger sandwiches and 800 deviled eggs.

The President's brother, new Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., was having an informal open house in his offices.

Sen. Kennedy said he was going to hold his speeches and public appearances to a minimum, that he couldn't go to everything.

"You can't go to all of them; you turn some of them down," said another new Congress member, Rep. Everett G. Burkhalter, D-Calif., of the invitations he had received.

"It's really busy. I don't get time to look at my mail."

This innovation in the official social goings-on was planned to introduce new members of Congress to members of the executive branch, such as cabinet heads and the White House staff.

Tuesday night there was the big to-do over the Mona Lisa. Wednesday, there's a big dinner given by the Women's National Press Club.

BOTH HOUSE and Senate in the 88th Congress are only slightly changed in their numerical partisan lineup compared with the 87th when it began two years ago.

In the new House there are 258 Democrats, 176 Republicans and one Democratic vacancy. This compares with 262 Democrats and 175 Republicans two years ago when the House had 437 members instead of the current 435.

In the Senate the session opens with 67 Democrats and 33 Republicans. Two years ago it began with 65 Democrats, 35 Republicans.

There are 67 new House members and 12 new Senators.

And if you yell "Thompson!" in the lobby of the House, four congressmen might answer.

The Thompson clan holds top name duplication honors in the Congress, though Rep. Vernon Thomson, R-Wis., spells it without a "P."

The other three are T. A. Thompson, D-La., Frank Thompson, D-N.J., and Clark Thompson, D-Tex.

United Press International Photo

AIDES PLACE FURNISHINGS IN OFFICE OF NEW SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
His Office Furnishings Are of Products Made in Home State of Massachusetts

a household when a rich but sometimes cranky uncle pays his annual visit. There was both pleasure and pain.

As the taxicab driver said when he swung down Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol — "I'm glad to see Congress come back, but it sure stirs up this traffic."

Things were stirring all over town. President Kennedy had returned from his Florida vacation, and Congress was reassembling at noon.

For the 12 new senators and 67 new representatives it was go, go, go.

MOST OF THEM planned informal receptions in their offices after the noontime office oathtaking in the chambers of the House and Senate.

For the new senator from In- D-Mass., was having an informal open house in his offices.

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For about two weeks, the newcomers to Congress will be feted, welcomed at receptions, honored at dinners.

Added to the usual affairs this year are two receptions being given by Vice President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson at their Washington home Thursday and Friday nights.

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United Press International Photo

AIDES PLACE FURNISHINGS IN OFFICE OF NEW SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY
His Office Furnishings Are of Products Made in Home State of Massachusetts

Associated Press Wirephoto

THEY WILL BEGIN THEIR NEW JOBS AS SENATORS AS 88TH CONGRESS OPENS
(L-R) Daniel Brewster, P. H. Dominick, Gaylord Nelson, Daniel Inouge and G. S. McGovern

New U.S. Senatorial Faces

United Press International Photo

GEORGIA'S REP. CARL VINSON
With Rep. James Roosevelt (R) During Meeting

MORE NEW SENATORS, ALL DEMOCRATS, EXCEPT SIMPSON, MAN IN MIDDLE
(L-R) Birch Bayh Jr., Abraham Ribicoff, Milward Simpson, Edward Kennedy and Thomas McInTyre

United Press International Photo

NEW CONGRESSMAN R. L. LEGGETT IN NEW WASHINGTON HOME
But Furniture Didn't Arrive; Borrowed Beds From Army Quartermaster

United Press International Photo

NEW FOYER UNDER STEPS OF EAST FRONT OF CAPITOL
It Provides No-Step Entrance to Various Parts of the Capitol

bilities are clearly open to question.

Implicit in the election is the danger that Dominicans are liable to equate representative democracy with economic advance. Dominicans are languishing under the impression that once the new, freely elected government takes office in February, a renaissance will flower in the country. Many are anticipating a Utopia of freedom and plenty.

They fail to note, or close their eyes to the fact, that a democratic government, by its structure and philosophy, moves by evolutionary degrees. This may be too slow for their expectations. For the giant economical and political monster which Trujillo fashioned will not easily be destroyed by attrition. Already one hears grumbling because the domestic holdings of Trujillo, covering every facet of the country's economy and estimated at more than $300 million, is "just sitting." This includes 40 per cent of the tillable soil. The Dominican people have not forgotten that while they were queuing up in breadlines, the elder Trujillo was living like a caliph and his playboy son Ramfis was sending his polo ponies to Paris aboard privately chartered planes and favoring Hollywood actresses with furs and sports cars. They expect amends.

Forces which may act as a deterrent to the country's reformation include:

«A pitiful lack of political experience among officeholders and the electorate. Trujillo did their thinking for them and made the decisions. The political parties, even the major ones, are badly organized and without direction.

«The basic elements which helped Trujillo remain in power—hunger, poverty and illiteracy—still exist.

«Nationalism is resurgent and often misdirected along negative anti-American or pro-Communist lines.

«There is a lack of strong leadership, mainly attributable to the previous one-man government and the reluctance of Trujillo to train potential leaders.

«The habits of thirty years are not easily changed. Smashing stone idols (2,000 statues of Trujillo have been destroyed) does not necessarily purge the spirit that built them.

Like the emerging sovereign nations of Asia and Africa, the Dominican Republic must establish political institutions, realign social classes and promote economic rehabilitation.

The job is even tougher for the Dominicans, because they must wipe out all traces of Trujilloism before the country can develop fully. The great danger is that if the social, economic and political reforms urgently needed are not quickly put in motion, the Castro-Communists or the extreme rightists will step in. Though each camp has only a small following, they are led by professionals who know how to pipe tempting tunes to the politically naive.

Should the new government fail to initiate a program of across-the-board reforms and the Dominican people turn to the Left or Right, or the two pressures become locked in a bloody struggle, it would be a severe setback for the United States and the Alliance for Progress. The hemispheric nations are well aware that we are running the show in the Dominican Republic.

Another Cuba in the Caribbean would be too much for Washington's expensively preened posture as leader of the free world and would open the way for further trouble in Latin America.

The New Congress: Prospects and Problems . . . . . Alan Rosenthal

Pw. Rev

Months ago, even before much heat was generated by the midterm election campaign, President Kennedy expressed the choice before the nation in a characteristic cliché: Will the 88th Congress sail or anchor? Although typical of campaign polemic, the proferred choice failed to depict the realities of Congressional politics. For, whatever the outcome of the November balloting, chances were that the Congress which was to convene on January 9 would, like so many of its predecessors, drift along, slowly but inexorably nudged by national needs and Presidential prodding.

Following the election and the initial burst of satisfaction at the happy results, there has been a calculated change of mood at the White House. As he prepares himself for the cliff-hanger politics ahead, the President's public statements about the prospects of his domestic legislative program have taken on a cast of weariness and doubt.

There are reasons for pessimism. As was pointed out by Blanche Blank in a recent *Nation* article ("The Meaning of Your Vote," Nov. 3, 1962), Congressional parochialism, the schism in the Democratic Party, and above all the organization, or perhaps disorganization, of Congress and its archaic rules are all geared to defend rather than change the *status quo*. In his mid-December television report, President Kennedy put the problem simply but accurately: ". . . the Constitution and the development of the Congress all give advantages to delay. It is very easy to defeat a bill in the Congress. It is much more difficult to pass one." Congressional power is diffuse power, wielded by independent sovereigns or chieftains, and extremely difficult to mobilize for progressive purposes.

During the past twenty-five years, whatever the leadership capacity of the President, Congressional chieftains, and rank and file as well, have eschewed adventurous domestic programs. They have responded to Presidential leadership in foreign and defense affairs, but they have balked at innovative social and economic policies. Perhaps the steady erosion of Congressional prerogatives in an age that has witnessed the general decline of representa-

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Alan Rosenthal, author of Toward Majority Rule in the United States Senate *(McGraw-Hill), teaches Political Science at Hunter College.*

1/12/63

tive institutions has provoked, by way of compensation, extreme Congressional sensitivity with regard to domestic policies.

The dominant mood of the 88th Congress will be one of prudence. Legislators, trained in the politics of compromise, recognize no recipe for instant Utopia. And there is little compulsion for reform and innovation. Long experience has convinced many members of Congress that the country will stumble along, in the right direction and at the proper pace.

Many liberals wishfully assume that the Congressional mood ill-represents the popular temper, whereas the President's outlook mirrors public desires. There is no evidence for this. Neither Mr. Kennedy's burgeoning popularity nor the continuation of Democratic Congressional majorities necessarily indicates national support for progressive domestic programs.

For example, the issues of civil rights and medical care for the aged are both close to the hearts of liberal Democrats, but there is relatively little popular pressure for reform in these areas. After the Senate defeated the highly publicized, compromise medicare bill last year, a Gallup poll revealed that while about four out of five people had heard or read of the proposal, few had any knowledge of what the bill provided and less than a majority favored a social-security approach in preference to private insurance.

As for civil rights, all national polls since the 1954 Supreme Court decision have consistently revealed public support for desegregation in principle. Yet, only about 25 per cent have supported the proposition that "every measure" should be used by government to bring about integration in the "near future." Recently, the Gallup poll asked whether the public thought the Kennedy Administration was pushing racial integration too fast, or not fast enough. Almost 60 per cent had no opinion or were satisfied with progress, nearly one-third thought the Administration was moving too fast, and only 11 per cent thought it was moving too slowly. If the public wants the type of progress that befits the challenge of the times, its voice has yet to be heard.

Even better evidence of the prevailing mood of moderation are the Gallup polls which since early 1961 have asked whether the Kennedy Administration should go more to the Right, more to the Left, or keep to the middle. From the standpoint of those who assume that the public, like the President, wants the nation to move, the results are disappointing (see table above).

THE PUBLIC'S ADVICE TO THE ADMINISTRATION

	January 1961	July 1961	January 1962	December 1962
Go more to the Right	24%	19%	20%	21%
Go more to the Left	23	15	18	21
Keep to the middle	42	50	51	42
No opinion	11	16	11	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Thus the public is by no means clamoring for reform and innovation. If there is to be change, however moderate, much depends on the most artful Presidential leadership.

Heroic leadership, of the sort promised by Senator Kennedy when he was campaigning for the Presidency, may not be suited to the realities of Congressional organization and public disposition. The setting in which President Kennedy will have to operate will be little different from that in which Roosevelt's later New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal foundered before unresponsive Congresses. That is not to say that Mr. Kennedy's prospects are dismal, but only that there are limits to what he can reasonably be expected to accomplish.

One characteristic of democratic government is that, no matter what the objective urgency, a legislature is unable to reach decisions on controversial issues about which the country itself is undecided. The President can propose a variety of progressive programs with little fear of public reproach; but he can hope to see only a few enacted unless there is an appreciable consensus in their favor. That explains why the President's record in the 87th Congress was mixed—not nearly as successful as he predicted while stumping, but certainly not as bleak as many critics assert. While legislative failures by far outnumbered the few important successes, it is still surprising that the record was as good as it was, given a new Administration, an untried Congressional leadership, and an overwhelming agenda without clearly defined priorities (not to mention the factors already cited).

Just as an assessment of the record of the 87th Congress is shaped by one's expectations, so an interpretation of the significance of the 1962 Congressional elections depends on whether one is looking for radical reorientation or merely a slight shift in Congressional attitudes toward New Frontier policies. From the first perspective, the elections were disheartening, for they did little to crush the coalition of conservative Southern Democrats and Republicans which for years has dominated the House. From the second perspective, however, they were somewhat encouraging.

Kennedy's position in the Senate has been significantly strengthened by a net gain since November of three Democrats. When the Senate convenes, the line-up will be sixty-seven Democrats and thirty-three Republicans. The Democratic margin is not quite as useful to the President as it might seem. Eighteen Democrats are Southern conservatives; of the forty-nine remaining, about thirty-five are hard-core Kennedy supporters, four are conservatives, and about ten are switch hitters. Ten to fifteen Republicans are potential Presidential supporters. All in all, the Senate outlook is favorable for the fashioning of majority coalitions issue by issue.

The effects of the elections on the new House are less obvious. In net terms, the Democrats lost four seats and the Republicans gained two. In gross terms, however, the change of personnel gives the slightest of advantages to the Administration. Some of the sixty-seven new men are more liberal than their predecessors, regardless of party labels. According to an analysis by *Congressional Quarterly*, of the sixty-nine members (forty Democrats,

twenty-nine Republicans) leaving the House because of election defeat, primary defeat, or retirement, only twenty-five generally supported the President. On the other hand, of the sixty-seven new members (thirty-six Democrats, thirty-one Republicans), twenty-seven are expected for the most part to support Mr. Kennedy. Despite this real gain for the Presidential party at a midterm election, the House line-up is far from reassuring. The President should be able to count on a solid base of about 163 Democratic votes and another thirty-two probables. But even with about twenty Republican moderates (primarily from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts and California), the Kennedy coalition of 215 falls short of a majority.

If there is to be even gradual advance on the home front, President Kennedy will have to do his Congressional arithmetic and manage his legislative program with consummate skill. Many believe that his past strategies and techniques, characteristic of a legislative mind accustomed to compromise, will have to be revised. The major criticism of Mr. Kennedy's management during his first two years is that he failed to "go to the country" over the head of Congress. According to this view, the President's main hope lies, not in persuading Congress, but in persuading the people. If he should mobilize public support simply by explaining his programs, the people would not fail him. Rallied behind his goals, they would soon force Congress to follow.

The simplicity of this proposed strategy is appealing. It may succeed on one or two carefully selected issues, but probably no more. FDR's fireside chats did not turn the tide; the unmistakable nature of the crisis did that. In contrast to 1933, there appears today to be no national crisis; consequently, there is no sense of urgency to enact new domestic programs. From time to time, the public does become aroused, as in response to the Soviet sputniks or the deformities caused by the drug thalidomide, and the result is an education act or a drug-control law. But such response cannot be manufactured, even by the most adroit propaganda.

"You see—first women, then Negroes, now Congressmen!"

For better or worse, Congressmen are the people with whom the President must deal. Mr. Kennedy recognizes this. He understands that Congress "has its own will and its own feelings and its own judgment," that getting results is not primarily a matter of trying to turn up the heat of public opinion. In the 87th Congress, he concentrated on broadening the Congressional center and worked constantly at the intricate tasks of creating legislative majorities in order to manipulate at least part of his program through a divided Congress.

It is probable that in the next two years the President will continue to by-pass contests in the public forum (except on a few issues, such as his tax program) and to manage things quietly through further courtship of Democratic legislators. Conciliation, accommodation and compromise will remain the Presidential *modus operandi*. The pragmatic political art of picking up a vote here, a vote there, while lacking drama, is most applicable to the types of legislative situations Mr. Kennedy will face.

There are good reasons to believe that by employing tested methods of persuasion Mr. Kennedy will achieve a few notable successes, as well as a number of frustrating near misses, in the 88th Congress.

First, his handling of the Cuban situation and the elections have not only given the Administration increased self-confidence but have also convinced a number of marginal Democrats and Republicans of the President's ability and popularity. It is possible, too, that the influence of moderate Republican governors in New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan, and the prospect that GOP Congressmen will have to run with a moderate Presidential candidate in 1964, will erode the amazingly solid bloc of negative votes that Charles Halleck, minority leader, has been able to command in the House.

Second, the President's legislative package will be smaller, better defined and probably easier to sell. There will be few new items, and Congressional familiarity with old ones should mean a slower, friendlier pace and a legislative pipe line that is manageable. If the President also sets some order of priority among his messages and bills, as he did in the closing weeks of the 87th Congress, relations should improve.

Third, the two-year experience of the White House liaison staff and the floor leadership on Capitol Hill may increase efficiency. The liaison operation should become less sporadic and the Senate and House leaderships more skillful. In the previous Congress, for example, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield cost the Administration its medicare and urban-affairs bills in the Senate, through trying too hastily to by-pass the regular committees.

Fourth, greater cooperation between the Administration and sympathetic Republicans, including the acceptance of positive Republican proposals and the sharing of credit (as on the Manpower Retraining Act of 1962), would probably improve the chances of several key bills. Indeed, direct and continuous contact by the White House with a number of rank-and-file GOP Congressmen and the rendering of little kindnesses and courtesies might conceivably bring substantial dividends.

Nevertheless, a few items of the Kennedy program seem destined for defeat. The enactment of a strong agricultural-control bill is most unlikely. The November elections, in which the President lost thirty-five members who had backed him on the first farm bill vote (defeated 215-205) and gained only twenty-seven probable supporters, seem to end all hope for its resurrection. General aid-to-

education legislation, enshrouded by the nonnegotiable issues of race and religion and the thorny issue of "federal control," can be saved by little less than a minor miracle. Chances for creation of a department of urban affairs are somewhat better, and prospects for the youth conservation corps and mass transit bills are still brighter. Aid to higher education, after traveling a long and arduous path, was defeated late last year when a joint conference report was rejected by the House, largely because of the many tempers inflamed by the Supreme Court's school-prayer decision and the heightening tension in Mississippi. Barring similar events, it should pass in this Congress.

In the weeks immediately ahead, several critical decisions will be made. Probably the most important will involve assignments to the standing committees. Some of the Senate assignments will make little difference in the short run. Although Democrats will pick up about eight seats on Senate committees, name the successor to the late Senator Kerr and add a man on the influential Finance Committee, there will be no real change in the power alignments. Whoever is added to Finance, Senator Byrd and about ten Democratic and Republican conservatives will continue to dominate. But Senate committees have not generally proved to be insurmountable obstacles. If Mr. Kennedy is able to command support from a majority of Senators, at least some of the damage done his legislative proposals in committee can be remedied through amendment on the floor.

In the House, however, action or inaction by a committee can determine the fate of any bill. The Ways and Means Committee in the last Congress blocked medicare by 15-10 and the bill to extend unemployment compensation by 13-12. Each of these proposals should be able to pass the Senate in this Congress. Consequently, the behavior of Ways and Means may be decisive. With two Democratic vacancies on the committee, as a result of the retirement of two conservatives, much hinges on the attitudes of the new replacements. (So much, in fact, that it has been reported that Rules Chairman Howard Smith is willing to maintain the *status quo* on the Rules Committee in exchange for the appointment of a conservative to one of the two openings on Ways and Means.) Since the Democratic membership is regionally representative, the new members will undoubtedly come from the Southern states. The choice will be between Democratic moderates and conservatives, and if the leadership, together with a more secure and therefore more amenable Chairman Wilbur Mills, appoints two moderates, medicare, unemployment insurance and the Administration's tax program will be in much better shape.

The most dramatic battles during the opening days of the Congress promise to revolve around maintaining the three-member expansion of the House Rules Committee and liberalizing the cloture rule in the Senate.

Unless the House once more ratifies the 1961 increase to fifteen members, the Rules Committee will revert to twelve. On this, President Kennedy has taken a firm stand. "We are through if we lose . . . our whole program in my opinion would be emasculated," he declared in his recent television report. Chances are excellent that the Administration and Democratic leadership will win this fight, despite the loss of the inestimable influence of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn. The expansion experiment by no means completely curbed the conservative power of the committee, which managed to block a number of Administration bills in the 87th Congress. Thus there is less pressure to alter its membership once more. Furthermore, it is probable that many more than the twenty-two Republicans who supported enlargement in 1961 will vote to keep the expanded committee, fearing that otherwise the GOP will suffer as a result in key urban areas of the nation in 1964. Finally, Congressmen are always reluctant to bump friends and colleagues from important committees; therefore, a number of associates of the three newly appointed members will favor the enlargement now, even if they opposed it two years ago. The related effort by House liberals to reinstitute the twenty-one-day rule and thereby effectively restrict Rules obstructionism is unlikely to succeed, since the President and Democratic leadership are willing to settle for retention of the three-member increase.

In the Senate, a bipartisan group of liberals, supported by Democratic Leader Mansfield and Minority Whip Kuchel, has an excellent opportunity to revise Rule XXII so as to decrease the requirement for cloture from two-thirds of those voting to three-fifths of those voting. Two years ago, primarily because of Mansfield's fear that a battle over restriction of filibusters might harm the new Administration, the liberal attack was stalled. This time, with leadership support, liberal gains as a result of the elections, and a favorable parliamentary ruling (or simply putting the question to a Senate vote) by Vice President Johnson on whether the Senate can, at the beginning of a new Congress and before the initiation of new business, halt a filibuster on new rules by a simple majority, prospects for revision are hopeful.

Even more important than maintenance of the presently constituted House Rules Committee and liberalization of the Senate cloture rule is a general reformation of a legislative system which makes Presidential programs so difficult to enact. Although the current national tendency toward domestic drift is not wholly the result of Congressional disabilities, the diffusion of power within Congress, its irresponsible exercise, and the lack of clear accountability for its use make self-reform of highest priority.

In the last session, a bipartisan group, led by Senators Clark, Kuchel, Case and Humphrey and Representatives Reuss and Lindsay, introduced a concurrent resolution to establish a joint committee on the organization of Congress to study and report on modernization of the rules, procedures and customs of both the Senate and House. The proposal will be reintroduced in the 88th Congress, and although revolutionary advances are unlikely, optimists may hope that some of the built-in impediments to unity and Congressional capacity to govern responsibly and effectively will be removed. Long-term prospects, in the domestic field especially, depend in substantial degree on modernization of much of the creaking and shackling machinery of Congress.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Freud's Intellectual Adventure

FREUD. A Critical Re-evaluation of His Theories. By Reuben Fine. David McKay Co. 307 pp. $6.95.

Richard Peters

Reuben Fine claims that no one has hitherto taken the trouble to ask: "What did Freud actually say? How does what Freud said stand up in terms of what we now know?" Dr. Fine has therefore set himself the task of examining the whole body of Freud's writings in order to clarify what was said and to review the ideas there set down critically in the light of modern knowledge.

To make a success of such a many-sided task would require not only the accuracy and conscientiousness of a scholar and the expository gifts of a good historian of ideas, but also a high degree of sympathetic imagination in order to sense the point of the attacks on some of Freud's ideas. Dr. Fine does an admirable job of clarification and exposition. His book should hereafter prove invaluable to all students of Freud who want a short-cut to mastering the tortuous unwindings of his complex theories. On the critical side, however, he is not so strong. His approach lacks imagination; it lacks a feeling for the weight of arguments and objections; it tends too often to come out with the conclusion that, in spite of obvious appearances to the contrary, Freud was fundamentally right after all on most issues.

Dr. Fine's exposition of the development of Freud's thought combines accuracy with a simplified presentation of Freud's theorizing that does not misrepresent its main features. Freud's own language in his technical papers, especially in his early attempts to develop a physiologically based theory, was often tortuous in the extreme, but Dr. Fine manages to convey very skillfully the gist of what Freud was trying to say while sparing the reader many of the conceptual barbarisms by means of which Freud actually said it. He divides the development of Freud's thought, quite rightly, into four main periods: the first from 1886 to 1895 when he was a neurologist doing pioneer work on hysteria and related forms of neurosis; the second, from 1896 to 1899, when his self-analysis culminated in *The Interpretation of Dreams;* the third, from 1900 to 1914, during which he developed his first psychoanalytic system, centered upon his findings about infantile sexuality and his theory of the development of libido; and the final period when his attention was concentrated more on the ego, aggression and general problems of culture.

To handle the criticism of Freud's ideas, however, requires somewhat different gifts. Dr. Fine, in a way, fails to convey any sense of the greatness of Freud's intellectual adventure as well as any sense of the pertinence of some of the criticisms leveled against him. Freud has often been hailed as the Copernicus of psychology; indeed he regarded himself in this light. But Copernicus' heliocentric theory was mixed up with a most extraordinary farrago of Pythagorean metaphysics. Similarly one of Kepler's laws was embedded in an attempt to work out a strange theory about the harmonies of the heavenly bodies; and Newton was convinced that space was God's sensorium. When one soberly sits down to read Freud, especially his early *Project* or his correspondence with Fliess or even his *Totem and Taboo* or his *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, it becomes manifest that he was akin to these great adventurers of science in at least this respect: his speculations were often wild and not at all earth-bound by careful attention to empirical facts. Ernest Jones makes much of Freud's credulity in respect of ideas and people, the constant conflict between his love of speculation and the discipline of empirical confirmation to which he tried to subject himself. In his later years this self-discipline wore very thin. Freud's views on culture, one suspects, owed as much to Schopenhauer, as they did to his experience with patients. But so what? Why should not psychoanalysts be willing to admit that the founder of their system was at heart a speculative metaphysician? For in science it is better to have speculated and been shown to be wrong than never to have speculated at all. One of Freud's great virtues was that he took the risk of being wrong about so many matters.

On certain matters Freud was not entirely wrong. But he was not entirely right either, as Dr. Fine too often tries to suggest. The situation is much more likely to resemble that of other fruitful hypotheses (e.g., Newton's laws); they have been shown not to hold universally but only for a limited range of phenomena. They come to be subsumed under wider generalizations. For instance, few people who have studied the evidence and who are not die-hard Freudians would take seriously Freud's hypothesis about the universality of the Oedipus complex. But this hypothesis could be subsumed under a more general one about the decisive influence of early experien-

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African Landscape

There was an eagle overhead, in a late-night sky.
There still was sun, for here the sun burned late.
Some palms waved warmly in a gentle breeze, waters
Were running channel-like, but mostly there was sea.
He wanted an accurate map; the grasses were heavy,
As if in dream. This was a land of constant appetite.
Response was near to death, as comfort always is,
Sense-blunted. Curious item was the weaving cobra,
A happy beast (fine, fine) which fed on mice.
He did not question it, asking little of the land,
Tonight. The air was scented, as if from sugar cane
Or sweetgrass, perhaps a spice from somewhere,
Village or town. The boat was a canoe. Depth
There was not, no great height. A rocky cliff,
The eagle soaring quietly. Not dull but very quiet.

Tracy Thompson

Pal. Gen

U. S. News & World Report

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

"The business community—or a good percentage of it—would rather have somebody other than President Kennedy."

ROBERT KENNEDY SPEAKS HIS MIND

The man closest to the President is his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

No major decisions are made at the White House without his knowledge and advice.

In this exclusive interview, Robert Kennedy talks about the first two years of his brother's Administration, and looks into the future.

Comments cover the full range—relations with business . . . spending and taxes . . . the Meredith affair . . . world problems . . . antitrust . . . Khrushchev, Castro and the Bay of Pigs.

Mr. Kennedy was invited to the conference room of "U. S. News & World Report" and interviewed by members of the magazine's staff.

FIRST TWO YEARS

Q Mr. Attorney General, at the halfway mark in the President's term, what do you regard as the most important accomplishments of the Kennedy Administration?

A Re-establishing the American position throughout the world. Two years ago people in the United States and the world were fully aware of what Mr. Khrushchev was doing, what Communism was doing. I think that the initiative was on that side.

This initiative partially rose out of Sputnik, from the great lift that it gave Communism and the Soviet Union. It was a trend upward for them. I think that that's been reversed now.

Q What did this country do to reverse it?

A What we've done in the United States to build our own military strength has had a major effect. I think that successes we've enjoyed in space have had an effect. Undoubtedly, the steps of the Cuban crisis in October have had an effect.

Our military strength now is recognized throughout the world. The doubling of the Polaris submarines, the increase by 75 per cent of the Minuteman, the increase in our divisions from 11 to 16, the quadrupling of our special services, the efforts that have been made to deal with counter-insurgency and guerrilla warfare—all these things have had an effect.

Q Do they affect the Russians as well?

A Yes. I think that they have an effect on our allies and have an effect on the Soviet Union and Communism. As Mr. Khrushchev said, the "paper tiger" has teeth.

Q Are they going to be able to keep up with us in this race from now on?

A I think they're really going to put great effort and energy in this field, but so will we. And we're going to have to keep up our effort.

All of this has a major effect on their analysis of the world outlook. They felt the United States was such a weak country. Further, at the start, they saw President Kennedy as only a young man who had not used the military power of the United States on Cuba as Khrushchev would have done and did do on Hungary. Based, therefore, on all of this, they felt they could bully the United States.

Q Do you think Mr. Khrushchev felt he could push the President around?

A He probably did for a while.

Q Is that situation clarified now?

A It does not exist any longer. That is clear. Two or three years ago, Mr. Khrushchev, after he left the United States, compared our country to a dying, stumbling, decadent horse. I don't believe he thinks that any more. Our country is the one which has the vitality. We are the ones who have the new ideas.

I think that not only the Government has found itself, but the American people have found themselves.

Q Do you feel that the latest Cuban crisis was a lesson to the Russians?

A I think it makes a great difference because that's the first time that the power position and determination and energy of the American people and their Government—all of this had been brought to bear.

Q That was a ticklish time, wasn't it?

A That was a very difficult time.

Q What domestic accomplishments stand out in your mind?

A A good deal has been done for the economy without

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"To be quite frank, there is tremendous advantage in having the same last name as the President of the United States."

"Racial discrimination is the biggest internal problem that we have in the United States."

—USN&WR Photos

"Our country is the one which has the vitality. We are the ones who have the new ideas."

gainsaying the fact that a great deal more needs to be done. But the economy has moved out of recession and through a strong recovery—a recovery accompanied by remarkable price stability. Some of the new legislation in the tax field—the incentives for new investments by business, and the liberalized depreciation regulations—the improvements that have been made in Social Security, the minimum wage and in the housing field; the legislation that was passed for retraining of workers who have lost their jobs, and aiding depressed areas—all the work that has been done in these and other fields has been an incentive to the economy and spurred recovery.

Q Has the cost been too high in dollars?

A No. Our total output of goods and services—the gross national product—was up to an annual rate of 562.5 billion dollars for the fourth quarter of 1962—an increase of more than 12 per cent in only 21 months.

The fact that we've cut down on our balance-of-payments deficit is a gain. The deficit had been around 3.9 billion dollars a year. It's down to about 2 billion now, but it still has to be reduced further.

However, almost 6 per cent of our fellow citizens are unemployed and we are utilizing only 83 per cent of our manufacturing capacity, so a great deal needs to be done.

Our economy has not grown as fast as we had hoped that it might, and so a great deal more energy and concentration must be placed in this area.

Q We've been talking here about the accomplishments that stand out in your mind in these last two years. Could you make a similar comment on the disappointments that would stand out in your mind two years later?

A In the foreign field, the greatest disappointment is that we haven't been able to get any agreement to control nuclear testing.

Q How about the Alliance for Progress? Would you say that was a disappointment?

A No, because we're making much more progress now. It hasn't gone as fast or as well as we had hoped. That's a tough, difficult area at best, but we've got a policy and we're moving on it. In areas it has been successful—in others, it has not.

But I think it has looked better over the last three or four months than it did before, although we're still going to have many headaches. I believe from the reports that we have received that there are some major breakthroughs in some important areas.

Domestically, I think a disappointment is that we didn't get further in the field of education.

Q Aid to education?

A Yes. We are short nearly 130,000 classrooms. With our population increasing, the need will be staggering in the coming years unless the States receive financial aid.

But it is more than that. One of the major drags on the economy has been the large number of educationally handicapped persons, while on the other hand there is a severe shortage of highly skilled workers. We need a national effort to provide educational opportunities to all who can use them and to improve the quality of education at every level and in every field.

Q What about unemployment?

A Yes, I would think also that, although the economy has moved ahead in this area, there still is a real problem.

Q How about balancing the Government's budget?

A Well, of course, the budget would have been balanced if the recession hadn't existed when President Kennedy took office and if we had not put the extra effort in the fields of defense and space. As long as we want to make these increases—you know, we are spending almost as much for space in fiscal 1963, some 2.4 billion dollars, as in the previous eight years put together—there is a budget problem.

Q Haven't nondefense expenditures also gone up rather rapidly in the last year or two?

A Well, I think this is not correct. Between fiscal '61 and '63 about two thirds of the increases in the budget were for national security, space and fixed interest. This just does not seem to be understood.

Q Are those necessarily related? Is space the same as defense?

A Yes—at least it is in the area of national security.

WHERE COSTS WENT UP—

Q Haven't such things as public welfare, public works, civilian salaries, things of that sort, all increased rather substantially?

A They are higher, yes. That's true for the States and cities, too. The largest federal increases have been in the farm program where, if Congress had accepted our proposals, major economies could have been made.

The other increases were spread over a wide range, but the amounts were relatively small. You have to provide for resource conservation, small business, medical research, urban renewal and science. Our population increases, and ob-

(continued on next page)

. . . Berlin wall "revealed to world the weakness of Communism"

viously these items will increase also. But they are certainly within reason. Further, these matters are a relatively small proportion of the budget as a whole. And we're trying to offset those increases with decreases elsewhere—such as agriculture and the postal service.

Q Would you include among disappointments the fact that the East Germans were able to put a wall across the middle of Berlin?

A Yes. But I was thinking of things over which we had some control and where we were intimately involved. I think that the fact that they had to put the wall across Berlin revealed to the world the weakness of Communism.

The world sees that they had to build a wall to keep their own people in. I found on my trip around the world that this fact is virtually unanswerable. Communists say that they are a society that is ready to compete with ours on an equal basis, and yet they have to put a wall to keep their people from running away.

AIDE TO PRESIDENT

Q Mr. Kennedy, you've been referred to frequently as "assistant President." We wonder whether you could explain your relationship with the President in an official capacity. Do you have an office at the White House?

A No.

Q The question comes down to whether you can describe your role in this connection—

A I think it's difficult. I'm the Attorney General, so therefore I have responsibilities of that office. I've also been associated with the present incumbent in the White House for 37 years, the first few of which were slow. Obviously, between brothers or people who have worked together and have had a relationship for a long period of time, there is understanding and trust.

Q Is it accurate to say you're the President's most important adviser?

A No. Obviously, his most important adviser in defense is—

Q In all fields together?

A Well, I don't think you can take all fields together. The most important adviser in defense is the Secretary of Defense, or in foreign affairs it is Mr. Rusk. I might be brought into some of these areas when the President is listening to a large number of people. The President decides what he's going to do.

Q Is your field of advice almost unlimited, though?

A No; it depends on what happens to come up.

"WE DISCUSS THINGS"—

Q Is this a fair summary: that the President has Mr. McNamara in defense, he has other people on specific matters, but your role is his top adviser on broad matters that cover all these fields?

A Well, I don't think he has any top adviser. Again, as I said, it depends on what the subject is.

Q Does he thresh things out with you?

A Yes, we discuss things. You know, we were brought up having an interest in government, having an interest in foreign affairs and in domestic matters. Over many years we discussed all of these matters all the time.

Q What relationship do you have to the State Department? When you go around the world or to Brazil, for example, are you stepping on the toes of the State Department?

A No. Any trip I have made since I've been Attorney General has been suggested and arranged by the State Department.

Q Do you go representing the President?

A I'm working for the United States Government, and I go at the request of the Secretary of State.

Q Is there some special function to be performed?

A I could tell you why I went to each one—

Q Why Brazil?

A I was going to Panama to see the Inter-American Police Academy. The President of the United States had expressed concern as to the situation that was developing in Brazil regarding their economy and its tremendous inflation. In addition, we in the United States had found it difficult to work with a number of important officials in Brazil who had an extreme anti-U. S. bias. I received an invitation from the President of Brazil to come and meet with him. We discussed this problem.

The Secretary of State and Edwin M. Martin, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, as well as Ambassador Lincoln Gordon, thought it would be helpful if we got across our position on a firsthand basis to the President of Brazil so he could understand President Kennedy's considerable concern.

Q Did Mr. Rusk and Mr. Martin feel that our position would be handled more emphatically if you did it rather than one of them? Was Mr. Martin with you?

A Mr. Martin and Ambassador Gordon felt this kind of talk could be helpful. It was only one step in an effort by our Government to clarify our situation with respect to Brazil.

ROLE OF THE CABINET—

Q This isn't the Attorney General's role—

A No, not in the "table of organization," perhaps. But in this Administration there has been a great deal of interaction among the members of the Cabinet. Secretary Rusk probably knows more about the Defense Department than any of his predecessors, and Secretary McNamara has greater knowledge of State Department problems than any previous Secretary of Defense. Secretary Dillon has been of considerable help in matters not relating directly to the Treasury. I think this is a strength, and I went to Brazil to assist in making sure they understood our position.

Q Has Government at your present level been greatly different from what you had imagined it to be?

A Not really, no. As far as I'm concerned, to be quite frank, there is tremendous advantage in having the same last name as the President of the United States. I know that there is, of course, red tape and all the rest in government, but as far as I am concerned, in my experience in government, I think a lot can be accomplished even when you are not related to the President—take Bob McNamara for instance. However, there's a lot more that needs to be accomplished.

Q What proportion of your time do you spend on Department of Justice affairs?

A Most of my time. It depends, however. At the time of the recent Cuba matter, I spent almost all my time on that. During the Bay of Pigs investigation, which went on for

. . . "I don't know that businessmen will ever be in love with us"

three or four months, I split the time. So I think it depends on the projects.

Q Are there times when it becomes difficult for you by reason of the fact that you're the President's brother?

A I don't find it so. It might be for him, but it isn't for me.

CRACKDOWN ON STEEL

Q Have you improved relations with businessmen?

A I thought in February of 1962 that we had, and then came the steel dispute. The business community always has greater mistrust of any Democratic Administration than of a Republican Administration. It is an ideological reflex—obsolete, in my opinion—but that's one of the facts of life, so I don't know that businessmen, the big ones, anyway, no matter what we do, will ever be in love with us.

But I think that the relationship is one, somewhat, of mutual respect.

Q Do you feel that the atmosphere is better than it was just after the steel crisis?

A Oh, yes. I think that it couldn't have been worse at that time. So we had only one place to go—up.

I spoke before the Business Advisory Council in March, 1962. Everybody was talking at that meeting about what a good relationship had developed between Government and leaders in business, that there had been mistrust when President Kennedy first took over, but now there was this greater feeling of pleasantness and accomplishment and working together.

Then came steel, and, of course, that was disastrous to our relationship. Now I think we're back up. And I'd hope it would stay, but, as I say, I think that the business community—or probably a good percentage of it—would rather have somebody other than President Kennedy in the White House and somebody other than me as Attorney General.

Q Are you happy with the way the steel situation was handled, Mr. Kennedy?

A I don't believe the President could have done otherwise.

Q Did you feel there was more pressure used than necessary?

A I didn't. No, I thought that, looking at it at the time, going through it at the time, that's really all you could do. We had to make the effort for the reasons that the President has stated.

Q We've been told by steel-company executives that, during the steel controversy, FBI agents "fanned out" through their offices, without warrants, seeking information. Is this true, and, if so, what is the explanation for it?

Q First, no one from this Department enters anyone's office without their express permission. So there was no FBI agent in any company office unless he was told that he should enter.

Second, nothing was done in the steel case differently from hundreds of other investigations. One of the primary functions of the FBI is to make preliminary investigations in antitrust cases. In these or any other preliminary inquiry, search warrants or subpoenas are not used.

The FBI agents are carefully trained and make courteous inquiry into such situations. Further, no one is under any compulsion to answer agents' questions unless they wish to. No documents or records need be made available to agents.

No steel executive made any complaint or report to us that the agents were anything but courteous or proper in making inquiry into the steel companies. One Southwestern executive complained to a newspaper, but when we sought the specifics of his complaint from him he was unable to supply them.

Q Many people could not understand why the President and the Government were surprised at the price rise, because Mr. Blough of U. S. Steel said in an interview in this magazine a few weeks before that there was going to be a price rise. And yet everybody seemed to be taken completely off guard when it occurred—

A Well, Mr. Blough sat in a number of conferences with the President, and with Secretary of Labor Goldberg where efforts were made—which he applauded—to keep David McDonald and the steel union from asking a large increase in wages. That effort was made on the basis that there wouldn't be any rise in the price of steel. Mr. Blough never

Office of the Attorney General, under Robert Kennedy, has become a command post for a wide field of Government operations.

—USN&WR Photo

. . . "We opposed less than 1 per cent of mergers in court"

said during that period of time, "Well, no matter what happens, I'm going to have to raise the price of steel."

Q Was he ever asked directly? Was no mention ever made of a price increase?

A There never was a direct request. However, it was clearly understood that the President's efforts with the steel union to keep its demands down were so that it would not be necessary for the steel companies to raise the price of steel based on a wage increase. As you know, pressure was placed on business after the price of steel went up. But, also, the President and Secretary Goldberg had placed tremendous pressure on David McDonald and other officials of the union to keep their demands down.

And Mr. Blough and those associated with him were well aware of that. They didn't say the Administration should stay out of this field. They applauded it, and they were kept advised as to what was going on.

Everything was on the basis that a rise in the price of steel at that time would be harmful to the economy. So when the rise was announced, it came as a complete surprise to us.

Q That was quite a period, wasn't it?

A Yes, I don't think that the situation that followed was very pleasant.

ANTITRUST

Q Do antitrust laws need clarification?

A That is a difficult area for businessmen and those whose activities might bring them into this field. I think that antitrust laws have been very beneficial for the United States, and I think they've been beneficial to business. I believe that they're performing an important function at the present time, but I don't expect that they are perfect.

Q Businessmen at times say that they feel a punitive attitude is involved in applying the laws—

A The same statement is always made, no matter what the Administration. We are trying to be as vigorous as we can be in enforcing the law as we are supposed to do.

Q If a businessman is involved in a merger or other transaction involving doubt about the application of antitrust laws, can he get his questions cleared up?

A Yes. First, if he will present all the facts, in many areas he can get a letter giving the Department's view of his plans. Second, we say that, based on the facts as outlined, the company can or cannot go ahead with a proposal. If our word isn't good on that basis, we should go out of business.

Q Do the letters you give outline specific areas of approval or disapproval?

A Yes.

Q Are there many specific requests in this field?

A Yes, sure. A great number of them. All lawyers with antitrust questions know about the Department's policy in this field.

Price fixing, obviously, never is approved. On the other hand, if a businessman wants to find out whether belonging to a particular association or to find if discussing certain matters would violate an area of antitrust laws, he can get advice and an indication on that.

Obviously, somebody is going to come and say, "These are areas that we do know, but perhaps something is going to happen about which we are not sure." Then that man will not get a letter until the area of doubt is clarified. We have to know all the facts. He can get a letter, or he can get assurance if the facts justify.

Q How long does it take to give an answer to questions arising from antitrust laws?

A It depends on how complicated the deal is. But this happens continuously. Hardly a day goes by that requests of this kind do not come to the Department of Justice. We try to act as quickly as is necessary in each situation. We have given antitrust letters in a day in exceptional circumstances.

Q Is one of the problems here the difficulty in deciding how far a businessman can go in following a practice? Is the issue sometimes not black and white?

A Problems often are difficult. Where there is going to be a merger or where there is going to be some action, it is difficult often to outline all of the facts as they may concern the future. But if businessmen know all the facts and can present them and talk about them, then they can get that clarification from the Department. That happens continuously.

Compliance with the antitrust laws isn't really as hard as some say it is. Out of the total of nearly 5 million businesses in the country only a minute fraction of 1 per cent are ever involved in antitrust difficulty. Last year, for example, we brought about 90 cases with a couple of hundred business defendants. We knew about more than 1,200 mergers but opposed less than 1 per cent of them in court.

I would point out that between 60 and 70 per cent of the complaints that we receive in the Antitrust department come from businessmen. A lot of businessmen feel that the laws are absolutely essential. An instance is the proposed merger of American and Eastern airlines. I've seen editorials that the Antitrust Division is opposed to that merger. But every other major airline in the United States was opposed to that merger.

HOW MERGERS CAN DIFFER—

Q Let's take banks: The Federal Reserve will approve a bank merger. The Comptroller of the Currency will approve it. Then your Department says that the merger violates the antitrust laws. It's the same with some proposed rail mergers—other agencies of the Government will approve, yet your Department will oppose. What is the dividing line?

A Ultimately, of course, the parties can bring the issue to court for a determination as to whether we were correct or not.

But it's wrong to say that bank mergers and rail mergers are in the same situation. The Interstate Commerce Commission has statutory authority to give antitrust exemption to mergers it approves. We have presented arguments to the ICC in the public interest, as the Government sees it, but we have not brought an antitrust suit against any merger approved by the ICC.

One of the major questions in the bank mergers was whether the antitrust laws applied. That's going to be decided by the Supreme Court. We feel very strongly and firmly that it does, that those laws do apply. Therefore, we think that antitrust laws and all the criteria that are set up under the antitrust laws apply to bank mergers. It's incumbent upon us, in our responsibility, to enforce the law. Now, if somebody doesn't like the law—

Q For 50 years or 60 years, 70 years, nobody has thought the antitrust laws did apply, but all of a sudden—

A Well, now, that's not 50, 60, 70 years of experience because the issues were raised under the Kefauver-Celler law that was passed just a few years ago and the bank-merger statute which Congress passed in 1960. The Supreme

. . . "Problem of tax-exempt foundations deserves a real study"

Court is ultimately going to decide these questions. If people don't like these laws, they should seek changes. We must enforce the law.

Q Mr. Kennedy, how widespread do you think such things as price collusion rather than price competition are practiced?

A I think these practices are widespread. A very small minority of business concerns are involved, but it's still widespread and involves some of our big corporations. It's going on at the present time, and I'm convinced that price collusion exists in almost every major community in the United States.

Q Would you say in every major industry?

A No. But we know it is occurring, unfortunately, among a large number of companies.

Q Is it more widespread among large industries and companies, or small ones, or what?

A The cases that are brought to my attention, for the most part, involve large companies.

Q Are you opposed to bigness?

A No, I'm not opposed to bigness per se—nor is the Government. We're in favor of the economy gaining, and that means our companies must grow and prosper. This is what we want.

WHEN BIDS ARE FIXED—

Q How can you have, really, much knowledge of price control? A businessman can call up on the telephone and ask somebody a price, and, when he gets that price, that can be his price. How do you get at that problem?

A That's not the problem. It's when you sit down and decide that you're going to get the Government contract this month, the next company is going to get it the next month and another company the next month. Or you're going to be the low bidder this time, he'll be the next time—when the moon is at a quarter you'll get it, when it's half full for that month he'll get it.

Q Do you think that does go on?

A There's no question it goes on. It's going on now. It's going on continuously. And it's going on in the sale of commodities and services to Government installations across the United States. It's going on in sales of, for instance, milk to schoolchildren and schools. It's going on in every area of the United States. And I think it's most unfortunate.

Q Are you concerned about the sort of thing Congressman Patman [Representative Wright Patman (Dem.), of Texas] was talking about in his report on tax-exempt foundations—the foundations replacing the old trusts and controlling competing companies?

A It's an area that we'd be interested in. The whole problem of tax-exempt foundations deserves a real study. I think that he's performing a major service in bringing it to public attention.

Q Do you have an impression that there is a very great deal of abuse of the tax-exempt privilege?

A Yes.

Q Does that require a law rather than an administrative action to correct?

A The question often is whether a particular organization should have a tax-exempt status—where the money is going, and whether they should lose their tax-exempt status. We got into the question to some extent when I was counsel for the Senate subcommittee investigating labor and management. We went into labor organizations which are tax-exempt. There were instances where a union's funds were used by some of these people for their own personal income.

Because it was a tax-exempt organization, none of the tax agents or authorities looked into the organizations. They said, "They're tax-exempt, so therefore we're not going to get any tax, so it's just a waste of time to look into the situation."

I think that that's been the trend, and I think that Congressman Patman is performing a real service to make sure that tax-exempt organizations are not being used just as tax gimmicks for individuals to avoid payment of taxes.

Q He says that the Treasury has been lax to the point of complete irresponsibility in enforcing the law on tax-exempt foundations—

A It's been a matter of great concern to me for a number of years, and I've expressed that to Mr. Caplin [Commissioner of Internal Revenue] and to Congressman Patman. I think that we're going to try to do everything that we can in the executive branch of the Government to co-operate with his efforts.

Q Has that tax-exempt field been growing?

A Yes, I believe it has.

I might say, just going back to the question of our harassment of businessmen, that I looked up the statistics and, since I've been Attorney General, we've indicted and convicted more labor leaders and those associated in the labor field—some crooked deal—under the criminal laws than we have businessmen under the antitrust laws.

HOFFA AND TEAMSTERS

Q There's one labor leader you have a lot of luck indicting, but you never seem to get a conviction—

A *Touché!*

Q Are you out to get Jimmy Hoffa of the Teamsters Union?

A No. But my responsibility is to see that justice is done, and I hope that justice will be done.

Q Have you set up a special unit down in the Justice Department to deal with Mr. Hoffa?

A We have a group within the Department of Justice that is working on the whole field of labor-management racketeering.

Q Working in what way?

A In 1962, with that group, in grand juries and investigations that have been held across the United States, we've indicted about 80 different individuals.

Q In unions?

A Yes, and people who are associated with unions in some fashion. We've convicted 44 of them in trials and five have been acquitted. Of that group, most of them are Teamster officials and those associated with the Teamsters Union.

Q What type of thing is going on?

A Well, they cover a wide range. For instance, Barney Baker, a major Teamster official who is in the Federal Correctional Institution, Sandstone, Minn., was convicted of accepting payments from an employer in violation of the Taft-Hartley Act.

William Presser, a prominent Teamster in Ohio, was convicted in 1960 for obstruction of justice, and recently that conviction was affirmed by the Supreme Court.

Samuel J. Marroso, a former Teamster official, was convicted in December, 1962, of transportation of counterfeit Ohio Turnpike bonds in foreign commerce.

One of Mr. Hoffa's chief lieutenants in Teamster Local

299 in Detroit was convicted in November, 1962, for violating the Taft-Hartley Act, accepting illegal payments from employers, and another pleaded guilty of the same charge.

George Cottage, secretary-treasurer of Teamster Local 902, Detroit, was recently sentenced to three years' imprisonment for his part in the hijacking of a shipment of whisky.

In October, 1962, three officers of Teamster Local 71, Charlotte, N. C., were convicted of embezzlement of union funds and each sentenced to two years in prison.

Q Does this group in the Department find itself devoting most of its time to the Teamsters?

A Well, we found, in the work of our committee, and since I have been Attorney General, that the corruption and the dishonesty in labor management was centered around some of the hierarchy of that union.

Q What, in your judgment, is to be the ultimate outcome of the Hoffa matter?

A He's under indictment at the present time. I haven't discussed him since I've been Attorney General, and I don't feel I should get into a discussion now.

SPENDING, TAXES

Q Is there a problem in the fact that Government gets bigger all the time?

A Well, do you know there are fewer employes in the Federal Government now than there were 10 years ago? I found out the other day that—excluding the Post Office and the Defense Department—there are fewer people working for the Federal Government than work for the telephone industry.

Expenditures are going to increase. Our country is expanding and costs go up as more services are required. This is the trend but it certainly does not originate with this Administration. In his eight years President Eisenhower, who had five deficit years, spent 180 billion dollars more than President Truman in the previous eight years. So this is the problem facing every President, every Administration.

Q Are we going to be able to keep on increasing, year after year, our expenditures for defense and space?

A Well, I think we are going to have to take whatever steps are necessary. You know, it's been steadily increasing. There's been criticism, but the trend in our gross national product, of course, has gone up tremendously. So I don't think that the economy is in any great danger.

Q What are the chances for a major tax cut this year, in your personal opinion?

A I think we have a good chance for it. The basic problem is that, for more than five years, we've had relatively high unemployment, low profits and our productive capacity has not been used fully. The President believes that the best way to remove the drag on the economy and foster growth toward full employment is to lighten the tax burden. There is growing understanding of the problem and a will to deal with it, so I am optimistic the tax bill will pass.

Q On a compromise basis?

A Yes. Obviously, you're not going to get everything the President wants.

Q How fast can a cut be made effective?

A I don't know. I just don't know.

Q Mr. Kennedy, if the President's advisers are correct about the need for a tax cut to unleash the economy, isn't it almost a political necessity that he get a tax cut effective reasonably soon so the effect will show up by '64, so you can achieve the economic gains that you have promised?

A I think, for the benefit and good of the country, that the tax cut should come as quickly as possible.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Q Do you think James Meredith is going to stay at the University of Mississippi?

A I hope he does, but I have some serious questions as to whether he will or not. The chances at the present time are that he will leave.

Q Do you think that was a mistake—for a Negro to try to get Mississippi integrated ahead of some other place?

A No, no. I think that's a difficult area, but Meredith decided he wanted to do it and these decisions are up to the individual.

Q What have you proved in this case?

A Well, first, we don't get into these cases unless or until there is a violation of a court order or an apparent contempt of our courts. I think we demonstrated in this case that this is a country of laws—not of men—and that the laws of the United States and the orders of the courts will be enforced.

I would point out that the Justice Department was not involved in the Meredith case until Governor Barnett invoked the discredited doctrine of "interposition," and it was apparent that efforts were to be made to interfere with federal-court orders.

Over a three-week period, we made every effort to persuade the State officials to not interfere with the courts' orders and meet their responsibilities to maintain law and order when Meredith went to register. When the State authorities were either unwilling or unable to do so, it was necessary to send marshals and, later, troops to Oxford.

I might add that racial discrimination is the biggest internal problem that we have in the United States.

Q Can you solve it with use of military power?

A No. There was a Supreme Court decision made in 1954 that individuals, no matter what their color, have a right to go to a public school or university of their choice, and we have the responsibility to enforce the law. And the courts acted, and I think we have no other choice, whether I am Attorney General, or the attorney general of Mississippi and I change places. He would have the same responsibility —to make sure the law is enforced.

Q What did the Court decide, though? Did the Court say that you had to integrate schools, or did it just decide that you couldn't have laws separating the races or requiring segregation?

A In the Meredith case, the federal court held that, in this particular university, Mr. Meredith should be permitted to attend. And Mississippi officials have always said in court that the university was integrated. I don't know if you're aware of that. They never claimed the University of Mississippi was other than an integrated institution. They said that they are an integrated university. It's just that they didn't happen to have a Negro at that particular time.

Q Were they turning him down on some ground other than race?

A Yes.

Q On the basis of his grades?

A Well, they had various reasons—they just didn't want him—whatever the reason was. So, on the surface, segrega-

. . . "We can't accept the status quo" in race matters

tion was not the issue, as far as the University of Mississippi was concerned.

Q If he quits, will this have been a rather expensive accomplishment?

A If he stays, it's an expensive accomplishment.

Q If Mr. Meredith quits, will it make it that much more difficult to bring about such things in, say, Alabama or South Carolina?

A I think it does. I think it probably does.

"A STEP BACKWARD"—

Q Is that the basis for your statement that you hoped he would stay?

A First, he made the decision to apply. A great deal of effort went into it by him, and then a great deal of effort went into it by many other people and a great deal of effort was made to enforce the law. Everybody in the United States has contributed something, because the taxpayers' money has been used. So, I would hope that Mr. Meredith would stay for all of these reasons.

I just think that we're going to have to continue to move in this very difficult area. I think a lot of people in the Southern parts of the United States accept this and acknowledge it. As we continue to move ahead, it will make it much easier in the long run if we don't take a step backward. I think Meredith's withdrawing would be a step backward.

Q Will it be as difficult the next time—another student at the same place, one other than Meredith?

A I think that progress has been made, that there are those within the community at Oxford and elsewhere in the State now who would speak out, whereas six months ago they didn't speak out. But the report that I received is that Mr. Meredith is in a frame of mind now that makes it difficult for him to stay.

Q He told our people he was rather discouraged all along—

A Well, he was under a great deal of pressure. I think the fact that he lasted during that most difficult time at the beginning is a great tribute to him. And now I think having his father's house shot at, still not accepted by his fellow students, having had 400 or 500 soldiers around and having marshals—well, I, at least, found college tough enough without having all that.

Q How long will the troops stay?

A If the State of Mississippi and the law-enforcement officials and the school authorities will assume this responsibility in an orderly, dignified fashion—the responsibility of maintaining law and order, the responsibility of keeping peace on the campus—then the troops would be withdrawn immediately. It is completely up to them.

Q What is being done to bring about integration in the schools of Washington? They're resegregating at a rapid rate. All through the North that is occurring. Isn't the problem as great in the North as in the South?

A As I've always said, it's not just schools, but this whole question is a big problem in the North.

Q Might the Administration's housing order help to reverse this resegregation?

A Well, I think a lot of different things improve the situation—whether it's going to be housing or the leadership of the President or the general acceptance by the American people. I think the situation is far better than it was 10, 20 or 30 years ago, and we're going to continue, I think, to make progress. But we have a lot of problems ahead of us in this field in the next 10 years, and they're not centered just in Mississippi.

Q The housing order had to do with those projects which are financed by the Government or supported, insured, guaranteed by the Government. Could this Government legally enforce an order having to do with housing conventionally financed, without the Government's being involved at all?

A No.

Q I'm thinking of a case where a man builds or buys a house. He goes to an insurance company and borrows the money on a mortgage—

A I don't think we'd have any authority.

Q But would you in a bank, because the bank deposits are guaranteed by the Government?

A Well, we could have gone further, but we couldn't have gone as far as where the financing has nothing to do with Government.

Q Was there some thought of going as far as the savings and loan associations?

A There was consideration of savings and loans and there was consideration of the banks and the insurance companies —I think that we didn't have the authority in the latter case.

The problem was that we were getting into a field that was, under ordinary circumstances, left to people themselves. So we wanted to be careful on how far we went.

Q Is this order likely to be subjected to serious legal tests as to whether the Government acted within its authority?

A I think that we are on very good legal grounds.

Q You couldn't do much with mutual savings banks?

A No, not as much.

Q Do you think this race issue has a bearing on the U. S. standing in the rest of the world?

A This area has more of an effect for good or for bad in foreign affairs than any other thing—particularly in the countries of Asia and Africa, South America. We can spend a lot for the United States Information Agency, or we can spend a lot for many of these other programs—the Alliance for Progress—but when we don't meet our responsibilities here in the United States in this field, I think we take a real step back. People just can't understand the fact that we think that there is a portion of our citizenry that is inferior.

When we have an incident, it hurts. But if we have an incident and handle it properly, and try to do what is correct, I think that's acknowledged, generally.

Certainly in the Government, we should take all steps that we can take. And I think it's generally accepted by many more people in the United States than it has been in the past. I'm convinced we must meet this problem because I don't think we can ever go to the rest of the people of the world and talk about the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution and treat a portion of our population as inferior. I think that it's that simple. We can't accept the *status quo* on this matter.

U.S. vs. CASTRO

Q Mr. Kennedy, we were talking earlier of disappointments of the last two years. Do you want to mention Cuba—the Bay of Pigs?

A I've seen in your magazine so many times so many articles about the President withdrawing "U. S. air cover," that I think it's important we clear that up.

I was on the committee—with General Taylor, Admiral

. . . "Danger of subversion directed by Cuba is considerable"

Burke and Allen Dulles—which investigated the Bay of Pigs invasion. I can't go into that in detail, but I can say unequivocally that President Kennedy never withdrew U. S. air cover. You, as well as others, have reported this on several different occasions and it is just not true. In fact, there never were any plans made for U. S. air cover, so there was nothing to withdraw.

AIR COVER: WHAT HAPPENED—

Q Was it actually air cover from Central America?

A But you had "U. S. air cover." There was never any plan to have U. S. air cover. I mean it was never suggested by the military. It was never considered.

Q At any stage?

A In the planning it was never contemplated that there be U. S. air cover.

Q Not even in the military planning?

A Absolutely not.

Q Where did control of the whole thing lie?

A Well, let's get this straight first:

The first point is that there was not U. S. air cover and none was withdrawn. In fact, the President didn't withdraw any air cover for the landing forces—U. S. or otherwise.

What happened was this: One air attack had been made on Saturday on Cuban airports. There was a flurry at the United Nations and elsewhere and, as a result, U. S. participation in the matter was coming to the surface. This surfacing was contrary to the preinvasion plan. There was supposed to be another attack on the airports on Monday morning.

The President was called about whether another attack which had been planned should take place. As there was this stir about the matter, he gave instructions that it should not take place at that time unless those having the responsibility felt that it was so important it had to take place, in which case they should call him and discuss it further.

And that's what was postponed. It wasn't air cover of the beaches or landings. And, in fact, the attack on the airports took place later that day.

PLANES: "INADEQUATE"—

Q Wasn't there to be air cover of the beaches from Central America?

A That is correct—and that was not disturbed. All of the planes that were supposed to be utilized were utilized—all in the planning. I might say they proved to be inadequate. The air cover at the beaches was definitely inadequate—but not because of some last-minute decision by the President or anyone else.

Q Who did the planning?

A Now, that's the third point. The President has taken responsibility for this whole matter.

Q Well, was the planning by the military, or somebody else?

A The plan that finally went into effect was approved by our military—the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as well as the Central Intelligence Agency. This wasn't something that was planned by a few fellows over at the White House and then put in operation. However, the President had to give approval to the plan and he quite properly has accepted the responsibility.

Q There have been many reports that the military did not approve the thing—

A As General Lemnitzer, who was Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has said, they did approve it, although responsibility for the planning lay primarily with the CIA.

The President had made it clear from the beginning, prior to the approval of this operation, American manpower, American air power and American ships would not be used.

And this plan had to go into effect without that. The military approved the plan that finally went into operation on that basis.

Q What accounts for the miscalculation here? You say the forces that went in were not adequate—

A I think it's a difficult question to answer—the plans and the recommendations obviously were not adequate.

Q Why were American forces there if they were not used?

A The plan was that, if the invasion ships starting from Central America were sighted by a Cuban plane, or in some fashion the Communists learned about the invasion, they were going to turn around. Our forces had permission to protect them from attack as they returned.

Q You have quoted the President as saying, "I want it understood that American forces are not going to be used, and if you still think this plan is good enough, we'll go ahead." Is that right?

A That is correct.

Q Who was it he was talking to?

A To all those who were involved in the planning. All those involved in the planning understood that American forces would not be used.

GETTING RID OF CASTRO—

Q Mr. Kennedy, carrying it one step forward, we are told now that the policy is to get rid of Castro and Communist influence in Cuba. How are you going about that?

A Well, over the period of the last year we've taken stringent, strong economic steps against Castro. We've taken steps to isolate him economically and politically, and those efforts will continue.

Q How long do you think it's going to take?

A I have no idea. However, I think Castro's position throughout the world—but particularly in South America—has been greatly weakened in the last 15 months. He has also lost considerable support in Cuba.

Q What is being done in Latin America to curb subversion that comes out of Cuba?

A Well, we have an organization within the Government that is responsible for dealing with counterinsurgency—focused primarily on five or six countries which are particularly vulnerable.

Q Are there subversion schools in Cuba for export to Latin America?

A Yes, and the danger of Communist subversion directed by Cuba is considerable. They bring a student or a dissatisfied political leader over to Cuba. He gets two or three months of instruction and then he goes home and he's got whatever he wants. As for arms, there are plenty of arms around that can be bought. They can furnish the money, which is not traceable.

It's clear there was a tie with Communism and Castro in the dynamiting of the oil rigs in Venezuela and also, obviously, with the people that the FBI arrested in New York in November in an anti-U. S. plot. So there might be an increase in that. But the trend at the present time seems to be a concentration on bringing Communists to Cuba for a period of time and then sending them back to put their training into operation.

. . . "Youth crime doesn't arise from just slums"

Q Do you think it's significant?

A Oh, I do think it's very significant.

Q The scope of it?

A Oh, I do think that's significant. It poses a great danger for all these countries. However, Castro's problems have increased also. The fact that he does not have the same high position that he had a year ago or a year and a half ago—that he's not considered the great savior—has had a very marked effect on those who were willing to follow him. That's been the most serious blow that has been struck against him. If the Alliance for Progress goes into operation fully, if reforms, social, economic and political, are put into effect, then Communism and Castroism will collapse in South America. However, if effort is not made and reforms are not forthcoming, we will have problems in South America even if there is no Cuba or Castro.

"MANAGED NEWS"—

Q One subject that we've heard a lot about is managed news. And somebody told us that you had been sold on the idea of managed news. What is managed news?

A I don't know.

Q This didn't originate with you, then?

A No. I think a person must be out of his mind if he thinks that he can manage news.

Q It has been said this is an unduly sensitive Administration—do you think so?

A No. You know, it's not the most enjoyable thing if you read something that's untrue. You just don't like it. I don't think that you would enjoy it if you were on the receiving end. But, then, newspaper people always say, "Well, why don't you get used to it and relax?"

Q Would you say that, by and large, this Administration has had a good press—fairly friendly?

A Yes.

Q Are the irritations that have come been isolated?

A Yes.

Q Is it possible that you're less sensitive than your brother is?

A Well, he gets more written about him. I think probably he's a perfectionist. We concentrate on facts—they mean a great deal to us—and we think that others should do so also. It's difficult to understand it when the facts aren't reported. That's really the problem.

Q Would those facts be reported more accurately if they were made more accessible?

A I don't think that that's the great problem in this Administration. Further, the factual inaccuracies to which I have reference are not based on a failure to make the facts available.

WAR ON CRIME

Q Mr. Attorney General, we haven't discussed crime—juvenile delinquency and so on. Is the growth of crime throughout the country a matter of concern?

A We have 5,000 young people in our federal institutions out of about 24,000.

Q What is the youngest? Under 21?

A I believe 13.

We went to Congress at the beginning of 1961 and obtained the passage of some legislation dealing with this problem, authorizing a maximum expenditure of 10 million dollars a year.

Obviously, 10 million dollars a year is not going to answer the problem. In New York City, seven years ago, they spent 23 million. In 1960, they spent nearly 90 million dealing with this problem. And during that period—from 1950 through 1959—the number of delinquency cases handled by children's courts went up 163 per cent.

It's not just the expenditure of funds. What we feel is that it's attacking the problem on a broad front and having the local community do it.

Youth crime doesn't arise from just slums. What you need is to see what has to be done in the field of housing, what has to be done in the field of education, what has to be done in the field of recreation, what has to be done in family life, what has to be done in the field of law enforcement—all of these areas plus many more.

Many communities have looked into what their problem is and they decided, "Well, we'll just go in and build better housing." And then they moved the same people in the housing. These same young people who lived in the streets, go into their apartment buildings and get into the same kinds of problems that they got into in the streets before.

Well, they say, "We'll build better schools." And that, by itself, is not the answer.

What we have tried to do with this money is to give an incentive to a community to go out and study their problems in all of the fields. We've asked them to come in, if they're interested in this program—to come in with a plan which will attack juvenile delinquency and youth crime over a period of the next decade or so, and do it in an organized fashion and not in a haphazard, helter-skelter way.

We get 10 million dollars each year—a 30-million-dollar allocation of the Federal Government over a period of three years, and that's started in operation, and I think it's been very successful.

One plan has gone, actually, into operation—Mobilization for Youth—up in New York City, where they put a plan into action and they are starting to work with these young people.

REDUCING DELINQUENCY—

Q In what ways?

A Well, they're working in the schools. They have an overall program for the lower East Side of New York City—and it's an area with the worst possible problems.

They've set up nurseries for the children. They've made efforts to improve education. They've gone in and worked with the young people to get them to come back to school. They've sent in people to establish a recreation program. They've started teaching youngsters a trade.

They've sent in special people to work on narcotics, because it's an area where they have great difficulty in the city of New York.

Q What about young people who get into federal custody?

A In our federal institutions, we've set up "halfway houses"—on a trial basis so far. Young people, about 60 or 90 days before coming out of prison, will go to a "halfway house"—one in New York, and one in Chicago, one in Los Angeles and a new one in Detroit—and there they will be helped in getting a job; they will be helped in what their problem is in their local community.

Ordinarily, what happens is: These young people come out of prison and they go back in the same community. They

. . . "President's popularity will have its ups and downs"

have exactly the same friends, they don't have any more chance of getting a job than when they went in.

What we try to do is to set up this institution and then help them get a job, improve their character—in other words, a start in normal life. After a week or two, they'll go out to work and come back to the institution every night. They can visit their families but they live at the "halfway house."

It has been extremely effective, based on the experience with these young people who have come in through the "halfway houses," compared to the ones who have gone out directly. It's been so effective that many of the States now are adopting this procedure and putting this kind of plan into effect.

DATA ON UNDERWORLD—

Q What of crime, generally?

A We've set up a unit within the Department of Justice made up of about 55 lawyers who have the responsibility for organized crime. Before, you had about 26 investigative units of the Federal Government. They all operated independently, but they never really pooled all the information on the big-time underworld operators.

What we have done is to bring all the investigative groups together. We have files now on the big-time gangsters and hoodlums in the United States, pooling all the information—all the information that anybody has—in one place in the Department of Justice.

Then we have branch offices in about five or six cities across the country.

It's intelligence information. It may pay off now—right now—or in five years, but all the information on all of these people who have been around for a long time, have controlled the underworld, will be available.

Q Are those people powerful?

A Oh, yes—very powerful economically, and frequently politically. And from that information, we've achieved some very important convictions: Mickey Cohen on the West Coast; Frankie Carbo, of New York, who also ran boxing on the West Coast, in Los Angeles; Alfred Sica in Los Angeles; "Buster" Wortman in East St. Louis; "Kid" Cann in Minneapolis, who controlled operations there for 30 years; "Trigger Mike" Coppola in Miami.

CRACKDOWN ON BETTING—

Q What kind of operators are these people?

A Well, the ones we are working on are major underworld hoodlums—they run gambling, for the most part. Gambling is the major source of income for organized crime.

We also, as part of this effort, were able to get seven laws passed in the last two years in Congress, which is the most crime legislation that has been passed since 1934. The result has been that the betting "wire services" across the United States, for the most part, have closed down—the one in New Orleans; the one in Newport, Ky.; the one in Minneapolis—

Q Were these race-track wires?

A Yes, and gambling information, generally.

Q Are the gamblers' profits down?

A Yes. In many areas, they've had to go out of business completely.

Q Do places like Las Vegas make the job more difficult?

A Yes.

Q In what way? Nevada will argue with you on that—

A I think the people of Nevada should decide what they want to do themselves. But, on the question of what effect it has on our job across the country, it makes it more difficult.

NEXT TWO YEARS

Q Turning to politics, is the race in 1964 going to be a difficult one?

A Yes. Races are never easy. And then, you know, you go through cycles. The President, I think, is popular now, with Cuba and the elections and everybody being reasonably relaxed, business is doing well, all the rest. But it is inevitable that there will be some fights, and you're going to have some unpleasantness, some disorder and some disappointment, and the President's popularity will have its ups and downs.

Q At this stage, who's going to be the Republican nominee, would you guess?

A Well, I know, but I don't think he does, so I don't think I'd better say.

Q Who, in your judgment, will make the strongest candidate for the Republicans?

A I don't think I want to get into that. We have our problems—

Q Do you think the religious issue will be a problem?

A No. I suppose every factor has some effect, but I don't believe the effect will be substantial by any means.

Q In retrospect, do you think it was very important in '60?

A Yes—very.

Q How many votes, about, were affected?

A Well, I can't tell. The group that I always have some confidence in is the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, and I think they said it caused a net loss of about 1.5 million votes.

Q Adverse to Kennedy?

A Adverse.

Q Can you say anything about your plans about running for Governor of Massachusetts?

A I haven't any plans. I went up there and spoke once, and they said I was going to run for Governor. I spoke five or six times in Illinois, a dozen times in New York, a few times in Pennsylvania, and a half dozen times in California, and nobody suggested that I run for Governor in any of those States.

Q Wouldn't it be rather difficult to elect a Governor of Massachusetts if you have a President and a Senator from the same family?

A Yes, I think so. You mean another member of the same family, a third member, a third Kennedy? I think it would be difficult. After our younger brother was elected to the Senate, the President said, "The only trouble with that saying about 'too many Kennedys' is that they're going to start to believe it in 1964."

Q Mr. Kennedy, what accomplishments does the Administration look forward to in the next two years?

A I think to consolidate the gains that we've made, to make use of the increased prestige and position and power of the United States to make this world a little safer. And I think that a good deal needs to be done to improve the economic vitality of the United States and to move in domestic areas where we have not been successful in the past and which, because of our concentration on foreign affairs, have been ignored.

I think, particularly, one great problem is in the field of

. . . Needed: "greater awareness abroad of all we've done"

education. We're going to have double the number of students in our colleges alone in 1970. Much, much more needs to be done—teachers' salaries, schoolrooms, colleges, medical institutions, etc.

I think also that a good deal needs to be done for young people to increase the emphasis on finishing school, because the shortage in the United States is not of employment, but rather of skilled workers. The fact that one third of our young people now drop out of school—I think that the necessity and importance of their continuing their education and learning a trade if they don't go on to college is extremely important.

I think these are great domestic matters.

Q Do you think it's going to be possible to, generally, de-emphasize foreign problems?

A No. I think we're just going to have a lot of problems. You get through Cuba and you've got the Congo, and you've got Berlin. Berlin can just go up any time—that problem will be with us for some time, I expect.

Then you have the problems that we have in South America, which are immense. There is Vietnam and the difficulty in Laos. There is India and China.

I mean, you can't look at a place in the world where you could sort of sit back and say, "You don't have to look at that for another 48 hours."

Q Do you think the rest of the world recognizes all we have done to help others abroad?

A Well, we have a special role in the world so people look to us more. They keep forgetting their own faults and they look and say, "Well, look what they're doing in the United States." That's just part of what comes with leadership.

I'd like to say this on that point: I think that, generally, there should be a greater awareness in this country—and abroad—of all that we do and all that we have done. There's too much concentration on what our faults are and what our problems are.

We go into India and help them because they are being invaded by the Chinese, and the Pakistanis get mad. And we take steps to build the Skybolt missile and then we find that it's not a success, and so it's canceled, and other people get mad.

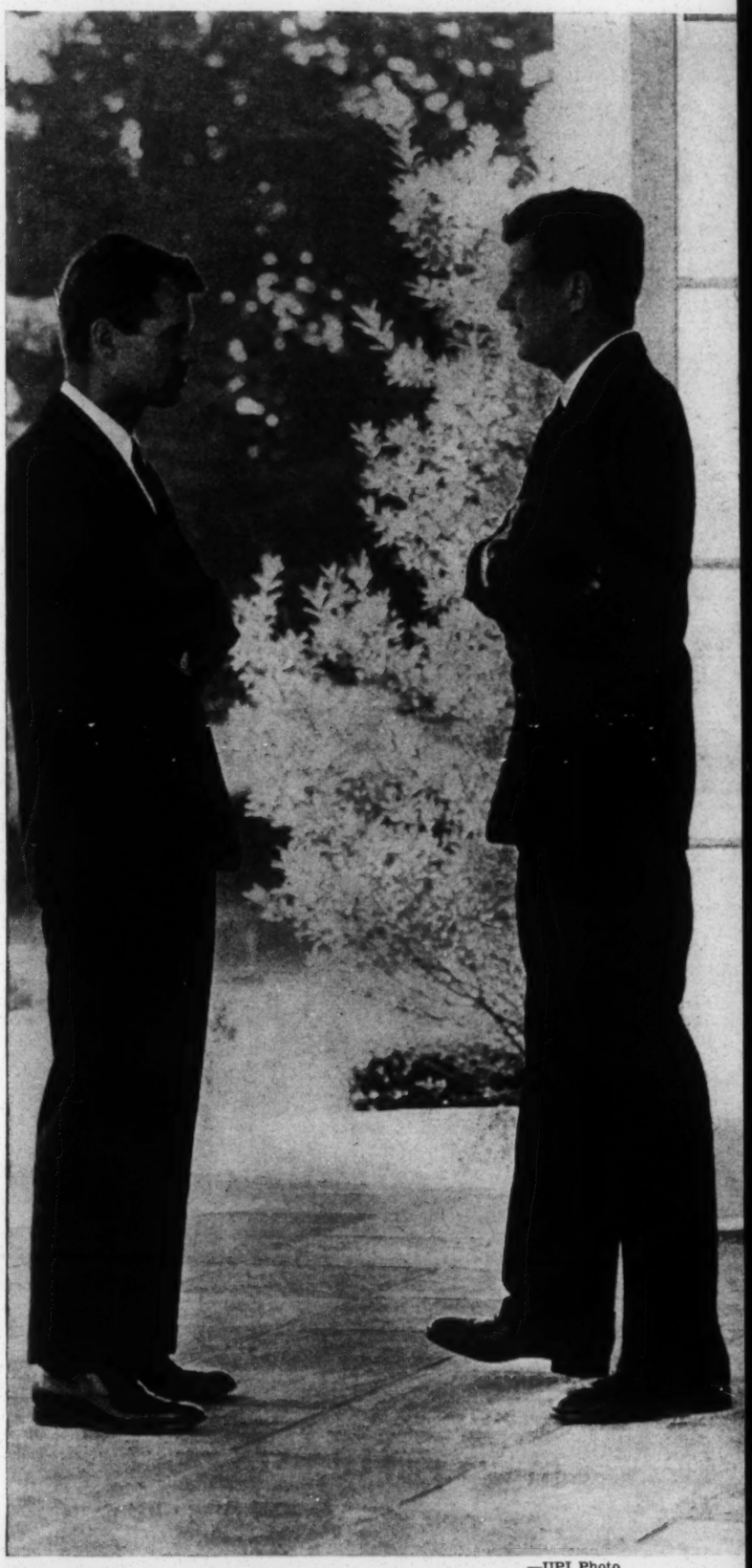
Everybody gets angry over what we are doing. The kind of effort that we've made over the period of the last 20 years, helping and assisting countries around the world, is something of which we should be extremely proud. I don't think we need apologize for our record.

I also don't think we have to accept criticisms that are continuously leveled at us from other countries because we don't do exactly as they desire. They are interested in their countries and frequently that is their sole interest. We have other interests, other responsibilities and I don't think we have to make any apology for what we have done, what we have contributed—the effort and the sacrifice that we make.

Q Do you think we're beginning to stress that side of it more?

A Yes, I think so. We put nations in Europe back on their feet. Look at the percentage that they are contributing to their defense. Look at our tax structure which is so extremely high, and is an honest tax structure that is enforced for all of our people. And all of these sacrifices—Americans are being killed in South Vietnam—and all for the protection and help and assistance of other people around the world.

I think that there should be more awareness of this—and those who write from abroad should make sure that there's greater awareness of what we're doing.



—UPI Photo

Robert Kennedy talks things over with his brother, the President. At midterm, the Attorney General feels that much has been accomplished—both at home and abroad—but much remains to be done to consolidate gains in the next two years.

See back - Kennedy: Profile of a Technician
Ted Lewis

every now and then a consultant for the State Department and a very influential one, represents the Venezuelan Government in the United States.

All this is as it may be. Clearly, however, the matter calls for an airing. Perez Jimenez may deserve hanging, but citizens and aliens alike are entitled to the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States and to due process of law. What was the reason for the revocation of bail? Why can't this alien's lawyer secure a writ of *habeas corpus*? Is justice to be managed from Washington as the news is managed? These are questions which require an answer, no matter who is involved.

Study in Motivation

If one were to say in so many words that one motivation for military spending in the United States is to hold back other types of spending, the person making such a charge would be denounced as paranoid, or worse, as Marxist. But this very reason is given quite frankly in a series of full-page ads in *Look* by the "Investor-Owned Electric Light and Power Companies," of which there are stated to be more than 300 across the nation. Whether all of them are paying for this ingenuous publicity is not stated, but the ad invites the reader to write *Look* for the names of the sponsors.

Almost all the space in the ads is taken up by a picture designed to swell the bosoms of all who delight in American military might. One week it was the Skybolt, now unhappily gone to the boneyard of forgotten missiles. Another week the bow of *U.S.S. Enterprise*, the world's first atomic-powered aircraft carrier, towered over the reader. The caption under Skybolt was: "WHEN THE SKYBOLT RIDES A BOMBER YOUR TAX DOLLARS BUY DEFENSE. BUT when your tax money is used to build more and more federal-government-owned electric plants and lines, it is spent needlessly. . . . Wouldn't it make more sense for the federal government to stop such needless spending, and use your tax money only for essentials such as defense?"

The *Enterprise* ad carried the same argument. "WHEN THE *ENTERPRISE* MAKES KNOTS," it read, "you can actually see your tax dollars at work—working usefully . . . paying for America's world-wide defense. . . . The nation is much better able to pay for it when the government cuts out *needless* spending. Yet some people are urging the federal government to build more electric plants and lines. . . . Electric power is a field where the government can save your tax dollars—not spend them." (Italics in original.)

Private-utility companies provide light, heat and power. In this case they are providing light, though scarcely the sort they intended.

Cracks in the Blocs

The strains within each of the two great world blocs are rapidly becoming as dominating an issue as the East-West confrontation. How important are these strains and how do they affect the chances for an East-West *rapprochement*? This subject will soon be discussed in *The Nation* by Fred Warner Neal, former State Department consultant on Russian Affairs and author of *War and Peace and Germany* (W. W. Norton, 1962).

'62 Lessons for '64

Pol. Pan.

PEACE AT THE POLLS . . . . . Roger Hagan

Two years into the New Deal, just as we are now two years into the New Frontier, the trial marriage of native American radicalism and the Roosevelt administration appeared to be over, and an insurgency that seemed to promise a fundamental reconstruction of American politics began taking shape. The promise was not fulfilled, but it might have been; and since we now stand at a similar point in the political cycle, there is more than nostalgic interest in recalling the mood of that period. The only radicalism with any grass-roots strength today seems to be the peace movement, which had its meaningful political baptism in last November's elections. Does it hold forth more promise, or less, than the insurgency of the early thirties?

Discussing results of the 1934 elections, *The Nation's* lead editorial ventured to wish out loud:

> *There is genuine cause for rejoicing in the striking triumph of the new Progressive Party in Wisconsin . . . as well as in the splendid victory of [Farmer-Laborites] Governor Olson and Senator Shipstead in Minnesota. If the independent parties in these two states can get together, it is possible that they may yet grow into an effective national third party movement.*

The next week's *Nation* warned that the ugly defeat of Upton Sinclair's "End Poverty in California" Democratic gubernatorial campaign "shows what will happen to any radical who attempts to challenge the existing order through the medium of old party politics." Before long an extended discussion was under way in the letters column about the possibilities for a new United Liberal Party.

The Nation was not unique with these speculations. Many liberals and radicals had concluded that a Democratic administration would never make the serious, deep-reaching changes in the economic and social structure that they felt the times demanded. John T. Flynn had written in *Scribners* in late 1934 that if the proper kind of economic planning were to be undertaken, it

Roger Hagan, editor of the Council for Correspondence Newsletter, *spent much of last year studying the political aspects of the American peace movement on a grant from the Rabinowitz Foundation.*

would be because radicals had seized upon the "historic moment" that was developing for "the launching of a powerful third party upon modern radical economic issues." John Dewey and Paul Douglas' League for Independent Political Action had resolved, at a conference in late 1933, that the people must "rise up and win economic and political control" to achieve "a new social order, a scientifically planned system"; and as a beginning, the conference had formed the Farmer-Labor Political Federation and called for a new political party. Wisconsin's Progressives also called themselves a new national party; and Phil La Follette, who won the governorship on their ticket in 1934, insisted that radical state parties could spread on their model and bring about "a national third party — a real leftist party" by 1940.

The elections of '34, adding nine Democrats to the House and ten to the Senate, were much more a mandate to the New Deal than those of 1962 were to the New Frontier, but the hopefulness of the insurgents was undiminished. Governor Floyd Olson wrote in *Common Sense* in 1935 that "a third party must arise"; Montana Senator Burton K. Wheeler looked forward to one; the American Commonwealth Political Federation, led by Congressman Tom Amlie (Prog., Wis.), Alfred Bingham of *Common Sense*, and (now Senator) Paul Douglas, constituted itself a crypto-party to jell, if necessary, by 1936. In the State of Washington, the Democratic Party, captured by the Commonwealth Builders movement between 1934 and 1936, committed itself to the radical goals of public ownership and production-for-use. In short, entirely apart from the activities of the American Marxist parties, there was a ferment of native radicalism after two years of the New Deal, a mood of insurgency apparently ready to coalesce into a significant political force to bring about structural changes which the New Deal evidently had no intention of attempting. People with radical goals had found themselves still outside the system, and they were devising bold new strategies to get back in.

Currently the equivalent of these native insurgents is a strongly non-political collection of candidates and groups, largely middle class and without serious domestic discontents, whose disillusionment with the Administration is over foreign, not domestic, policy. To a veteran of the thirties, peace politics is no politics at all: no view of history, no domestic agenda, no idea of structural changes that might reach causes rather than symptoms, hardly even a clear idea of what to do to replace what is protested. It seems more a mood than a program, an *affaire des femmes*, a naive cry of anguish against the hard ironies of contemporary life. Viewed overall, it had no strategy in 1962, no political base, no popular cause to compare with the condemnation of greed and injustice of yesteryear, no strong allies on the inside like Senators Wheeler, Norris and La Follette, Congressmen Amlie, Maverick, Lundeen, Boileau, Walgren and Marcantonio, no strong-rooted politicians like LaGuardia; and, most to the point, no significant victories. After the elections, it looked even less like the making of a third party than before—when to be sure, it had looked little enough like it.

None the less, the problems and prospects of the new peace politicians are not so different from those of the insurgents of the 1930s as it may appear—indeed, their prospects may be better—nor is their weak showing and relative silence since the elections a safe guide to their future potential. To an extent, their weakness may be an advantage and their silence a good omen. They start with fewer illusions and may, as a result, evolve a more practical strategy for affecting American life with their concerns than proved possible for the radicals of 1934-36.

On the other hand, although their demands seem more circumscribed than those of the thirties, they have an immensely more difficult task. For if the 1962 elections taught them anything, it was that significant blocs of votes will not swing their way simply upon the intelligent articulation of peaceful alternatives and initiatives to reduce tension. Tension and polarization, they learned, are not recognized evils like starvation and injustice. Rather they are built into the system, integral parts of present-day life—for all classes.

In other words, the burden of peace politics is not merely to alter a small segment of public policy, but to undertake the most awesome task of reforming popular attitudes ever attempted by a minority in the history of American politics. How far this realization will lead them to extend their critique back into the focus of politics as the older generation of insurgents regarded it—into the structure of American society—remains to be seen. Their experience in the campaigns of 1962 was varied, and the strategy to which it may give rise is still much in question. Vague and incomplete as it is, however, that experience itself is, at the moment, their most valuable asset. Does it add up to anything?

There were thirty-two campaigns in 1962 in which the peace movement took particular interest. The table on the next page ranks the candidates according to the importance they gave the peace issue. Several other candidates, like Senators Clark and McGovern, supported by National SANE or the Council for Abolishing War, would be below those at the end of the list. The table is only a rough indication of how much initiative the peace movement took in the campaigns, however. The second group of candidates generally received less aid from peace groups than the third group because of their poor chances or because of disorganization of peace groups in their areas. Some in the fourth group won strong support because of their credibility as politicians. The list excludes candidates for state and local office who got help from peace groups, such as Assembly candidates Reed Searle in California and Manfred Ohrenstein in New York.

There were ten "pure" peace candidates; or, by a slightly broader definition, seventeen (comprising the first two groups in the table). None of the seventeen won office. Four were nominees of major parties, six ran as independents either on the ballot or as write-ins, and seven more lost primaries seeking major party nomination. One of the latter subsequently ran as a (N.Y.) Liberal. All but two of the remaining fifteen candidates were regular Democrats who could only loosely be called peace candidates. Curiously, these two—Pacht and Kowalski—were opposed by Democratic chieftains on grounds other than their foreign-policy views.

Results of Candidacies Supported by Peace Groups

Name, Office Sought and Party*	District	% of Vote
"PURE" PEACE CANDIDATES		
Harry Purvis (H., Ind.)	N.Y. 4th	1
Harrop Freeman (H., Lib.)	N.Y. 33rd	3
Elizabeth Boardman (H., R.)	Mass. 3rd	48 P**
Helen Bliss (H., D.)	N.H. 2nd	27 P**
William Hefner (H., D.)	Mass. 1st	28
H. Stuart Hughes (S., Ind.)	Mass.	2.4
Sidney Lens (H., Ind.)	Ill. 2d	1
Robert Cosbey (H., Ind.)	Ill. 13th	1
Alva Tompkins (H., Ind.)	Ill. 9th	1
Herbert F. Hoover (S., R.)	Iowa	15 P**
OUTSPOKEN CONCERN FOR PEACE		
William O. Hart (S., Ind.)	Wis.	1
Elizabeth Weideman (H., D.)	Mich. 16th	14 P**
Caroline Ramsay (H., D.)	Md. 7th	30
Alice F. Bryant (H., D.)	Wash. 1st	27
William Meyer (S., D.)	Vt.	45 P**
James Youngdale (H., DFL)	Minn. 6th	49 P**
Knox Mellon (H., D.)	Calif. 24th	30
SYMPATHETIC BUT NOT OUTSPOKEN		
John O'Connell (H., D.)	Calif. 6th	42
George Brown (H., D.)	Calif. 29th	56
Edward Roybal (H., D.)	Calif. 30th	57
Jerry Pacht (H., D.)	Calif. 31st	P***
William Stewart (H., D.)	Calif. 12th	38
Jerome Ziegler (H., D.)	Ill. 14th	40
Martin Dworkis (H., D.)	N.Y. 17th	32
Bob Wilson (H., D.)	Ill. 22nd	39
Tom Payne (H., D.)	Mich. 2nd	42
GENERALLY LIBERAL, CAUTIOUS ON PEACE		
Blaine Whipple (H., D.)	Ore. 1st	48
Lionel Van Deerlin (H., D.)	Calif. 37th	51
Frank Kowalski (S., D.)	Conn.	****
Robert Kastenmeier (H., D.)	Wis. 2nd	53
Charles Weidner (H., D.)	Calif. 14th	37
William Fitts Ryan (H., D.)	N.Y. 20th	73

*H., House; S., Senate; R., Republican; D., Democrat; L., Liberal; Ind., Independent.
**Primary vote; never reached General Election.
***Primary vote; ran second to winner in field of nine.
****Defeated in convention before Primary.

Of the thirteen Democrats who reached the General Elections in the lower half of the list, five won House seats, including two incumbents. In the entire list, fourteen candidates lost to incumbents in November, and of these, six cut the incumbents' percentages below the 1960 showing. But only two of these were in unaltered districts, and only one of the eight whose opponents increased their percentages was in an unaltered district. Redistricting has made it impossible to draw conclusions from the figures about such candidates' ability to threaten incumbents on the basis of the peace issue alone.

There was no consistency among the seventeen peace candidates on domestic policy. Excluding Hughes, the first group discussed domestic issues only as related to the arms race; the second group had a broader platform. Three of the seventeen were Republicans and two others more conservative than most of their workers. Ramsay, on the other hand, was by any standards liberal. As to background, the candidates included four professors and three other educators, two bank presidents, an accountant, a lawyer, two farmers, two newsmen, a printer, a manufacturer, a forester and several professional politicians.

This suggests the variety of persons and styles that made up the "peace" campaigns. A focus on candidates such as this can be misleading, however. It is not the candidate or the size of his vote that might ultimately affect the politics of his district, but the people working for him. The vote was unquestionably disappointing, but the experience of politics may count for more in this first year of the peace movement's cautious insurgency.

"I told these peace guys you've got to make up your mind what you want to do: elect Wilson to Congress or use his candidacy as a platform for peace education." The Democratic chairman of a down-state Illinois city was getting hot under the collar just remembering his warning. "Now if you want to build a twenty-foot cross and nail him up there and put footlights on him, go ahead and do it, but if you want to get him elected to Congress then you've got to just shut up. And work like hell ringing doorbells."

He was speaking of Robert Wilson, candidate for Congress from Illinois' 22nd District, a farmer and owner-editor of a string of country weekly newspapers. Wilson is a well-informed liberal with roots in his section of Illinois that go back for generations, and his editorials have made him well known in much of the district. He was, therefore, the best political material the Democrats had laid hands on for years. But he is also a practicing Quaker, and his pacifism made him want to differ with the Administration on defense policy. Around the University of Illinois, in the eastern part of his district, there were some local peace groups eager to support him if he would begin to build a policy on his good instincts.

As it happened, he never did. The peace groups came into his campaign too late with too little. They had also insisted on interviewing the Republican incumbent, who had held them up for weeks. Wilson's closest advisers and managers, while not professional politicians, were predominantly concerned about the problems of winning and turning him into a credible, respectable candidate. Many of these advisers were themselves liberals who had long been engaged in discouraging battle with the entrenched down-state pros. But the chance to hitch a ride with a strong, hard-campaigning candidate with real roots in his district and a mind good enough to explain the Administration to the cautious, pros-

perous farmers of the 22nd District was enough to turn them into hard-nosed professionals when confronted with the idealists of the academic and women's peace groups.

The pattern here was a familiar one. The Democratic Party official himself expressed the primary dilemma of the peace movement in politics. "Me," he said, "an old NAACP, ACLU, ADA liberal, I have to talk like a real conservative Republican to keep from hurting the poor guy. You've really got to change roles in a hurry if you want to get anything done." The new militants of the peace movement are not about to change roles in a hurry: although, be it said in their favor, they did, here and elsewhere, accept compromise positions and work ringing doorbells, watching polls, distributing literature, raising money, running mimeo machines and licking stamps. Not often, however, did they "shut up."

When it was over, those who *had* held their tongues for a while and immersed themselves in the machinery of a campaign had to ask if the sacrifice had been vindicated. Where they had worked for a regular party candidate who merely showed sympathy for their concerns, such as Wilson in Illinois, Payne in Michigan, Pacht, Weidner or the more outspoken O'Connell in California, or Whipple in Oregon, the results were often discouraging —no victory, and not much public education. And in the few places where their man won, victory seemed attributable to factors other than themselves. Edward Roybal in the 30th District of California (Los Angeles), for example, seemed most indebted to a lackadaisical opponent and to his Mexican-American nationality. He won with 57 per cent of the vote in a district which includes 35-40 per cent Mexican-Americans. But here at least peace people were useful in getting the Democrats registered, a particular problem in such a district. Elsewhere their aid was even less clearly a benefit.

George Brown's 29th District in Southern California was safe in terms of party registration (62 per cent Democratic) and Brown, as a former city councilman, mayor of Monterey Park and state Assemblyman, was well known to the electorate. Even so, his vote, at 56 per cent, was lower than expected. His opponent had hit hard at Brown's pro-SANE views, and this apparently had cut into his margin. Brown publicly acknowledges the helpfulness of SANE, the women's peace groups and Californians for Liberal Representation (CLR), an offspring of the California Democratic Club movement (CDC) formed to aid candidates strong on disarmament, civil liberties and civil rights. In terms of what campaign managers call "bodies" — precinct workers — and money contributed, the peace groups gave Brown more help than his most important labor support, and more than the national and state Democratic Committees. Privately, however, he wonders if peace-group support did not do enough harm to offset the gains. The consensus of the managers of the few regular party candidates about whom the peace groups were enthusiastic was that their help was fine if restricted to "bodies" with no strings attached. But public endorsements were not always welcomed.

Many in the peace movement knew that working for a party candidate would involve them in compromises without any opportunity for open criticism of Administration policy. The demand to retain their clarity was argued out in local meetings from Boston to Los Angeles, and the decisions were never final. In Boston, the result was a high mortality rate of advisers and campaign managers in the Hughes campaign, some being eased out because they were too rigid for practical politics, some because they were too practical to inspire volunteer energies. In Los Angeles, years of experience in the Democratic club movement made some leaders of CLR and SANE wary of the unknown candidates with good platforms but no organizational base who turned up to contest primaries; there was an unusual abundance of such people in California. Yet the same experience made others wary of formal linkage to the Democratic Party of Jesse Unruh and John F. Kennedy, because they valued their program and their identity. They preferred to adhere to a clear set of policy demands and promised support to whoever agreed with them.

Essentially the same arguments, in other words, took place in Los Angeles on the basis of experience as took place in Massachusetts on the basis of inexperience, only at a different level of possibility. There was little hope of success for the Political Action for Peace (PAX) candidates: Hughes, Hefner and Boardman in Massachusetts, and Bliss in New Hampshire. Of the three seeking regular party nomination, all in districts securely in the opposite camp, only Hefner reached the general election — no other Democrat wanted the nomination — and he took only a quarter of the vote from incumbent Representative Silvio Conte. Los Angeles, on the other hand, presented a choice between allocating resources among all candidates who expressed good views or restricting them to a few real politicians with good sentiments whose districts showed 57 per cent or better registration in their party. Because the latter course was chosen, outspoken candidates like Knox Mellon and William Stewart went unsupported, even though their districts gave them far greater strength than most House candidates elsewhere in the country whom the peace movement would support. The political experience gained by amateurs in the California Democratic Clubs (CDC) made such hard choices possible (much of the peace movement would not have made them); but beyond the primaries, where concentration of resources was clearly fruitful, the choice was not fully vindicated.

Since it was impossible to say whether peace-group support helped or hindered them, the victories probably did not strengthen the peace movement's bargaining position in California politics, which had been one hope of those arguing for practicality over ideology. The most extreme case was that of Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego. In spite of CLR support, he said nothing about most key peace issues, but discussed only economic planning for reconversion, an obvious need in defense-contract-bound San Diego. He won with 51 per cent of the vote after being attacked vigorously by his opponent for taking CLR support (the group gave him over $1,000, but no workers). His debt to the peace groups was far from unequivocal.

The California groups around Brown, Roybal, Van Deerlin and O'Connell opted for success. They did not entirely abandon clarity, since they published their own plat-

forms and secured some explicit agreement from the candidates they supported, but they saw little made of their issues in the campaigns. As George Brown put it, he saw no value in excessive candor. Nor did they secure any assurance that their men would vote in a particular way when they got to Washington. Elsewhere in the country, groups which followed a similar path had even less satisfaction from their candidates; such was the disorganization of the New York groups that no statement could be agreed upon for the candidates to support, and peace-concerned liberals supporting William Fitts Ryan, Bentley Kassal, Martin Dworkis, Frank Montero, James Scheuer and David Levy did so mostly because of their reform status and their generally liberal outlook, not because they had them on the line for peace.

For many members of peace groups and liberal organizations in Chicago, the story was the same; SANE and the Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) supported Kennedy Democrats such as Sidney Yates for Senate or Barratt O'Hara for the House with little to show for it in terms of foreign and defense policy agreement except that, as one leader of Chicago SANE said of Yates, "He reads all the literature I send him." But one Chicago organization made the opposite decision. For Voters for Peace and its intellectual entrepreneur, Sidney Lens, a writer and labor official, a political campaign seemed the one opportunity to say what needed to be said and have somebody besides the faithful brethren listening. Lens hoped to begin building a bloc of electoral strength rigorously committed to new policies in foreign and defense affairs, a bloc that would not fall apart at the last minute. Since many Congressmen win by margins of less than 5 per cent, Lens thought that, as candidates, they should be sensitive to small, well-organized blocs of votes. In such districts the peace voters might make the incumbent or a strong candidate jump even if they could not replace him with their own man.

The problem with this theory, of course, begins when the price for peace-bloc support is agreement to policies which alienate larger blocs. An example of its abuse was seen in the 8th and 9th Congressional Districts of North Carolina, where Negro leaders, rather than aiming at a two-party South, urged their people to vote for conservative, segregationist Democrats in close races with conservative, segregationist Republicans on the theory that the winning Democrats, recognizing that their margin of victory came from the Negro, would support the President on civil rights. But what would happen to the larger Southern white bloc after the Congressman had voted for civil-rights legislation? Clearly, the interest of the politician lies in remaining unresponsive even to a crucial Negro bloc except when everyone can be pleased at once. This problem applies equally to peace politics. If not related to an intensive and prolonged program for changing the attitude of the general public, small peace "pressure blocs" will not work wonders on Congress—unless the bloc grows immensely bigger than the peace movement seems able to make it.

Voters for Peace never reached a point where that problem concerned them. They had another: how to build such a bloc with which to influence incumbents. Paradoxically, the answer seemed to be running candidates against unsympathetic incumbents in order to demonstrate strength for next time (if strength there was), or to rally voters and workers for the future. Lens and two other VFP candidates ran as independents.

Unfortunately, in Lens's district, blocs would not make a difference; the incumbent had won by 50,000 votes in 1960. Worse, he was Barratt O'Hara, the most liberal of Chicago's Congressmen, a man Lens could take no pleasure in unseating. For VFP, the presence of a good but cautious liberal like O'Hara posed the challenge to the political hopes of the peace movement in its starkest form. Must basic points of opposition to the arms race give way before the demands of domestic liberalism? O'Hara was undeniably good on labor and welfare causes, had been one of the six Congressmen to vote against the appropriation for the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1961, and had supported the Peace Corps and worked actively for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. On the other hand, he was an Administration man who would not take a position opposing the White House lest he lose influence. He voted for all major military bills, extension of the draft, military foreign aid and the amendment to increase the current military allotment by $200 million, and all of the basic defense appropriation bills. Worst of all, he favored the nuclear-testing program and supported the shelter program.

Lens had no chance to run against O'Hara in the Democratic primary because of the early filing date in Illinois. (VFP, like all the peace-politics groups except PAX in New England, was formed during the spring of 1962.) If Lens were successful in drawing many votes, therefore, he would merely put a right-wing Republican into the seat. Perhaps the decision was made easier by the size of O'Hara's 1960 plurality; but before Lens and two other VFP House candidates were ruled off the ballot, it appeared that VFP could do considerable damage by drawing away some O'Hara precinct workers. The old Congressman and liberal leaders of the 2nd District were clearly disturbed at this prospect, and for a brief moment there was a gratifying response: thirteen prominent Democrats of the district, most of whom disapproved of Lens's candidacy, sent O'Hara a telegram urging him to declare his opposition to further nuclear testing and his support of a gradual, phased reduction of the arms budget.

Lens, to his credit, agreed to withdraw from the race if these two minimal points were met, but O'Hara stalled until past the filing deadline. Lens was forced to file, and subsequently to battle in the courts for his right to be on the

ballot without the requisite number of signatures (on the grounds that redistricting had made the number uncertain). O'Hara's strategy did not win him any affection among the peace-oriented liberals of Chicago, and although the city-wide Independent Voters of Illinois supported O'Hara, some IVI officials worked for Lens and helped him with the court case. In fact, the Fifth Ward IVI, in the University district which is the core of IVI strength in the city, had to be overruled by the city-wide organization after it had resolved to designate Lens and O'Hara as equally qualified so that its workers could support either.

But at the same time, Lens's willingness to jeopardize one of the ablest liberals in Congress won him little affection among Chicago liberals and officials of the labor movement. Lens was aware of the problem: "Sure, this creates divisions. It's a dangerous thing and we may be making a mistake. We're going after a fairly good liberal here, and the only thing is that he won't break with the Establishment. But then, that's the big thing, isn't it?"

In the opinion of some professionals in peace education, it was not. Many, such as the leaders of Turn Toward Peace and SANE, believed that the peace movement's task is to work with liberal groups long enough to lead them out of the embrace of the Administration on matters of defense policy. Voters for Peace may have lost its chance to do so in Chicago. Not only IVI but Lens's colleagues in the labor movement and the older peace movement were badly split on the merits of the effort. His own and other VFP tactics angered many who should have been its allies. In the two remaining districts, where independent write-in candidates were run, the interviews which VFP held with both candidates before refusing them support were conducted a bit like military inquisitions, the interviewers hewing closely to a demanding set of policy proposals and all but insisting that the Democratic candidates declare their opposition to the President on many vital matters. One candidate with a tough district was anxious to get workers and requested a second chance after failing his first "exam." At the next session, he showed signs of having read Blackett and Melman, but the eternal questionnaire was pressed on him in such a way, by some reports, as to force him to disagree. Thus an opportunity was passed by to influence and develop a possible winner and Robert Cosbey was run against him.

Perhaps it was a case of adhering to the check list too strictly—a mistake that only experience and a dose of pragmatism could have corrected. But one can also sympathize with VFP activists who were asked to pour time, money and shoe leather into campaigns on the basis of off-the-cuff agreements, "in principle" concurrences and a few good sentiments. Uninformed politicians do not inspire issues-oriented people. Some will respond to patient briefings, but it is slow work with few immediate returns. One of VFP's explicit goals was public education, and it appeared at the time that they could get more said to people in their district with their own candidate speaking their own message.

In retrospect, it seems that one of VFP's problems, one widely shared with other peace groups, was having two incompatible purposes: exerting pressure on candidates and incumbents, and educating the voting public by inserting issues into the campaigns. Another was their failure to recognize the kinds of pressure and influence available to them, focusing, perhaps too early, on political pressure of the least subtle sort — voter strength — without any clear prospect of achieving it. A third was to alienate some of the groups it would need to gain such strength in the long run.

Paradoxically, this least compromising of peace-political organizations also gave financial aid to a Democratic candidate in the 14th District (a semi-rural district west of Chicago) who was among the most cautious of all "peace candidates." Jerome Ziegler, an old friend of Lens who had long worked with the Chicago American Friends Service Committee, concluded early in his campaign that politics and peace education were not at all as "inextricably interwoven" as VFP believed them to be.

Although his name appeared among the sponsors of Voters for Peace, Ziegler made no call for any of the proposals in the VFP platform. Nominated by the regular Democratic Party organization in a newly reorganized district, he refused to jeopardize his chances by making an educational effort. In part it was a matter of time. Ziegler aimed to meet a thousand people a day for the last ninety days of his campaign. "I can only spend a few seconds with each person, and there is simply not time for education. The most I can hope to do is to identify myself with some good cause in the right direction." But his reluctance to get into the tangled web of foreign and defense policy was also related to his conviction that peace groups make a mistake in talking slogans rather than events and specific issues with which people can identify. He felt that by discussing the Peace Corps and getting across the spirit it represents he could make at least as many points about international reconciliation that an audience might carry away with them as he could have by discussing initiatives, as H. Stuart Hughes did in Massachusetts.

Ziegler lost; his opponent's plurality of 63.8 per cent in 1960 was cut to 60 per cent, but the addition of Will County to Ziegler's district may account for that. None the less, he doubts that he would have spent his energies more fruitfully running an educational campaign on the VFP or the New England model. In any case, to do so would have contradicted his sense of responsibility to the party which nominated and helped him. Ziegler stressed the problem that once people like himself go into party politics seriously, they take on responsibilities to others who may not share their views.

There are both gains and losses in such a course. The apocalyptic sense which compels the peace movement could be silenced by politics as usual, and this would be a serious loss. Ziegler's kind of politics offers an experience which the peace movement needs. One cannot watch the serious candidates like Ziegler, O'Connell, Brown or Blaine Whipple of Oregon without coming away with a certain respect for the awful rigors of democratic politics. A Congressional race is, on the one hand, a silly, superficial sort of popularity contest which makes fearsome demands upon the endurance of the candidate; but on the other, it is a programed con-

tact with the mood and concerns of the people that cannot be had in any other pursuit. Such experience could be an antidote to the tendency, characteristic of peace groups, to over-polarize the community, as well as to over-optimism. It is also an education in the ways of power and influence in our society, a lesson that leads many to cynicism but a few to a rare ability to do good.

In the opinion of George Brown, whose victory in California is the primary source of hope to the new insurgents, the peace movement badly needs to learn that neither social change nor attitude change are simple matters:

> *Ray* [Sebens, Brown's campaign manager] *and I have a hell of a job educating the peace groups. I've been in peace work longer than most of them* [Brown is one of the founders of the Friends Committee on Legislation and has long been active in the War Resisters League and the Fellowship of Reconciliation] *and I want them to learn the complexity and depth of the problems. Now they have awakened to these problems and want to do something big. Some of them want to take credit for electing me to Congress. I want them to know this didn't come about so simply. They have to learn politics from the bottom up, and what it is to be a politician, and how to build their own politicians.*

Most of the peace groups that entered the political arena in 1962 have concluded pretty much the same thing. In California, due in part to Brown's urging, the Californians for Liberal Representation will try to find persons with political potential and develop them as candidates from the city councilman level upward, so as to give them political roots. Voters for Peaceful Alternatives, the group in Ithaca, N. Y., which ran Professor Harrop Freeman for Congress, has also resolved to work on a local level. The debate is now whether to aim at capturing the stagnant Democratic Party machinery by finding people to run for town committees or to build the Liberal Party.

In Massachusetts, the disappointing showing of Stuart Hughes has led his campaign organization and the PAX organization from which it emerged into a similar train of thought. Their effort will now be to hold together the considerable network of town coordinators, workers and donors that the state-wide campaign developed, and make it a recruiting ground for town committee and state legislature candidates aiming at having good people ready for the primaries in 1964. The interim activity designed by Campaign Manager Jerome Grossman to keep the organization active and increase its role in the political life of the state, and to "wean" the organization from the attractive and highly popular figure of Hughes himself, consists of state legislative action—the introduction of bills into the legislative session written by the Hughes campaign organization, making use of the right of petition and the help of interested legislators.

"Is that some sort of status symbol?"

The Chicago VFP organization also intends to involve itself further in traditional politics the next time around. It is aware that by beginning too late to enter the primaries, it missed its best opportunities for improving community contacts and having political effect. Its main effort in 1963 will be to develop promising political material and to enter the primaries of both parties as a disciplined caucus.

There is other evidence of a willingness to attempt a more organic growth and careful allocation of energies. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, a student-faculty group supported a local Democrat with good instincts but little substance in foreign-policy matters. By working closely with him and securing expert academic aid for him on policy proposals, they managed to insert the issue of peace, disarmament and economic reconversion into his campaign. (The candidate lost, but by no more than he had two years previously.) Research being conducted by Students for a Democratic Society (led by the Michigan group) and other organizations promises to locate a number of Congressional districts where such effort may show results. Projects are also under way in Massachusetts and elsewhere to measure the effectiveness with which issues were presented.

All this cautious resolve will amount to nothing, however, if the message of peace politics continues to seem basically wrong to most Americans. In the thirties many flirted with socialism from hunger, anger or because it was intellectually attractive. It had a dynamic and a vision of the future as well as of how to get there. How much of this can be said for the cause of the new insurgents?

On election eve, when the returns were coming in from all over Massachusetts, there was a particular misery in them for a few people in the Hughes campaign like Chester Hartman, who had directed the earlier, vastly successful signature campaign which gathered more than 147,000 signatures to put Hughes on the ballot. Hartman knew the precincts by heart, and he noticed that it was frequently in the precincts most heavily canvassed that Hughes made the poorest showing. The negative correlation was most pronounced in lower-income precincts and disappeared or reversed as the income and education level rose.

Hartman pursued the question of impact with a telephone poll which further revealed the difficulties of delivering a complex issue in politics. It was as Ziegler might have predicted. Nine out of ten persons called had heard of Hughes, but some of them had to be pushed: "Who ran for Senate?" "Lodge and Kennedy." "Was there anybody else?" "Oh yes, Hughes. . . ." In a lower-income precinct, however, few had heard of Hughes, even after a campaign costing nearly $150,000. When asked what they liked about Hughes—most who knew of him liked him—the respondents listed personal qualities: honesty, courage, personality, "a professor." Few mentioned issues. Just over half the respondents knew that Hughes had a platform concerned with disarmament, but most of these knew only labels. They considered his views "nice but impractical," "visionary," "way out," "twenty years ahead of his time,"

those of a "dreamer." Interestingly, India was mentioned as a factor discrediting Hughes more than Cuba; for although Hughes is not a pacifist he was associated with pacifism because he opposed war, and India's need to fight against China was said to prove him wrong.

With such results, the handwriting was on the wall. Hughes was as articulate a spokesman as the peace movement would ever find, and while his somewhat donnish appearance may have contributed to these results, it was hard to avoid the conclusion that the issues themselves were to blame — unpopular, unpleasant, touching on deep sources of anxiety, in some way they seemed to be their own obstruction.

In part, being "Independent" was a hindrance. Whatever the corruption and nepotism of the two parties, the poll showed that it seemed worse to be outside the system, particularly after Cuba. Hughes himself had recognized the extent to which this disrupted communication long before his organization did. Often, after shaking hands through a factory and being well received, as was usually the case, he would think to himself, "Well, there are two or three more votes—maybe," while his aides made rosy predictions. After the election, he advised SANE not to encourage further independent candidacies like his own unless all possibilities for supporting a party man were exhausted.

The basic problem was not in being an independent candidate but in saying what Hughes said. The defeat of the O'Connell campaign, the most outspoken of all the regular party campaigns, well staffed with peace-movement and other volunteers, operating in a district newly favorable since redistricting, came as a harsh surprise to most observers. Those running the campaign blamed the issues themselves. This is the hard lesson. To build from the bottom as the peace movement now intends, it will be necessary to confront as never before the basic unpopularity of the cause — and more than that, to do something about it.

This unpopularity is no news to the old peace movement, but politics is no place for people who readily accustom themselves to being in a losing minority, and the new activists of the peace campaigns will not rest easily with the popular verdict. The question of how far to accommodate to popular attitudes will therefore be an increasing source of tension within the movement.

What I have called "peace people" and "peace groups" are in almost all cases not old-line pacifists or seasoned dissenters. They are unhappy outside the system of accepted values. They are liberals who most properly should be called peace-concerned, not pacifistic. They want to change the trend of events, to find alternatives to military solutions, to calm the hysterias of the cold war, but not to dump weapons in the sea all at once. Only the failure of the Kennedy Administration to change the trend towards militarization alienates them from the Democratic Party; if things were moving in a hopeful direction, most of them would return to the fold. With few exceptions, their candidates demanded only such hopeful steps as ending testing, strengthening the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, beginning serious study of the economics of disarmament and — where they went at all into the specifics of defense policy (as did Hughes) — opposing counterforce doctrine. Most accepted the need, at least for the time being, of a minimum deterrent nuclear capability. This was a significant break from the policies of the older peace movement, and one still not accepted by many community peace organizations.

In short, much of the traditional pacifist peace movement that knows, perhaps too well, how to live with failure was not active in the campaigns. The ranks were filled with the new peace movement which SANE was first to develop: a middle-class, college-educated, issues-concerned rank and file reminiscent of the Stevenson troops of 1952 and 1956. The hardest work was done by the women's groups and by students, with support from young professional and academic men. The trajectory of these people has been rapid, from apathy through signing protests to demonstrations to political action. Each stage had its rapid disillusionments, and the danger is that the disappointments of politics and the realization of the size of the task ahead may propel them on into cynicism on the one hand, or by the persuasion of numbers, to doubt their own cause on the other. The new peace movement is not inured to failure, nor should it be; yet, to an extent, it has to be.

The early signs after the elections were favorable. After a few weeks of dejection following November 6, a surprising number of campaign workers bounced back into meetings to plan how to keep their organizations functioning and make use of what they had learned ("how not to spend money," as a coordinator put one of the chief lessons). A graduate student at Cornell who had done the hard, door-to-door precinct work of Freeman's campaign in the small cities of New York's 33rd District summed up the hopeful side of the experience for a campus political magazine: "There are many who go to rallies, to Washington and New York. It is not so much fun to go door to door; it's not a social event to the tune of folksongs. Guitars are to be left at home. It's hard work, and a day of campaigning means ten hours. But it is rewarding, and it works."

But many will ask: does it? It works to overcome the campaign worker's sense of political alienation, but what else? Freeman's was perhaps the most successful independent campaign (Liberal Party support in upstate New York means nothing more than a place on the ballot) in terms of injecting the issues of disarmament and reconversion into political discourse. He was invited to all gatherings where the Democratic and Republican candidates were to be heard, and usually succeeded in making them look pale and ill-informed on foreign policy. The regulars were forced to discuss Freeman's issues and insist that they were for peace too. Furthermore, Freeman's showing in the Democratic primary, which he lost very closely, shook the Democratic leaders of Elmira and Binghamton who had been drifting along in the profit-by-losing pattern so often found among minority party politicians with a little urban strength and a federal Administration of their party.

But only extremely sophisticated techniques of analysis could determine whether or not the campaign had changed the politics of the district for the future or softened the ground for new ideas in foreign

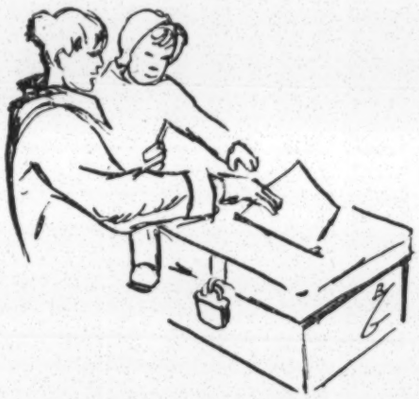
and defense policy. Aside from identifying allies around the district, no early gains were discernible.

Before the campaign, many of these people showed signs of having thought about forming a third party: but the way they showed it is by insisting that that is not their intention, that they intended to work within the two-party system. Some said this because they were Democrats and had hopes for reforming their party (in the South, this is a nearly total distraction among peace and civil-rights advocates), some because they wanted to retain leverage on both parties by entering primary fights, and some because the experience of 1948 taught them that it is a mistake for many reasons to form a party too soon. The rejection of third-party plans was even more pronounced after the election. This is probably just as well, for the third-party effort of the thirties broke up over the prospect of throwing the election of 1936 to a Republican President: because it had aimed too high for what its people were ready to dare, it fell apart.

None the less I think it safe, in spite of their disclaimers, to call the veterans of the peace campaigns a third force at this point. They have not evaporated since the elections, and the trend of their thought is toward avoiding commitments or alliances with either party, even though it is also toward working with party candidates. This edging away from the kind of commitment which characterized the older club movements is true even where ties to the Democratic Party have been strongest and most rewarding, as in California.

The likelihood is that "leakage groups" will form to catch those who find themselves edged out of the system. Their structure and methods will be fluid, and they will "flow" to whatever candidate or tactic promises them increased effectiveness. In the process they may begin to operate in a "professional" manner, ready to make deals or apply pressure and to play the same games the pros play with skill and without rancor. The California club movement is already confronting the need to do this. As one officer of the CDC put it, only half jokingly: "We were dealt out of the L. A. County Committee by paper clubs, maybe we will have to build a few paper clubs of our own." Means unquestionably matter to men like Hefner and Hughes, but there are a lot of tactical lessons short of dishonesty and manipulation that can be learned.

Not only do peace people in politics recognize themselves increasingly as outside the parties, but, unlike the liberal reform movements of New York and Chicago, their groups are linked: intellectually by sharing a primary concern with national policy, and physically



by informal communications networks: newsletters, SANE personnel, occasional conferences and organizations such as the Committee of 1,000 and the Council for Abolishing War formed to raise and distribute campaign funds.

This "third force" quality is an uncertain trend, however. The internal debate between those who hope to establish a role for themselves within the traditional parties, at some cost in "ideological clarity," and those who value this clarity above all, will not quickly be resolved.

Many are certain that the hope of politics lies in reforming the parties. They may be right; but they must ask themselves how the struggle for "citizen" politics will fare against the professionalization of the activists as they move up in the party as CDC's former leaders have. They will be racing against the new national machine which Kennedy is building to replace the dying city machines, a machine of which Jesse Unruh is a characteristic "new man." They must be aware that the effort to work as a caucus within the old parties may be doomed to perpetual frustration by the President's famous victories and the "restriction by partial incorporation" which perpetually undercuts the foreign-policy Left. And they must recognize that most real candidates will go Ziegler's way, staying respectable and supporting the President; that the President's strongest point with the voters, on which the candidate will differ at greatest peril to his electoral chances, is foreign policy, the one place where the peace groups will most want criticism; and that if their men win they will go to Washington with obligations to the Administration and to crucial war-economy elements at home which will further mute their critical stance.

Are they then right who, like Hughes or Lens, insist that only a politics not committed to winning, a politics based on the young and what Lens calls the "left-outs" (those who have a sense of having lost their vote in the direction of domestic and foreign policy) can retain the clarity to contribute a new position to our political dialogue? This is the politics of losing so familiar to the Left and unpalatable to the new insurgents. Its danger is that, never needing to compromise, it falls into sectarian bickering over fine points of theory. If the "leakage groups" lose contact with the major parties, they run this risk.

At the moment, then, the debate comes down to this: will it be necessary over the next decade to try once again to reconstruct democracy within the parties on the lowest level, as reformers have repeatedly tried to do, and thus to battle head-on the accelerating trend toward centralized policy formation? Or must the peace movement build from small beginnings and early disappointments a new force with a radically critical program which links the problem of cold-war escalation to the organic problems of the domestic society and economy as no standard politician can dare to do? In a way it comes down to whether one believes in power or in ideas. The question was not resolved in 1962, but fortunately, it did not have to be. The political insurgency of the peace movement has the benefit of a pragmatism new to the American Left which may enable it to unite many who would fall apart over this question. The decision can be supended for some time to come.

Pol. Sci.

Kennedy: Profile of a Technician . . . Ted Lewis

Washington, D.C.

For two years now, President Kennedy has been an activist, displaying his managerial and manipulation techniques in almost every facet of goverment. As a result, the public knows a lot about the President's techniques of leadership and yet paradoxically little about the direction in which he is moving or how he will act when obstacles confront him.

Normally our Presidents, after two years in office, become more or less stereotyped in the public mind; it has always been fairly clear how they would act in any given situation. It is uniquely different today as Kennedy enters his third year in office. It should be possible, but it isn't, to say that he is a strong President, or that he is developing into one; or, perhaps, that he is an energetic President who applies his energies unpredictably. With Kennedy, all such estimates are hazardous, at best. His record shows that he displays power, sometimes ruthlessly, in facing up to one problem, and then meets another with caution and uncertainty.

Any examination of his operations to date suggests the basic reason for the fog over the Kennedy image. His methods and style vary, and the unfortunate impression is left that they vary with the economic, political and global climate. This flexibility suggests to some the lack of deep-rooted political ideals and purposefulness in connection with domestic policy. More serious is the effect of his apparent opportunism in the foreign-affairs arena. Even the simplest pronouncement by the President on a cold-war policy problem raises doubts abroad whether it carries the conviction of real intentions.

This is the price that Kennedy is paying for his manipulation techniques—some of them devious.

The Cuba crisis operation certainly showed that the President could move with power and daring. But the real significance of this grave crisis has never been properly emphasized. This centers on one fact—that in twenty-one previous months of dealing with Nikita Khrushchev, the President had failed to convince Moscow that he would stand firm when the issue of a nuclear war was posed starkly.

Could it be that Kennedy's flexible style in handling his Presidential responsibilities both on the home front and in dealings with our own allies contributed to Khrushchev's need to try to solve the Kennedy enigma? Why else were the Soviet missiles and bombers placed in full view in Cuba? By forcing the issue, Khrushchev was finding out what he wanted to know about Kennedy—and, incidentally, what the American people were even more desirous of knowing.

Cuba provided solid evidence, then, as to how the President would act in a grave international emergency. There are few sound clues to be found in his record as to how he will respond in any particular domestic home crisis, big or minor. His rhetoric—inspirational as it often is— is of scant help, for too often he has followed tough talk by accepting compromise. At various times, and under varying conditions, he has displayed great impetuosity, an excess of caution and both impatience and admirable perseverance.

One of the keenest inquirers into the Kennedy *modus operandi* is probably James MacGregor Burns of Williams College. In his friendly but penetrating 1960 political biography, *John Kennedy: A Political Profile*, Burns predicted that Kennedy, if elected, would

> *. . . mobilize traditional tools of Presidential power and use them with force, astuteness and tenacity. He would show a flair for personal influence and manipulation, perhaps some of the flair Roosevelt had. He would drive hard bargains, forming alliances with Republicans when necessary, but compromising too, when he lacked the votes.*

This was perspicacious forecasting. Yet it is not so much the President's personalized methods of operating as it is the complex nature of his personality and the uncertainty as to his goals that disturb the American people, even those — and they are in the majority—who admire and support him. His motives, in any given situation, are becoming more and more suspect. This is already developing as a political problem, although it is clearly one the Democratic Party is going to have to live with as long as Kennedy is in office.

Consider, for example, the questions being raised around the country: Why is the President unwilling to take on Congress and go to the people for support of the social-reform and other "forward looking" domestic measures he once considered vitally needed? Is there still something about the Cuba crisis we haven't been told about? Have we been playing British politics with the Skybolt missile? Will Kennedy really make a fight to get the new Congress to act on medicare and education aid? Or will he go all out only to get passage of his tax-cut—tax-reform program?

This questioning state of mind often breeds ugly suspicions. Hence, for example, the whispers that the President and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, are pursuing a personal vendetta against Jimmy Hoffa, the Teamster boss. Hence the suspicion that the President, while appearing the essence of frankness, is actually quite a conniver, *vide* the Adlai Stevenson affair. Hence the Republican-fed report that Kennedy timed the Cuban missile crisis for just before the November elections.

The examples could be multiplied many times. The President, however, appears impervious to these widely aired suspicions. He obviously remains supremely confident of his standing with the American public.

In the view of some liberals, the fairly widespread wonder as to what really goes on in Washington is founded on loss of faith in the President's political philosophy. Kennedy won the election in 1960 as a liberal. He has since performed as a middle-of-the-road progressive. The view of the Democratic Party expressed by White House aide and historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., probably comes closest to revealing what the party is up to as it functions here under Kennedy. The party, wrote Schlesinger in *The Politics of Hope*, is "humane, skeptical and pragmatic . . . has no dogma, no sense of Messianic mission, no belief that mortal man can attain

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Utopia, no faith that fundamental problems have final solutions."

A President subscribing generally to that belief would operate about as Kennedy has. He has Republicans high in his Administration like Treasury Secretary Dillon and Defense Secretary McNamara, on whom he counts for advice. He keeps on friendly terms with those in Congress, like Senator Harry F. Byrd (D., Va.), who oppose virtually all bills embodying the party's national economic and social philosophy as espoused by Kennedy in the 1960 campaign.

The liberal disillusionment with Kennedy of 1963 is, of course, one factor responsible for the questions constantly raised as to the President's motivations. In this connection, there is an interesting off-beat estimate which suggests that, under Kennedy, a vacuum on Democratic Party issues exists in Washington. It comes from Maurice Rosenblatt, chairman of the Board of Advisers of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. Rosenblatt had this to say about the President:

> *One of the accepted generalities or clichés of our time is that he [Kennedy] is a master politician. He certainly is a master at election politics, at getting elected. But what we say is that he needs to use more of the arts of persuasion and more of the arts of politics to get his program through [Congress].*

Rosenblatt said that while historically the Democratic Party was able to create issues very well, it has been a long time since it did so. He credited Eisenhower with making the last two big issues—that of the balanced budget and inflation. And he did so by carrying his cause to the people; as a result, his "message" got through to Congress.

Kennedy's refusal to use his popular leadership to put national pressures on Congress rankles with the reformist element in his party. But in true pragmatist fashion, Kennedy says he is convinced he can fare better working with Congress than by fighting it. This wheeling and dealing with the legislators is one of Kennedy's most intricate techniques. His wheel horse in this operation is his legislative lieutenant, Lawrence O'Brien; but the Chief Executive is always battle-available, making personal phone calls to Capitol Hill as he practices the soft art of persuasion.

The dealing is occasionally of precinct-politics character: a suggestion that defense contracts may be at stake, or that patronage may be frozen; or a reminder that the President is most likely to find time to campaign in behalf of a Senator or Representative who votes "right."

Not all of the pressures come from the White House; they can come from the Administration's leaders in Congress. But with the President and the White House staff in the thick of the operations, one assumes that the pressures originate with the Chief Executive.

This manipulating method of dealing with Congress is the basis for the suspicion that the President moves in similar devious ways in all other affairs of state. The reasoning is unfortunate. Dealing with a recalcitrant Congress, particularly one dominated by one's own party, presents a problem wholly different from that posed by world and domestic issues not subject to the legislative mill.

When a critical decision must be reached at his own official family level, the President's technique is something else again, although the technique may vary from issue to issue. On cold-war problems, he is an inveterate brain-picker, using those whose grasp of the situation, and willingness to propose and defend effectively the solution they favor, he has learned to respect. It would be almost axiomatic, therefore, should a crisis of the order of Cuba develop again, that he would move toward his own decision by listening to men like Dean Acheson, Secretary McNamara, Secretary Dillon, Chief of Staff General Maxwell Taylor, his brother Robert and, of course, his own national security adviser, McGeorge Bundy. Secretary of State Dean Rusk's absence from this list should be noted. What Rusk thinks, he would keep to himself, as he wants to be in a position to carry out loyally whatever decision Kennedy makes.

Sometimes, of course, a major issue involves the jurisdiction of both the Executive Branch and of Congress. This, in the past, has called for a different managerial technique. Kennedy has shown himself at his most skillful in this type of operation. In the last Congress, Kennedy succeeded in bringing about passage of the important tariff-reduction act aimed at fitting the United States into the trade pattern of the developing European Community. Name Republicans like former Secretary of State Christian Herter were called in as high-level lobbyists. Key public-relations men from private industry were "loaned" to the White House to make the build-up effective.

The same sort of elaborate selling job will be done on the new Congress to get the tax-cut program through, with Republican talent carefully brought into the act along with respected business leaders.

Where the White House technique has fumbled—and is likely to do so again—will be generally in ac-

"We'll rock around the clock!"

tions taken on the domestic scene in which the President and the Attorney General find themselves involved together. This has been particularly true in the Administration's attempt to "manage" the news. It is natural, of course, for the Administration to be open and aboveboard with the communications media when it has nothing to hide, i.e., when the White House considers that it has handled a problem adroitly and successfully. But when there has been a failure, the trap door on "authoritative" information is slammed shut, as after the Cuban invasion fiasco of April, 1961. Or, as in the University of Mississippi story, the media are used to cover mistakes.

In Mississippi, there had been pre-crisis negotiations by telephone with Governor Ross Barnett of a nature suggesting that Attorney General Kennedy actually thought that he could persuade the arch-segregationist to fall in line—and stay there. There was also the highly questionable final decision to send federal marshals into Oxford first, not troops.

Except in the South, the whole nasty episode receded in public interest with the Cuban crisis of late October. But last month it was revived in an "authoritative" *Look* magazine article that carried the imprint of helping Administration hands. Why? News management again: to convince the public that the Barnett-Bobby Kennedy phone talks made sense—which they never did and never will.

The Administration's management of the news *after* the Cuban crisis was more disturbing to many people than the controls exercised during the crisis itself. This involved "authoritative" revelations of what supposedly went on in the secret sessions of the National Security Council. And more recently there has been the questionable news management of the Cuban prisoner-ransom deal. Once the prisoners had been returned and American reaction was highly favorable, it suddenly developed that the deal had been masterminded by Robert F. Kennedy, not lawyer James B. Donovan, though that certainly had not been the impression given the public earlier.

Undeniably, the President's overall handling of his office has been unusually controversial. On the other hand, few Presidents in our history have been subjected to so close a day-in, day-out scrutiny. This was in part because of Kennedy's comparative youth and the great national interest in how he would sail the ship of state. But there was something more. Kennedy followed Eisenhower and whipped Nixon to gain office. The man he succeeded in the White House had occupied the Presidency for eight years. Eisenhower was a most undevious character; his every move was easily comprehended, almost predictable. Those who know him say that he had neither the capacity nor the inclination for intrigue. Then, in 1960, Kennedy campaigned against Nixon, who had already established a reputation for deviousness—"Tricky Dick," many people called him. By comparison Kennedy, despite his admitted mental ability, seemed simple and disarming—ironically, more in the mold of Eisenhower than was Nixon.

So, once elected, Kennedy's frequent use of intricate, usually skillful but occasionally devious, techniques came as a surprise to his supporters and was disconcerting to many of them. James MacGregor Burns, in his new book, *The Deadlock of Democracy*, cautiously implies a little disillusionment on his own part. Referring to the trouble met by the Administration's proposals in the 1962 Congress, he said the difficulties "aroused complaints by some liberals that the Administration lacked a central purpose of vision or grand design, that it had bent before every gust of public opinion instead of coming to grips with its enemies, that the Augustan age of poetry and power forecast by Robert Frost had become a managerial age of empty rhetoric and manipulation." Burns somewhat softly gives it as his opinion that these critics underestimate the "centrifugal forces operating on the President and the sheer intractability of the operational problems." But he still thinks there is something to their point of view.

An estimate of the Kennedy operation in the future based on the past still must be highly tenuous. About all that can be guaranteed is that life in these United States, as long as Kennedy is in the White House, is likely to be exciting—and somewhat insecure.

Does the 'Profit Squeeze' Hurt? . . . Peter L. Bernstein

Even though 1962 set an all-time record for corporate profits—about $26 billion after taxes—businessmen were clearly dissatisfied with the results. Complaints about the hard sell, price competition and rising costs were just as frequent and audible as in years when earnings were lower. A typical comment came from one chemical company executive who summed it all up by saying, "Sure, they're new highs, but they're not the kind of highs to reflect the full effort thrown into them."

Complaints about the profit squeeze have been coming along in such profusion and regularity as to give the appearance of a chronic ailment of American business. If so, this is serious. But how valid is the evidence of deteriorating corporate earning power? Even more important, to what extent is the lagging trend in profits causing a similarly sluggish performance by the economy in general and business capital investment in particular?

An impressive array of statistics can be gathered to show that the profit squeeze is a matter of genuine concern. For example, although Gross National Product — that is, the nation's total output of goods and services — has increased by 120 per cent since the early postwar years of 1947-49, corporate profits before taxes are up only 67 per cent. This lag has become increasingly noticeable in recent years: profits have risen only 11

Peter L. Bernstein, an investment counselor, lectures on economics at the New School for Social Research, New York City. He is the author of The Price of Prosperity (*Doubleday*).

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CONGRESSIONAL ROSTER

88th Congress
First Session

February 12, 1963

Senate: 67 Democrats; 33 Republicans
House: 259 Democrats; 176 Republicans

D—Democrat R—Republican AL—At Large
Numbers indicate Congressional districts.

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AL Rep. Albert Rains	D	Gadsden
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AL Rep. Carl Elliott	D	Jasper
AL Rep. Robert E. Jones, Jr.	D	Scottsboro
AL Rep. George Huddleston, Jr.	D	Birmingham

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Sen. Ernest Gruening	D	Juneau
AL Rep. Ralph J. Rivers	D	Fairbanks

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3. Rep. James W. Trimble	D	Berryville
4. Rep. Oren Harris	D	El Dorado

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6. Rep. William S. Mailliard	R	San Francisco
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8. Rep. George P. Miller	D	Alameda
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36. Rep. Bob Wilson	R	San Diego
37. Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin	D	San Diego
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4. Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall	D	Palisade

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4. Rep. Abner W. Sibal	R	Norwalk
5. Rep. John S. Monagan	D	Waterbury
AL Rep. Bernard F. Grabowski	D	Bristol

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Sen. Daniel K. Inouye	D	Honolulu
AL Rep. Thomas P. Gill	D	Honolulu
AL Rep. Spark M. Matsunaga	D	[illegible]

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23. Rep. George E. Shipley	D	Olney
24. Rep. Melvin Price	D	East St. Louis

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5. Rep. J. Edward Roush	D	Huntington
6. Rep. Richard L. Roudebush	R	Noblesville
7. Rep. William G. Bray	R	Martinsville
8. Rep. Winfield K. Denton	D	Evansville
9. Rep. Earl Wilson	R	Bedford
10. Rep. Ralph Harvey	R	New Castle
11. Rep. Donald C. Bruce	R	Indianapolis

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4. Rep. John Kyl	R	Bloomfield
5. Rep. Neal Smith	D	Altoona
6. Rep. Charles B. Hoeven	R	Alton
7. Rep. Ben F. Jensen	R	Exira

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4. Rep. Garner E. Shriver	R	Wichita
5. Rep. Joe Skubitz	R	Pittsburg

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Sen. Alan Bible	D	Reno
Sen. Howard W. Cannon	D	Las Vegas
AL Rep. Walter S. Baring	D	Reno

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Sen. Norris Cotton	R	Lebanon
Sen. Thomas J. McIntyre	D	Laconia
1. Rep. Louis C. Wyman	R	Manchester
2. Rep. James C. Cleveland	R	New London

NEW JERSEY

Sen. Clifford P. Case	R	Rahway
Sen. Harrison A. Williams, Jr.	D	Westfield
1. Rep. William T. Cahill	R	Collingswood
2. Rep. Milton W. Glenn	R	Margate
3. Rep. James C. Auchincloss	R	Rumson
4. Rep. Frank Thompson, Jr.	D	Trenton
5. Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr.	R	Morristown
6. Rep. Florence P. Dwyer	R	Elizabeth
7. Rep. William B. Widnall	R	Saddle River
8. Rep. Charles S. Joelson	D	Paterson
9. Rep. Frank C. Osmers, Jr.	R	Tenafly
10. Rep. Peter W. Rodino, Jr.	D	Newark
11. Rep. Joseph G. Minish	D	West Orange
12. Rep. George M. Wallhauser	R	Maplewood
13. Rep. Cornelius E. Gallagher	D	Bayonne
14. Rep. Dominick V. Daniels	D	Jersey City
15. Rep. Edward J. Patten	D	Perth Amboy

NEW MEXICO

Sen. Clinton P. Anderson	D	Albuquerque
Sen. Edwin L. Mechem	R	Las Cruces
AL Rep. Joseph M. Montoya	D	Santa Fe
AL Rep. Thomas G. Morris	D	Tucumcari

NEW YORK

Sen. Jacob K. Javits	R	New York City
Sen. Kenneth B. Keating	R	Rochester
1. Rep. Otis G. Pike	D	Riverhead
2. Rep. James R. Grover, Jr.	R	Babylon
3. Rep. Steven B. Derounian	R	Roslyn
4. Rep. John W. Wydler	R	Garden City
5. Rep. Frank J. Becker	R	Lynbrook
6. Rep. Seymour Halpern	R	Forest Hills
7. Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo	D	Ozone Park
8. Rep. Benjamin S. Rosenthal	D	Elmhurst
9. Rep. James J. Delaney	D	Long Island City
10. Rep. Emanuel Celler	D	Brooklyn
11. Rep. Eugene J. Keogh	D	Brooklyn
12. Rep. Edna F. Kelly	D	Brooklyn
13. Rep. Abraham J. Multer	D	Brooklyn
14. Rep. John J. Rooney	D	Brooklyn
15. Rep. Hugh L. Carey	D	Brooklyn
16. Rep. John M. Murphy	D	Staten Island
17. Rep. John V. Lindsay	R	New York City
18. Rep. Adam C. Powell	D	New York City
19. Rep. Leonard Farbstein	D	New York City
20. Rep. William Fitts Ryan	D	New York City
21. Rep. James C. Healey	D	New York City
22. Rep. Jacob H. Gilbert	D	New York City
23. Rep. Charles A. Buckley	D	New York City
24. Rep. Paul A. Fino	R	New York City
25. Rep. Robert R. Barry	R	Yonkers
26. Rep. Ogden R. Reid	R	Purchase
27. Rep. Katharine St. George	R	Tuxedo Park
28. Rep. J. Ernest Wharton	R	Richmondville
29. Rep. Leo W. O'Brien	D	Albany
30. Rep. Carleton J. King	R	Saratoga Springs
31. Rep. Clarence E. Kilburn	R	Malone
32. Rep. Alexander Pirnie	R	New Hartford
33. Rep. Howard W. Robinson	R	Owego
34. Rep. R. Walter Riehlman	R	Tully
35. Rep. Samuel S. Stratton	D	Schenectady
36. Rep. Frank J. Horton	R	Rochester
37. Rep. Harold C. Ostertag	R	Attica
38. Rep. Charles E. Goodell	R	Jamestown
39. Rep. John R. Pillion	R	Lakeview
40. Rep. William E. Miller	R	Olcott
41. Rep. Thaddeus J. Dulski	D	Buffalo

NORTH CAROLINA

Sen. Sam J. Ervin, Jr.	D	Morganton
Sen. B. Everett Jordan	D	Saxapahaw
1. Rep. Herbert C. Bonner	D	Washington
2. Rep. L. H. Fountain	D	Tarboro
3. Rep. David N. Henderson	D	Wallace
4. Rep. Harold D. Cooley	D	Nashville
5. Rep. Ralph J. Scott	D	Danbury
6. Rep. Horace R. Kornegay	D	Greensboro
7. Rep. Alton Lennon	D	Wilmington
8. Rep. Charles Raper Jonas	R	Lincolnton
9. Rep. James T. Broyhill	R	Lenoir
10. Rep. Basil L. Whitner	D	Gastonia
11. Rep. Roy A. Taylor	D	Black Mountain

NORTH DAKOTA

Sen. Milton R. Young	R	Berlin
Sen. Quentin Burdick	D	Fargo
1. Rep. Hjalmar C. Nygaard	R	Enderlin
2. Rep. Don L. Short	R	Medora

OHIO

Sen. Frank J. Lausche	D	Cleveland
Sen. Stephen M. Young	D	Cleveland
1. Rep. Carl W. Rich	R	Cincinnati
2. Rep. Donald D. Clancy	R	Cincinnati
3. Rep. Paul F. Schenck	R	Dayton
4. Rep. William M. McCulloch	R	Piqua
5. Rep. Delbert L. Latta	R	Bowling Green
6. Rep. William H. Harsha, Jr.	R	Portsmouth
7. Rep. Clarence J. Brown	R	Blanchester
8. Rep. Jackson E. Betts	R	Findlay
9. Rep. Thomas L. Ashley	D	Waterville
10. Rep. Homer E. Abele	R	McArthur
11. Rep. Oliver P. Bolton	R	Mentor
12. Rep. Samuel L. Devine	R	Columbus
13. Rep. Charles A. Mosher	R	Oberlin
14. Rep. William H. Ayres	R	Akron
15. Rep. Robert T. Secrest	D	Senecaville
16. Rep. Frank T. Bow	R	Canton
17. Rep. John M. Ashbrook	R	Johnstown
18. Rep. Wayne L. Hays	D	Flushing
19. Rep. Michael J. Kirwan	D	Youngstown
20. Rep. Michael A. Feighan	D	Cleveland
21. Rep. Charles A. Vanik	D	Cleveland
22. Rep. Frances P. Bolton	R	Lyndhurst
23. Rep. William E. Minshall	R	Cleveland
AL Rep. Robert Taft, Jr.	R	Indian Hill

OKLAHOMA

Sen. A. S. "Mike" Monroney	D	Oklahoma City
Sen. J. Howard Edmondson	D	Oklahoma City
1. Rep. Page Belcher	R	Enid
2. Rep. Ed Edmondson	D	Muskogee
3. Rep. Carl Albert	D	McAlester
4. Rep. Tom Steed	D	Shawnee
5. Rep. John Jarman	D	Oklahoma City
6. Rep. Victor Wickersham	D	Mangum

OREGON

Sen. Wayne Lyman Morse	D	Eugene
Sen. Maurine B. Neuberger	D	Portland
1. Rep. Walter Norblad	R	Stayton
2. Rep. Al Ullman	D	Baker
3. Rep. Edith Green	D	Portland
4. Rep. Robert B. Duncan	D	Medford

PENNSYLVANIA

Sen. Joseph S. Clark, Jr.	D	Philadelphia
Sen. Hugh Scott	R	Philadelphia
1. Rep. William A. Barrett	D	Philadelphia
2. Rep. Robert N. C. Nix	D	Philadelphia
3. Rep. James A. Byrne	D	Philadelphia
4. Rep. Herman Toll	D	Philadelphia
5. Rep. William J. Green, Jr.	D	Philadelphia
6. Rep. George M. Rhodes	D	Reading
7. Rep. William H. Milliken	R	Sharon Hill

8.	Rep. Willard S. Curtin	R	Morrisville
9.	Rep. Paul B. Dague	R	Downingtown
10.	Rep. Joseph M. McDade	R	Scranton
11.	Rep. Daniel J. Flood	D	Wilkes-Barre
12.	Rep. J. Irving Whalley	R	Windber
13.	Rep. Richard S. Schweiker	R	Lansdale
14.	Rep. William S. Moorhead	D	Pittsburgh
15.	Rep. Francis E. Walter	D	Easton
16.	Rep. John C. Kunkel	R	Harrisburg
17.	Rep. Herman T. Schneebeli	R	Williamsport
18.	Rep. Robert J. Corbett	R	Pittsburgh
19.	Rep. George A. Goodling	R	Loganville
20.	Rep. Elmer J. Holland	D	Pittsburgh
21.	Rep. John H. Dent	D	Jeannette
22.	Rep. John P. Saylor	R	Johnstown
23.	Rep. Leon H. Gavin	R	Oil City
24.	Rep. James D. Weaver	R	Erie
25.	Rep. Frank M. Clark	D	Bessemer
26.	Rep. Thomas E. Morgan	D	Fredericktown
27.	Rep. James G. Fulton	R	Pittsburgh

RHODE ISLAND

Sen.	John O. Pastore	D	Providence
Sen.	Claiborne Pell	D	Newport
1.	Rep. Fernand J. St. Germain	D	Woonsocket
2.	Rep. John E. Fogarty	D	Harmony

SOUTH CAROLINA

Sen.	Olin D. Johnston	D	Spartanburg
Sen.	Strom Thurmond	D	Aiken
1.	Rep. L. Mendel Rivers	D	Charleston
2.	Rep. Albert W. Watson	D	Columbia
3.	Rep. W. J. Bryan Dorn	D	Greenwood
4.	Rep. Robert T. Ashmore	D	Greenville
5.	Rep. Robert W. Hemphill	D	Chester
6.	Rep. John L. McMillan	D	Florence

SOUTH DAKOTA

Sen.	Karl E. Mundt	R	Madison
Sen.	George S. McGovern	D	Mitchell
1.	Rep. Ben Reifel	R	Aberdeen
2.	Rep. E. Y. Berry	R	McLaughlin

TENNESSEE

Sen.	Estes Kefauver	D	Chattanooga
Sen.	Albert Gore	D	Carthage
1.	Rep. James H. (Jimmy) Quillen	R	Kingsport
2.	Rep. Howard H. Baker	R	Huntsville
3.	Rep. W. E. (Bill) Brock	R	Chattanooga
4.	Rep. Joe L. Evins	D	Smithville
5.	Rep. Richard Fulton	D	Nashville
6.	Rep. Ross Bass	D	Pulaski
7.	Rep. Tom Murray	D	Jackson
8.	Rep. Robert A. Everett	D	Union City
9.	Rep. Clifford Davis	D	Memphis

TEXAS

Sen.	Ralph W. Yarborough	D	Austin
Sen.	John G. Tower	R	Wichita Falls
1.	Rep. Wright Patman	D	Texarkana
2.	Rep. Jack Brooks	D	Beaumont
3.	Rep. Lindley Beckworth	D	Gladewater
4.	Rep. Ray Roberts	D	McKinney
5.	Rep. Bruce Alger	R	Dallas
6.	Rep. Olin E. Teague	D	College Station
7.	Rep. John Dowdy	D	Athens
8.	Rep. Albert Thomas	D	Houston
9.	Rep. Clark W. Thompson	D	Galveston
10.	Rep. Homer Thornberry	D	Austin
11.	Rep. W. R. Poage	D	Waco
12.	Rep. Jim Wright	D	Weatherford
13.	Rep. Graham B. Purcell, Jr.	D	Wichita Falls
14.	Rep. John Young	D	Corpus Christi
15.	Rep. Joe M. Kilgore	D	McAllen
16.	Rep. Ed Foreman	R	Odessa
17.	Rep. Omar Burleson	D	Anson
18.	Rep. Walter Rogers	D	Pampa
19.	Rep. George Mahon	D	Lubbock
20.	Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez	D	San Antonio
21.	Rep. O. C. Fisher	D	San Angelo
22.	Rep. Bob Casey	D	Houston
AL	Rep. Joe R. Pool	D	Dallas

UTAH

Sen.	Wallace F. Bennett	R	Salt Lake City
Sen.	Frank E. Moss	D	Salt Lake City
1.	Rep. Laurence J. Burton	R	Ogden
2.	Rep. Sherman P. Lloyd	R	Salt Lake City

VERMONT

Sen.	George D. Aiken	R	Putney
Sen.	Winston L. Prouty	R	Newport
AL	Rep. Robert T. Stafford	R	Rutland City

VIRGINIA

Sen.	Harry Flood Byrd	D	Berryville
Sen.	A. Willis Robertson	D	Lexington
1.	Rep. Thomas N. Downing	D	Newport News
2.	Rep. Porter Hardy, Jr.	D	Churchland
3.	Rep. J. Vaughan Gary	D	Richmond
4.	Rep. Watkins M. Abbitt	D	Appomattox
5.	Rep. William M. Tuck	D	South Boston
6.	Rep. Richard H. Poff	R	Radford
7.	Rep. John O. Marsh, Jr.	D	Strasburg
8.	Rep. Howard W. Smith	D	Broad Run
9.	Rep. W. Pat Jennings	D	Marion
10.	Rep. Joel T. Broyhill	R	Arlington

WASHINGTON

Sen.	Warren G. Magnuson	D	Seattle
Sen.	Henry M. Jackson	D	Everett
1.	Rep. Thomas M. Pelly	R	Seattle
2.	Rep. Jack Westland	R	Everett
3.	Rep. Julia Butler Hansen	D	Cathlamet
4.	Rep. Catherine May	R	Yakima
5.	Rep. Walt Horan	R	Wenatchee
6.	Rep. Thor C. Tollefson	R	Tacoma
7.	Rep. K. W. (Bill) Stinson	R	Bellevue

WEST VIRGINIA

Sen.	Jennings Randolph	D	Elkins
Sen.	Robert C. Byrd	D	Sophia
1.	Rep. Arch A. Moore, Jr.	R	Glen Dale
2.	Rep. Harley O. Staggers	D	Keyser
3.	Rep. John M. Slack, Jr.	D	Charleston
4.	Rep. Ken Hechler	D	Huntington
5.	Rep. Elizabeth Kee	D	Bluefield

WISCONSIN

Sen.	William Proxmire	D	Madison
Sen.	Gaylord Nelson	D	Madison
1.	Rep. Henry C. Schadeberg	R	Burlington
2.	Rep. Robert W. Kastenmeier	D	Watertown
3.	Rep. Vernon W. Thomson	R	Richland Center
4.	Rep. Clement J. Zablocki	D	Milwaukee
5.	Rep. Henry S. Reuss	D	Milwaukee
6.	Rep. William K. Van Pelt	R	Fond du Lac
7.	Rep. Melvin R. Laird	R	Marshfield
8.	Rep. John W. Byrnes	R	Green Bay
9.	Rep. Lester R. Johnson	D	Black River Falls
10.	Rep. Alvin E. O'Konski	R	Mercer

WYOMING

Sen.	Gale W. McGee	D	Laramie
Sen.	Milward L. Simpson	R	Cody
AL	Rep. William Henry Harrison	R	Sheridan

PUERTO RICO

Resident Commissioner— Antonio Fernós-Isern		D	Santurce

House:

The Honorable John Q._____
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Senate:

The Honorable John Q._____
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

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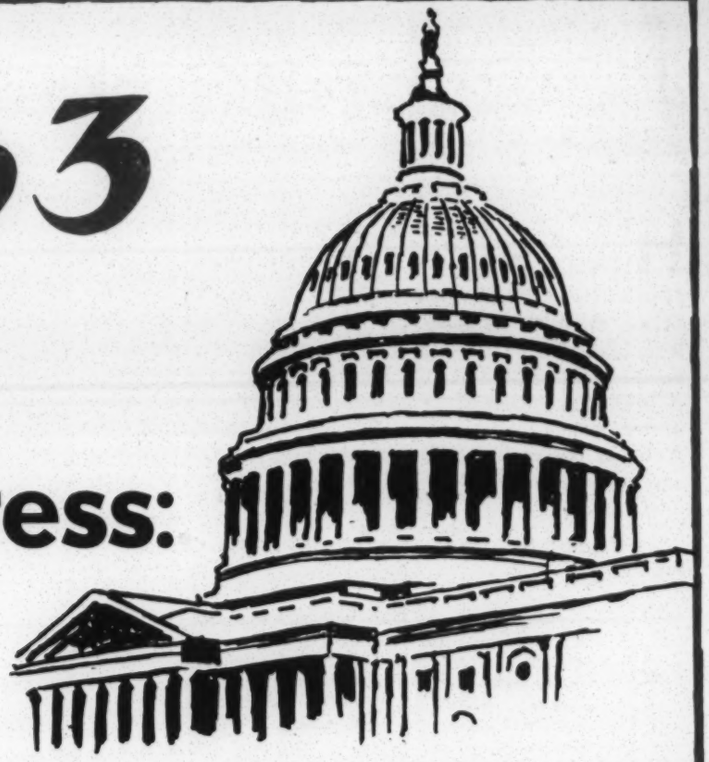


DIRECTORY FOR UNION MEMBERS

Committees of Congress: The REAL Control

Mother, father, son and daughter walk gingerly up the wide marble staircase to the visitors' gallery overlooking the U.S. Senate. They are typical vacation visitors to Washington, D.C., come to see how their government operates.

In the gallery, they settle into theater-type seats, eager to hear the lawmakers at work. Below, the Senate floor is almost empty. One Senator is droning through a speech. Five others are sitting at their desks. Two are whispering together. One is reading the afternoon newspaper. The two others are reading mail. The presiding officer could be asleep he is so still.

"Come on, let's go!" Junior stage-whispers. Out they troop, disappointed and bewildered by what they have seen. It could happen to any of us. It has happened to many union families on their first visit under the great dome. That first i

cause Congressmen and Senators have to specialize. Usually, when a majority on any committee makes a judgment the rest of the Senate or the House go along with few, if any, changes.

Altogether, the Senate and House have 50 standing, special and joint committees.

Last year, the 36 standing committees reported out 2,452 bills after study and consideration. It is possible for a bill to be voted on by Congress without advance approval by the appropriate committee, but it is a rare occurrence.

Because committees do all the preparation of bills, committee chairmen are key members of Congress. They have wide powers. They decide when the committee will meet; the order in which bills will be considered; when hearings are held; who will be permitted to testify, for how long

that these 11 states with 13 per cent of the country's voters control nearly half the committee chairmanships.

Members of Congress are assigned to committees through the seniority system, also. The oldest members get choice committee assignments. As a result, the most important committees are overloaded with members from one-party states—Democrats from the South and Republicans from rural and small town areas in the North and Midwest.

Committee assignments in the Senate are controlled by the party Steering Committees. Like other important committees, that one is dominated by Senators from one-party states, mostly chairmen of the key committees.

Recently U.S. Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania spoke out against the system

is reading the afternoon newspaper. The two others are reading mail. The presiding officer could be asleep he is so still.

"Come on, let's go!" Junior stage-whispers. Out they troop, disappointed and bewildered by what they have seen. It could happen to any of us. It has happened to many union families on their first visit under the great dome. That first impression is misleading and inaccurate.

George Nelson, the IAM's legislative representative, compares the sight you see from the Senate gallery on most days with the sight of a submarine, cruising below surface with only its conning tower out of water.

Like that submerged submarine, there is a lot more to Congress than you can see from above. Of course, when a full-dress debate is scheduled, the floor is packed. Always, the major work of Congress is done by committees. It has to be that way because of the vast number of bills that Congress is asked to consider every session. It has to be that way be- approved by the appropriate committee, but it is a rare occurrence.

Because committees do all the preparation of bills, committee chairmen are key members of Congress. They have wide powers. They decide when the committee will meet; the order in which bills will be considered; when hearings are held; who will be permitted to testify, for how long and in what order. They control the committee's staff.

Congressmen and Senators become chairmen of committees through a strict seniority system. Usually they are the oldest members of Congress in years as well as length of service. Twelve of the 36 chairmen of standing committees are over 70 years old. They come from so-called "safe" districts or one-party states.

Democrats now have a majority in both House and Senate. As a result, all committee chairmen are Democrats. Most of the so-called safe Democratic seats are in the South. Thus today 17 of the 36 chairmen of standing committees in Congress come from Southern States. That means

Committee assignments in the Senate are controlled by the party Steering Committees. Like other important committees, that one is dominated by Senators from one-party states, mostly chairmen of the key committees.

Recently U.S. Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania spoke out against the system and asked for an easing of the seniority rule to permit all sections of the country to be represented on key committees. Said Clark on the Senate floor:

"The Senate establishment, as I see it... is almost the antithesis of democracy. It is not selected by any democratic process. It appears to be quite unresponsive to the caucus of the two parties, be they Republican or Democratic."

To give union members a clearer picture of the committee system in Congress, THE MACHINIST is publishing this Special Section. The three following pages carry the rosters of all standing and special committees of the Senate and House. Keep this section for future reference.

Typical scene at a Congressional committee hearing. Great part of the work of Congress is done in House and Senate committee sessions.

Committees of the U.S. Senate

HERE are the 18 standing and special committees of the U.S. Senate. Members' names appear in order of committee seniority with Democrats, the majority party, on the left in ordinary type and Republicans on the right in italic. Committee chairmen are all Democrats, since the Democrats have the majority. A brief description of its jurisdiction precedes each committee roster. The Senate Special Committee on the Aging is not included. Its membership has not yet been announced.

Aeronautical and Space Sciences

Aeronautical and space activities and matters relating to the scientific aspects of these activities, except those peculiar to or primarily associated with the development of weapons systems or military operations; National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Democrats, 10—Republicans, 5

Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.), Chairman

Richard B. Russell (Ga.)	*Margaret Chase Smith (Maine)*
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	*Clifford P. Case (N.J.)*
Stuart Symington (Mo.)	*Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa)*
John Stennis (Miss.)	*Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)*
Stephen M. Young (Ohio)	*Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.)*
Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)	
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)	
Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)	
J. Howard Edmondson (Okla.)	

Agriculture and Forestry

Agriculture in general, including farm credit and security, crop insurance, soil conservation and rural electrification; forestry in general.

Democrats, 11—Republicans, 6

Allen J. Ellender (La.), Chairman

Armed Services

Military affairs, Panama Canal and Canal Zone, conservation of petroleum resources, strategic and critical materials; aeronautical and space activities peculiar to or primarily associated with development of weapons systems or military operations.

Democrats, 12—Republicans, 5

Richard B. Russell (Ga.), Chairman

Harry Flood Byrd (Va.)	*Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.)*
John Stennis (Miss.)	*Margaret Chase Smith (Maine)*
Stuart Symington (Mo.)	*J. Glenn Beall (Md.)*
Henry M. Jackson (Wash.)	*Barry Goldwater (Ariz.)*
Sam J. Ervin Jr. (N.C.)	*Clifford P. Case (N.J.)*
Strom Thurmond (S.C.)	
Clair Engle (Calif.)	
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)	
Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.)	
Stephen M. Young (Ohio)	
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)	

Robertson

Banking and Currency

Banking and currency generally; financial matters other than taxes and appropriations, public and private housing and economic controls.

Democrats, 10—Republicans, 5

A. Willis Robertson (Va.), Chairman

John J. Sparkman (Ala.)	*Wallace F. Bennett (Utah)*
Paul H. Douglas (Ill.)	*Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)*
Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)	*James B. Pearson (Kan.)*
William Proxmire (Wis.)	*Peter H. Dominick (Colo.)*
Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)	*Milward L. Simpson (Wyo.)*
Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)	
Edward V. Long (Mo.)	
Maurine B. Neuberger (Ore.)	
Thomas J. McIntyre (N.H.)	

Commerce

Regulation of interstate transportation, communications, inland waterways, Coast Guard, merchant marine, civil aeronautics

Foreign Relations

Relations of United States with foreign nations generally; treaties, Red Cross, diplomatic service, United Nations, foreign loans.

Democrats, 12—Republicans 5

J. W. Fulbright (Ark.), Chairman

John J. Sparkman (Ala.)	*Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa)*
Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.)	*George D. Aiken (Vt.)*
Mike Mansfield (Mont.)	*Frank Carlson (Kan.)*
Wayne Morse (Ore.)	*John J. Williams (Del.)*
Russell B. Long (La.)	*Karl E. Mundt (S.D.)*
Albert Gore (Tenn.)	
Frank J. Lausche (Ohio)	
Frank Church (Idaho)	
Stuart Symington (Mo.)	
Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)	
George A. Smathers (Fla.)	

Government Operations

Budgeting and accounting measures; reorganization of the Executive Branch; general governmental and administrative problems; intergovernmental relationships between the Federal Government and the states and municipalities, and between the United States and international organizations of which the United States is a member.

Democrats, 10—Republicans 5

John L. McClellan (Ark.), Chairman

Henry M. Jackson (Wash.)	*Karl E. Mundt (S.D.)*
Sam J. Ervin Jr. (N.C.)	*Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)*
Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.)	*Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)*
Ernest Gruening (Alaska)	*Jack Miller (Iowa)*
Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)	*John G. Tower (Texas)*
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)	
Thomas J. McIntyre (N.H.)	
Abraham A. Ribicoff (Conn.)	
Daniel B. Brewster (Md.)	

Interior and Insular Affairs

Public lands, natural resources, territorial possessions of the U.S., Indian affairs.

Democrats, 11—Republicans, 6

Henry M. Jackson (Wash.), Chairman

Agriculture and Forestry

Agriculture in general, including farm credit and security, crop insurance, soil conservation and rural electrification; forestry in general.

Democrats, 11—Republicans, 6

Allen J. Ellender (La.), Chairman

Olin D. Johnston (S.C.)	*George D. Aiken (Vt.)*
Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)	*Milton R. Young (N.D.)*
James O. Eastland (Miss.)	*Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa)*
Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)	*John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)*
William Proxmire (Wis.)	*J. Caleb Boggs (Del.)*
B. Everett Jordan (N.C.)	*Edwin L. Mechem (N.M.)*
Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.)	
Maurine B. Neuberger (Ore.)	
George McGovern (S.D.)	
J. Howard Edmondson (Okla.)	

Hayden

Appropriations

Appropriation of Government revenues to provide funds for authorized programs.

Democrats, 18—Republicans, 9

Carl Hayden (Ariz.), Chairman

Richard B. Russell (Ga.)	*Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.)*
Allen J. Ellender (La.)	*Milton R. Young (N.D.)*
Lister Hill (Ala.)	*Karl E. Mundt (S.D.)*
John L. McClellan (Ark.)	*Margaret Chase Smith (Maine)*
A. Willis Robertson (Va.)	*Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.)*
Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.)	*Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)*
Spessard L. Holland (Fla.)	*Gordon Allot (Colo.)*
John Stennis (Miss.)	*Norris Cotton (N.H.)*
John O. Pastore (R.I.)	*Clifford P. Case (N.J.)*
Estes Kefauver (Tenn.)	
A. S. Mike Monroney (Okla.)	
Alan Bible (Nev.)	
Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.)	
Gale W. McGee (Wyo.)	
Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.)	
Mike Mansfield (Mont.)	
E. L. (Bob) Bartlett (Alaska)	

Eleven Joint Committees probe in various fields

Congress has eleven Joint Committees which are not included on this roster. These committees have members from both the House and the Senate. They conduct studies and make investigations but cannot report out specific bills. They include the Joint Committees on Atomic Energy, Defense Production, Economics, Internal Revenue Taxation, Reduction of Non-Essential Federal Expenditures, Printing, Library, the Disposition of Executive Papers, Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology, Immigration and Nationality Policy, and Navajo-Hopi Indians.

William Proxmire (Wis.)	*Peter H. Dominick (Colo.)*
Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)	*Milward L. Simpson (Wyo.)*
Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)	
Edward V. Long (Mo.)	
Maurine B. Neuberger (Ore.)	
Thomas J. McIntyre (N.H.)	

Commerce

Regulation of interstate transportation, communications, inland waterways, Coast Guard, merchant marine, civil aeronautics except activities of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; fisheries and wildlife, Weather Bureau, Coast and Geodetic Survey, Bureau of Standards.

Democrats, 12—Republicans, 5

Warren G. Magnuson (Wash.), Chairman

John O. Pastore (R.I.)	*Norris Cotton (N.H.)*
A. S. Mike Monroney (Okla.)	*Thruston B. Morton (Ky.)*
Strom Thurmond (S.C.)	*Hugh Scott (Pa.)*
Frank J. Lausche (Ohio)	*Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)*
Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas)	*J. Glenn Beall (Md.)*
Clair Engle (Calif.)	
E. L. (Bob) Bartlett (Alaska)	
Vance Hartke (Ind.)	
Gale W. McGee (Wyo.)	
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)	
Philip A. Hart (Mich.)	

District of Columbia

All measures relating to municipal affairs of the District of Columbia, except appropriations for its operation.

Democrats, 4— Republicans, 3

Alan Bible (Nev.), Chairman

Wayne Morse (Ore.)	*J. Glenn Beall (Md.)*
Vance Hartke (Ind.)	*Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)*
Thomas J. McIntyre (N.H.)	*Peter H. Dominick (Colo.)*

Byrd

Finance

Taxes, tariffs, import quotas, social security, veterans' compensation pensions and armed forces' life insurance.

Democrats, 11—Republicans, 6

Harry Flood Byrd (Va.), Chairman

Russell B. Long (La.)	*John J. Williams (Del.)*
George A. Smathers (Fla.)	*Frank Carlson (Kan.)*
Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.)	*Wallace F. Bennett (Utah)*
Paul H. Douglas (Ill.)	*Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)*
Albert Gore (Tenn.)	*Thruston B. Morton (Ky.)*
Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.)	*Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.)*
Eugene J. McCarthy (Minn.)	
Vance Hartke (Ind.)	
J. W. Fulbright (Ark.)	
Abraham A. Ribicoff (Conn.)	

Abraham A. Ribicoff (Conn.)	
Daniel B. Brewster (Md.)	

Interior and Insular Affairs

Public lands, natural resources, territorial possessions of the U.S., Indian affairs.

Democrats, 11—Republicans, 6

Henry M. Jackson (Wash.), Chairman

Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.)	*Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.)*
Alan Bible (Nev.)	*Gordon Allott (Colo.)*
Frank Church (Idaho)	*Len B. Jordan (Idaho)*
Ernest Gruening (Alaska)	*Peter H. Dominick (Colo.)*
Frank E. Moss (Utah)	*Edwin L. Mechem (N.M.)*
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)	*Milward L. Simpson (Wyo.)*
Lee Metcalf (Mont.)	
Carl Hayden (Ariz.)	
George McGovern (S.D.)	
Gaylord A. Nelson (Wis.)	

Judiciary

Federal courts and judges, civil rights, civil liberties, constitutional amendments, interstate compacts, immigration and naturalization, apportionment of Representatives, meetings of Congress and attendance of Members, claims against the U.S., Patent Office.

Democrats, 10—Republicans, 5

James O. Eastland (Miss.), Chairman

Estes Kefauver (Tenn.)	*Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.)*
Olin D. Johnston (S.C.)	*Roman L. Hruska (Neb.)*
John L. McClellan (Ark.)	*Kenneth B. Keating (N.Y.)*
Sam J. Ervin Jr. (N.C.)	*Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)*
Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)	*Hugh Scott (Pa.)*
Philip A. Hart (Mich.)	
Edward V. Long (Mo.)	
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	
Birch Bayh (Ind.)	

Hill

Labor and Public Welfare

Labor-management laws, minimum wage, child labor, schools, scholarships, welfare, veterans' affairs, medical care.

Democrats, 10—Republicans, 5

Lister Hill (Ala.), Chairman

Pat McNamara (Mich.)	*Barry Goldwater (Ariz.)*
Wayne Morse (Ore.)	*Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)*
Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas)	*Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)*
Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)	*John G. Tower (Texas)*
Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)	*Len B. Jordan (Idaho)*
Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)	
Quentin N. Burdick (N.D.)	
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)	
Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.)	

Post Office and Civil Service

Postal and federal civil services; census; National Archives.

Democrats, 6—Republicans, 3

Olin D. Johnston (S.C.), Chairman

A. S. Mike Monroney (Okla.)
Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas)
Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)
Gale W. McGee (Wyo.)
Daniel B. Brewster (Md.)

Frank Carlson (Kan.)
Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)
J. Caleb Boggs (Del.)

Public Works

Public buildings, roads; flood control, rivers and harbors, stream pollution, water power.

Democrats, 12—Republicans, 5

Pat McNamara (Mich.), Chairman

Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)
Stephen M. Young (Ohio)
Edmund S. Muskie (Maine)
Ernest Gruening (Alaska)
Frank E. Moss (Utah)
Lee Metcalf (Mont.)
B. Everett Jordan (N.C.)
Daniel B. Brewster (Md.)
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)
Birch Bayh (Ind.)
Gaylord A. Nelson (Wis.)

John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)
Hiram L. Fong (Hawaii)
J. Caleb Boggs (Del.)
Jack R. Miller (Iowa)
James B. Pearson (Kan.)

Rules and Administration

Senate administration generally; management of the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, etc.

Democrats, 6—Republicans, 3

B. Everett Jordan (N.C.), Chairman

Carl Hayden (Ariz.)
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)
Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)

Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)
John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)
Hugh Scott (Pa.)

The 21 committees of the House of Representatives

THESE are the standing and special committees of the U.S. House of Representatives. Members' names appear in order of committee seniority with Democrats, the majority party, on the left in ordinary type and Republicans on the right in italic. Committee chairmen are all Democrats since their party has the majority. A brief description of its jurisdiction precedes each committee roster.

Agriculture

Agriculture and forestry in general; farm credit and security, crop insurance, soil conservation and rural electrification.

Democrats, 21—Republicans, 14

Harold D. Cooley (N.C.), Chairman

W. R. Poage (Texas)
George M. Grant (Ala.)
E. C. Gathings (Ark.)
John L. McMillan (S.C.)
Thomas G. Abernethy (Miss.)
Watkins M. Abbitt (Va.)
Paul C. Jones (Mo.)
Harlan Hagen (Calif.)
Lester R. Johnson (Wis.)
D. R. (Billy) Matthews (Fla.)
Frank A. Stubblefield (Ky.)
Ralph R. Harding (Idaho)
G. Elliott Hagan (Ga.)
Graham Purcell (Texas)
James H. Morrison (La.)
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.)
Robert B. Duncan (Ore.)
Alec G. Olson (Minn.)
Robert L. Leggett (Calif.)
Spark M. Matsunaga (Hawaii)
A. Fernos-Isern (Puerto Rico)

Charles B. Hoeven (Iowa)
Paul B. Dague (Pa.)
Page Belcher (Okla.)
Clifford G. McIntire (Maine)
Charles M. Teague (Calif.)
Albert H. Quie (Minn.)
Don L. Short (N.D.)
Catherine May (Wash.)
Delbert L. Latta (Ohio)
Ralph Harvey (Ind.)
Paul Findley (Ill.)
Robert Dole (Kan.)
Ralph F. Beermann (Neb.)
Edward Hutchinson (Mich.)

Appropriations

Appropriation of Government revenues to provide funds for authorized programs.

Banking and Currency

Banking and currency generally; financial matters other than taxes and appropriations; public and private housing.

Democrats, 18—Republicans, 13

Wright Patman (Texas), Chairman

Albert Rains (Ala.)
Abraham J. Multer (N.Y.)
William A. Barrett (Pa.)
Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (Mo.)
Henry S. Reuss (Wis.)
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)
Charles A. Vanik (Ohio)
William S. Moorhead (Pa.)
Robert G. Stephens Jr. (Ga.)
Fernand J. St. Germain (R.I.)
Henry B. Gonzalez (Texas)
Claude Pepper (Fla.)
Joseph G. Minish (N.J.)
Charles L. Weltner (Ga.)
Richard T. Hanna (Calif.)
Bernard F. Grabowski (Conn.)
Charles H. Wilson (Calif.)

Clarence E. Kilburn (N.Y.)
William B. Widnall (N.J.)
Eugene Siler (Ky.)
Paul A. Fino (N.Y.)
Florence P. Dwyer (N.J.)
Seymour Halpern (N.Y.)
James Harvey (Mich.)
Oliver P. Bolton (Ohio)
William E. Brock III (Tenn.)
Robert A. Taft Jr. (Ohio)
Joseph M. McDade (Pa.)
Sherman P. Lloyd (Utah)
Burt L. Talcott (Calif.)

District of Columbia

All measures relating to municipal affairs of the District of Columbia except its appropriations.

Democrats, 15—Republicans, 10

John L. McMillan (S.C.), Chairman

Thomas G. Abernethy (Miss.)
Howard W. Smith (Va.)
William L. Dawson (Ill.)
John Bell Williams (Miss.)
Abraham J. Multer (N.Y.)
John Dowdy (Texas)
George Huddleston Jr. (Ala.)
Basil L. Whitener (N.C.)
Jeffery Cohelan (Calif.)
Fernand J. St. Germain (R.I.)
James W. Trimble (Ark.)
B. F. Sisk (Calif.)

Joel T. Broyhill (Va.)
James C. Auchincloss (N.J.)
William L. Springer (Ill.)
Ancher Nelsen (Minn.)
Alvin E. O'Konski (Wis.)
William H. Harsha Jr. (Ohio)
Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)
Fred Schwengel (Iowa)
Frank J. Horton (N.Y.)
Vacancy

agement of the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, etc.

Democrats, 6—Republicans, 3

B. Everett Jordan (N.C.), Chairman

Carl Hayden (Ariz.)	*Carl T. Curtis (Neb.)*
Howard W. Cannon (Nev.)	*John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)*
Claiborne Pell (R.I.)	*Hugh Scott (Pa.)*
Joseph S. Clark (Pa.)	
Robert C. Byrd (W. Va.)	

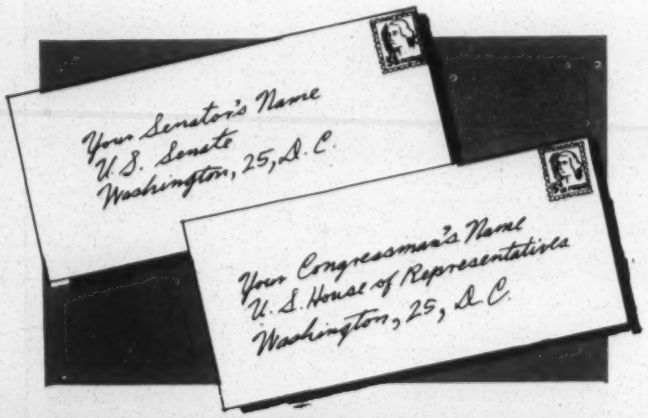
Select Small Business

Studies and investigates problems of small business and reports findings and makes recommendations to the Senate, but cannot report legislation.

Democrats, 11—Republicans, 6

John J. Sparkman (Ala.), Chairman

Russell B. Long (La.)	*Leverett Saltonstall (Mass.)*
Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.)	*Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.)*
George A. Smathers (Fla.)	*John Sherman Cooper (Ky.)*
Wayne Morse (Ore.)	*Hugh Scott (Pa.)*
Alan Bible (Nev.)	*Winston L. Prouty (Vt.)*
Jennings Randolph (W. Va.)	*Norris Cotton (N.H.)*
Clair Engle (Calif.)	
E. L. (Bob) Bartlett (Alaska)	
Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.)	
Frank E. Moss (Utah)	



WRITING TO CONGRESS

Here's how to address your letters to U.S. Senators and Representatives. George Nelson, IAM legislative representative, advises that it's best to keep letters short and temperate. Write legibly if you don't have access to a typewriter. Avoid form letters.

Cannon

Appropriations

Appropriation of Government revenues to provide funds for authorized programs.

Democrats, 30—Republicans 20

Clarence Cannon (Mo.), Chairman

George H. Mahon (Texas)	*Ben F. Jensen (Iowa)*
Harry R. Sheppard (Calif.)	*Walt Horan (Wash.)*
Albert Thomas (Texas)	*Gerald R. Ford (Mich.)*
Michael J. Kirwan (Ohio)	*Harold C. Ostertag (N.Y.)*
Jamie L. Whitten (Miss.)	*Frank T. Bow (Ohio)*
George W. Andrews (Ala.)	*Charles Raper Jonas (N.C.)*
John J. Rooney (N.Y.)	*Melvin R. Laird (Wis.)*
J. Vaughan Gary (Va.)	*Elford A. Cederberg (Mich.)*
John E. Fogarty (R.I.)	*Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.)*
Robert L. F. Sikes (Fla.)	*John J. Rhodes (Ariz.)*
Otto E. Passman (La.)	*John R. Pillion (N.Y.)*
Joe L. Evins (Tenn.)	*William E. Minshall (Ohio)*
John F. Shelley (Calif.)	*Robert H. Michel (Ill.)*
Edward P. Boland (Mass.)	*Silvio O. Conte (Mass.)*
William H. Natcher (Ky.)	*William H. Milliken Jr. (Pa.)*
Daniel J. Flood (Pa.)	*Earl Wilson (Ind.)*
Winfield K. Denton (Ind.)	*Odin Langen (Minn.)*
Tom Steed (Okla.)	*William Henry Harrison (Wyo.)*
Joseph M. Montoya (N.M.)	*Ben Reifel (S.D.)*
George E. Shipley (Ill.)	*Louis C. Wyman (N.H.)*
John M. Slack Jr. (W. Va.)	
John Lesinski (Mich.)	
John J. Flynt Jr. (Ga.)	
Neal Smith (Iowa)	
Robert N. Giaimo (Conn.)	
Julia Butler Hansen (Wash.)	
Edward R. Finnegan (Ill.)	
Charles S. Joelson (N.J.)	
Joseph P. Addabbo (N.Y.)	

Vinson

Armed Services

All matters relating to the national military establishment; conservation of petroleum resources; strategic and critical materials; scientific research and development in support of the armed services.

Democrats, 21—Republicans, 16

Carl Vinson (Ga.), Chairman

L. Mendel Rivers (S.C.)	*Leslie C. Arends (Ill.)*
Philip J. Philbin (Mass.)	*Leon H. Gavin (Pa.)*
F. Edward Hebert (La.)	*Walter Norblad (Ore.)*
Arthur Winstead (Miss.)	*William H. Bates (Mass.)*
Melvin Price (Ill.)	*Alvin E. O'Konski (Wis.)*
O. C. Fisher (Texas)	*William G. Bray (Ind.)*
Porter Hardy Jr. (Va.)	*Bob Wilson (Calif.)*
Clyde Doyle (Calif.)	*Frank C. Osmers Jr. (N.J.)*
Charles E. Bennett (Fla.)	*Charles S. Gubser (Calif.)*
Richard E. Lankford (Md.)	*Frank J. Becker (N.Y.)*
George Huddleston Jr. (Ala.)	*Charles E. Chamberlain (Mich.)*
James A. Byrne (Pa.)	*Alexander Pirnie (N.Y.)*
Samuel S. Stratton (N.Y.)	*Durward G. Hall (Mo.)*
Jeffery Cohelan (Calif.)	*Donald D. Clancy (Ohio)*
Victor Wickersham (Okla.)	*Robert T. Stafford (Vt.)*
Otis G. Pike (N.Y.)	*Ed Foreman (Texas)*
Joe M. Kilgore (Texas)	
Richard H. Ichord (Mo.)	
Lucien N. Nedzi (Mich.)	
Clarence D. Long (Md.)	
A. Fernos-Isern (Puerto Rico)	
Thomas G. Abernethy (Miss.)	*Joel T. Broyhill (Va.)*
Howard W. Smith (Va.)	*James C. Auchincloss (N.J.)*
William L. Dawson (Ill.)	*William L. Springer (Ill.)*
John Bell Williams (Miss.)	*Ancher Nelsen (Minn.)*
Abraham J. Multer (N.Y.)	*Alvin E. O'Konski (Wis.)*
John Dowdy (Texas)	*William H. Harsha Jr. (Ohio)*
George Huddleston Jr. (Ala.)	*Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)*
Basil L. Whitener (N.C.)	*Fred Schwengel (Iowa)*
Jeffery Cohelan (Calif.)	*Frank J. Horton (N.Y.)*
Fernand J. St. Germain (R.I.)	*Vacancy*
James W. Trimble (Ark.)	
B. F. Sisk (Calif.)	
Charles C. Diggs Jr. (Mich.)	
G. Elliott Hagan (Ga.)	

Powell

Education and Labor

Schools, scholarships, labor-management laws, minimum wage, and welfare matters.

Democrats, 19—Republicans, 12

Adam C. Powell (N.Y.), Chairman

Carl D. Perkins (Ky.)	*Peter Frelinghuysen Jr. (N.J.)*
Phil M. Landrum (Ga.)	*William H. Ayres (Ohio)*
Edith Green (Ore.)	*Robert P. Griffin (Mich.)*
James Roosevelt (Calif.)	*Albert H. Quie (Minn.)*
Frank Thompson Jr. (N.J.)	*Charles E. Goodell (N.Y.)*
Elmer J. Holland (Pa.)	*Donald C. Bruce (Ind.)*
John H. Dent (Pa.)	*John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)*
Roman C. Pucinski (Ill.)	*Dave Martin (Neb.)*
Dominick V. Daniels (N.J.)	*Alphonzo Bell (Calif.)*
John Brademas (Ind.)	*M. G. (Gene) Snyder (Ky.)*
James G. O'Hara (Mich.)	*Paul Findley (Ill.)*
Ralph J. Scott (N.C.)	*Robert A. Taft Jr. (Ohio)*
Hugh L. Carey (N.Y.)	
Augustus F. Hawkins (Calif.)	
Carlton R. Sickles (Md.)	
Sam M. Gibbons (Fla.)	
Thomas P. Gill (Hawaii)	
Vacancy	

Foreign Affairs

Relations of the United States with other nations and international organizations and movements.

Democrats, 20—Republicans, 13

Thomas E. Morgan (Pa.), Chairman

Clement J. Zablocki (Wis.)	*Frances P. Bolton (Ohio)*
Omar Burleson (Texas)	*E. Ross Adair (Ind.)*
Edna F. Kelly (N.Y.)	*William S. Mailliard (Calif.)*
Wayne L. Hays (Ohio)	*Peter Frelinghuysen Jr. (N.J.)*
Armistead I. Selden Jr. (Ala.)	*William S. Broomfield (Mich.)*
J. L. Pilcher (Ga.)	*Robert R. Barry (N.Y.)*
Barratt O'Hara (Ill.)	*J. Irving Whalley (Pa.)*
L. H. Fountain (N.C.)	*H. R. Gross (Iowa)*
Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)	*E. Y. Berry (S.D.)*
Leonard Farbstein (N.Y.)	*Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.)*
Charles C. Diggs Jr. (Mich.)	*F. Bradford Morse (Mass.)*
Lindley Beckworth (Texas)	*James F. Battin (Mont.)*
Harris B. McDowell Jr. (Del.)	*Vernon W. Thomson (Wis.)*
William T. Murphy (Ill.)	
Cornelius E. Gallagher (N.J.)	
Robert N. C. Nix (Pa.)	
John S. Monagan (Conn.)	
Donald M. Fraser (Minn.)	
Ronald Brooks Cameron (Calif.)	

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Government Operations

Budget and accounting measures; reorganization in the Executive Branch; intergovernmental relationships.

Democrats, 19—Republicans, 12

William L. Dawson (Ill.), Chairman

Chet Holifield (Calif.)	*R. Walter Riehlman (N.Y.)*
Jack Brooks (Texas)	*George Meader (Mich.)*
L. H. Fountain (N.C.)	*Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)*
Porter Hardy Jr. (Va.)	*Florence P. Dwyer (N.J.)*
John A. Blatnik (Minn.)	*Robert P. Griffin (Mich.)*
Robert E. Jones (Ala.)	*George M. Wallhauser (N.J.)*
Edward A. Garmatz (Md.)	*John B. Anderson (Ill.)*
John E. Moss (Calif.)	*Richard S. Schweiker (Pa.)*
Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)	*Frank J. Horton (N.Y.)*
Henry S. Reuss (Wis.)	*Robert McClory (Ill.)*
John S. Monagan (Conn.)	*Ogden R. Reid (N.Y.)*
Richard E. Lankford (Md.)	*K. William Stinson (Wash.)*
Torbert H. Macdonald (Mass.)	
J. Edward Roush (Ind.)	
William S. Moorhead (Pa.)	
Cornelius E. Gallagher (N.J.)	
Wm. J. Randall (Mo.)	
Benjamin S. Rosenthal (N.Y.)	

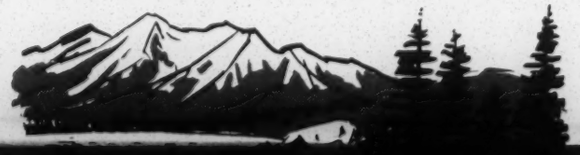
House Administration

House administration generally; printing and correction of the Congressional Record; federal elections generally; management of the Library of Congress, supervision of Smithsonian Institution, etc.

Democrats, 15—Republicans, 10

Omar Burleson (Texas), Chairman

Samuel N. Friedel (Md.)	*Paul F. Schenck (Ohio)*
Robert T. Ashmore (S.C.)	*Robert J. Corbett (Pa.)*
Wayne L. Hays (Ohio)	*John B. Bennett (Mich.)*
Paul C. Jones (Mo.)	*Glenard P. Lipscomb (Calif.)*
George M. Rhodes (Pa.)	*Charles E. Chamberlain (Mich.)*
Frank Thompson Jr. (N.J.)	*Charles E. Goodell (N.Y.)*
Watkins M. Abbitt (Va.)	*John H. Kyl (Iowa)*
Robert A. Everett (Tenn.)	*John B. Anderson (Ill.)*
John J. McFall (Calif.)	*Willard S. Curtin (Pa.)*
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (La.)	*Joe Skubitz (Kan.)*
Carl D. Perkins (Ky.)	
John H. Dent (Pa.)	
Sam M. Gibbons (Fla.)	
Vacancy	



Judiciary

Celler

Judicial proceedings generally; constitutional amendments, civil rights, interstate compacts, immigration and naturalization, apportionment of Representatives, meetings of Congress and attendance of Members; Presidential succession.

Democrats, 21—Republicans, 14

Emanuel Celler (N.Y.), Chairman

Francis E. Walter (Pa.)	*William M. McCulloch (Ohio)*
Michael A. Feighan (Ohio)	*William E. Miller (N.Y.)*
Frank Chelf (Ky.)	*Richard H. Poff (Va.)*
Edwin E. Willis (La.)	*William C. Cramer (Fla.)*
Peter W. Rodino Jr. (N.J.)	*Arch A. Moore Jr. (W. Va.)*
E. L. Forrester (Ga.)	*George Meader (Mich.)*
Byron G. Rogers (Colo.)	*John V. Lindsay (N.Y.)*
Harold D. Donohue (Mass.)	*William T. Cahill (N.J.)*
Jack Brooks (Texas)	*Garner E. Shriver (Kan.)*
William M. Tuck (Va.)	*Clark MacGregor (Minn.)*
Robert T. Ashmore (S.C.)	*Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (Md.)*
John Dowdy (Texas)	*James E. Bromwell (Iowa)*
Basil L. Whitener (N.C.)	*Carleton J. King (N.Y.)*
Roland V. Libonati (Ill.)	*Pat Minor Martin (Calif.)*
Herman Toll (Pa.)	
Robert W. Kastenmeier (Wis.)	
Jacob H. Gilbert (N.Y.)	
James C. Corman (Calif.)	
William L. St. Onge (Conn.)	
George F. Senner Jr. (Ariz.)	

Merchant Marine and Fisheries

Bonner

Merchant marine generally; Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, maintenance and operation of Panama Canal and administration of Canal Zone; fisheries and wildlife.

Democrats, 19—Republicans, 12

Herbert C. Bonner (N.C.), Chairman

Edward A. Garmatz (Md.)	*Thor C. Tollefson (Wash.)*
Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (Mo.)	*William K. Van Pelt (Wis.)*
T. Ashton Thompson (La.)	*William S. Mailliard (Calif.)*
Frank M. Clark (Pa.)	*Thomas M. Pelly (Wash.)*
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)	*Milton W. Glenn (N.J.)*
John D. Dingell (Mich.)	*Robert F. Ellsworth (Kan.)*
L. Mendell Rivers (S.C.)	*George A. Goodling (Pa.)*
Alton Lennon (N.C.)	*Stanley R. Tupper (Maine)*
Thomas N. Downing (Va.)	*Charles A. Mosher (Ohio)*
Bob Casey (Texas)	*James A. Grover Jr. (N.Y.)*
James A. Byrne (Pa.)	*Rogers C. B. Morton (Md.)*
Charles A. Vanik (Ohio)	*Hastings Keith (Mass.)*
Harlan Hagen (Calif.)	

Rules

Smith

Rules and order of business of the House.

Democrats, 10—Republicans, 5

Howard W. Smith (Va.), Chariman

William M. Colmer (Miss.)	*Clarence J. Brown (Ohio)*
Ray J. Madden (Ind.)	*Katharine St. George (N.Y.)*
James J. Delaney (N.Y.)	*H. Allen Smith (Calif.)*
James W. Trimble (Ark.)	*Elmer J. Hoffman (Ill.)*
Homer Thornberry (Texas)	*William H. Avery (Kan.)*
Richard Bolling (Mo.)	
Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Mass.)	
Carl Elliott (Ala.)	
B. F. Sisk (Calif.)	

Science and Astronautics

Scientific and astronautical research and development generally; National Aeronautics and Space Administration, National Aeronautics and Space Council, National Science Foundation; outer space, science scholarships; Bureau of Standards.

Democrats, 18—Republicans, 13

George P. Miller (Calif.), Chairman

Olin E. Teague (Texas)	*Joseph W. Martin Jr. (Mass.)*
Joseph E. Karth (Minn.)	*James G. Fulton (Pa.)*
Ken Hechler (W. Va.)	*J. Edgar Chenoweth (Colo.)*
Emilio Q. Daddario (Conn.)	*William K. Van Pelt (Wis.)*
J. Edward Roush (Ind.)	*R. Walter Riehlman (N.Y.)*
Thomas G. Morris (N.M.)	*Charles A. Mosher (Ohio)*
Bob Casey (Texas)	*Richard L. Roudebush (Ind.)*
William J. Randall (Mo.)	*Alphonzo Bell (Calif.)*
John W. Davis (Ga.)	*Thomas M. Pelly (Wash.)*
Wiliam Fitts Ryan (N.Y.)	*Donald Rumsfeld (Ill.)*
Thomas N. Downing (Va.)	*James D. Weaver (Pa.)*
Joe D. Waggonner Jr. (La.)	*Edward J. Gurney (Fla.)*
Edward J. Patten (N.J.)	*John W. Wydler (N.Y.)*
Richard H. Fulton (Tenn.)	
Don Fuqua (Fla.)	
Neil Staebler (Mich.)	
Carl Albert (Okla.)	

Un-American Activities

Investigation of activities to determine if they are subversive.

Democrats, 5—Republicans, 4

Francis E. Walter (Pa.), Chairman

Clyde Doyle (Calif.)	*August E. Johansen (Mich.)*
Edwin E. Willis (La.)	*Donald C. Bruce (Ind.)*
William M. Tuck (Va.)	*Henry C. Schadeberg (Wis.)*
Joe R. Pool (Texas)	*John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)*

Veterans' Affairs

Carl D. Perkins (Ky.)
John H. Dent (Pa.)
Sam M. Gibbons (Fla.)
Vacancy

Interior and Insular Affairs

Public lands, natural resources, territorial possessions of the U.S., Indian affairs.

Democrats, 19—Republicans, 14

Wayne N. Aspinall (Colo.), Chairman

Leo W. O'Brien (N.Y.)	*John P. Saylor (Pa.)*
Walter Rogers (Texas)	*J. Ernest Wharton (N.Y.)*
James A. Haley (Fla.)	*E. Y. Berry (S.D.)*
Ed Edmondson (Okla.)	*Jack Westland (Wash.)*
Walter S. Baring (Nev.)	*Craig Hosmer (Calif.)*
Thomas G. Morris (N.M.)	*J. Edgar Chenoweth (Colo.)*
Ralph J. Rivers (Alaska)	*John H. Kyl (Iowa)*
Roy A. Taylor (N.C.)	*Hjalmar C. Nygaard (N.D.)*
Harold T. Johnson (Calif.)	*Homer E. Abele (Ohio)*
Hugh L. Carey (N.Y.)	*Joe Skubitz (Kan.)*
Morris K. Udall (Ariz.)	*Charlotte T. Reid (Ill.)*
Elizabeth Kee (W. Va.)	*Laurence J. Burton (Utah)*
Ray Roberts (Texas)	*Rogers C. B. Morton (Md.)*
Robert B. Duncan (Ore.)	*Patrick M. Martin (Calif.)*
Compton I. White Jr. (Idaho)	
John O. Marsh Jr. (Va.)	
Edward R. Roybal (Calif.)	
Thomas P. Gill (Hawaii)	
A. Fernos-Isern (Puerto Rico)	

Interstate and Foreign Commerce

Regulation of interstate and foreign commerce and communications, regulation of interstate transmission of power (except between Government projects), inland waterways, railroad labor, civil aeronautics, Weather Bureau, securities and exchanges.

Democrats, 20—Republicans, 13

Oren Harris (Ark.), Chairman

John Bell Williams (Miss.)	*John B. Bennett (Mich.)*
Kenneth A. Roberts (Ala.)	*William L. Springer (Ill.)*
Harley O. Staggers (W. Va.)	*Paul F. Schenck (Ohio)*
Walter Rogers (Texas)	*J. Arthur Younger (Calif.)*
Samuel N. Friedel (Md.)	*Milton W. Glenn (N.J.)*
Torbert H. Macdonald (Mass.)	*Samuel L. Devine (Ohio)*
George M. Rhodes (Pa.)	*Ancher Nelsen (Minn.)*
John Jarman (Okla.)	*Hastings Keith (Mass.)*
Leo W. O'Brien (N.Y.)	*Willard S. Curtin (Pa.)*
John E. Moss (Calif.)	*Abner W. Sibal (Conn.)*
John D. Dingell (Mich.)	*Glenn Cunningham (Neb.)*
Paul G. Rogers (Fla.)	*James T. Broyhill (N.C.)*
Robert W. Hemphill (S.C.)	*Donald G. Brotzman (Colo.)*
Dan Rostenkowski (Ill.)	
James C. Healey (N.Y.)	
Horace R. Kornegay (N.C.)	
W. R. Hull Jr. (Mo.)	
Gillis William Long (La.)	
Lionel Van Deerlin (Calif.)	

Herbert C. Bonner (N.C.), Chairman

Edward A. Garmatz (Md.)	*Thor C. Tollefson (Wash.)*
Leonor Kretzer Sullivan (Mo.)	*William K. Van Pelt (Wis.)*
T. Ashton Thompson (La.)	*William S. Mailliard (Calif.)*
Frank M. Clark (Pa.)	*Thomas M. Pelly (Wash.)*
Thomas L. Ashley (Ohio)	*Milton W. Glenn (N.J.)*
John D. Dingell (Mich.)	*Robert F. Ellsworth (Kan.)*
L. Mendell Rivers (S.C.)	*George A. Goodling (Pa.)*
Alton Lennon (N.C.)	*Stanley R. Tupper (Maine)*
Thomas N. Downing (Va.)	*Charles A. Mosher (Ohio)*
Bob Casey (Texas)	*James A. Grover Jr. (N.Y.)*
James A. Byrne (Pa.)	*Rogers C. B. Morton (Md.)*
Charles A. Vanik (Ohio)	*Hastings Keith (Mass.)*
Harlan Hagen (Calif.)	
Edith Green (Ore.)	
Paul G. Rogers (Fla.)	
Frank A. Stubblefield (Ky.)	
John M. Murphy (N.Y.)	
Vacancy	

Post Office and Civil Service

Postal and federal civil services; census, national archives.

Democrats, 14—Republicans, 11

Tom Murray (Tenn.), Chairman

James H. Morrison (La.)	*Robert J. Corbett (Pa.)*
Thaddeus J. Dulski (N.Y.)	*H. R. Gross (Iowa)*
David N. Henderson (N.C.)	*Joel T. Broyhill (Va.)*
Arnold Olsen (Mont.)	*August E. Johansen (Mich.)*
Morris K. Udall (Ariz.)	*Glenn Cunningham (Neb.)*
Dominick V. Daniels (N.J.)	*George M. Wallhauser (N.J.)*
Lindley Beckworth (Texas)	*Robert R. Barry (N.Y.)*
Harley O. Staggers (W. Va.)	*Katharine St. George (N.Y.)*
Robert N. C. Nix (Pa.)	*Edward J. Derwinski (Ill.)*
Everett G. Burkhalter (Calif.)	*Robert F. Ellsworth (Kan.)*
W. Donlon Edwards (Calif.)	*Homer E. Abele (Ohio)*
Joe R. Pool (Texas)	
Albert W. Watson (S.C.)	

Public Works

Buckley

Public buildings and roads, flood control, improvement of rivers and harbors, water power, stream pollution.

Democrats, 20—Republicans, 14

Charles A. Buckley (N.Y.), Chairman

George H. Fallon (Md.)	*James C. Auchincloss (N.J.)*
Clifford Davis (Tenn.)	*William C. Cramer (Fla.)*
John A. Blatnik (Minn.)	*John F. Baldwin Jr. (Calif.)*
Robert E. Jones (Ala.)	*Fred Schwengel (Iowa)*
John C. Kluczynski (Ill.)	*Howard W. Robison (N.Y.)*
T. Ashton Thompson (La.)	*William H. Harsha Jr. (Ohio)*
James C. Wright Jr. (Texas)	*James Harvey (Mich.)*
Kenneth J. Gray (Ill.)	*John C. Kunkel (Pa.)*
Frank M. Clark (Pa.)	*James R. Grover Jr. (N.Y.)*
Ed Edmondson (Okla.)	*Robert T. McLoskey (Ill.)*
John J. McFall (Calif.)	*James H. Quillen (Tenn.)*
John Young (Texas)	*Carl W. Rich (Ohio)*
Harold T. Johnson (Calif.)	*James C. Cleveland (N.Y.)*
W. J. Bryan Dorn (S.C.)	*Don H. Clausen (Calif.)*
David N. Henderson (N.C.)	
Arnold Olsen (Mont.)	
Harold M. Ryan (Mich.)	
J. Russell Tuten (Ga.)	
John M. Murphy (N.Y.)	

Investigation of activities to determine if they are subversive.

Democrats, 5—Republicans, 4

Francis E. Walter (Pa.), Chairman

Clyde Doyle (Calif.)	*August E. Johansen (Mich.)*
Edwin E. Willis (La.)	*Donald C. Bruce (Ind.)*
William M. Tuck (Va.)	*Henry C. Schadeberg (Wis.)*
Joe R. Pool (Texas)	*John M. Ashbrook (Ohio)*

Veterans' Affairs

Veterans' measures generally; pensions, armed forces life insurance; rehabilitation, education, medical care and treatment of veterans; veterans' hospitals.

Democrats, 15—Republicans, 10

Olin E. Teague (Texas), Chairman

W. J. Bryan Dorn (S.C.)	*William H. Ayres (Ohio)*
Elizabeth Kee (W. Va.)	*E. Ross Adair (Ind.)*
James A. Haley (Fla.)	*Paul A. Fino (N.Y.)*
Walter S. Baring (Nev.)	*John P. Saylor (Pa.)*
Robert A. Everett (Tenn.)	*Charles M. Teague (Calif.)*
Thaddeus J. Dulski (N.Y.)	*Seymour Halpern (N.Y.)*
Roland V. Libonati (Ill.)	*Henry C. Schadeberg (Wis.)*
Harris B. McDowell Jr. (Del.)	*Robert F. Ellsworth (Kan.)*
Horace R. Kornegay (N.C.)	*Vacancy*
Ray Roberts (Texas)	*Vacancy*
Robert T. Secrest (Ohio)	
W. Donlon Edwards (Calif.)	
John O. Marsh Jr. (Va.)	
George E. Brown Jr. (Calif.)	

Mills

Ways and Means

Revenue measures generally; tariffs and reciprocal trade agreements; Social Security.

Democrats, 15—Republicans, 10

Wilbur D. Mills (Ark.), Chairman

Cecil R. King (Calif.)	*John W. Byrnes (Wis.)*
Thomas J. O'Brien (Ill.)	*Howard H. Baker (Tenn.)*
Hale Boggs (La.)	*Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.)*
Eugene J. Keogh (N.Y.)	*Victor A. Knox (Mich.)*
Frank M. Karsten (Mo.)	*James B. Utt (Calif.)*
A. Sydney Herlong Jr. (Fla.)	*Jackson E. Betts (Ohio)*
William J. Green Jr. (Pa.)	*Bruce Alger (Texas)*
John C. Watts (Ky.)	*Steven B. Derounian (N.Y.)*
Al Ullman (Ore.)	*Herman T. Schneebeli (Pa.)*
James A. Burke (Mass.)	*Harold R. Collier (Ill.)*
Clark W. Thompson (Texas)	
Martha W. Griffiths (Mich.)	
Ross Bass (Tenn.)	
W. Pat Jennings (Va.)	

Special Small Business

Studies and investigates problems of small business and reports findings and makes recommendations to the House, but cannot report legislation.

Democrats, 7—Republicans, 6

Wright Patman (Texas), Chairman

Joe L. Evins (Tenn.)	*William M. McCulloch (Ohio)*
Abraham J. Multer (N.Y.)	*Arch A. Moore Jr. (W. Va.)*
Tom Steed (Okla.)	*William H. Avery (Kan.)*
James Roosevelt (Calif.)	*H. Allen Smith (Calif.)*
John C. Kluczynski (Ill.)	*Howard W. Robison (N.Y.)*
John D. Dingell (Mich.)	*Ralph Harvey (Ind.)*

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new and vigorous leadership and a determination to get something done. For this, we are thankful.

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished senior Senator from Idaho. He has always been an advocate of an enlightened and progressive policy, not only with respect to our mining resources, but for all the resources of the West—indeed, of the whole Nation.

I think it is time we looked into this problem searchingly and seriously and came up with some constructive proposals that will take this great industry, mining, which once was so promising and productive, from its present doldrums.

I thank the Senator from Idaho for his unfaltering, helpful encouragement.

AGENCY IN LEGISLATIVE BRANCH TO CONDUCT ELECTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill which would create an agency of the legislative branch of the Federal Government designed to insure that the right of all citizens to vote for Members of Congress shall be adequately protected.

Congress recently has given the executive branch additional enforcement tools to protect the rights of American citizens to participate in all Federal elections. These are contained in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. The President, in his message to the Congress on February 28, outlined further amendments which the administration believes will be helpful in meeting continuing pockets of resistance to the full exercise of the right of franchise.

While all of this is progress, Congress has an additional responsibility that goes quite directly to the election of its own Members—to the problem of assuring full citizen rights in the election of the Members of Congress. The proposed act would give Congress the machinery to meet this problem, one which is and should be of special concern to the legislative branch of our National Government.

The Constitution, under article I, section 4, and under the 15th amendment, authorizes the Congress to make regulations as to the time, place, and "manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives or to alter regulations prescribed by the State legislatures for such purposes, except as to the place of choosing Senators."

The Federal judiciary cannot be expected to bear the full burden of litigating the dilatory actions of innumerable local registration officials intent on frustrating the desires of eligible voters.

This problem is the active election-by-election responsibility of the Congress, placed on the Congress by the Constitution, to insure the right to vote in each Federal election.

Nor is this a matter of States rights. The States have only that authority in this field of congressional elections expressly given them by the Congress. The Congress itself has the duty to see to it that those who sit as its Members are elected by all the people. The buck on this issue stops here.

There is a long history of widespread and flagrant denials of the right to vote. The record of the hearings held by the Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee over the years tells the story. Further, the hearings held by the Commission on Civil Rights, expressly established by the Congress to look into voting practices, emphasizes the need for congressional action.

The proposal I make to establish a Congressional Elections Commission as an arm of the Congress, is, as far as I know, a unique one. I first introduced it in 1959. The virtue of the bill I now introduce lies in the fact that it establishes a continuing agency of the Congress itself, designed to insure that registration and election procedures shall be reasonable, fair, and equally available to all our citizens. It can perform the same service for the Congress in the vital area of its elections which the Government Accounting Office, another agency of the legislative branch, does in matters involving the public purse.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill, together with a summary of its provisions, be printed with my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD.

The bill (S. 1281) to establish an agency of the legislative branch of the Federal Government authorized to conduct the elections of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, introduced by Mr. HART, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, and ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Congressional Elections Act".

TITLE I—STATEMENT OF PURPOSE: DEFINITIONS

SEC. 101. Taking cognizance of the fact that, although ninety-three years have passed since the fifteenth amendment was adopted, American citizens otherwise qualified to vote continue to be denied that right because of their race or color, and that qualified voters are thus arbitrarily and discriminatorily being denied the right to cast a vote for the selection and election of their representatives in the Senate and the House of Representatives; and recognizing the authority and the obligation of the Congress under the fifteenth amendment, and more particularly under article I, section 4, to assure that Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives are nominated and elected in a manner and pursuant to procedures which best assure that every qualified elector is afforded full opportunity to cast his vote, the Congress hereby determines that it is necessary, in order to assure to all qualified electors the opportunity to participate in the selection and election of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, that Congress establish an agency to conduct registration and voting in the primary, special, and general elections at which nominees to the Senate and the House of Representatives are elected.

SEC. 102. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "Commission" means the Congressional Elections Commission established by this Act.

(b) The term "special or general election" means any special or general election in any State or congressional district for the purpose of electing Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.

(c) The term "primary election" means any election, whether by convention, meeting, popular primary, or otherwise, in any State or congressional district for the purpose of choosing party nominees as candidates for the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States.

TITLE II—ESTABISHMENT OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION

SEC. 201 (a) There is hereby established, as an agency of the legislative branch of the Federal Government, a Congressional Elections Commission, as an authority to conduct primary, special, and general elections for Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

(b) The Commission shall be composed of three members who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than two of the members shall belong to the same political party. The President is requested in appointing members to provide, insofar as possible, representation for the various geographical areas of the United States.

(c) Each member of the Commission shall be appointed for a term of nine years, except that—

(1) the three members first appointed shall be appointed for terms expiring respectively on December 31, 1965; December 31, 1968; and December 31, 1971; and

(2) a person appointed to fill a vacancy in the Commission occurring by reason of the death, disability, resignation, or removal of a member before the expiration of his term shall be appointed to serve for the remainder of such term.

(d) The President shall designate one of the members of the Commission as Chairman and one as Vice Chairman. The Vice Chairman shall act as Chairman in the absence of disability of the Chairman or in the event of a vacancy in the office of Chairman.

(e) Subject to the provisions of subsection (f), a vacancy in the membership of the Commission shall not affect its powers.

(f) Two members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum thereof.

SEC. 202. Each member of the Commission, other than the Chairman, shall receive compensation at a rate of $20,000 per year. The Chairman of the Commission shall receive compensation at a rate of $20,500 per year.

TITLE III—REGISTRATION OF VOTERS BY THE COMMISSION

SEC. 301. The Commission is authorized to make and maintain temporary and permanent registers of voters qualified to participate in primary, special, and general elections in the various congressional districts. The Commission's making and maintenance of such registers of voters shall be in its discretion and it shall not be necessary, for the making and maintenance of such registers in any congressional district, for the Commission to have first determined to hold an election therein pursuant to title IV of this Act.

SEC. 302. No person shall be registered as a voter under section 301 who does not have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the congressional district is situated. The Commission shall establish adequate procedures to assure that all persons placed upon its registers as qualified voters continue to have the resi-

dence and other qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the congressional district is situated.

SEC. 303. No State or local laws or ordinance governing the time, place, or manner of the registration of voters shall be applicable to or limit the power of the Commission to conduct registrations of voters pursuant to this title, but the Commission shall endeavor as far as in its judgment is conducive to uniform and orderly election procedures, to conform its conduct of the registration of voters to the procedures governing time, place, and manner of registration, prescribed in the State or local laws or ordinances in effect in the congressional district.

TITLE IV—CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS BY THE COMMISSION

SEC. 401. The Commission is authorized in any congressional district to conduct the primary, special, or general elections for the purpose of selecting and electing Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives whenever—

(1) the Commission is officially requested so to do by the duly empowered official of the State in which the congressional district is situated; or

(2) the Commission determines that unless such election is conducted by the Commission, persons having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the congressional district is located are likely to be denied their right in such primary, special, or general election to cast their votes and to have them fairly counted.

SEC. 402. Whenever the Commission conducts a primary, special, or general election, such election shall be the sole primary, special, or general election for the congressional district for Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and the results thereof shall, in any primary election, determine the authorized nominees, and in any special or general election, determine the duly elected Member of the House of Representatives, and the official vote of such congressional district for Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives at large.

SEC. 403. No person shall cast a vote in an election conducted pursuant to section 401 unless (a) he has been found by the Commission, pursuant to title III foregoing, to have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the congressional district is situated, or (b) he is registered on a State registration list, which the Commission determines to be appropriate for utilization in the election conducted by it, as a person having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature of the State in which the congressional district is situated.

SEC. 404. The Commission shall, immediately upon determining to conduct an election pursuant to the authority contained in section 401 (a) or (b), give notice of such determination to the Governor of the State concerned.

SEC. 405. No State or local laws or ordinances governing the time, place, and manner of conducting elections shall be applicable to, or limit the power of, the Commission to conduct elections pursuant to this title, but the Commission shall endeavor, as far as in its judgment is conducive to uniform and orderly election procedures, to conform its conduct of elections to the standards of time, place, and manner prescribed in State or local laws or ordinances in effect in the congressional district.

TITLE V—CERTIFICATION OF RESULTS

SEC. 501. The Commission shall, upon the determination of the results of any primary, special, or general election conducted pursuant to title IV, certify the results of such election to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the Secretary of the Senate, to the Governor of the State in which the election was conducted, and to other appropriate persons. Such a certification shall constitute the binding and conclusive determination of the results of the election.

TITLE VI—DELEGATION OF POWERS

SEC. 601. The Commission is authorized to delegate to any appropriate officer or officers of a State or local government, or to any agent, employee, or designee of the Commission, any or all of the powers granted by this Act, with the exception of the authority granted pursuant to section 301 to determine whether or not to make and maintain registers of voters in any congressional district, and the authority granted pursuant to section 401 to determine whether or not to conduct an election thereunder, which determinations shall be made only by a quorum of the Commission itself.

TITLE VII—JUDICIAL REVIEW

SEC. 701. Any citizen of a State, having the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the legislature, who has made appropriate application for inclusion upon a register of qualified electors maintained by the Commission for the congressional district in which he is a resident, who is denied such registration or who, having once been so registered, is removed from such register or denied the opportunity to vote in a primary, special, or general election conducted by the Commission in such congressional district, shall have an action for declaratory and injunctive relief in the United States district court for such district.

TITLE VIII—PERFORMANCE OF COMMISSION FUNCTIONS

SEC. 801. The Commission is authorized to appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees as may be necessary to enable it to perform its functions and duties.

SEC. 802. In carrying out its functions the Commission is authorized to utilize on a temporary basis employees of the departments and agencies of the executive branch of the Government. Each department and agency of the executive branch of the Government shall fully cooperate with the Commission to the end that it may effectively carry out its functions and duties and shall, at the request of the President, assign on a temporary basis employees of such department or agency to the Commission.

SEC. 803. In carrying out its functions the Commission is authorized to utilize the services of State and local governmental officers and employees and the facilities of State and local governments. The Commission is authorized to reimburse any State or local officer or employee whose services are utilized under the authority of this section for travel expenses incurred, and to pay to any such officer or employee per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same amounts as authorized by law for persons in the Government service serving without compensation. The Commission is authorized to reimburse any State or local government for the services of any officer or employee of such government, and for the facilities of such government, utilized under the authority of this section.

SEC. 804. (a) In carrying out its functions and duties, the Commission may sit and act at such times and places, hold such hearings, take such testimony, administer such oaths, require the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, or other written matter, procure such printing and binding, and make such expenditures as the Commission deems advisable. Any member of the Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission. Subpenas for the attendance and testimony of witnesses or for the production of written matter may be issued over the signature of the Chairman, or any member designated by him, and may be issued by any person designated by the Chairman or by such member.

(b) A witness attending any session of the Commission shall receive $4 for each day's attendance and for the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the same, and 8 cents per mile for going from and returning to his place of residence. Witnesses who attend at points so far removed from their respective residences as to prohibit return thereto from day to day shall be entitled to an additional allowance of $12 per day for expenses of subsistence, including the time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from the place of attendance. Mileage payments shall be tendered to the witness upon service of a subpena issued on behalf of the Commission.

(c) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena issued on behalf of the Commission, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on or within the jurisdiction of which the person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or transacts business, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission, there to produce evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by the court as a contempt thereof.

SEC. 805. The Commission may promulgate such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, as it deems necessary or desirable for the performance of its functions and duties under this Act.

SEC. 806. The Commission shall, on or before January 31 of each year, submit to the Congress a report of its activities under this Act, together with any recommendations for suggested legislation which it finds desirable.

SEC. 807. There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 808. No provision of law contained in section 5 of the Act entitled, "An Act for the Apportionment of Representatives in Congress among the several States under the Thirteenth Census", approved August 8, 1911; section 26 of the Revised Statutes; and section 27 of the Revised Statutes, which is inconsistent with this Act, shall be applicable to elections conducted under this Act.

The analysis presented by Mr. HART is as follows:

ANALYSIS OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS COMMISSION BILL INTRODUCED BY SENATOR PHILIP A. HART

It is the purpose of the Congressional Elections Act to establish an agency of the legislative branch of the Federal Government with authority to conduct the elections of Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

TITLE I

Title I states that because of the continuing denial to American citizens, on grounds of their race or color, of their right to vote, particularly to vote in the election of Representatives and Senators, recognizing the authority of Congress under the 15th amendment and under article I, section 4 of the Constitution to assure fullest participation of qualified electors in congressional elections, the Congress determines it necessary to establish an agency to conduct registration and voting in the primary, special and general elections at which Representatives and Senators are elected.

TITLE II

Title II establishes the Congressional Elections Commission as an agency of the legislative branch of the Federal Government authorized to conduct primary, special and general elections for Members of the Senate

and the House of Representatives. The Commission is composed of three members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Commissioners to be appointed for a term of 9 years.

TITLE III

Title III authorizes the Commission to make and maintain registers of voters in various congressional districts who are qualified to participate in primary, special and general elections of Members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The Commission may maintain registration lists in various congressional districts whether or not it has determined to run an election in the district. It is also provided that no person can become or stay registered on the Commission's lists who does not have the qualifications for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature. It is also provided that State and local laws and ordinances covering the time, place or manner of registration are not applicable to registrations conducted by the Commission, but the Commission is instructed to conform its conduct of registration as far as possible to the procedures in effect under State or local laws.

TITLE IV

Title IV authorizes the Commission to conduct primary, special or general elections in any congressional district for Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives either when (1) the Commission is officially requested so to do by the State in which the district is located, or (2) the Commission determines that unless it conducts such an election qualified voters are likely to be denied their right in such a primary, special or general election to cast their votes and have them fairly counted. Whenever the Commission conducts a primary, special or general election that shall be the sole primary, special or general election in the congressional district for Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives and the results thereof shall determine the party nominees, the elected Members of the House of Representatives and the official vote of the congressional district for Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives at large. No person may vote in an election conducted by the Commission unless he has either been registered under title III by the Commission or he is registered on a State registration list determined by the Commission to be appropriate for use in its own elections. The Commission, if it decides to conduct an election, shall immediately notify the Governor of the State.

TITLE V

Title V provides for the certification of results of election by the Commission to the Speaker of the House, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Governor of the State, and that such certification constitutes the binding and conclusive determination of the results of the primary, special or general election.

TITLE VI

Title VI authorizes the Commission to delegate to its own agents and employees or to appropriate officials of the State and local governments any of the powers provided by the act with the exception of the authority of the Commission to determine whether or not to maintain registers of voters or to conduct an election in any particular congressional district which powers shall be exercised only by the Commission itself.

TITLE VII

Title VII authorizes suits for declaratory and injunctive relief in the U.S. district court by any citizen qualified to vote who has applied for registration by the Commission and is denied it or after being granted registration is removed from the registry or is denied opportunity to vote in an election conducted by the Commission.

TITLE VIII

Title VIII contains miscellaneous provisions concerning the compensation of agents and employees of the Commission as well as officials of the State to whom Commission functions may be delegated; provisions for the taking of testimony by the Commission; attendance of witnesses; refusals to testify promulgation of the Commission rules and regulations; reports to the Congress; and amendment of prior laws.

Mr. HART. Also, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill lie at the table until the end of business on Wednesday, April 10, so that Senators who might wish to join in sponsoring it will have an opportunity to do so.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORT AND QUESTION PERIOD

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I submit, for appropriate reference, a resolution to amend the rules so as to make it possible to invite heads of departments and independent agencies to report and answer questions on the floor of the Senate. I ask that the resolution be held at the desk for 5 days, to enable other Senators to join in sponsoring it.

When I was a Member of the other body, I suggested that a similar procedure be adopted there; and that suggestion was very favorably received. At that time, more than 350 daily newspapers commented editorially on this suggestion, and all referred approvingly to it. A survey of the Gallup poll showed that 72 percent of those interviewed were favorable to the proposal, and only 7 percent were opposed. In addition, a poll throughout the country of leading citizens, political scientists, and men with governmental experience resulted in a virtually unanimous approval of this idea.

I think the report and question period would be even better suited to the Senate than it would be to the other body, because of the smaller membership and more intimate atmosphere of the Senate.

The resolution would allow the Rules Committee to provide for a report and question period on the floor of the Senate at least once every 4 weeks, but not more often than once a week. The sessions would not last more than 2 hours.

During the first half of the report and question period, members of the Cabinet or the heads of agencies would be invited to appear on the floor of the Senate and to answer written questions, which would have been prepared and submitted to them in advance. The last half of the question period would be taken up by questions by Members from the floor of the Senate, with the time to be allocated by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the committee.

I believe that much good would result if administrators were brought face to face with representatives of the people under an ordinary procedure, in order that the country might have the benefit of free and open consultation between them.

As a result, we in the Senate would have the benefit of a regular accounting from the heads of the departments as to how they are administering and interpreting the laws we pass. This would bring about better teamwork between the Congress and the executive departments, and would foster better public understanding of both.

It would also give the Senate a fresh source of initiative in governmental matters, and would give Members of the Senate direct and fuller information with regard to the operation of all departments—not just those supervised by their committees. It would also give the Cabinet members a chance to give their proposals directly to all Members of the Senate.

I am pleased that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. GRUENING], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. MCGEE], the Senator from Oregon [Mrs. NEUBERGER], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. RANDOLPH] have joined with me as cosponsors of this resolution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have the text of the resolution printed at this point in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The resolution will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the resolution will be printed in the RECORD.

The resolution (S. Res. 120) was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, as follows:

Resolved, That rule XXXIII of the Rules of the Senate be amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"There shall be held in the Senate immediately following the reading of the Journal on at least 1 day in each period of 4 calendar weeks, but not oftener than 1 day in any 1 calendar week, a 'report-and-question period,' which shall not consume more than 2 hours, during which heads of departments, agencies, and independent establishments in the executive branch of the Government are requested to answer orally written and oral questions propounded by Members of the Senate. Each written question shall be submitted in triplicate to the committee having jurisdiction of the subject matter of such question, and, if approved by such committee, one copy shall be transmitted to the head of the department, agency, or independent establishment concerned, with an invitation to appear before the Senate, and one copy to the Committee on Rules and Administration with a request for allotment of time in a report-and-question period to answer such question. Subject to the limitations prescribed in this paragraph, the Committee on Rules and Administration shall determine the date for, and the length of time of, each report-and-question period, and shall allot the time in each period to the head of a department, agency, or independent establishment who has indicated his readiness to deliver oral answers to the questions transmitted to him. All written questions to be propounded in any one period shall be approved by one committee. With the consent of the committee which has approved the written questions to be propounded in any period, the head of a department, agency, or independent establishment may designate to represent him in such period the head of a principal division of such department, agency, or independent establishment, and,

in the case of a department, the head thereof may designate the Under Secretary or an assistant secretary of such department. The latter half of each period shall be reserved for oral questions by Members of the Senate, one-half of such time to be controlled by the chairman of the committee which has approved the written questions propounded in such period and one-half by the ranking minority member of such committee. Each oral question shall be germane to the subject matter of at least one of the written questions propounded in such period. The time of each report-and-question period and the written questions to be answered in such period shall be printed in two daily editions of the RECORD appearing before the day on which such period is to be held, and the proceedings during such period shall be printed in the RECORD for such day."

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT ACT—AMENDMENTS

Mr. GOLDWATER submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (S. 1) to authorize the establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps to provide a healthful outdoor training and employment for young men and to advance the conservation, development, and management of natural resources and recreational areas; and to authorize local area youth employment programs, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

WILDERNESS ACT—AMENDMENTS

Mr. ALLOTT (for himself, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. CANNON, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. FONG, Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. JORDAN of Idaho, Mr. LAUSCHE, Mr. MECHEM, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. SIMPSON, and Mr. THURMOND), submitted an amendment, intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 4) to establish a National Wilderness Preservation System for the permanent good of the whole people, and for other purposes, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

Mr. ALLOTT submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to Senate bill 4, supra, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS—MINORITY AND INDIVIDUAL VIEWS

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that minority and individual views on Senate bill 1, the youth education bill, may be filed while the Senate is in adjournment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILLS AND CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Under authority of the orders of the Senate, as indicated below, the following names have been added as additional cosponsors for the following bills and concurrent resolution:

Authority of April 1, 1963:

S. 1238. A bill to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, with respect to the purposes for which surplus personal property may be donated: Mr. ANDERSON, Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. BYRD of West Virginia, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. CLARK, Mr. ENGLE, Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MCGEE, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MOSS, Mr. NELSON, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. YARBOROUGH, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio.

Authority of April 2, 1963:

S. 1250. A bill to provide for advance consultation with the Fish and Wildlife Service and with State wildlife agencies before the beginning of any Federal program involving the use of pesticides or other chemicals designed for mass biological controls: Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. LONG of Missouri, and Mr. MCINTYRE.

S. 1251. A bill to amend the act of August 1, 1958, in order to prevent or minimize injury to fish and wildlife from the use of insecticides, herbicides, fungicides, and pesticides: Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. LONG of Missouri, and Mr. MCINTYRE.

S. 1255. A bill for the establishment of a Commission on Revision of the Antitrust Laws of the United States: Mr. COOPER.

Authority of April 3, 1963:

S. 1262. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide disability insurance benefits thereunder for any individual who is blind and has at least 20 quarters of coverage, and for other purposes: Mr. LONG of Missouri and Mr. SCOTT.

S. 1268. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide disability insurance benefits thereunder for any individual who is blind and has at least six quarters of coverage, and for other purposes: Mr. LONG of Missouri and Mr. SCOTT.

Authority of March 21 and April 1, 1963:

S. Con. Res. 34. Concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress that the President appoint a committee to evaluate our foreign aid program in each country and report its finding to the President and the Congress: Mr. CASE, Mr. FONG, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. KEATING, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MORTON, Mr. PEARSON, and Mr. RANDOLPH.

NOTICE OF HEARINGS ON SENATE BILL 777, TO AMEND THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT ACT

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Foreign Relations will hold public hearings on Wednesday, April 10, on S. 777. This is an administration bill to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act in order to increase the authorization for appropriations and to modify the personnel security procedures for contractor employees. S. 777 was introduced by Senator HUMPHREY for himself and Senators CLARK and RANDOLPH on February 11, 1963.

The hearing will be held at 10:30 a.m. in room 4221 of the New Senate Office Building.

CHANGE IN HEARINGS DATE ON AREA REDEVELOPMENT LEGISLATION BY THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRODUCTION AND STABILIZATION OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Production and Stabilization of the Committee on Banking and Currency, I wish to announce a change in the date for beginning hearings on S. 1163, a bill to amend certain provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act.

The hearings will begin at 10 a.m., Tuesday, April 30, 1963, rather than Monday, April 22, as previously announced. The hearings will be held in room 5302, New Senate Office Building, and will continue on the following days of that week.

All persons who wish to appear and testify on this bill are requested to notify Mr. Jonathan Lindley, Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, room 5300, New Senate Office Building, telephone CApitol 4-3121, extension 3921.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. SCOTT:

Article entitled "That Marfan's Syndrome 'Affliction' of Lincoln," to be published in the Philadelphia, Pa., Blumhaven Digest.

By Mr. MCGOVERN:

Article entitled "Just an Average Lawyer," written by Helen Rezatto, published in the April 1963, issue of Kiwanis magazine.

By Mr. COTTON:

Column entitled "The Responsibility for Deficits," written by David Lawrence, published in the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., on April 5, 1963.

By Mr. TALMADGE:

Column entitled "Seldom Have So Many Been Ruled By So Few," written by Jack Spalding, published in the Atlanta, Ga., Journal.

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

Comments praising the six recipients of the 1963 Federal Woman's Award.

NOMINATIONS FOR BRIGADIER GENERALS

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, there is now pending before the Senate nomination reference 41, containing the names of 49 Army colonels for promotion to temporary brigadier general in the Army. The Committee on Armed Services has unanimously recommended that this list be approved.

Mr. President, the Armed Services Subcommittee on Officer Grade Limitations held a hearing on this nomination list. I emphasize that the subcommittee did not challenge the fitness of any officer nominated for promotion. The hearing did involve a matter of policy, however, which I feel should be called to the attention of the Senate.

With respect to this list, the average age of those recommended for promotion to brigadier general is about 46½ years. This represents an average drop of about 2 years in age as compared with the lists of the last several years. Futhermore, speaking in terms of prior service before promotion, in 1961 and 1962 more than 75 percent of the officers had completed at least 24 years of service at the time of their selection. With regard to the pending list, however, only about 37 percent will complete 24 years or more of service. On the whole, therefore, the officers selected for general on this list were younger and had less years

The New Republic
5/25/63
Pol. Gen.

ADAM POWELL

The Ocelot of the House of Representatives

by Murray Kempton

There are Negroes who write from the South and address their letters to "Adam Clayton Powell, the White House, Washington" and who even come sometimes to his Congressional office – finding the door locked as often as not – to say they are from Alabama and Mississippi and want to see *their* Congressman.

Lord Melbourne said once that he cherished the Order of the Garter because there was no damned merit in it. No damned merit made Powell chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. He just sat on the committee longer than any other Democrat. He is unique. No other Negro in the United States can frustrate the President of the United States all by himself, just by being a road block.

A colleague confides that having Adam Powell as your committee chairman is like having an ocelot for a pet. He *does* purr when soothed; he has style and quickness. He is unpredictable. He is generally disliked, partly by Southerners who think that he doesn't know his place as a Negro, but also by men less blessed with those simple prejudices who must settle for the vaguer notion that Powell does not know his place as a member of the House. He is outsize. Other Congressmen have their wives on the payroll; only Adam Powell has his wife 1,500 miles across the water with a $13,000 House salary and no discernible duties. Other Congressmen wander abroad, drawing their pocket money from counterpart funds and drawing more of it than Adam Powell does – "Could you," he asks, "eat five days in Paris for $87.50?" – but none of them takes with him two young ladies from his staff whose intelligence can be established only by talking to them.

The House fell upon Adam Powell late last winter with a rancor developed through months of watching itself parodied by one of its own members. It was a cruel March for the chairman. The House cut his $697,000 budget request for Education and Labor down to $200,000. It passed a bill to limit junkets abroad; the provisions were hazy, but its purpose was clearly to tell the world that Adam Clayton Powell, because of his effrontery and lack of discretion, could not eat on the Marshall Plan at the Lido in Paris ever again. Powell was in Puerto Rico most of that time; he said little for himself that was not further parody; he had few defenders; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People maintained a generally embarrassed silence.

Then in the latter part of March, Adam Powell rose in majestic pique. He threatened to attach a civil rights rider to every Administration bill in his committee. In the delicate balance of the House, the Powell amendment can defeat most bills of substance. An Administration which had found him wonderfully agreeable until now – he frames his White House invitations on his office wall – discovered that he had to be appeased again, as Talmadge and Eastland must be appeased.

Powell went back to the source of his power, as does every politician when he is in trouble. There had come to him, as to Eastland in a primary, the moment when he needed the weight and sympathy of the poor in his district. He cried out to great rallies from Harlem to Washington. He sat on a platform with, among others, Malcolm X, then the Black Muslim Harlem leader, and he warned an audience that filled Harlem Square that the NAACP was controlled by white people and that the Negro must fight alone for anything he gets. The menace in Powell's voice on these occasions affronts respectable people. The black nationalists had better judgment; they welcomed Powell's brief rest in their temple with that charming realism which is one of their many distinctions from the White Citizens Council.

"We are not really comfortable with Adam Powell on our side because it happens so seldom," Lowell Beveridge wrote in *Liberator*, a left black nationalist journal. "But Powell has demonstrated an important difference between himself and his critics." When another Negro leader "gets in trouble," Beveridge went on, "he takes off his hat" and goes to some white power figure whose client he is. "But, when Adam Powell gets in trouble, he puts on his hat and goes to Harlem Square because that is where his power lies."

Adam Powell's voice moved over his great audience: "The white man has given the Negro just about all he intends to give him. . . . There is no future for the black man that he does not fight for. . . . There is no future for the Negro until he is proud that he is black and black in his thinking."

That is his platform prose. The style when Powell

really cares is sparser, as all real emotion is. He is at his most intense in the message the State Department sent to the embassies last August announcing the arrival of Adam Powell and staff to study Western Europe: "Congressman Adam C. Powell . . . . and staff members traveling Western Europe in accordance following itinerary: August 8, sailing *Queen Mary* arriving Southampton, August 13; Paris, August 16; Venice, August 20; Rome, August 23; Athens, August 27; Delphi, August 30; sailing *Leonardo DaVinci*, September 15 from Gibraltar. . . . Codel and party authorized use local currencies 19FT561. . . . London request three tickets August 14 and 15 best shows playing, except Broadway plays. Paris codel desires use US Army car with chauffeur. Reserve three for first show and dinner best table for Lido August 16. Southampton codel requests be met at *Queen Mary* Cherbourg with equivalent $100 in local currencies for each member party."

Only Powell could have dictated those terms; this is the ground upon which he stands and fights for his rights as an American; this tone, not the other, is Adam Powell, the defiant.

Pastor and the Elders

What he defies may be something more complicated than we usually think. He carries another load on top of the burden of having been born a Negro. He was also born into the respectable Negro upper middle class of New York in 1906, which brought him into active adolescence after the First World War. The Elders of the Abyssinian Baptist Church he inherited must remind him of the Elders he grew up with, in composite a quiet man with gold-rimmed glasses and bald head neatly set in a white backdrop, in a black suit, free of sin or hunger and tempted last no one remembers when. These obscure people have, in ritual at least, effected a comfortable compromise with their conspicuous pastor; their church is country Episcopal in decorative tone; Powell appears before them in a cassock with red frogging. Their taste for the discreet and his for the elegant have found a common ground of the simple.

The Elders are as proud of him as he is of himself. His first two wives were public entertainers. The Elders have accepted this defiance without the smallest resentment. Powell does not, though, seem quite so satisfied with the Elders. "I told them," he said after his first sermon this month, "that if they did not understand what was happening in Birmingham, their children would some day spit on their graves." That is a strange statement from a loving pastor who comes to a devoted congregation. But these old people may have the misfortune of reminding him of the prison of his childhood. You think of Adam Powell's gaudy reputation as a sinner and then you remember that he is one of its prime sources. A man who contributes quite this much brushwork to his own image as romantic adventurer must have some point to make.

When Powell had finished in church on that first Sunday in May, he stood in his office and began loosing his cassock to uncover the blue-striped collar underneath. He evoked the memory of Rinehart in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, a numbers runner by day, an evangelist by night. Powell was saying that he had just finished an article on the malpractices of Congressmen for a national magazine; the transition from the spiritual Powell to the temporal Powell was almost over. He snapped his braces; the Deacons had gone, the political runners had come; and there stood broker and prophet, the great mystic symbol of moral ambivalence which necessity has enforced on Harlem.

The next Wednesday, the one before Mother's Day, Adam Powell came early to his Congressional office; he had been on television in the morning to explain that he hadn't really said what he had really said two days before. Now he had nothing to do until 11, when he would go to the Rules Committee, "because Judge Smith promised me a rule."

He talked about Birmingham and wondered if he should call a press conference; he talked about how his picture in *Ebony* was a higher artistic product than his picture in *Look;* he asked if I had read a piece about him in *Newsweek*. He passed then to the work of his Committee on Education and Labor.

"I have," he said, "four or five PhD's down there." It was the tone of the collector; the Jaguar is 10 years old now; he has moved to a higher form of display; he subsidizes the social sciences. "Have you seen my study of Labor and the Common Market. That's what came out of my trip to Europe last August." He took a telephone call; I thumbed through the committee study, noted the chairman's acknowledgement of all the distinguished, unnamed, Europeans who had helped him in his studies, ran through a text that a competent man could have whipped up without leaving the Library of Congress, and found no mention of the teeming industrial complexes which drew the chairman and his staff to Europe. "Now," said Powell proudly, "Kefauver's going to go and make the same study."

"I was sitting in Spain and I read in *Newsweek* about shared time which is one way to help the parochial schools. I tore it out and mailed it to my education chief and told her to get to work on it and call a conference of the Catholics and the Protestants and work out something and, when I got back she had a bill ready for me. It could be the first breakthrough on this issue."

It is not easy to take seriously a man who is chairman of a great Congressional committee and who studies industrial development on the Grand Canal or sits on the rock of Gibraltar and thinks up solutions to

Congressman at Large

the parochial school problem. Yet, the reality seems to be that Education and Labor is a good committee and is advancing toward excellence. Men who bear him minimum goodwill judge Powell to be a brilliant chairman, brilliant being a word to define talent and not application. When one considers all his distractions, his operation of this committee with barely half his mind is the best witness to the size of that talent. Education and Labor is enormous; it is charged to engage and manages to pass more bills of substance than any other in the House. Powell keeps it moving by delegating authority to his subcommittees. He listens to his chairmen and takes their advice and is a prodigy with the gavel when they need it. His attention span is limited, but he astounds his colleagues by the speed with which he can grasp a bill and the positions on it and then direct a coherent discussion of its merits on no more than a briefing five minutes before a session.

Detached observers rate him low only as a tactician managing a bill on the floor; he goes against the hostility of a basic portion of the House and his old impulse at public defiance cannot always be held back.

"Still, I worry when I think that son-of-a-bitch is going away for a month," one Congressman said last week. "I don't know what will happen to that committee without him if it has some important legislation."

And there sat Adam Powell in his office, having earned these compliments from men who do not cherish him. He went on talking about his committee as if it were a boat he owned and wasn't quite sure how it ran. He stopped because he had to get to his only real business of the day.

Study Abroad

He is going to Geneva in June as a delegate to the International Labor Organization Conference, and the rule he wanted from Howard Smith was one authorizing him to draw counterpart funds during his stopover in France. He and Congressman James Roosevelt came together and sat side by side; Judge Smith expressed his anxiety to serve them. Powell explained that a month was too long for one man to be away during the heat of the Congressional session, so he and Mr. Roosevelt were dividing the ILO delegate's assignment. Each planned to be away for three weeks, which seemed odd because it meant that, with two delegates sharing the load, the House would be short the equivalent of one body for six weeks while, if one had gone alone, it would be a body short only four.

Then Congressman Roosevelt said that his committee was interested in the problem of national strikes and that he thought this would be a good time to study the European practice of arbitration, etc., and he had decided that the three best capitals in which to discuss labor problems are Rome, Paris and Tel Aviv. He would need counterpart funds to finance these researches. Powell almost snickered aloud at this modest effort at counter-parody, but Judge Smith looked gravely courteous and asked Roosevelt what were the counterpart regulations at the moment. Powell intervened with an answer so thunderingly authoritative that no one tried again; Powell stood unchallenged, the Clarence Cannon of the free load.

"How we gonna operate without you two boys?" asked Clarence Brown of Ohio.

"We'll miss you," Powell answered.

"We've missed you quite often in the past," said Clarence Brown and Powell laughed with the delight of a man who sees at last the light shining in the window for him. Then his voice shifted to the tone of high state business: "Inasmuch as I'm going by surface. . . ."

Some poor Republican said he was confused; he'd voted the other day for a bill limiting Congressional junkets; he didn't understand the bill but might it not apply here?

"No," Judge Smith answered, "that bill has to pass the Senate before it becomes law." Another moral fire was burning out. It ended with Jimmy Roosevelt offer-

ing a story lame from inexperience at this sort of thing, while Adam Powell sat beside him injecting severities like: "The best thing to do is to get receipts for everything and bring the receipts back."

"Now wasn't that civilized?" he said on the way out of the committee chamber. "Clarence Brown, the arch conservative, kidding us and me kidding him back. After all this fuss, you walk in there and they give you counterpart funds without a word." It had been so long since he could feel this clubbable. He felt absolved; somewhere in some invisible world of the spirit another Adam Powell could be sensed absolving the NAACP. There remained just one more switch of the tail before he settled at the fireside. He stopped by the press gallery and announced a conference on Birmingham in 20 minutes; he could not have conceived a neater way to measure just how much his three weeks wild and on the loose had impressed the Administration with his capacity for mischief.

It took him 10 minutes to get to his office. The Attorney General's office was waiting at the telephone. "That was quick," said Powell. He had tested loud and clear.

He was silent for a long while; the Attorney General must have been talking with an urgency a little larger than needed. "Concessions?" Powell said at last. "Token concessions? Real concessions. Fine." He assured the Attorney General of his lasting benevolence and hung up. There was a call from Mrs. Powell in Puerto Rico. "I've just come back from Judge Smith's; he gave me the money for our trip." He would be home for Mother's Day. The reporters came in; Adam Powell explained that the Attorney General had just called to lift the cloud of Birmingham from his brooding spirit. "I want personally to pay tribute. . . ."

It was a little after three. The workday was over. "Hell, I'm pooped," he said. "I'm going home to get some sleep." Walking away, he talked about how much he liked the Southerners and what a gentleman Judge Smith is. Two colleagues passed him. His smile – it had been such a good day – was a shade more effusive than theirs; but theirs was up to the standard of club members. "Mississippi," said Adam Powell. Perhaps they were Mississippi Congressmen; they were certainly anonymous enough to be anything. Still it seemed so pat for them to come along at precisely the moment when they were needed on stage to support the part that Adam Powell was once again writing for himself. It is the part of Gaylord Ravenel.

Five day later, the House voted to disapprove Powell's and Roosevelt's trip. The State Department, of course, automatically took over their bills, since they are US delegates to an international conference. Powell still had his trip but he no longer had his sense of a place in the club. "It's stupid," he said seriously. "They vote not to give me counterpart funds, so I just turn around and get more than that from State. Now they won't even know how much I spend." But then he settled back and offered the illusion of the week before: "Look at the record; they talked about Roosevelt more than about me." There was the balm, too, that Judge Smith and Clarence Brown, the elders of the Rules Committee, had kept their faith and voted on the House floor to approve his trip. Judge Smith, he said again, was a gentleman. Thus do two civilized men, Adam Powell of New York and Howard Smith of Virginia, look at one another across the mass of yahoos.

Let's Spend More

by Hobart Rowen

The President says that it is the responsibility of those who oppose his tax program to offer an alternative. He was addressing himself to his conservative critics – those who would cut the budget – and certainly not to me, but his proposal is fair, and I will try to meet it. My thesis is an extremely simple one: President Kennedy's tax program will not stimulate the kind of economic growth that is needed by the United States.

Whatever benefits would be derived from the tax program, assuming that it passes, would be at a very high cost – namely, a budget control policy which already is reflected in a freeze of non-defense spending in the 1964 budget, and which will be continued under present plans for three years. What is needed instead is more federal spending on worthwhile programs for slum clearance, education, health, power, and not just public works. This spending policy will and should

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Hobart Rowen *is Business Trends Editor of* Newsweek *magazine.*

Intergroup Org.
Off. Comm.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York
Plaza 1-0300

A statement by the Board of Trustees of the NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, made public on Sunday, June 9, 1963, urging a crash program of special effort to close the gap between the conditions of Negro and white citizens.

As justified as are the concerns of the National Urban League over the current demonstrations in the South by Negro citizens seeking elementary and fundamental rights, these incidents are mild in comparison with those on the verge of taking flame in the tinder-box of racial unrest in Northern cities.

In these teeming Northern ghettos, hundreds of thousands of Negro citizens -- struggling beneath the mounting burden of automation, overcrowding and subtle discrimination -- are reaching the breaking point.

These are the unemployed, the ill-housed, the disillusioned. It is they who are seething with the lava of deprivation and denial, out of which violence and bloodshed can erupt at any moment unless swift and realistic effort is exerted to prevent it.

The belated actions by the Federal administration toward solution of the South's civil rights disturbances are commendable in some respects, and insofar as they reach into the agonies of the problem. But obviously they are too little -- and may well be too late -- to offset the inevitable explosion.

The National Urban League challenges the responsible leadership of our country to undertake a massive "Marshall plan" approach program of intensified special effort to close the wide economic, social and educational gap which separates the large majority of Negro citizens from other Americans.

Such special effort, which may appear to be in conflict with the principle of equal treatment for all, is required to overcome the damaging effects of generations of deprivation and denial and to make it possible for the majority of American Negroes to reach the point at which they can compete on a basis of equality in the nation's increasingly complex and fast-moving industrial economy.

The primary justification for such special effort lies in the fact that the nation itself is in jeopardy as long as it has within its body politic a large group of citizens who are socially and economically handicapped, often dependent, poorly educated and unable to assume the normal responsibilities of citizenship. And with the impact of automation, it appears possible that these conditions will become worse before they improve and that we may well create a permanent class of dependents unable to make a useful contribution to our way of life.

The second reason for such an effort arises from the fact that the intense needs and problems which are evident in so many Negro communities around the country are a direct result of past and present discrimination and exclusion based on race. Thus, as a matter of historic equity, compensatory effort is justified and may well be the only means of overcoming the heavy aftermath of past neglect. As the following indices suggest, despite progress in certain areas, a large segment of the American Negro population continues to lag seriously behind other Americans in almost every type of measurement which can be used to determine social and economic well being. And in certain catagories the gap is widening rather than closing.

The median annual income for the Negro family today is $3,233 as compared with $5,835 for whites, a gap of 45 per cent. That the trend is in the wrong direction is evidenced by the fact that the gap in 1952 was

43 per cent. Hence, that one element in the gap has widened rather than narrowed in barely more than a decade.

More than 75 per cent of all Negro workers are found in the three lowest occupational categories -- service workers, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers and farm workers. Less than 39 per cent of all white workers are in these categories. And these are the very categories which are being most drastically affected by automation.

One of every six Negro dwelling units in the nation is dilapidated, obsolete or otherwise substandard, as compared to one in 32 white dwellings. In 1961 Negroes occupied 47 per cent of all public housing units in the country.

The lower earning power of Negro men and the more frequent break-up of Negro families make it necessary for more Negro than white women to become breadwinners. One in every four Negro women with pre-school children is at work and not at home.

More Negro youth drop out of high school than white youth, the fewer high school graduates enter college. During the 1960 school year, 21 per cent of the school dropouts were Negroes. Of youth graduating from high school only seven per cent were Negro youth.

Unemployment rates for Negroes are substantially higher than for whites at all ages: In 1961, 13 per cent of non-white men were unemployed as compared with 5.7 per cent of whites. Nationwide, Negro young people constitute only 15 per cent of the total youth population between the ages of 16 and 21, yet are 50 per cent of the youth population in this age bracket who are both out of school and unemployed.

To correct the problems indicated by these statistics, the cooperative effort of many social agencies, both public and private, in a massive "crash" attack on the problem is required. Such a crash program, sustained

for a reasonable period of time, will realize savings of millions of dollars in the cost of welfare services and public hospitalization. Such a program will reverse the widespread social deterioration of urban families and communities and also help us develop the tools and understanding which will prevent the development of such deterioration in the future.

Specifically, what is involved in this kind of special effort which the Urban League now proposes?

(1) Our basic definition of equal opportunity must be broadened and deepened to include recognition of the need for special effort to overcome serious disabilities resulting from historic handicaps.

(2) Our society must recognize and put a higher value than it has ever before placed on the human potential possessed by Negro citizens. And then it must move positively to develop that potential.

(3) The best school and the best teachers are needed to prepare Negro children and other educationally disadvantaged youth to the point where they will have the desire for excellence in education and will be motivated to achieve and prepare to advance up the economic ladder with full realization of the rewards that will accrue in the process.

(4) Token integration and pilot placement in business and industry, labor and government, are not enough. A conscious planned effort must be made to place qualified Negroes in entrance jobs in all types of employment and in positions of responsibility, including lower and upper management positions.

(5) Affirmative action must be taken to destroy the racial ghetto and open housing opportunities of all types on the basis of need and ability to buy or rent.

(6) Public and private agencies in the health and welfare field must offer to the ghettoized segments of the population the best services, with highly competent personnel who understand the reasons for unstable family patterns, the relation between low socio-economic status and social problems, and what must be done to rehabilitate urban Negro families.

(7) Qualified Negroes should be sought and named to all public and private boards and commissions, and particularly those which shape policy in the areas of employment, housing, education and health and welfare services, the areas in which the racial differential is greatest and the need for dramatic change is most urgent.

To achieve this objective, strong leadership within the Negro community must be developed. This leadership then will be ready to step into the vanguard of the teamwork effort demanded in resolving the smoldering problems involved in civil rights.

(8) Negro citizens themselves, adults as well as young people, must maintain and even accelerate the sense of urgency which now characterizes the drive for first-class citizenship. Every opportunity for the acquisition of education and technical skills must be utilized. Every means of strengthening the social and economic fabric of the Negro community must be employed.

(9) It is vital that government, philanthropic foundations, business and industry reasses the extent of their financial support to established organizations committed to securing equal opportunity for Negro citizens to share in the fundamental privileges and rights of American democracy. It is imperative that all of these major sources of financial support substantially increase their contributions to the preventive programs carried on by established, responsible Negro leadership organizations.

(10) Constructive efforts on the part of Negro citizens must be exerted to carry their full share of the responsibilities for participation in a meaningful way in every phase of community life.

The kinds of action set forth in the foregoing represent the only way in which significant breakthroughs on a broad scale can be accomplished. This is compensatory consideration in the form of inclusion, selection and preference.

The consequences of the "Negro revolt," as it has been characterized are yet to be seen. It, therefore, behooves America's leadership to give serious consideration to a radical new approach by which the democracy we profess to practice is granted without further delay to all citizens.

# # #

New Leader
6/10/63
Pal-an

A Chance for Greatness

By Karl E. Meyer

WASHINGTON

IN A SPEECH that was widely quoted in the capital last week, Secretary of State Rusk spoke of the "deep injury" that racial injustice was inflicting on America's world standing. "Our voice is muted," he said, "our friends are embarrassed, and our enemies gleeful because we have not really put our hands fully and effectively to this problem at every level of our national life." Because of this, Rusk continued, American diplomats must conduct foreign policy as if they were in a foot race with one leg in a cast.

Yet as one reflects on the meaning of today's Negro revolt, it is possible to argue quite the reverse proposition. In the process of freeing himself, the American Negro may shake his own society out of the complacent torpor—indeed, the sleeping sickness—that is the pervasive national malady. If he can reawaken the dormant radical tradition in American life, the Negro could give a greater lift to national prestige than any conceivable feat in outer space. There are signs that a miracle of this magnitude might occur.

Not since the economic collapse of the 1930s has any domestic crisis so shaken the country. No longer the invisible man, the Negro has chased Cuba and Laos off the front page and forced his countrymen to confront an evil within remedial range. Magazines are thrusting deeper; not long ago, the *New Yorker* published James Baldwin's cry of despair—an essay on being black that has become the manifesto of a minority—and last month *Life* creditably ran a report by a Negro journalist on the Black Muslims that was free from the usual cliches.

It is difficult, too, to over-state the effect of television. The coaxial cable has made the country a single community and virtually every evening the news programs carry film footage that makes comment superfluous. An example was a report the other day on a sit-in demonstration in a Mississippi department store in which Negroes were dragged from a lunch counter and were stamped upon or had catsup squirted on their heads. This is a passion play with a hundred million witnesses—for once, one is grateful for television.

The word passion can be used in a double sense. No quality has been more absent from national politics, and in Washington one can feel the tingling of a long-sleeping limb. A fortnight ago, Attorney General Robert Kennedy had his now-famous encounter in a New York apartment with a group of Negroes rounded up by James Baldwin. The President's brother was shocked by the depth of passion.

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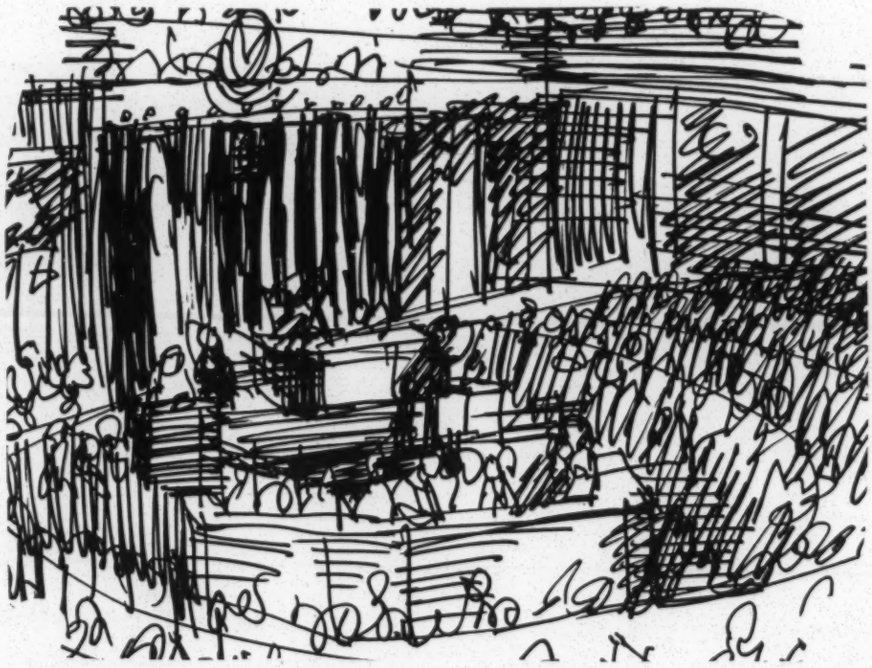
"He didn't get the point," Baldwin said afterward. "He was naive. He doesn't know pain. He just doesn't know."

The Kennedys are learning. The President is moving with a tide that may take him in directions hitherto uncongenial to his temper. This is the kind of problem that does not yield simply to adroit managerialism—and yet the White House has grounds for gratification. It has been the standing complaint that a lack of urgency in national opinion has tied the President's hands. There is now no lack of urgency; President Kennedy has come to a Finland Station in which the momentum of events can be influenced by his own leadership.

One path ahead, clearly, is legislative. Civil rights measures which a few months ago were considered unobtainable are now given chance of passage in Congress. The Administration is belatedly presenting proposals that would broaden Federal authority in dealing with demonstrations against segregation in stores, theaters, hotels and restaurants. This would finally ease the unfair burden placed on the courts, which, by virtue of political paralysis, have been forced to preside over a piecemeal social revolution and take the full brunt of the segregationist attack.

BUT A CHANGE of laws can only work if there is a change of heart, and here President Kennedy meets the more exacting test. He must be able to articulate the Negro cause in a way that makes change seem not only necessary but also wholly just. Thus far, he has dealt circumspectly with the race question, stressing the need for law and order and for community responsibility. Yet without being preachy, the President must surely use the pulpit of his office for a series of addresses modeled in the tradition of Lincoln (and not, for a change, of Churchill).



If Kennedy succeeds, his Presidency may prove more memorable than anyone dared to hope. One has the impression that a country sated with material wealth is ready for an appeal to the radical ideals of equality charted in the Declaration of Independence and sustained in a Civil War. A response to this appeal could be more decisive in foreign affairs than any grisly weapon the Pentagon could concoct. "In the final analysis," President Kennedy wisely observed before his election, "our foreign policy, our relations with other countries, will be most affected by what we do here in the United States. . . . It was Franklin Roosevelt's compassionate actions here at home that built his great reputation abroad. What we are speaks much louder than what we say."

Hence one can argue that the Negro revolt in America is as much a national opportunity as a handicap. It opens a field for the compassionate action of a Roosevelt. A confirming statement comes from an unexpected source, Premier Sékou Touré, an African nationalist who is nobody's puppet. Asked in Ethiopia about the Birmingham riots, Premier Touré replied: "We cannot say that the American people are racists—racism exists everywhere, even in Guinea. We know that in the United States a fight is being organized by the Government of President Kennedy. We approve without reserve of this policy by President Kennedy."

No American astronaut could elicit the same tribute; technology is not what differentiates America from the Soviet Union. Indeed, the United States has fallen into a Soviet trap by letting ideological competition focus on gadgetry—and the Negro has given his country a chance to get out of the trap. The question that the racial revolt, North and South, poses is whether the majority of Americans can rededicate themselves to some purpose more ennobling than supremacy in supermarkets, superhighways and superbombs.

"We talk about ourselves these days," Walter Lippmann wrote a few years ago, "as if we were a completed society, one which has achieved its purposes and has no further great business to transact." Great business now beckons to President Kennedy, and Dean Rusk may yet bless the cast on his leg.

Pol. Gen.

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1731

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 19, 1963

Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. KEATING, Mr. MORSE, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. BEALL, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. FONG, Mr. CLARK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. HART, Mr. CASE, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DODD, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. ENGLE, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. MCNAMARA, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PELL, Mr PROXMIRE, Mr RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. MOSS, and Mr. MCGEE) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in education, to establish a Community Relations Service, to extend for four years the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of
4 1963."

1 SEC. 2. (a) Discrimination by reason of race, color,
2 religion, or national origin is incompatible with the concepts
3 of liberty and equality to which the Government of the
4 United States is dedicated. In recent years substantial steps
5 have been taken toward eliminating such discrimination
6 throughout the Nation. Nevertheless, many citizens of the
7 United States, solely because of their race, color, or national
8 origin, are denied rights and privileges accorded to other
9 citizens and thereby subjected to inconveniences, humilia-
10 tions, and hardships. Such discrimination impairs the gen-
11 eral welfare of the United States by preventing the fullest
12 development of the capabilities of the whole citizenry and by
13 limiting participation in the economic, political, and cultural
14 life of the Nation.

15 (b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act
16 to promote the general welfare by eliminating discrimina-
17 tion based on race, color, religion, or national origin in
18 voting, education, and public accommodations through the
19 exercise by Congress of the powers conferred upon it to
20 regulate the manner of holding Federal elections, to enforce
21 the provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments,
22 to regulate commerce among the several States, and to
23 make laws necessary and proper to execute the powers
24 conferred upon it by the Constitution.

25 (c) It is also desirable that disputes or disagreements

1 arising in any community from the discriminatory treatment
2 of individuals for reasons of race, color, or national origin
3 shall be resolved on a voluntary basis, without hostility or
4 litigation. Accordingly, it is the further purpose of this Act
5 to promote this end by providing machinery for the volun-
6 tary settlement of such disputes and disagreements.

7 TITLE I—VOTING RIGHTS

8 SEC. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42
9 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil
10 Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and as further amended
11 by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat.
12 90), is further amended as follows:

13 (a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at
14 the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

15 "(2) No person acting under color of law shall—

16 "(A) in determining whether any individual is
17 qualified under State law to vote in any Federal election
18 apply any standard, practice, or procedure different from
19 the standards, practices, or procedures applied to in-
20 dividuals similarly situated who have been found by
21 State officials to be qualified to vote.

22 "(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in
23 any Federal election because of an error or omission of
24 such individual on any record or paper relating to
25 any application, registration, payment of poll tax, or

1 other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is
2 not material in determining whether such individual is
3 qualified under State law to vote in such election; or
4 "(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for
5 voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is
6 administered to each individual wholly in writing and
7 (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers
8 given by the individual is furnished to him within
9 twenty-five days of the submission of his written request
10 made within the period of time during which records
11 and papers are required to be retained and preserved
12 pursuant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960
13 (42 U.S.C. 1974–74e; 74 Stat. 88).
14 "(3) For purposes of this subsection—
15 "(A) the term 'vote' shall have the same meaning
16 as in subsection (e) of this section;
17 "(B) the words 'Federal election' shall have the
18 same meaning as in subsection (f) of this section; and
19 "(C) the phrase 'literacy test' includes any test
20 of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret
21 any matter."
22 (b) Insert immediately following the period at the end
23 of the first sentence of subsection (c) the following new
24 sentence: "If in any such proceeding literacy is a relevant
25 fact it shall be presumed that any person who has not been

1 adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth
2 grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited
3 by, any State or territory or the District of Columbia where
4 instruction is carried on predominantly in the English lan-
5 guage, possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intel-
6 ligence to vote in any Federal election as defined in
7 subsection (f) of this section."
8 (c) Add the following subsection "(f)" and designate
9 the present subsection "(f)" as subsection "(g)":
10 "(f) Whenever in any proceeding instituted pursuant
11 to subsection (c) the complaint requests a finding of a pat-
12 tern or practice pursuant to subsection (e), and such com-
13 plaint, or a motion filed within twenty days after the effective
14 date of this Act in the case of any proceeding which is pend-
15 ing before a district court on such effective date, (1) is
16 signed by the Attorney General (or in his absence the Act-
17 ing Attorney General), and (2) alleges that in the affected
18 area fewer than 15 per centum of the total number of voting
19 age persons of the same race as the persons alleged in the
20 complaint to have been discriminated against are registered
21 (or otherwise recorded as qualified to vote), any person
22 resident within the affected area who is of the same race
23 as the persons alleged to have been discriminated against
24 shall be entitled, upon his application therefor, to an order
25 declaring him qualified to vote, upon proof that at any elec-

1 tion or elections (1) he is qualified under State law to vote,
2 and (2) he has since the filing of the proceeding under sub-
3 section (c) been (A) deprived of or denied under color of
4 law the opportunity to register to vote or otherwise to
5 qualify to vote, or (B) found not qualified to vote by any
6 person acting under color of law. Such order shall be
7 effective as to any Federal or State election held within the
8 longest period for which such applicant could have been
9 registered or otherwise qualified under State law at which
10 the applicant's qualifications would under State law entitle
11 him to vote: *Provided,* That in the event it is determined
12 upon final disposition of the proceeding, including any re-
13 view, that no pattern or practice of deprivation of any right
14 secured by subsection (a) exists, the order shall thereafter
15 no longer qualify the applicant to vote in any subsequent
16 election.

17 "Notwithstanding any inconsistent provision of State
18 law or the action of any State officer or court, an applicant
19 so declared qualified to vote shall be permitted to vote as
20 provided herein. The Attorney General shall cause to be
21 transmitted certified copies of any order declaring a person
22 qualified to vote to the appropriate election officers. The re-
23 fusal by any such officer with notice of such order to permit
24 any person so qualified to vote at an appropriate election
25 shall constitute contempt of court.

1 "An application for an order pursuant to this subsection
2 shall be heard within ten days, and the execution of any order
3 disposing of such application shall not be stayed if the effect
4 of such stay would be to delay the effectiveness of the order
5 beyond the date of any election at which the applicant would
6 otherwise be enabled to vote.

7 "The court may appoint one or more persons, to be
8 known as temporary voting referees, to receive applications
9 pursuant to this subsection and to take evidence and report to
10 the court findings as to whether at any election or elections
11 (1) any applicant entitled under this subsection to apply for
12 an order declaring him qualified to vote is qualified under
13 State law to vote, and (2) he has since the filing of the
14 proceeding under subsection (c) been (A) deprived of or
15 denied under color of law the opportunity to register to vote
16 or otherwise to qualify to vote, or (B) found not qualified
17 to vote by any person acting under color of law. The pro-
18 cedure for processing applications under this subsection and
19 for the entry of orders shall be the same as that provided for
20 in the fourth and fifth paragraphs of subsection (e).

21 "In appointing a temporary voting referee the court
22 shall make its selection from a panel provided by the judicial
23 conference of the circuit. Any temporary voting referee
24 shall be a resident and a qualified voter of the State in
25 which he is to serve. He shall subscribe to the oath of office

1 required by section 1757 of the Revised Statutes (5 U.S.C.
2 16), and shall to the extent not inconsistent herewith have
3 all the powers conferred upon a master by rule 53 (c) of the
4 Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. The compensation to be
5 allowed any persons appointed by the district court pursuant
6 to this subsection shall be fixed by the court and shall be
7 payable by the United States. In the event that the district
8 court shall appoint a retired officer or employee of the United
9 States to serve as a temporary voting referee, such officer or
10 employee shall continue to receive, in addition to any com-
11 pensation for services rendered pursuant to this subsection, all
12 retirement benefits to which he may otherwise be entitled.
13 "The court or temporary voting referee shall entertain
14 applications and the court shall issue orders pursuant to this
15 subsection until final disposition of the proceeding under sub-
16 section (c), including any review, or until the finding of a
17 pattern or practice pursuant to subsection (e), whichever
18 shall first occur. Applications pursuant to this subsection
19 shall be determined expeditiously, and this subsection shall
20 in no way be construed as a limitation upon the existing
21 powers of the court.
22 "When used in this subsection, the words 'Federal elec-
23 tion' shall mean any general, special, or primary election
24 held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting
25 any candidate for the office of President, Vice President,

1 presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of
2 the House of Representatives; the words 'State election'
3 shall mean any other general, special, or primary election
4 held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting
5 any candidate for public office; the words 'affected area'
6 shall mean that county, parish, or similar subdivision of the
7 State in which the laws of the State relating to voting
8 are or have been administered by a person who is a defend-
9 ant in the proceeding instituted under subsection (c) on
10 the date the original complaint is filed; and the words
11 'voting age persons' shall mean those persons who meet the
12 age requirements of State law for voting."
13 (d) Add the following subsection "(h)":
14 "(h) In any civil action brought in any district court
15 of the United States under this section or title III of the
16 Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974–74e; 74 Stat.
17 88) wherein the United States or the Attorney General
18 is plaintiff, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the
19 district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which
20 the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such
21 district to hear and determine the case. In the event that
22 no judge in the district is available to hear and determine
23 the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief
24 judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief

1 judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge)
2 who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the
3 circuit to hear and determine the case.

4 "It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant
5 to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest
6 practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way
7 expedited."

8 TITLE II—INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DIS-
9 CRIMINATION IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

10 FINDINGS

11 SEC. 201. (a) The American people have become in-
12 creasingly mobile during the last generation, and millions of
13 American citizens travel each year from State to State by
14 rail, air, bus, automobile, and other means. A substantial
15 number of such travelers are members of minority racial and
16 religious groups. These citizens, particularly Negroes, are
17 subjected in many places to discrimination and segregation,
18 and they are frequently unable to obtain the goods and serv-
19 ices available to other interstate travelers.

20 (b) Negroes and members of other minority groups
21 who travel interstate are frequently unable to obtain adequate
22 lodging accommodations during their travels, with the result
23 that they may be compelled to stay at hotels or motels of
24 poor and inferior quality, travel great distances from their
25 normal routes to find adequate accommodations, or make

1 detailed arrangements for lodging far in advance of scheduled
2 interstate travel.

3 (c) Negroes and members of other minority groups
4 who travel interstate are frequently unable to obtain food
5 service at convenient places along their routes, with the
6 result that many are dissuaded from traveling interstate,
7 while others must travel considerable distances from their in-
8 tended routes in order to obtain adequate food service.

9 (d) Goods, services, and persons in the amusement and
10 entertainment industries commonly move in interstate com-
11 merce, and the entire American people benefit from the in-
12 creased cultural and recreational opportunities afforded
13 thereby. Practices of audience discrimination and segrega-
14 tion artificially restrict the number of persons to whom the
15 interstate amusement and entertainment industries may offer
16 their goods and services. The burdens imposed on inter-
17 state commerce by such practices and the obstructions to the
18 free flow of commerce which result therefrom are serious
19 and substantial.

20 (e) Retail establishments in all States of the Union
21 purchase a wide variety and a large volume of goods from
22 business concerns located in other States and in foreign
23 nations. Discriminatory practices in such establishments,
24 which in some instances have led to the withholding of
25 patronage by those affected by such practices, inhibit and

1 restrict the normal distribution of goods in the interstate
2 market.
3 (f) Fraternal, religious, scientific, and other organiza-
4 tions engaged in interstate operations are frequently dis-
5 suaded from holding conventions in cities which they would
6 otherwise select because the public facilities in such cities
7 are either not open to all members of racial or religious
8 minority groups or are available only on a segregated basis.
9 (g) Business organizations are frequently hampered in
10 obtaining the services of skilled workers and persons in the
11 professions who are likely to encounter discrimination based
12 on race, creed, color, or national origin in restaurants, retail
13 stores, and places of amusement in the area where their
14 services are needed. Business organizations which seek to
15 avoid subjecting their employees to such discrimination and
16 to avoid the strife resulting therefrom are restricted in the
17 choice of location for their offices and plants. Such dis-
18 crimination thus reduces the mobility of the national labor
19 force and prevents the most effective allocation of national
20 resources, including the interstate movement of industries,
21 particularly in some of the areas of the Nation most in need
22 of industrial and commercial expansion and development.
23 (h) The discriminatory practices described above are in
24 all cases encouraged, fostered, or tolerated in some degree by
25 the governmental authorities of the States in which they

1 occur, which license or protect the businesses involved by
2 means of laws and ordinances and the activities of their
3 executive and judicial officers. Such discriminatory prac-
4 tices, particularly when their cumulative effect throughout
5 the Nation is considered, take on the character of action by
6 the States and therefore fall within the ambit of the equal
7 protection clause of the fourteenth amendment to the Con-
8 stitution of the United States.

9 (i) The burdens on and obstructions to commerce which
10 are described above can best be removed by invoking the
11 powers of Congress under the fourteenth amendment and
12 the commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States
13 to prohibit discrimination based on race, color, religion, or
14 national origin in certain public establishments.

15 RIGHT TO NONDISCRIMINATION IN PLACE OF PUBLIC
16 ACCOMMODATION

17 SEC. 202. (a) All persons shall be entitled, without
18 discrimination or segregation on account of race, color, reli-
19 gion, or national origin, to the full and equal enjoyment of
20 the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages and
21 accommodations of the following public establishments:

22 (1) any hotel, motel, or other public place engaged
23 in furnishing lodging to transient guests, including guests
24 from other States or traveling in interstate commerce;

25 (2) any motion picture house, theater, sports arena,

1 stadium, exhibition hall, or other public place of amuse-
2 ment or entertainment which customarily presents mo-
3 tion pictures, performing groups, athletic teams, exhibi-
4 tions, or other sources of entertainment which move in
5 interstate commerce; and

6 (3) any retail shop, department store, market,
7 drugstore, gasoline station, or other public place which
8 keeps goods for sale, any restaurant, lunchroom, lunch
9 counter, soda fountain, or other public place engaged in
10 selling food for consumption on the premises, and any
11 other establishment where goods, services, facilities,
12 privileges, advantages, or accommodations are held out
13 to the public for sale, use, rent, or hire, if—

14 (i) the goods, services, facilities, privileges,
15 advantages, or accommodations offered by any such
16 place or establishment are provided to a substantial
17 degree to interstate travelers,

18 (ii) a substantial portion of any goods held out
19 to the public by any such place or establishment
20 for sale, use, rent, or hire has moved in interstate
21 commerce,

22 (iii) the activities or operations of such place
23 or establishment otherwise substantially affect inter-
24 state travel or the interstate movement of goods in
25 commerce, or

1 (iv) such place or establishment is an integral
2 part of an establishment included under this sub-
3 section.
4 For the purpose of this subsection, the term "integral part"
5 means physically located on the premises occupied by an
6 establishment, or located contiguous to such premises and
7 owned, operated, or controlled, directly or indirectly, by or
8 for the benefit of, or leased from the persons or business
9 entities which own, operate or control an establishment.
10 (b) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a
11 bona fide private club or other establishment not open to the
12 public, except to the extent that the facilities of such estab-
13 lishment are made available to the customers or patrons of
14 an establishment within the scope of subsection (a).
15 PROHIBITION AGAINST DENIAL OF OR INTERFERENCE WITH
16 THE RIGHT TO NONDISCRIMINATION
17 SEC. 203. No person, whether acting under color of
18 law or otherwise, shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to
19 withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any
20 person of any right or privilege secured by section 202, or
21 (b) interfere or attempt to interfere with any right or
22 privilege secured by section 202, or (c) intimidate, threaten,
23 or coerce any person with a purpose of interfering with any
24 right or privilege secured by section 202, or (d) punish
25 or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting

1 to exercise any right or privilege secured by section 202,
2 or (e) incite or aid or abet any person to do any of the
3 foregoing.

4 CIVIL ACTION FOR PREVENTIVE RELIEF

5 SEC. 204. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or
6 there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is
7 about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section
8 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an applica-
9 tion for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining
10 order, or other order, may be instituted (1) by the person
11 aggrieved, or (2) by the Attorney General for or in the
12 name of the United States if he certifies that he has received
13 a written complaint from the person aggrieved and that in
14 his judgment (i) the person aggrieved is unable to initiate
15 and maintain appropriate legal proceedings and (ii) the
16 purposes of this title will be materially furthered by the
17 filing of an action.

18 (b) In any action commenced pursuant to this title
19 by the person aggrieved, he shall if he prevails be allowed
20 a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs.

21 (c) A person shall be deemed unable to initiate and
22 maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning
23 of subsection (a) of this section when such person is unable,
24 either directly or through other interested persons or or-
25 ganizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain

1 effective legal representation; or when there is reason to
2 believe that the institution of such litigation by him would
3 jeopardize the employment or economic standing of, or
4 might result in injury or economic damage to, such person,
5 his family, or his property.

6 (d) In case of any complaint received by the Attorney
7 General alleging a violation of section 203 in any jurisdic-
8 tion where State or local laws or regulations appear to him
9 to forbid the act or practice involved, the Attorney General
10 shall notify the appropriate State and local officials and, upon
11 request, afford them a reasonable time to act under such
12 State or local laws or regulations before he institutes an
13 action. In the case of any other complaint alleging a viola-
14 tion of section 203, the Attorney General shall, before in-
15 stituting an action, refer the matter to the Community Rela-
16 tions Service established by title IV of this Act, which shall
17 endeavor to secure compliance by voluntary procedures. No
18 action shall be instituted by the Attorney General less than
19 thirty days after such referral unless the Community Rela-
20 tions Service notifies him that its efforts have been unsuccess-
21 ful. Compliance with the foregoing provisions of this
22 subsection shall not be required if the Attorney General shall
23 file with the court a certificate that the delay consequent
24 upon compliance with such provisions in the particular case

1 would adversely affect the interests of the United States, or
2 that, in the particular case, compliance with such provisions
3 would be fruitless.

4 JURISDICTION

5 SEC. 205. (a) The district courts of the United States
6 shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to
7 this title and shall exercise the same without regard to
8 whether the aggrieved party shall have exhausted any
9 administrative or other remedies that may be provided by
10 law.

11 (b) This title shall not preclude any individual or any
12 State or local agency from pursuing any remedy that may be
13 available under any Federal or State law, including any State
14 statute or ordinance requiring nondiscrimination in public
15 establishments or accommodations.

16 TITLE III—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC
17 EDUCATION

18 DEFINITIONS

19 SEC. 301. As used in this title—

20 (a) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of
21 Education.

22 (b) "Desegregation" means the assignment of students
23 to public schools and within such schools without regard
24 to their race, color, religion, or national origin.

25 (c) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary

1 educational institution, and "public college" means any in-
2 stitution of higher education or any technical or vocational
3 school above the secondary school level, operated by a State,
4 subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a
5 State, or operated wholly or predominantly from or through
6 the use of governmental funds or property, or funds or prop-
7 erty derived from a governmental source.

8 (d) "School board" means any agency or agencies
9 which administer a system of one or more public schools and
10 any other agency which is responsible for the assignment
11 of students to or within such system.

12 ASSISTANCE TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

13 SEC. 302. The Commissioner shall conduct investiga-
14 tions and make a report to the President and the Congress,
15 within two years of the enactment of this title, upon the
16 extent to which equal educational opportunities are denied
17 to individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national
18 origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the
19 United States, its territories and possessions, and the District
20 of Columbia.

21 SEC. 303. (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon
22 the application of any school board, State, municipality,
23 school district, or other governmental unit, to render tech-
24 nical assistance in the preparation, adoption, and implemen-
25 tation of plans for the desegregation of public schools or

1 other plans designed to deal with problems arising from racial
2 imbalance in public school systems. Such technical assist-
3 ance may, among other activities, include making available
4 to such agencies information regarding effective methods of
5 coping with special educational problems occasioned by de-
6 segregation or racial imbalance, and making available to
7 such agencies personnel of the Office of Education or other
8 persons specially equipped to advise and assist them in coping
9 with such problems.

10 (b) The Commissioner is authorized to arrange, through
11 grants or contracts, with institutions of higher education for
12 the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for
13 special training designed to improve the ability of teachers,
14 supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary
15 school personnel to deal effectively with special educational
16 problems occasioned by desegregation or measures to adjust
17 racial imbalance in public school systems. Individuals who
18 attend such an institute may be paid stipends for the period
19 of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by
20 the Commissioner in regulations, including allowances for
21 dependents and including allowances for travel to attend
22 such institute.

23 SEC. 304. (a) A school board which has failed to
24 achieve desegregation in all public schools within its juris-
25 diction, or a school board which is confronted with problems

1 arising from racial imbalance in the public schools within its
2 jurisdiction, may apply to the Commissioner, either directly
3 or through another governmental unit, for a grant or loan, as
4 hereinafter provided, for the purpose of aiding such school
5 board in carrying out desegregation or in dealing with prob-
6 lems of racial imbalance.

7 (b) The Commissioner may make a grant under this
8 section, upon application therefor, for—

9 (1) the cost of giving to teachers and other school
10 personnel inservice training in dealing with problems
11 incident to desegregation or racial imbalance in public
12 schools; and

13 (2) the cost of employing specialists in problems
14 incident to desegregation or racial imbalance and of
15 providing other assistance to develop understanding of
16 these problems by parents, schoolchildren, and the gen-
17 eral public.

18 (c) Each application made for a grant under this section
19 shall provide such detailed information and be in such form
20 as the Commissioner may require. Each grant under this
21 section shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and
22 conditions as the Commissioner shall prescribe, which may
23 include a condition that the applicant expend certain of its
24 own funds in specified amounts for the purpose for which

1 the grant is made. In determining whether to make a grant,
2 and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions
3 on which it will be made, the Commissioner shall take into
4 consideration the amount available for grants under this sec-
5 tion and the other applications which are pending before
6 him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other
7 resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of
8 its problems incident to desegregation or racial imbalance,
9 and such other factors as he finds relevant.

10 (d) The Commissioner may make a loan under this sec-
11 tion, upon application, to any school board or to any local
12 government within the jurisdiction of which any school
13 board operates if the Commissioner finds that—

14 (1) part or all of the funds which would otherwise
15 be available to any such school board, either directly or
16 through the local government within whose jurisdiction
17 it operates, have been withheld or withdrawn by State
18 or local governmental action because of the actual or
19 prospective desegregation, in whole or in part, of one
20 or more schools under the jurisdiction of such school
21 board;

22 (2) such school board has authority to receive and
23 expend, or such local government has authority to re-
24 ceive and make available for the use of such board,
25 the proceeds of such loan; and

1 (3) the proceeds of such loan will be used for the
2 same purposes for which the funds withheld or with-
3 drawn would otherwise have been used.
4 (e) Each application made for a loan under this section
5 shall provide such detailed information and be in such form
6 as the Commissioner may require. Any loan under this
7 section shall be made upon such terms and conditions as the
8 Commissioner shall prescribe.
9 (f) The Commissioner may suspend or terminate assist-
10 ance under this section to any school board which, in his
11 judgment, is failing to comply in good faith with the terms
12 and conditions upon which the assistance was extended.
13 SEC. 305. Payments pursuant to a grant or contract
14 under this title may be made (after necessary adjustments
15 on account of previously made overpayments or under-
16 payments) in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in
17 such installments, and on such conditions, as the Com-
18 missioner may determine.
19 SEC. 306. The Commissioner shall prescribe rules and
20 regulations to carry out the provisions of sections 301
21 through 305 of this title.
22 SUITS BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
23 SEC. 307. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives
24 a complaint—
25 (1) signed by a parent or group of parents to the

1 effect that his or their minor children, as members of a
2 class of persons similarly situated, are being deprived
3 of the equal protection of the laws by reason of the
4 failure of a school board to achieve desegregation, or
5 (2) signed by an individual, or his parent, to the
6 effect that he has been denied admission to or not per-
7 mitted to continue in attendance at a public college by
8 reason of race, color, religion, or national origin,
9 and the Attorney General certifies that in his judgment the
10 signer or signers of such complaint are unable to initiate
11 and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and
12 that the institution of an action will materially further the
13 orderly progress of desegregation in public education, the
14 Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name
15 of the United States a civil action in a district court of the
16 United States against such parties and for such relief as
17 may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall
18 exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this
19 section. The Attorney General may implead as defendants
20 such additional parties as are or become necessary to the
21 grant of effective relief hereunder.
22 (b) A person or persons shall be deemed unable to
23 initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within
24 the meaning of subsection (a) of this section when such
25 person or persons are unable, either directly or through other

1 interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of
2 the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or
3 when there is reason to believe that the institution of such
4 litigation would jeopardize the employment or economic
5 standing of, or might result in injury or economic damage to,
6 such person or persons, their families, or their property.
7 (c) Whenever an action has been commenced in any
8 court of the United States seeking relief from the denial of
9 equal protection of the laws by reason of the failure of a
10 school board to achieve desegregation, or of a public college
11 to admit or permit the continued attendance of an individual,
12 the Attorney General for or in the name of the United States
13 may intervene in such action if he certifies that, in his judg-
14 ment, the plaintiffs are unable to maintain the action for any
15 of the reasons set forth in subsection (b) of this section, and
16 that such intervention will materially further the orderly
17 progress of desegregation in public education. In such an
18 action the United States shall be entitled to the same relief
19 as if it had instituted the action under subsection (a) of this
20 section.
21 (d) The term "parent" as used in this section includes
22 other legal representatives.
23 SEC. 308. Nothing in this title shall be construed to
24 deny, impair, or otherwise affect any right or authority
25 of the Attorney General or of the United States under exist-

1 ing law to institute or intervene in any action or proceeding.

2 SEC. 309. In any action or proceeding under this title
3 the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a
4 private person.

5 SEC. 310. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the
6 right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court
7 against discrimination in public education.

8 TITLE IV—ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY
9 RELATIONS SERVICE

10 SEC. 401. There is hereby established a Community
11 Relations Service (hereinafter referred to as the "Service"),
12 which shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed
13 by the President. The Director shall receive compensation
14 at a rate of $20,000 per year. The Director is authorized to
15 appoint such additional officers and employees as he deems
16 necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

17 SEC. 402. It shall be the function of the Service to pro-
18 vide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolv-
19 ing disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to dis-
20 criminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin
21 which impair the rights of persons in such communities under
22 the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect
23 or may affect interstate commerce. The Service may offer
24 its services in cases of such disputes, disagreements, or diffi-
25 culties whenever in its judgment peaceful relations among

1 the citizens of the community involved are threatened
2 thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own
3 motion or upon the request of an appropriate local official
4 or other interested person.

5 SEC. 403. (a) The Service shall whenever possible in
6 performing its functions under this title seek and utilize the
7 cooperation of the appropriate State or local agencies and
8 may seek and utilize the cooperation of any nonpublic agency
9 which it believes may be helpful.

10 (b) The activities of all officers and employees of the
11 Service in providing assistance under this title shall be con-
12 ducted in confidence and without publicity, and the Service
13 shall hold confidential any information acquired in the regu-
14 lar performance of its duties upon the understanding that it
15 would be so held. No officer or employee of the Service
16 shall engage in the performance of investigative or prose-
17 cuting functions for any department or agency in any litiga-
18 tion arising out of a dispute in which he acted on behalf of
19 the Service.

20 SEC. 404. Subject to the provisions of section 403 (b),
21 the Director shall, on or before January 31 of each year,
22 submit to the Congress a report of the activities of the Serv-
23 ice during the preceding fiscal year. Such report shall also
24 contain information with respect to the internal administra-
25 tion of the Service and may contain recommendations for

1 legislation necessary for improvements in such internal
2 administration.

3 TITLE V—COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

4 SEC. 501. Section 102 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957
5 (42 U.S.C. 1975a; 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as
6 follows:

7 "RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION HEARINGS

8 "SEC. 102. (a) The Chairman, or one designated by
9 him to act as Chairman at a hearing of the Commission, shall
10 announce in an opening statement the subject of the hearing.

11 "(b) A copy of the Commission's rules shall be made
12 available to the witness before the Commission.

13 "(c) Witnesses at the hearings may be accompanied by
14 their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concern-
15 ing their constitutional rights.

16 "(d) The Chairman or Acting Chairman may punish
17 breaches of order and decorum and unprofessional ethics on
18 the part of counsel, by censure and exclusion from the
19 hearings.

20 "(e) If the Commission determines that evidence or
21 testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or
22 incriminate any person, it shall receive such evidence or
23 testimony or summary of such evidence or testimony in
24 executive session. In the event the Commission determines
25 that such evidence or testimony shall be given at a public

1 session, it shall afford such person an opportunity voluntarily
2 to appear as a witness and receive and dispose of requests
3 from such person to subpena additional witnesses.

4 "(f) Except as provided in sections 102 and 105 (f) of
5 this Act, the Chairman shall receive and the Commission
6 shall dispose of requests to subpena additional witnesses.

7 "(g) No evidence or testimony or summary of evidence
8 or testimony taken in executive session may be released or
9 used in public sessions without the consent of the Commis-
10 sion. Whoever releases or uses in public without the con-
11 sent of the Commission such evidence or testimony taken
12 in executive session shall be fined not more than $1,000, or
13 imprisoned for not more than one year.

14 "(h) In the discretion of the Commission, witnesses
15 may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing
16 for inclusion in the record. The Commission is the sole
17 judge of the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced
18 at its hearings.

19 "(i) Upon payment of the cost thereof, a witness may
20 obtain a transcript copy of his testimony given at a public
21 session or, if given at an executive session, when authorized
22 by the Commission.

23 "(j) A witness attending any session of the Commis-
24 sion shall receive $6 for each day's attendance and for the
25 time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from

1 the same, and 10 cents per mile for going from and return-
2 ing to his place of residence. Witnesses who attend at
3 points so far removed from their respective residences as to
4 prohibit return thereto from day to day shall be entitled to
5 an additional allowance of $10 per day for expenses of
6 subsistence, including the time necessarily occupied in going
7 to and returning from the place of attendance. Mileage
8 payments shall be tendered to the witness upon service of
9 a subpena issued on behalf of the Commission or any sub-
10 committee thereof.

11 "(k) The Commission shall not issue any subpena for
12 the attendance and testimony of witnesses or for the pro-
13 duction of written or other matter which would require the
14 presence of the party subpenaed at a hearing to be held
15 outside of the State wherein the witness is found or resides
16 or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an
17 agent for receipt of service of process except that, in any
18 event, the Commission may issue subpenas for the attendance
19 and testimony of witnesses and the production of written or
20 other matter at a hearing held within fifty miles of the
21 place where the witness is found or resides or is domiciled
22 or transacts business or has appointed an agent for receipt
23 of service of process."

1 SEC. 502. Section 103 (a) of the Civil Rights Act of
2 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975b (a); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to
3 read as follows:

4 "SEC. 103. (a) Each member of the Commission who
5 is not otherwise in the service of the Government of the
6 United States shall receive the sum of $75 per day for each
7 day spent in the work of the Commission, shall be paid
8 actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence
9 expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in
10 accordance with section 5 of the Administrative Expenses
11 Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C. 73b-2; 60 Stat. 808)."

12 SEC. 503. Section 103 (b) of the Civil Rights Act of
13 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975 (b); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to
14 read as follows:

15 "(b) Each member of the Commission who is otherwise
16 in the service of the Government of the United States shall
17 serve without compensation in addition to that received for
18 such other service, but while engaged in the work of the
19 Commission shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per
20 diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his
21 usual place of residence, in accordance with the provisions
22 of the Travel Expense Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C.
23 835-42; 63 Stat. 166)."

1 SEC. 504. Section 104 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957
2 (42 U.S.C. 1975c; 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further
3 amended to read as follows:

4 "DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

5 "SEC. 104. (a) The Commission shall—

6 "(1) investigate allegations in writing under oath
7 or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States
8 are being deprived of their right to vote and have that
9 vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or
10 national origin; which writing, under oath or affirma-
11 tion, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief
12 or beliefs are based;

13 "(2) study and collect information concerning legal
14 developments constituting a denial of equal protection
15 of the laws under the Constitution;

16 "(3) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal
17 Government with respect to equal protection of the laws
18 under the Constitution; and

19 "(4) serve as a national clearinghouse for informa-
20 tion, and provide advice and technical assistance to
21 Government agencies, communities, industries, orga-
22 nizations, or individuals in respect to equal protection of
23 the laws, including but not limited to the fields of vot-
24 ing, education, housing, employment, the use of public
25 facilities, transportation, and the administration of justice.

1 The Commission may, for such periods as it deems neces-
2 sary, concentrate the performance of its duties on those spec-
3 ified in either paragraph (1), (2), (3), or (4) and may
4 further concentrate the performance of its duties under any
5 of such paragraphs on one or more aspects of the duties im-
6 posed therein.

7 "(b) The Commission shall submit interim reports to
8 the President and to the Congress at such times as either
9 the Commission or the President shall deem desirable, and
10 shall submit to the President and to the Congress a final
11 and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and
12 recommendations not later than September 30, 1967.

13 "(c) Sixty days after the submission of its final report
14 and recommendations the Commission shall cease to exist."

15 SEC. 505. (a) Section 105(a) of the Civil Rights Act
16 of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975(d); 71 Stat. 636) is amended
17 by striking out in the last sentence thereof "$50 per diem"
18 and inserting in lieu thereof "$75 per diem."

19 SEC. 506. Section 105(g) of the Civil Rights Act of
20 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d(g); 71 Stat. 636) is amended to
21 read as follows:

22 "(g) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena,
23 any district court of the United States or the United States
24 court of any territory or possession, or the District Court
25 of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the

1 jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on or within the
2 jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or
3 refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts
4 business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of
5 process, upon application by the Attorney General of the
6 United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person
7 an order requiring such person to appear before the Com-
8 mission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce evidence
9 if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter
10 under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of
11 the court may be punished by said court as a contempt
12 thereof."

13 SEC. 507. Section 105 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957
14 (42 U.S.C. 1975d; 71 Stat. 636), as amended by section
15 401 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1975d (h);
16 74 Stat. 89), is further amended by adding a new subsection
17 at the end to read as follows:

18 "(i) The Commission shall have the power to make
19 such rules and regulations as it deems necessary to carry
20 out the purposes of this Act."

21 TITLE VI—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY
22 ASSISTED PROGRAMS

23 SEC. 601. Notwithstanding any provision to the contrary
24 in any law of the United States providing or authorizing
25 direct or indirect financial assistance for or in connection

1 with any program or activity by way of grant, contract, loan,
2 insurance, guaranty, or otherwise, no such law shall be inter-
3 preted as requiring that such financial assistance shall be
4 furnished in circumstances under which individuals partici-
5 pating in or benefiting from the program or activity are
6 discriminated against on the ground of race, color, religion,
7 or national origin or are denied participation or benefits
8 therein on the ground of race, color, religion, or national
9 origin. All contracts made in connection with any such pro-
10 gram or activity shall contain such conditions as the President
11 may prescribe for the purpose of assuring that there shall be
12 no discrimination in employment by any contractor or sub-
13 contractor on the ground of race, color, religion, or national
14 origin.

15 TITLE VII—COMMISSION ON EQUAL EMPLOY-
16 MENT OPPORTUNITY

17 SEC. 701. The President is authorized to establish a
18 Commission to be known as the "Commission on Equal
19 Employment Opportunity," hereinafter referred to as the
20 Commission. It shall be the function of the Commission to
21 prevent discrimination against employees or applicants for
22 employment because of race, color, religion, or national ori-
23 gin by Government contractors and subcontractors, and by
24 contractors and subcontractors participating in programs or
25 activities in which direct or indirect financial assistance by

1 the United States Government is provided by way of grant,
2 contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise. The Com-
3 mission shall have such powers to effectuate the purposes of
4 this title as may be conferred upon it by the President. The
5 President may also confer upon the Commission such powers
6 as he deems appropriate to prevent discrimination on the
7 ground of race, color, religion, or national origin in Govern-
8 ment employment.

9 SEC. 702. The Commission shall consist of the Vice Pres-
10 ident, who shall serve as Chairman, the Secretary of Labor,
11 who shall serve as Vice Chairman, and not more than fifteen
12 other members appointed by and serving at the pleasure of
13 the President. Members of the Commission, while attend-
14 ing meetings or conferences of the Commission or otherwise
15 serving at the request of the Commission, shall be entitled to
16 receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by it but not ex-
17 ceeding $75 per diem, including travel time, and while
18 away from their homes or regular places of business they
19 may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu
20 of subsistence, as authorized by section 73b–2 of title 5 of
21 the United States Code for persons in the Government serv-
22 ice employed intermittently.

23 SEC. 703. (a) There shall be an Executive Vice Chair-
24 man of the Commission who shall be appointed by the Presi-

1 dent and who shall be ex officio a member of the Commis-
2 sion. The Executive Vice Chairman shall assist the Chair-
3 man, the Vice Chairman, and the members of the Com-
4 mission and shall be responsible for carrying out the orders
5 and recommendations of the Commission and for performing
6 such other functions as the Commission may direct.

7 (b) Section 106 (a) of the Federal Executive Pay Act
8 of 1956, as amended (5 U.S.C. 2205 (a)), is further
9 amended by adding the following clause thereto:

10 "(52) Executive Vice Chairman, Commission on Equal
11 Employment Opportunity."

12 (c) The Commission is authorized to appoint, subject
13 to the civil service laws and regulations, such other personnel
14 as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions
15 and duties, and to fix their compensation in accordance with
16 the Classification Act of 1949, and is authorized to procure
17 services as authorized by section 14 of the Act of August 2,
18 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55a), but at rates for individ-
19 uals not in excess of $50 a day.

20 TITLE VIII—MISCELLANEOUS

21 SEC. 801. There are hereby authorized to be appropri-
22 ated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions
23 of this Act.

24 SEC. 802. If any provision of this Act or the applica-

1 tion thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid,
2 the remainder of the Act and the application of the provi-
3 sion to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected
4 thereby.

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1731

A BILL

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in education, to establish a Community Relations Service, to extend for four years the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

By Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. KEATING, Mr. MORSE, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. BEALL, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. FONG, Mr. CLARK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. HART, Mr. CASE, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DODD, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. ENGLE, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. MCNAMARA, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PELL, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. MOSS, and Mr. MCGEE.

JUNE 19, 1963

Read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

Politics Gen.

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 7152

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 20, 1963

Mr. CELLER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in education, to establish a Community Relations Service, to extend for four years the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That this Act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of
4 1963."

1 SEC. 2. (a) Discrimination by reason of race, color,
2 religion, or national origin is incompatible with the concepts
3 of liberty and equality to which the Government of the
4 United States is dedicated. In recent years substantial steps
5 have been taken toward eliminating such discrimination
6 throughout the Nation. Nevertheless, many citizens of the
7 United States, solely because of their race, color, or national
8 origin, are denied rights and privileges accorded to other
9 citizens and thereby subjected to inconveniences, humilia-
10 tions, and hardships. Such discrimination impairs the gen-
11 eral welfare of the United States by preventing the fullest
12 development of the capabilities of the whole citizenry and by
13 limiting participation in the economic, political, and cultural
14 life of the Nation.

15 (b) It is hereby declared to be the policy of this Act
16 to promote the general welfare by eliminating discrimina-
17 tion based on race, color, religion, or national origin in
18 voting, education, and public accommodations through the
19 exercise by Congress of the powers conferred upon it to
20 regulate the manner of holding Federal elections, to enforce
21 the provisions of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments,
22 to regulate commerce among the several States, and to
23 make laws necessary and proper to execute the powers
24 conferred upon it by the Constitution.

25 (c) It is also desirable that disputes or disagreements

1 arising in any community from the discriminatory treatment
2 of individuals for reasons of race, color, or national origin
3 shall be resolved on a voluntary basis, without hostility or
4 litigation. Accordingly, it is the further purpose of this Act
5 to promote this end by providing machinery for the volun-
6 tary settlement of such disputes and disagreements.

7 TITLE I—VOTING RIGHTS

8 SEC. 101. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42
9 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil
10 Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and as further amended
11 by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat.
12 90), is further amended as follows:

13 (a) Insert "1" after "(a)" in subsection (a) and add at
14 the end of subsection (a) the following new paragraphs:

15 "(2) No person acting under color of law shall—

16 "(A) in determining whether any individual is
17 qualified under State law to vote in any Federal election
18 apply any standard, practice, or procedure different from
19 the standards, practices, or procedures applied to in-
20 dividuals similarly situated who have been found by
21 State officials to be qualified to vote.

22 "(B) deny the right of any individual to vote in
23 any Federal election because of an error or omission of
24 such individual on any record or paper relating to
25 any application, registration, payment of poll tax, or

1 other act requisite to voting, if such error or omission is
2 not material in determining whether such individual is
3 qualified under State law to vote in such election; or
4 "(C) employ any literacy test as a qualification for
5 voting in any Federal election unless (i) such test is
6 administered to each individual wholly in writing and
7 (ii) a certified copy of the test and of the answers
8 given by the individual is furnished to him within
9 twenty-five days of the submission of his written request
10 made within the period of time during which records
11 and papers are required to be retained and preserved
12 pursuant to title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960
13 (42 U.S.C. 1974–74e; 74 Stat. 88).
14 "(3) For purposes of this subsection—
15 "(A) the term 'vote' shall have the same meaning
16 as in subsection (e) of this section;
17 "(B) the words 'Federal election' shall have the
18 same meaning as in subsection (f) of this section; and
19 "(C) the phrase 'literacy test' includes any test
20 of the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret
21 any matter."
22 (b) Insert immediately following the period at the end
23 of the first sentence of subsection (c) the following new
24 sentence: "If in any such proceeding literacy is a relevant
25 fact it shall be presumed that any person who has not been

1 adjudged an incompetent and who has completed the sixth
2 grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited
3 by, any State or territory or the District of Columbia where
4 instruction is carried on predominantly in the English lan-
5 guage, possesses sufficient literacy, comprehension, and intel-
6 ligence to vote in any Federal election as defined in
7 subsection (f) of this section."

8 (c) Add the following subsection "(f)" and designate
9 the present subsection "(f)" as subsection "(g)":

10 "(f) Whenever in any proceeding instituted pursuant
11 to subsection (c) the complaint requests a finding of a pat-
12 tern or practice pursuant to subsection (e), and such com-
13 plaint, or a motion filed within twenty days after the effective
14 date of this Act in the case of any proceeding which is pend-
15 ing before a district court on such effective date, (1) is
16 signed by the Attorney General (or in his absence the Act-
17 ing Attorney General), and (2) alleges that in the affected
18 area fewer than 15 per centum of the total number of voting
19 age persons of the same race as the persons alleged in the
20 complaint to have been discriminated against are registered
21 (or otherwise recorded as qualified to vote), any person
22 resident within the affected area who is of the same race
23 as the persons alleged to have been discriminated against
24 shall be entitled, upon his application therefor, to an order
25 declaring him qualified to vote, upon proof that at any elec-

1 tion or elections (1) he is qualified under State law to vote,
2 and (2) he has since the filing of the proceeding under sub-
3 section (c) been (A) deprived of or denied under color of
4 law the opportunity to register to vote or otherwise to
5 qualify to vote, or (B) found not qualified to vote by any
6 person acting under color of law. Such order shall be
7 effective as to any Federal or State election held within the
8 longest period for which such applicant could have been
9 registered or otherwise qualified under State law at which
10 the applicant's qualifications would under State law entitle
11 him to vote: *Provided,* That in the event it is determined
12 upon final disposition of the proceeding, including any re-
13 view, that no pattern or practice of deprivation of any right
14 secured by subsection (a) exists, the order shall thereafter
15 no longer qualify the applicant to vote in any subsequent
16 election.

17 "Notwithstanding any inconsistent provision of State
18 law or the action of any State officer or court, an applicant
19 so declared qualified to vote shall be permitted to vote as
20 provided herein. The Attorney General shall cause to be
21 transmitted certified copies of any order declaring a person
22 qualified to vote to the appropriate election officers. The re-
23 fusal by any such officer with notice of such order to permit
24 any person so qualified to vote at an appropriate election
25 shall constitute contempt of court.

1 "An application for an order pursuant to this subsection
2 shall be heard within ten days, and the execution of any order
3 disposing of such application shall not be stayed if the effect
4 of such stay would be to delay the effectiveness of the order
5 beyond the date of any election at which the applicant would
6 otherwise be enabled to vote.

7 "The court may appoint one or more persons, to be
8 known as temporary voting referees, to receive applications
9 pursuant to this subsection and to take evidence and report to
10 the court findings as to whether at any election or elections
11 (1) any applicant entitled under this subsection to apply for
12 an order declaring him qualified to vote is qualified under
13 State law to vote, and (2) he has since the filing of the
14 proceeding under subsection (c) been (A) deprived of or
15 denied under color of law the opportunity to register to vote
16 or otherwise to qualify to vote, or (B) found not qualified
17 to vote by any person acting under color of law. The pro-
18 cedure for processing applications under this subsection and
19 for the entry of orders shall be the same as that provided for
20 in the fourth and fifth paragraphs of subsection (e).

21 "In appointing a temporary voting referee the court
22 shall make its selection from a panel provided by the judicial
23 conference of the circuit. Any temporary voting referee
24 shall be a resident and a qualified voter of the State in
25 which he is to serve. He shall subscribe to the oath of office

1 required by section 1757 of the Revised Statutes (5 U.S.C.
2 16), and shall to the extent not inconsistent herewith have
3 all the powers conferred upon a master by rule 53 (c) of the
4 Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. The compensation to be
5 allowed any persons appointed by the district court pursuant
6 to this subsection shall be fixed by the court and shall be
7 payable by the United States. In the event that the district
8 court shall appoint a retired officer or employee of the United
9 States to serve as a temporary voting referee, such officer or
10 employee shall continue to receive, in addition to any com-
11 pensation for services rendered pursuant to this subsection, all
12 retirement benefits to which he may otherwise be entitled.
13 "The court or temporary voting referee shall entertain
14 applications and the court shall issue orders pursuant to this
15 subsection until final disposition of the proceeding under sub-
16 section (c), including any review, or until the finding of a
17 pattern or practice pursuant to subsection (e), whichever
18 shall first occur. Applications pursuant to this subsection
19 shall be determined expeditiously, and this subsection shall
20 in no way be construed as a limitation upon the existing
21 powers of the court.
22 "When used in this subsection, the words 'Federal elec-
23 tion' shall mean any general, special, or primary election
24 held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting
25 any candidate for the office of President, Vice President,

1 presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of
2 the House of Representatives; the words 'State election'
3 shall mean any other general, special, or primary election
4 held solely or in part for the purpose of electing or selecting
5 any candidate for public office; the words 'affected area'
6 shall mean that county, parish, or similar subdivision of the
7 State in which the laws of the State relating to voting
8 are or have been administered by a person who is a defend-
9 ant in the proceeding instituted under subsection (c) on
10 the date the original complaint is filed; and the words
11 'voting age persons' shall mean those persons who meet the
12 age requirements of State law for voting."
13 (d) Add the following subsection "(h)":
14 "(h) In any civil action brought in any district court
15 of the United States under this section or title III of the
16 Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1974–74e; 74 Stat.
17 88) wherein the United States or the Attorney General
18 is plaintiff, it shall be the duty of the chief judge of the
19 district (or in his absence, the acting chief judge) in which
20 the case is pending immediately to designate a judge in such
21 district to hear and determine the case. In the event that
22 no judge in the district is available to hear and determine
23 the case, the chief judge of the district, or the acting chief
24 judge, as the case may be, shall certify this fact to the chief

1 judge of the circuit (or in his absence, the acting chief judge)
2 who shall then designate a district or circuit judge of the
3 circuit to hear and determine the case.

4 "It shall be the duty of the judge designated pursuant
5 to this section to assign the case for hearing at the earliest
6 practicable date and to cause the case to be in every way
7 expedited."

8 TITLE II—INJUNCTIVE RELIEF AGAINST DIS-
9 CRIMINATION IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

10 FINDINGS

11 SEC. 201. (a) The American people have become in-
12 creasingly mobile during the last generation, and millions of
13 American citizens travel each year from State to State by
14 rail, air, bus, automobile, and other means. A substantial
15 number of such travelers are members of minority racial and
16 religious groups. These citizens, particularly Negroes, are
17 subjected in many places to discrimination and segregation,
18 and they are frequently unable to obtain the goods and serv-
19 ices available to other interstate travelers.

20 (b) Negroes and members of other minority groups
21 who travel interstate are frequently unable to obtain adequate
22 lodging accommodations during their travels, with the result
23 that they may be compelled to stay at hotels or motels of
24 poor and inferior quality, travel great distances from their
25 normal routes to find adequate accommodations, or make

1 detailed arrangements for lodging far in advance of scheduled
2 interstate travel.

3 (c) Negroes and members of other minority groups
4 who travel interstate are frequently unable to obtain food
5 service at convenient places along their routes, with the
6 result that many are dissuaded from traveling interstate,
7 while others must travel considerable distances from their in-
8 tended routes in order to obtain adequate food service.

9 (d) Goods, services, and persons in the amusement and
10 entertainment industries commonly move in interstate com-
11 merce, and the entire American people benefit from the in-
12 creased cultural and recreational opportunities afforded
13 thereby. Practices of audience discrimination and segrega-
14 tion artificially restrict the number of persons to whom the
15 interstate amusement and entertainment industries may offer
16 their goods and services. The burdens imposed on inter-
17 state commerce by such practices and the obstructions to the
18 free flow of commerce which result therefrom are serious
19 and substantial.

20 (e) Retail establishments in all States of the Union
21 purchase a wide variety and a large volume of goods from
22 business concerns located in other States and in foreign
23 nations. Discriminatory practices in such establishments,
24 which in some instances have led to the withholding of
25 patronage by those affected by such practices, inhibit and

1 restrict the normal distribution of goods in the interstate
2 market.

3 (f) Fraternal, religious, scientific, and other organiza-
4 tions engaged in interstate operations are frequently dis-
5 suaded from holding conventions in cities which they would
6 otherwise select because the public facilities in such cities
7 are either not open to all members of racial or religious
8 minority groups or are available only on a segregated basis.

9 (g) Business organizations are frequently hampered in
10 obtaining the services of skilled workers and persons in the
11 professions who are likely to encounter discrimination based
12 on race, creed, color, or national origin in restaurants, retail
13 stores, and places of amusement in the area where their
14 services are needed. Business organizations which seek to
15 avoid subjecting their employees to such discrimination and
16 to avoid the strife resulting therefrom are restricted in the
17 choice of location for their offices and plants. Such dis-
18 crimination thus reduces the mobility of the national labor
19 force and prevents the most effective allocation of national
20 resources, including the interstate movement of industries,
21 particularly in some of the areas of the Nation most in need
22 of industrial and commercial expansion and development.

23 (h) The discriminatory practices described above are in
24 all cases encouraged, fostered, or tolerated in some degree by
25 the governmental authorities of the States in which they

1 occur, which license or protect the businesses involved by
2 means of laws and ordinances and the activities of their
3 executive and judicial officers. Such discriminatory prac-
4 tices, particularly when their cumulative effect throughout
5 the Nation is considered, take on the character of action by
6 the States and therefore fall within the ambit of the equal
7 protection clause of the fourteenth amendment to the Con-
8 stitution of the United States.

9 (i) The burdens on and obstructions to commerce which
10 are described above can best be removed by invoking the
11 powers of Congress under the fourteenth amendment and
12 the commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States
13 to prohibit discrimination based on race, color, religion, or
14 national origin in certain public establishments.

15 RIGHT TO NONDISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC
16 ACCOMMODATION

17 SEC. 202. (a) All persons shall be entitled, without
18 discrimination or segregation on account of race, color, reli-
19 gion, or national origin, to the full and equal enjoyment of
20 the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages and
21 accommodations of the following public establishments:

22 (1) any hotel, motel, or other public place engaged
23 in furnishing lodging to transient guests, including guests
24 from other States or traveling in interstate commerce;

25 (2) any motion picture house, theater, sports arena

1 stadium, exhibition hall, or other public place of amuse-
2 ment or entertainment which customarily presents mo-
3 tion pictures, performing groups, athletic teams, exhibi-
4 tions, or other sources of entertainment which move in
5 interstate commerce; and

6 (3) any retail shop, department store, market,
7 drugstore, gasoline station, or other public place which
8 keeps goods for sale, any restaurant, lunchroom, lunch
9 counter, soda fountain, or other public place engaged in
10 selling food for consumption on the premises, and any
11 other establishment where goods, services, facilities,
12 privileges, advantages, or accommodations are held out
13 to the public for sale, use, rent, or hire, if—

14 (i) the goods, services, facilities, privileges,
15 advantages, or accommodations offered by any such
16 place or establishment are provided to a substantial
17 degree to interstate travelers,

18 (ii) a substantial portion of any goods held out
19 to the public by any such place or establishment
20 for sale, use, rent, or hire has moved in interstate
21 commerce,

22 (iii) the activities or operations of such place
23 or establishment otherwise substantially affect inter-
24 state travel or the interstate movement of goods in
25 commerce, or

1 (iv) such place or establishment is an integral
2 part of an establishment included under this sub-
3 section.
4 For the purpose of this subsection, the term "integral part"
5 means physically located on the premises occupied by an
6 establishment, or located contiguous to such premises and
7 owned, operated, or controlled, directly or indirectly, by or
8 for the benefit of, or leased from the persons or business
9 entities which own, operate or control an establishment.
10 (b) The provisions of this title shall not apply to a
11 bona fide private club or other establishment not open to the
12 public, except to the extent that the facilities of such estab-
13 lishment are made available to the customers or patrons of
14 an establishment within the scope of subsection (a).
15 PROHIBITION AGAINST DENIAL OF OR INTERFERENCE WITH
16 THE RIGHT TO NONDISCRIMINATION
17 SEC. 203. No person, whether acting under color of
18 law or otherwise, shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to
19 withhold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any
20 person of any right or privilege secured by section 202, or
21 (b) interfere or attempt to interfere with any right or
22 privilege secured by section 202, or (c) intimidate, threaten,
23 or coerce any person with a purpose of interfering with any
24 right or privilege secured by section 202, or (d) punish
25 or attempt to punish any person for exercising or attempting

1 to exercise any right or privilege secured by section 202,
2 or (e) incite or aid or abet any person to do any of the
3 foregoing.

4 CIVIL ACTION FOR PREVENTIVE RELIEF

5 SEC. 204. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or
6 there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is
7 about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section
8 203, a civil action for preventive relief, including an applica-
9 tion for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining
10 order, or other order, may be instituted (1) by the person
11 aggrieved, or (2) by the Attorney General for or in the
12 name of the United States if he certifies that he has received
13 a written complaint from the person aggrieved and that in
14 his judgment (i) the person aggrieved is unable to initiate
15 and maintain appropriate legal proceedings and (ii) the
16 purposes of this title will be materially furthered by the
17 filing of an action.

18 (b) In any action commenced pursuant to this title
19 by the person aggrieved, he shall if he prevails be allowed
20 a reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs.

21 (c) A person shall be deemed unable to initiate and
22 maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning
23 of subsection (a) of this section when such person is unable,
24 either directly or through other interested persons or or-
25 ganizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain

1 effective legal representation; or when there is reason to
2 believe that the institution of such litigation by him would
3 jeopardize the employment or economic standing of, or
4 might result in injury or economic damage to, such person,
5 his family, or his property.

6 (d) In case of any complaint received by the Attorney
7 General alleging a violation of section 203 in any jurisdic-
8 tion where State or local laws or regulations appear to him
9 to forbid the act or practice involved, the Attorney General
10 shall notify the appropriate State and local officials and, upon
11 request, afford them a reasonable time to act under such
12 State or local laws or regulations before he institutes an
13 action. In the case of any other complaint alleging a viola-
14 tion of section 203, the Attorney General shall, before in-
15 stituting an action, refer the matter to the Community Rela-
16 tions Service established by title IV of this Act, which shall
17 endeavor to secure compliance by voluntary procedures. No
18 action shall be instituted by the Attorney General less than
19 thirty days after such referral unless the Community Rela-
20 tions Service notifies him that its efforts have been unsuccess-
21 ful. Compliance with the foregoing provisions of this
22 subsection shall not be required if the Attorney General shall
23 file with the court a certificate that the delay consequent
24 upon compliance with such provisions in the particular case

1 would adversely affect the interests of the United States, or
2 that, in the particular case, compliance with such provisions
3 would be fruitless.

4 JURISDICTION

5 SEC. 205. (a) The district courts of the United States
6 shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to
7 this title and shall exercise the same without regard to
8 whether the aggrieved party shall have exhausted any
9 administrative or other remedies that may be provided by
10 law.

11 (b) This title shall not preclude any individual or any
12 State or local agency from pursuing any remedy that may be
13 available under any Federal or State law, including any State
14 statute or ordinance requiring nondiscrimination in public
15 establishments or accommodations.

16 TITLE III—DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC
17 EDUCATION

18 DEFINITIONS

19 SEC. 301. As used in this title—

20 (a) "Commissioner" means the Commissioner of
21 Education.

22 (b) "Desegregation" means the assignment of students
23 to public schools and within such schools without regard
24 to their race, color, religion, or national origin.

25 (c) "Public school" means any elementary or secondary

1 educational institution, and "public college" means any in-
2 stitution of higher education or any technical or vocational
3 school above the secondary school level, operated by a State,
4 subdivision of a State, or governmental agency within a
5 State, or operated wholly or predominantly from or through
6 the use of governmental funds or property, or funds or prop-
7 erty derived from a governmental source.

8 (d) "School board" means any agency or agencies
9 which administer a system of one or more public schools and
10 any other agency which is responsible for the assignment
11 of students to or within such system.

12 ASSISTANCE TO FACILITATE DESEGREGATION

13 SEC. 302. The Commissioner shall conduct investiga-
14 tions and make a report to the President and the Congress,
15 within two years of the enactment of this title, upon the
16 extent to which equal educational opportunities are denied
17 to individuals by reason of race, color, religion or national
18 origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the
19 United States, its territories and possessions, and the District
20 of Columbia.

21 SEC. 303. (a) The Commissioner is authorized, upon
22 the application of any school board, State, municipality,
23 school district, or other governmental unit, to render tech-
24 nical assistance in the preparation, adoption, and implemen-
25 tation of plans for the desegregation of public schools or

1 other plans designed to deal with problems arising from racial
2 imbalance in public school systems. Such technical assist-
3 ance may, among other activities, include making available
4 to such agencies information regarding effective methods of
5 coping with special educational problems occasioned by de-
6 segregation or racial imbalance, and making available to
7 such agencies personnel of the Office of Education or other
8 persons specially equipped to advise and assist them in coping
9 with such problems.

10 (b) The Commissioner is authorized to arrange, through
11 grants or contracts, with institutions of higher education for
12 the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for
13 special training designed to improve the ability of teachers,
14 supervisors, counselors, and other elementary or secondary
15 school personnel to deal effectively with special educational
16 problems occasioned by desegregation or measures to adjust
17 racial imbalance in public school systems. Individuals who
18 attend such an institute may be paid stipends for the period
19 of their attendance at such institute in amounts specified by
20 the Commissioner in regulations, including allowances for
21 dependents and including allowances for travel to attend
22 such institute.

23 SEC. 304. (a) A school board which has failed to
24 achieve desegregation in all public schools within its juris-
25 diction, or a school board which is confronted with problems

1 arising from racial imbalance in the public schools within its
2 jurisdiction, may apply to the Commissioner, either directly
3 or through another governmental unit, for a grant or loan, as
4 hereinafter provided, for the purpose of aiding such school
5 board in carrying out desegregation or in dealing with prob-
6 lems of racial imbalance.

7 (b) The Commissioner may make a grant under this
8 section, upon application therefor, for—

9 (1) the cost of giving to teachers and other school
10 personnel inservice training in dealing with problems
11 incident to desegregation or racial imbalance in public
12 schools; and

13 (2) the cost of employing specialists in problems
14 incident to desegregation or racial imbalance and of
15 providing other assistance to develop understanding of
16 these problems by parents, schoolchildren, and the gen-
17 eral public.

18 (c) Each application made for a grant under this section
19 shall provide such detailed information and be in such form
20 as the Commissioner may require. Each grant under this
21 section shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and
22 conditions as the Commissioner shall prescribe, which may
23 include a condition that the applicant expend certain of its
24 own funds in specified amounts for the purpose for which

1 the grant is made. In determining whether to make a grant,
2 and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions
3 on which it will be made, the Commissioner shall take into
4 consideration the amount available for grants under this sec-
5 tion and the other applications which are pending before
6 him; the financial condition of the applicant and the other
7 resources available to it; the nature, extent, and gravity of
8 its problems incident to desegregation or racial imbalance,
9 and such other factors as he finds relevant.

10 (d) The Commissioner may make a loan under this sec-
11 tion, upon application, to any school board or to any local
12 government within the jurisdiction of which any school
13 board operates if the Commissioner finds that—

14 (1) part or all of the funds which would otherwise
15 be available to any such school board, either directly or
16 through the local government within whose jurisdiction
17 it operates, have been withheld or withdrawn by State
18 or local governmental action because of the actual or
19 prospective desegregation, in whole or in part, of one
20 or more schools under the jurisdiction of such school
21 board;

22 (2) such school board has authority to receive and
23 expend, or such local government has authority to re-
24 ceive and make available for the use of such board,
25 the proceeds of such loan; and

1 (3) the proceeds of such loan will be used for the
2 same purposes for which the funds withheld or with-
3 drawn would otherwise have been used.
4 (e) Each application made for a loan under this section
5 shall provide such detailed information and be in such form
6 as the Commissioner may require. Any loan under this
7 section shall be made upon such terms and conditions as the
8 Commissioner shall prescribe.
9 (f) The Commissioner may suspend or terminate assist-
10 ance under this section to any school board which, in his
11 judgment, is failing to comply in good faith with the terms
12 and conditions upon which the assistance was extended.
13 SEC. 305. Payments pursuant to a grant or contract
14 under this title may be made (after necessary adjustments
15 on account of previously made overpayments or under-
16 payments) in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in
17 such installments, and on such conditions, as the Com-
18 missioner may determine.
19 SEC. 306. The Commissioner shall prescribe rules and
20 regulations to carry out the provisions of sections 301
21 through 305 of this title.
22 SUITS BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
23 SEC. 307. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives
24 a complaint—
25 (1) signed by a parent or group of parents to the

1 effect that his or their minor children, as members of a
2 class of persons similarly situated, are being deprived
3 of the equal protection of the laws by reason of the
4 failure of a school board to achieve desegregation, or
5 (2) signed by an individual, or his parent, to the
6 effect that he has been denied admission to or not per-
7 mitted to continue in attendance at a public college by
8 reason of race, color, religion, or national origin,
9 and the Attorney General certifies that in his judgment the
10 signer or signers of such complaint are unable to initiate
11 and maintain appropriate legal proceedings for relief and
12 that the institution of an action will materially further the
13 orderly progress of desegregation in public education, the
14 Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name
15 of the United States a civil action in a district court of the
16 United States against such parties and for such relief as
17 may be appropriate, and such court shall have and shall
18 exercise jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this
19 section. The Attorney General may implead as defendants
20 such additional parties as are or become necessary to the
21 grant of effective relief hereunder.
22 (b) A person or persons shall be deemed unable to
23 initiate and maintain appropriate legal proceedings within
24 the meaning of subsection (a) of this section when such
25 person or persons are unable, either directly or through other

1 interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of
2 the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or
3 when there is reason to believe that the institution of such
4 litigation would jeopardize the employment or economic
5 standing of, or might result in injury or economic damage to,
6 such person or persons, their families, or their property.
7 (c) Whenever an action has been commenced in any
8 court of the United States seeking relief from the denial of
9 equal protection of the laws by reason of the failure of a
10 school board to achieve desegregation, or of a public college
11 to admit or permit the continued attendance of an individual,
12 the Attorney General for or in the name of the United States
13 may intervene in such action if he certifies that, in his judg-
14 ment, the plaintiffs are unable to maintain the action for any
15 of the reasons set forth in subsection (b) of this section, and
16 that such intervention will materially further the orderly
17 progress of desegregation in public education. In such an
18 action the United States shall be entitled to the same relief
19 as if it had instituted the action under subsection (a) of this
20 section.
21 (d) The term "parent" as used in this section includes
22 other legal representatives.
23 SEC. 308. Nothing in this title shall be construed to
24 deny, impair, or otherwise affect any right or authority
25 of the Attorney General or of the United States under exist-

1 ing law to institute or intervene in any action or proceeding.

2 SEC. 309. In any action or proceeding under this title

3 the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a

4 private person.

5 SEC. 310. Nothing in this title shall affect adversely the

6 right of any person to sue for or obtain relief in any court

7 against discrimination in public education.

8 TITLE IV—ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITY

9 RELATIONS SERVICE

10 SEC. 401. There is hereby established a Community

11 Relations Service (hereinafter referred to as the "Service"),

12 which shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed

13 by the President. The Director shall receive compensation

14 at a rate of $20,000 per year. The Director is authorized to

15 appoint such additional officers and employees as he deems

16 necessary to carry out the purposes of this title.

17 SEC. 402. It shall be the function of the Service to pro-

18 vide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolv-

19 ing disputes, disagreements, or difficulties relating to dis-

20 criminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin

21 which impair the rights of persons in such communities under

22 the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect

23 or may affect interstate commerce. The Service may offer

24 its services in cases of such disputes, disagreements, or diffi-

25 culties whenever in its judgment peaceful relations among

1 the citizens of the community involved are threatened
2 thereby, and it may offer its services either upon its own
3 motion or upon the request of an appropriate local official
4 or other interested person.

5 SEC. 403. (a) The Service shall whenever possible in
6 performing its functions under this title seek and utilize the
7 cooperation of the appropriate State or local agencies and
8 may seek and utilize the cooperation of any nonpublic agency
9 which it believes may be helpful.

10 (b) The activities of all officers and employees of the
11 Service in providing assistance under this title shall be con-
12 ducted in confidence and without publicity, and the Service
13 shall hold confidential any information acquired in the regu-
14 lar performance of its duties upon the understanding that it
15 would be so held. No officer or employee of the Service
16 shall engage in the performance of investigative or prose-
17 cuting functions for any department or agency in any litiga-
18 tion arising out of a dispute in which he acted on behalf of
19 the Service.

20 SEC. 404. Subject to the provisions of section 403 (b),
21 the Director shall, on or before January 31 of each year,
22 submit to the Congress a report of the activities of the Serv-
23 ice during the preceding fiscal year. Such report shall also
24 contain information with respect to the internal administra-
25 tion of the Service and may contain recommendations for

1 legislation necessary for improvements in such internal
2 administration.

3 TITLE V—COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

4 SEC. 501. Section 102 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957
5 (42 U.S.C. 1975a; 71 Stat. 634) is amended to read as
6 follows:

7 "RULES OF PROCEDURE OF THE COMMISSION HEARINGS

8 "SEC. 102. (a) The Chairman, or one designated by
9 him to act as Chairman at a hearing of the Commission, shall
10 announce in an opening statement the subject of the hearing.

11 "(b) A copy of the Commission's rules shall be made
12 available to the witness before the Commission.

13 "(c) Witnesses at the hearings may be accompanied by
14 their own counsel for the purpose of advising them concern-
15 ing their constitutional rights.

16 "(d) The Chairman or Acting Chairman may punish
17 breaches of order and decorum and unprofessional ethics on
18 the part of counsel, by censure and exclusion from the
19 hearings.

20 "(e) If the Commission determines that evidence or
21 testimony at any hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or
22 incriminate any person, it shall receive such evidence or
23 testimony or summary of such evidence or testimony in
24 executive session. In the event the Commission determines
25 that such evidence or testimony shall be given at a public

1 session, it shall afford such person an opportunity voluntarily
2 to appear as a witness and receive and dispose of requests
3 from such person to subpena additional witnesses.

4 "(f) Except as provided in sections 102 and 105 (f) of
5 this Act, the Chairman shall receive and the Commission
6 shall dispose of requests to subpena additional witnesses.

7 "(g) No evidence or testimony or summary of evidence
8 or testimony taken in executive session may be released or
9 used in public sessions without the consent of the Commis-
10 sion. Whoever releases or uses in public without the con-
11 sent of the Commission such evidence or testimony taken
12 in executive session shall be fined not more than $1,000, or
13 imprisoned for not more than one year.

14 "(h) In the discretion of the Commission, witnesses
15 may submit brief and pertinent sworn statements in writing
16 for inclusion in the record. The Commission is the sole
17 judge of the pertinency of testimony and evidence adduced
18 at its hearings.

19 "(i) Upon payment of the cost thereof, a witness may
20 obtain a transcript copy of his testimony given at a public
21 session or, if given at an executive session, when authorized
22 by the Commission.

23 "(j) A witness attending any session of the Commis-
24 sion shall receive $6 for each day's attendance and for the
25 time necessarily occupied in going to and returning from

1 the same, and 10 cents per mile for going from and return-
2 ing to his place of residence. Witnesses who attend at
3 points so far removed from their respective residences as to
4 prohibit return thereto from day to day shall be entitled to
5 an additional allowance of $10 per day for expenses of
6 subsistence, including the time necessarily occupied in going
7 to and returning from the place of attendance. Mileage
8 payments shall be tendered to the witness upon service of
9 a subpena issued on behalf of the Commission or any sub-
10 committee thereof.

11 "(k) The Commission shall not issue any subpena for
12 the attendance and testimony of witnesses or for the pro-
13 duction of written or other matter which would require the
14 presence of the party subpenaed at a hearing to be held
15 outside of the State wherein the witness is found or resides
16 or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an
17 agent for receipt of service of process except that, in any
18 event, the Commission may issue subpenas for the attendance
19 and testimony of witnesses and the production of written or
20 other matter at a hearing held within fifty miles of the
21 place where the witness is found or resides or is domiciled
22 or transacts business or has appointed an agent for receipt
23 of service of process."

1 SEC. 502. Section 103 (a) of the Civil Rights Act of
2 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975b (a); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to
3 read as follows:

4 "SEC. 103. (a) Each member of the Commission who
5 is not otherwise in the service of the Government of the
6 United States shall receive the sum of $75 per day for each
7 day spent in the work of the Commission, shall be paid
8 actual travel expenses, and per diem in lieu of subsistence
9 expenses when away from his usual place of residence, in
10 accordance with section 5 of the Administrative Expenses
11 Act of 1946, as amended (5 U.S.C. 73b–2; 60 Stat. 808)."

12 SEC. 503. Section 103 (b) of the Civil Rights Act of
13 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975 (b); 71 Stat. 634) is amended to
14 read as follows:

15 "(b) Each member of the Commission who is otherwise
16 in the service of the Government of the United States shall
17 serve without compensation in addition to that received for
18 such other service, but while engaged in the work of the
19 Commission shall be paid actual travel expenses, and per
20 diem in lieu of subsistence expenses when away from his
21 usual place of residence, in accordance with the provisions
22 of the Travel Expense Act of 1949, as amended (5 U.S.C.
23 835–42; 63 Stat. 166)."

1 SEC. 504. Section 104 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957
2 (42 U.S.C. 1975c; 71 Stat. 635), as amended, is further
3 amended to read as follows:

4 "DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

5 "SEC. 104. (a) The Commission shall—

6 "(1) investigate allegations in writing under oath
7 or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States
8 are being deprived of their right to vote and have that
9 vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion, or
10 national origin; which writing, under oath or affirma-
11 tion, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief
12 or beliefs are based;

13 "(2) study and collect information concerning legal
14 developments constituting a denial of equal protection
15 of the laws under the Constitution;

16 "(3) appraise the laws and policies of the Federal
17 Government with respect to equal protection of the laws
18 under the Constitution; and

19 "(4) serve as a national clearinghouse for informa-
20 tion, and provide advice and technical assistance to
21 Government agencies, communities, industries, orga-
22 nizations, or individuals in respect to equal protection of
23 the laws, including but not limited to the fields of vot-
24 ing, education, housing, employment, the use of public
25 facilities, transportation, and the administration of justice.

1 The Commission may, for such periods as it deems neces-
2 sary, concentrate the performance of its duties on those spec-
3 ified in either paragraph (1), (2), (3), or (4) and may
4 further concentrate the performance of its duties under any
5 of such paragraphs on one or more aspects of the duties im-
6 posed therein.

7 "(b) The Commission shall submit interim reports to
8 the President and to the Congress at such times as either
9 the Commission or the President shall deem desirable, and
10 shall submit to the President and to the Congress a final
11 and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and
12 recommendations not later than September 30, 1967.

13 "(c) Sixty days after the submission of its final report
14 and recommendations the Commission shall cease to exist."

15 SEC. 505. (a) Section 105 (a) of the Civil Rights Act
16 of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975 (d); 71 Stat. 636) is amended
17 by striking out in the last sentence thereof "$50 per diem"
18 and inserting in lieu thereof "$75 per diem."

19 SEC. 506. Section 105 (g) of the Civil Rights Act of
20 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1975d (g); 71 Stat. 636) is amended to
21 read as follows:

22 "(g) In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpena,
23 any district court of the United States or the United States
24 court of any territory or possession, or the District Court
25 of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the

1 jurisdiction of which the inquiry is carried on or within the
2 jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or
3 refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts
4 business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of
5 process, upon application by the Attorney General of the
6 United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person
7 an order requiring such person to appear before the Com-
8 mission or a subcommittee thereof, there to produce evidence
9 if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter
10 under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of
11 the court may be punished by said court as a contempt
12 thereof."

13 SEC. 507. Section 105 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957
14 (42 U.S.C. 1975d; 71 Stat. 636), as amended by section
15 401 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (42 U.S.C. 1975d (h);
16 74 Stat. 89), is further amended by adding a new subsection
17 at the end to read as follows:

18 "(i) The Commission shall have the power to make
19 such rules and regulations as it deems necessary to carry
20 out the purposes of this Act."

21 TITLE VI—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY
22 ASSISTED PROGRAMS

23 SEC. 601. Notwithstanding any provision to the contrary
24 in any law of the United States providing or authorizing
25 direct or indirect financial assistance for or in connection

1 with any program or activity by way of grant, contract, loan,
2 insurance, guaranty, or otherwise, no such law shall be inter-
3 preted as requiring that such financial assistance shall be
4 furnished in circumstances under which individuals partici-
5 pating in or benefiting from the program or activity are
6 discriminated against on the ground of race, color, religion,
7 or national origin or are denied participation or benefits
8 therein on the ground of race, color, religion, or national
9 origin. All contracts made in connection with any such pro-
10 gram or activity shall contain such conditions as the President
11 may prescribe for the purpose of assuring that there shall be
12 no discrimination in employment by any contractor or sub-
13 contractor on the ground of race, color, religion, or national
14 origin.

15 TITLE VII—COMMISSION ON EQUAL EMPLOY-
16 MENT OPPORTUNITY

17 SEC. 701. The President is authorized to establish a
18 Commission to be known as the "Commission on Equal
19 Employment Opportunity," hereinafter referred to as the
20 Commission. It shall be the function of the Commission to
21 prevent discrimination against employees or applicants for
22 employment because of race, color, religion, or national ori-
23 gin by Government contractors and subcontractors, and by
24 contractors and subcontractors participating in programs or
25 activities in which direct or indirect financial assistance by

1 the United States Government is provided by way of grant,
2 contract, loan, insurance, guaranty, or otherwise. The Com-
3 mission shall have such powers to effectuate the purposes of
4 this title as may be conferred upon it by the President. The
5 President may also confer upon the Commission such powers
6 as he deems appropriate to prevent discrimination on the
7 ground of race, color, religion, or national origin in Govern-
8 ment employment.

9 SEC. 702. The Commission shall consist of the Vice Pres-
10 ident, who shall serve as Chairman, the Secretary of Labor,
11 who shall serve as Vice Chairman, and not more than fifteen
12 other members appointed by and serving at the pleasure of
13 the President. Members of the Commission, while attend-
14 ing meetings or conferences of the Commission or otherwise
15 serving at the request of the Commission, shall be entitled to
16 receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by it but not ex-
17 ceeding $75 per diem, including travel time, and while
18 away from their homes or regular places of business they
19 may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu
20 of subsistence, as authorized by section 73b–2 of title 5 of
21 the United States Code for persons in the Government serv-
22 ice employed intermittently.

23 SEC. 703. (a) There shall be an Executive Vice Chair-
24 man of the Commission who shall be appointed by the Presi-

1 dent and who shall be ex officio a member of the Commis-
2 sion. The Executive Vice Chairman shall assist the Chair-
3 man, the Vice Chairman, and the members of the Com-
4 mission and shall be responsible for carrying out the orders
5 and recommendations of the Commission and for performing
6 such other functions as the Commission may direct.

7 (b) Section 106(a) of the Federal Executive Pay Act
8 of 1956, as amended (5 U.S.C. 2205(a)), is further
9 amended by adding the following clause thereto:

10 "(52) Executive Vice Chairman, Commission on Equal
11 Employment Opportunity."

12 (c) The Commission is authorized to appoint, subject
13 to the civil service laws and regulations, such other personnel
14 as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions
15 and duties, and to fix their compensation in accordance with
16 the Classification Act of 1949, and is authorized to procure
17 services as authorized by section 14 of the Act of August 2,
18 1946 (60 Stat. 810; 5 U.S.C. 55a), but at rates for individ-
19 uals not in excess of $50 a day.

20 TITLE VIII—MISCELLANEOUS

21 SEC. 801. There are hereby authorized to be appropri-
22 ated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions
23 of this Act.

24 SEC. 802. If any provision of this Act or the applica-

1 tion thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid,
2 the remainder of the Act and the application of the provi-
3 sion to other persons or circumstances shall not be affected
4 thereby.

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 7152

A BILL

To enforce the constitutional right to vote, to confer jurisdiction upon the district courts of the United States to provide injunctive relief against discrimination in public accommodations, to authorize the Attorney General to institute suits to protect constitutional rights in education, to establish a Community Relations Service, to extend for four years the Commission on Civil Rights, to prevent discrimination in federally assisted programs, to establish a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, and for other purposes.

By Mr. CELLER

JUNE 20, 1963

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

Pol. Gen.

THE DISUNITY AMENDMENTS

Time bombs under the U.S. Constitution

Three proposed constitutional amendments that would radically change the U.S. system of government are moving quickly but quietly through the nation's state legislatures.

The radical amendments, pushed by right-wing extremists, have been described by U.S. Sen. Paul Douglas of Illinois as "time bombs under the American constitutional system."

A survey by THE MACHINIST shows that one, two or even all three of the proposals have been pushed through one or both legislative bodies in 26 states, often with little or no debate. In one state, New Jersey, the State Senate passed two of the amendments but later rescinded its actions.

The proposed constitutional changes, sometimes called "the disunity amendments," are described at left below. The table on state legislative action, at right below, is based on information made available to THE MACHINIST by the Council of State Governments and by Congressional sources. No single authoritative system of reporting such state actions is presently in existence.

The disunity amendments were spawned by a group of state legislators determined to overturn recent Supreme Court decisions, particularly those requiring reapportionment of state legislatures. Working through the National Legislative Conference, an organization made up of state legislators and their staff members, this group quietly circulated the amendments to the various states last December. Their goal: to get identical amendments approved by at least 34 legislatures, enough to force Congress to call a constitutional convention.

During the six months since the campaign began, the amendments have been introduced in as many as 40 states. Although several legislatures have rejected the proposals, others still have them under consideration.

The disunity amendments nearly escaped public attention until the AFL-CIO Executive Council and other groups sounded the alarm.

Chief Justice Earl Warren called for public discussion of the amendments, noting that they would "make profound changes in the judiciary, the relationship between Federal and state governments and even the stability of the U.S. Constitution."

Further warnings came from Senator Douglas. Speaking on the Senate floor, the Illinois lawmaker reported that several legislatures, dominated by right-wing interests, are keeping the amendments under cover. Their strategy, Douglas noted, is to rush approval of the amendments next year to "create a bandwagon psychology which will sweep other states into the fold."

The nation's outstanding expert on the disunity amendments is Dr. Charles L. Black, Jr., professor of jurisprudence at the Yale Law School.

"The amendments are radical in the extreme," Black declared recently. "They aim not at the preservation but at the subversion of [the] balance in Federal-state relations."

Black warned that the amendments could take the nation "down that ruinous road" of converting the U.S. back into a confederation of states. He added:

"Together, these proposals would, at one and the same time, place the amending power in the uncontrolled hands of the state legislatures, place the final construction of the Constitution in the hands of judges whose offices are created and whose salaries are paid by the state legislatures, and then exempt the same state legislatures from any effective policing, by courts or Congress, of their representative character."

Writing in *Newsweek* magazine, the noted commentator Walter Lippmann described the disunity campaign as "shocking and sinister."

"The package of the three amendments," wrote Lippmann, "would dissolve the Union into a mere confederacy of separate states. It would perpetuate in the legislatures of these states a system of representation which antedates the growth of modern cities, and it would strip the whole system of the Union of the great constitutional guarantees.

"The amendments strike as deeply at the foundations of the American Union as anything which has been agitated seriously since nullification and secession," Lippmann concluded.

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Amendment 1 • "The Congress, when two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

"Whenever applications from the legislatures of two-thirds of the total number of states of the United States shall contain identical texts of an amendment . . . the amendment as contained in the application shall be deemed to have been proposed, without further action by the Congress. . . ."

EFFECT: Would allow states to amend the Constitution without obtaining, as is now required, the approval of Congress or of a constitutional convention. Would provide for amending the Constitution without there having been any national debate. Would make it possible for state legislators representing only 15 per cent of the U.S. population to change the Constitution.

Amendment 2 • "No provision of this Constitution, or any amendment thereto, shall restrict or limit any state in the apportionment of representation in its legislature.

"The judicial power of the United States shall not extend to any suit in law or equity, or to any controversy, relating to apportionment or representation in a state legislature. . . ."

EFFECT: Would give the states a completely free hand in apportioning their legislative districts by placing apportionment of seats in state legislatures beyond the reach of the U.S. Constitution and the Federal courts. Would wipe out recent Supreme Court rulings requiring states to give more equal representation to city voters. Would entrench present minority rule in many state legislatures.

Amendment 3 • Provides for ". . . a Court composed of the chief justices of the highest courts of the several states to be known as the Court of the Union. The sole issue before the Court of the Union shall be whether the power or jurisdiction sought to be exercised on the part of the United States is a power granted to it under this Constitution. . . .

"The decisions of the Court of the Union upon matters within its jurisdiction shall be final and shall not thereafter be overruled by any court. . . ."

EFFECT: Would establish a super court with power to overrule U.S. Supreme Court decisions relating to the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. Would make it possible for 26 judges, representing a small minority of the American people, to change the meaning of the Constitution.

STATE ACTION ON DISUNITY AMENDMENTS

	Amendment 1 By-Pass Congress in Amending Constitution	Amendment 2 Perpetuate Unfair Apportionment of State Legislatures	Amendment 3 Establish New Super Court
Alabama			passed both houses
Arkansas	passed both houses	passed both houses	passed both houses
Colorado	passed Senate	passed Senate	
Florida	passed both houses		passed both houses
Idaho	passed both houses	passed both houses	
Illinois	passed both houses	passed Senate	
Indiana	passed House		
Iowa		passed Senate	
Kansas	passed both houses	passed both houses	
Mississippi	passed House	passed House	passed House
Missouri	passed both houses	passed both houses	
Montana		passed both houses	
Nebraska	passed legislature vetoed by governor [1]	passed legislature vetoed by governor [1]	
Nevada		passed both houses	
N. Hampshire	passed both houses	passed both houses	
New Jersey	Senate passage rescinded	Senate passage rescinded	
New Mexico	passed Senate		passed Senate
Oklahoma	passed both houses	passed both houses	
Oregon	passed Senate	passed Senate	
S. Carolina	passed both houses	passed both houses	passed both houses
S. Dakota	passed both houses	passed both houses	
Texas	passed House	passed both houses	
Utah		passed both houses [2]	
Washington		passed both houses	
Wisconsin	passed House		passed House
Wyoming	passed both houses	passed both houses	passed both houses
Approval completed	12 states	15 states	5 states
Partial approval	7 states	5 states	3 states

[1] *Nebraska has only a single legislative body. Action on the amendments is believed to be valid despite vetoes by Gov. Frank Morrison.*

[2] *Version adopted by Utah legislature differs in language from that passed in other states.*

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
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William E. Miller, *Chairman*

Hanger Ins. Bldg

Selection of San Francisco as site of 1964 Convention endorsed by full Republican National Committee at Denver meeting ... Conclave to start July 13 ... Democrats pick August 24 in Atlantic City, as observers agree their show will have few surprises, little interest.

Even JFK's former private pollster, Lou Harris, admits Kennedy popularity rating stood at new low of 59% as he left for Europe ... other unpublished polls said to give him ratings as low as 47%.

Federal agencies again in financial bind as Democratic Congress leaders fail to expedite routine appropriations bills ... only Treasury, Post Office budgets cleared in time for start of new fiscal year ... other agencies face operations under uncertainties of continuing resolution ... last year feuding Democratic leaders stalled on money bills until October.

Kennedy Administration ends fiscal 1963 with federal deficit of $7,000,000,000 to $8,000,000,000 instead of $463,000,000 surplus it had planned ... with national debt already over $300,000,000,000 mark, planned deficit for '64 will be at least $11,900,000,000, with others to follow.

GOP task force headed by Rep. Battin of Montana submits congressional resolution which would declare presence of Russian troops in Cuba clear violation of Monroe Doctrine ... move has approval of House Republican Policy Committee ... Battin says Congress should demand an end to Soviet intervention in Cuba, back the right of Cuban people to determine own destiny.

Pinpointing study areas for President's Commission on Voting, GOP Chairman Miller finds widespread over-registration in many counties ... one of these is Democratic-dominated Polk County, N.C., with 165 registered white voters to every 100 white adults ... also tells of gap between registration, voting participation ... in 22 of 34 states examined more than 100,000 who registered did not vote in 1960 ... registered non-voters in California alone exceeded 1,000,000 ... Miller calls attention to single party domination in several states as contributing to voter apathy.

Debate over wisdom of signing nuclear test ban agreement with Russia complicated by new reports of atmospheric testing by Soviets ... Atomic Energy Commission is mum on report one Soviet shot took place June 12, two days after Kennedy pledged no more open-air tests unless Russia did so first ... however, AEC says there is inconclusive evidence suggesting Soviet Union may have tested in recent weeks.

Communist Party in U.S. wants all GOP candidates defeated but avoids censure of Democrats ... Moscow-trained general secretary Gus Hall notes with satisfaction Kennedy's flip flop on Cuba ... he says Kennedy atoned for last fall's blockade by quarantining Cuban exiles, banning raids, bombing, invasion of Cuba.

Former President Eisenhower, speaking at Gettysburg battlefield, warns against accepting favors from a "paternalistic government" at cost of losing individual rights, opportunities and self-reliance ... says that in face of "glittering government pledges to relieve us of sometimes burdensome responsibilities for self, family and community ... we need constantly to rededicate ourselves to liberty, duty and democracy."

Former Senator Knowland, strong advocate of party unity, tells Young Republican Convention in San Francisco GOP can win in 1964 ... says party need not concede any Southern state to Democrats ... Oakland (California) Tribune publisher charges JFK Administration not honest with people .. asks: was it a deal or historical coincidence that U.S. missiles were removed from Turkey, Italy after Khrushchev took missiles out of Cuba?

Rep. Findley (R.-Ill.) charges Kennedy Administration tried to blackjack radio, TV stations into publicizing its views on recent wheat referendum which was soundly defeated ... he cites an official memo calling on Agriculture Stabilization people to remind stations they are Federally licensed for only 3 years, and renewal could hinge on adequacy of their public service programs.

Rep. Anderson (R.-Ill.) tells Secretary of State Rusk U.S. doesn't seem to be doing enough to secure safe return of two army captains held in North Korea after forced helicopter landing May 17 ... Anderson says wearers of uniform have right to expect our government officials will do more than accept with docility this kind of international gangsterism.

U.S. News and World Report quotes Kennedy Administration official as saying Bobby Kennedy thinks of nothing but political fortunes of the Kennedy family, making no bones about it ... says he (Bobby) lays it right on table that politics is governing factor in major decisions.

In drive to broaden federal welfare activities, New Frontier attempts to force federal minimum wage formula on church-operated alcoholic rehabilitation center ... Mt. Carmel Center in N.J. provides food, lodging, medical care, paying small allowance for work done by those who otherwise would be on tax-supported welfare rolls ... Monsignor Wall, head of center, rejects government intervention, saying "ours is a relationship to sick men, their families and their God — not to the U.S. Labor Department."

PASSING THE CIVIL RIGHTS BUCK

How good is your memory? Do you remember that just three years ago the Democrats celebrated Christmas in July at a place called Los Angeles not far from Disneyland?

Each beaming Santa Claus on the Democratic platform committee showered promises on one and all. The items in the gift catalogue - a bottomless grab bag - covered 55 pages and was modestly labeled as the Rights of Man. One of the shiny gifts was a handy panacea for "all racial divisions and inequities which threaten both the integrity of our democratic faith and the proposition on which our nation was founded - that all men are created equal."

Then the Democrats transferred their whiskers and make up to John F. Kennedy who promised action the following January. In May a Democratic bill came along and was promptly knocked in the head by the President who felt there was no need for legislation at that time. Why? Your answer is as good as anybody's. If civil rights action was urgent when Kennedy was a candidate, what happened to make it less urgent after he became President? And why wasn't it just as urgent in 1962?

One can only assume a reluctant Chief Executive was hoping the issue would go away and the Democratic promise lie fallow in the minds of busy Americans. So now, only under the pressure of disturbing events, the President remembers the pledges of 1960. Now there must be a new Democratic strategy to hedge possible failure of JFK's broad proposals, which confront Congress with such knotty problems as constitutionality and feasibility. This is why there's a Democratic assertion that as many as 25 GOP votes will be needed to smash a Senate filibuster against the program.

How cynical can you get? If the day comes when prefabricated crocodile tears flow over the length and breadth of the New Frontier and Republicans are called obstructionists, remember this: A two-thirds vote is needed to break a filibuster. There are 67 Democrats and 33 Republicans in the Senate. This means the Democrats themselves can force floor action on the President's program.

And if, after a delay of two years in giving any attention to a comprehensive program, the Democrats are really sincere, they can push it through Congress by merely pulling a divided party together and apply the force of an overwhelming majority in both the Senate and House. This is why no one should be fooled by Administration maneuvers to hang the blame on the GOP.

The basic threat to civil rights lies in the record of the 87th and 88th Congress where repeated defections in Democratic ranks have made a shambles of JFK's pet programs. The President simply has not been able to lead his own party.

You would think that with its belated and panicky emphasis on civil rights the Administration would be eager to learn of moves made by the GOP whose help is so urgently requested. After all, which one is the party of Lincoln? But Attorney General Bobby Kennedy has confessed he hasn't even read the various Republican civil rights bills. House GOP Leader Halleck had invited him to do so to find out what responsible Republicans thought about the problem. Halleck has pointed out Republicans will take a "constructive" not a "negative" position. This is supported by history. President Eisenhower inspired a broad program adopted in 1957 and another was enacted in 1960.

So now we'll have to wait and see. Will the Democratic Party live up to its platform and support the President? Or will it go down to defeat and insult American intelligence by the empty alibi that the Republicans are to blame?

JFK, whose personal publicity buildup includes "great sense of history" line, flubs in Bonn, Germany, telling crowd his native Boston is oldest U.S. city (St. Augustine, Fla., is far older) and that Custer lost 500 men at Little Big Horn in '78 (the Custer massacre was in 1876, casualties totalled 276).

GOP Chairman Miller endorses proposal again to lift "equal time" restriction on broadcasters as it applies to Presidential candidates in '64 ... suspension would permit TV debates between leading candidates, as in 1960 ... but Miller wants "equal time" for lesser candidates, lest local pressures result in discrimination against underdogs.

GOP Congressional leaders see prospect of tax cut this year increasingly remote ... Republican Senate Leader Dirksen notes absence of pressure from Administration for tax reduction bill ... urges budget cuts in view of improved economic climate.

N.Y. film critics gag on "PT-109", movie version of JFK's war exploits ... "Saccharine", says Herald Tribune, terming film fit only for 10-year old boys ... N.Y. Times calls it "highly colored, synthetic and without the feel of truth."

GOP State Chairmen, holding second in planned series of pre-campaign workshop meetings, cover precinct organization techniques, coordination with women's groups ... Record turnout at Denver meeting gives further evidence of high level of morale and determination to win.

Rep. Dole (R.-Kan.) says Agriculture Secretary Freeman is running away from American farm problems at most critical time ... Dole refers to Freeman's announced visit to Communist countries ... he brands trip as unnecessary, because failure of agriculture programs in Communist countries is matter of common knowledge ... asks what can Orville learn that will help American farmers?

Averell Harriman sees Red China exploding its first nuclear device this year or next, but plays down cause for alarm ... on eve of test ban talks in Moscow, Harriman says "they (the Chinese Communists) will become more conservative ... and less reckless" when they get the Bomb.

Pentagon brainwashers issue directive for U.S. soldiers in South Vietnam ... put our GIs on notice that when they meet reporters they should avoid gratuitous criticism of the operation ... advise them to accent the positive, emphasize feeling of achievement ... or in other words this means don't lie but don't tell exact truth either.

Another House test looms for JFK's bill seeking $455,000,000 in additional federal funds for Area Redevelopment Agency ... before Senate passed measure, Senator Bennett (R.-Utah) said it provided unneeded funds for a program designed to create votes for Kennedy Administration ... Bennett displayed photo of an ARA-aided motel which included a sign giving Kennedy credit for government assistance.

7/8/63

 Pol. Gen.

IS KENNEDY IN POLITICAL TROUBLE AT HOME?

Check the trends, and you discover this:

President Kennedy, after all, is no cinch to win a second term in the White House.

In the South, political revolt is in the air. A Republican could win there.

In the North, the race issue could cost the President votes.

In farm States, discontent is widespread.

Remember: Kennedy just squeaked through in 1960. It's to be a real fight next time.

Trouble for 1964 now is glimpsed by President Kennedy and his political advisers. The President's popularity is slipping, and political unrest is shaking the whole Kennedy strategy for winning re-election.

Kennedy workers have come up with studies that suggest the President's popularity has fallen into the 50 per cent range—considerably lower than suggested by findings of Dr. George Gallup. Soundings by Kennedy men on Capitol Hill, based on congressional reaction from constituents, tend to confirm these studies.

The President's election strategy is built around plans for carrying the big-city States of the North. Success in these States rests upon the support drawn from union labor, Negroes and other voting blocs.

Kennedy's hopes. Unless there is a sharp change from the pattern of the 1960 election, Mr. Kennedy cannot hope to draw enough votes from the big-city States alone to win. He must have additional votes from the smaller States. In 1960, these votes came from the South and Border States, along with a sprinkling of votes from the farm and Rocky Mountain States. Hopes for 1964 are pointed in the same direction.

Now the feeling is growing in Democratic circles that the President's chances for holding the groups he needs in key areas are being impaired.

Mr. Kennedy's effort to meet demands of Negro leaders is threatening to generate a large-scale political revolt in the South. In a number of key States in the North, Negro pressures are said by political leaders to irritate many white voters who have been Democrats.

At the same time, Negro leaders are saying openly that the President tends

WHERE KENNEDY COULD SLIP UP IN '64

IN THE LAST ELECTION, 1960:

Kennedy won 23 States, got 303 electoral votes

Nixon won 26 States, got 219 electoral votes

NEEDED TO WIN IN 1960: 269 ELECTORAL VOTES

IN THE NEXT ELECTION, 1964:

Kennedy States of 1960 will have 10 fewer electoral votes

Nixon States of 1960 will have 9 more electoral votes

District of Columbia will have 3 votes

NEEDED TO WIN IN 1964: 270 ELECTORAL VOTES

IN SOUTHERN STATES, Kennedy is badly hurt by race issue.

In 1960, Kennedy carried 7 of the 11 Southern States.

In 1964, these 7 will have 84 electoral votes.

If he were to lose just 2 or 3 of these States—and keep all the other States he won in 1960—he would be defeated for re-election.

Note: In 1960, Mississippi electors cast all of thei

to take the Negro vote too much for granted. They are pressing more and more insistently for the President to act to end all kinds of discrimination in the North as well as in the South.

Point of irritation. Negroes, themselves, opinion polls show, place a higher priority on jobs than on other things. Many Negroes are unhappy because of persistent and rather large-scale unemployment among their people. Yet, unemployment seems not to be declining among less-skilled workers.

This whole situation, politicians say, is loaded with political importance. Many voter reactions are not pleasing to the President and his friends.

Charles Bartlett, a columnist, a close friend and supporter of President Kennedy, wrote on June 25:

"The Negroes would rather demonstrate than register and vote and this preference is the crux of the squeeze upon the President. He is caught between the Negroes who feel he has let them down and the whites who feel he has stirred them up. The possibility of his replacement in the White House by a more regressive figure in 1965 does not daunt the Negro militants—'Let him get whipped,' is their attitude."

This opinion, voiced by some Negro leaders, suggests to politicians the possibility that the President in 1964 might receive a smaller share of the Negro vote in such strategic areas as Illinois and Michigan.

The shift of 1 vote in 1,000 would have cost Mr. Kennedy the electoral votes of Illinois in 1960. With the rearrangement of electoral votes through reapportionment, this would be enough to lose the election for him in 1964 if that election should follow the same pattern as did the contest of 1960.

White House strategists see another danger in this situation. Whites in Northern suburbs, where neighborhoods and schools are largely all-white, appear not to be happy over Negro demands that these neighborhoods and schools become fully integrated. And from the recent meeting of the Republican National Committee in Denver there came reports that some elements of Mr. Kennedy's opposition are ready to take advantage of this unhappiness in 1964.

Whites' advantage. The point is, as politicians see it, that in the North the number of white people of voting age exceeds the number of Negroes of voting age by more than 10 to 1 in most of the key States. If race became a hot issue, the bloc vote of Negroes could lose its effectiveness.

White House advisers appear confident of the continued support of most of the labor unions. Yet many white workers in the North—in construction unions and some others—view the Negro as a threat to their job security if color lines are broken in unions. This could dim the enthusiasm of some union workers in 1964, trimming down money, political workers and votes for the President.

There are some presidential advisers who have tended to discount the effect of the vote of farmers in Midwestern States. The suggestion has been that farmers now make up only 7.7 per cent of the national population and that their votes are no great factor in turning national elections.

Farm-bloc power. Some other Democrats are pointing out that, when the votes of farmers are pooled with those of residents of the small towns that are dependent on the farmers, the resulting total can be big enough to swing a good many States. In some of the vital States, it far exceeds the size of the Negro vote.

The tumultuous stirring of the race issue in all parts of the nation, the unhappiness of farmers in many areas of the Middle West, the search of young people for jobs that are hard to find, all these things are raising questions about the battle that lies ahead for Mr. Kennedy in 1964.

The political facts of life indicate that unless the President gets some "breaks" running his way in the months ahead, he may face a formidable task. How tough this task may be shows up in a

(continued on next page)

IN THE FARM STATES OF THE MIDWEST, dissatisfaction is widespread.

In 1960, Kennedy carried 4 of these States—Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri.

In 1964, these 4 will have 69 electoral votes.

If Kennedy were to lose Illinois or any two of the others—and keep all the remaining States he won in 1960—he would lose the 1964 election.

IN STATES OF HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT, Democrats could get in trouble.

In 1960, Kennedy carried these States where claims for jobless pay are running heavy: Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia.

In 1964, these 6 States will have 114 electoral votes.

If Kennedy loses ground in these industrial areas, he could be defeated.

IN STATES WHERE THE 1960 VOTE WAS CLOSE, Democrats have a worry.

Kennedy, in 1960, carried 11 States by less than 51 per cent of the popular vote. Electoral votes in these States: 138.

Nixon, in 1960, carried 3 States by less than 51 per cent of the popular vote. Electoral votes in these States: 52.

In 1964, suppose the electoral votes of these 14 close States were to divide evenly between the two parties, with all other States going as they did in 1960: In that case, Kennedy would lose the election.

ALL IN ALL, it now becomes apparent that Kennedy's re-election in 1964 is no cinch. He will have a fight on his hands, whoever is the Republican nominee.

votes for Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia. Senator Byrd also got 1 of Oklahoma's votes and 6 of Alabama's.

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[continued from preceding page]

IS KENNEDY IN POLITICAL TROUBLE?

study of the political alignment that developed in 1960.

In 1960, Mr. Kennedy needed 269 votes to win the Presidency. He got 171 of these from 9 big-city and industrial States in the East and Middle West.

For the remaining 98 votes needed to elect him, the Kennedy strategists had to turn to the South and Border States. He got 81 votes from 7 Southern States, 30 more from 3 Border States.

Weakness in West. Aside from Texas and Missouri, in the Southern and Border State groups, Mr. Kennedy carried only four States west of the Mississippi: Hawaii, Minnesota, New Mexico and Nevada. They had 21 votes.

Minnesota was the only Midwestern State in which farming is the No. 1 occupation that was carried by Mr. Kennedy. Here he rode the coattails of Senator Hubert Humphrey, the man who had been his foremost challenger in the Democratic presidential primaries. Mr. Kennedy got 50.6 per cent of the Minnesota votes, Mr. Humphrey got 57.5 per cent. Mr. Humphrey outran the presidential candidate by 213,564 votes.

Foundations for the Kennedy victory had been laid in the big cities, where large blocs of votes could be pooled. Except for the Far West and the South, Omaha, Indianapolis and Columbus, Ohio, were the only good-sized cities that Mr. Kennedy did not carry.

Key to the candidate's victory in the cities was the work and votes of labor union members and the votes of Negroes. He got 65 per cent of the labor vote and, across the nation, 70 per cent of the Negro vote. Some Negro wards in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and St. Louis turned up ratios of 4 to 1 for the Democratic candidate.

Close squeaks. Even so, it was a narrow squeak for Mr. Kennedy in 4 of the 9 industrial States that he carried. Wilmington narrowly turned the tide for him in Delaware. In Illinois, he carried only 9 of 102 counties and Chicago gave him the State. In Michigan, he got 13 of 83 counties and the victory came from Detroit. In New Jersey, the victory came from industrial centers.

All of these four States have felt the throb of racial discontent in the present turmoil. There have been demonstrations in Michigan and New Jersey, battles in Chicago. A switch of a few votes away from the President in cities, a little thinning of the outstate farm votes, and the President can lose 67 electoral votes in these States in 1964.

If the election should follow the pattern of 1960, these votes would be enough to lose the Presidency.

In 1960, the President's basic strength in the cities was not enough to win. It was the push of the traditionally Democratic South and the Border States that finally sent him into the White House.

Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas held to their traditions of voting Democratic. But many cities in these States voted Republican. Alabama electors, unpledged, gave half of their votes to another candidate. And the votes were so narrowly divided in Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas that a shift of only six votes in a thousand would have given these States to the Republicans.

A blunder? In the present plight, White House strategists are wondering about the hasty decision that was made in 1960 to ignore the South. They cannot readily count enough safe electoral votes in the North to win the 1964 election. But feelings are hardening against the President in the South.

Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas can easily be lost in 1964, especially if Senator Barry Goldwater is the Republican candidate. Alabama has been written off by the Democrats since the Tuscaloosa and Birmingham racial incidents. North Carolinians are showing a swing to Republicanism. One by one, Southern States are losing their enthusiasm for Mr. Kennedy.

Among the Border States carried by Mr. Kennedy—Maryland, West Virginia and Missouri—the margin in Missouri was so close that a switch of 4 votes in 1,000 would have given the State to Mr. Nixon. The votes of St. Louis and Kansas City gave the State to Mr. Kennedy. Now St. Louis is a target for racial demonstrations.

Signs "not good." Even in States that were captured by larger margins in 1960, all is not well for the President.

Pennsylvania has slipped into the hands of Republicans, and disconcerting signs for the Democrats appear elsewhere. Only Alaska, California and Washington offer real chances for the Democrats to make gains over their 1960 level—and the 52 electoral votes that might be picked up here are not enough to make up for prospective losses.

"The situation doesn't look good," said a Kennedy strategist. "We are going to have a tough fight in 1964."

More on politics, pages 42 and 44.

IF RACE IS AN ISSUE IN 1964—

White voters, as always in the past, will be dominant in all States. The count of voting-age population is this:

IN THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE:
9 whites for each nonwhite.

IN NORTHERN AND BORDER STATES:
13 whites for each nonwhite.

IN THE SOUTH:
4 whites for each nonwhite.

IN STATES WITH THE BIGGEST ELECTORAL VOTE, the ratios are these:

New York: 11 to 1 • California: 12 to 1
Pennsylvania: 13 to 1 • Illinois: 9 to 1 • Ohio: 12 to 1
Michigan: 10 to 1 • New Jersey: 12 to 1
Massachusetts: 44 to 1

Basic data: U. S. Census Bureau

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NATION'S NO. 1 PROBLEM—FIND 35 MILLION JOBS IN 10 YEARS

Wanted: 290,000 new jobs a month, from now until 1970. They are needed to replace jobs lost to automation, and provide for new workers joining the labor force.

The country now gets this official warning:

During this decade of the 1960s, the U. S. economy somehow must create nearly 35 million new jobs.

That figure was laid before the Senate Small Business Committee on June 20 by Seymour L. Wolfbein, director of the Labor Department's Office of Manpower, Automation and Training.

Just to replace jobs lost through automation and higher productivity, the country will need 22 million more jobs by 1970.

To employ new workers joining the labor force, 12.5 million additional jobs must be found.

That adds up to nearly 290,000 new jobs every month.

There never was a time, except in war, when anything like that many new jobs have been created. In the 1950s, a prosperous decade, fewer than 22 million new jobs opened up.

Said Mr. Wolfbein: "We are now witnessing a head-on collision between advancing automation and technology, on the one hand, and a tidal wave of manpower for whom job opportunities must be available, on the other."

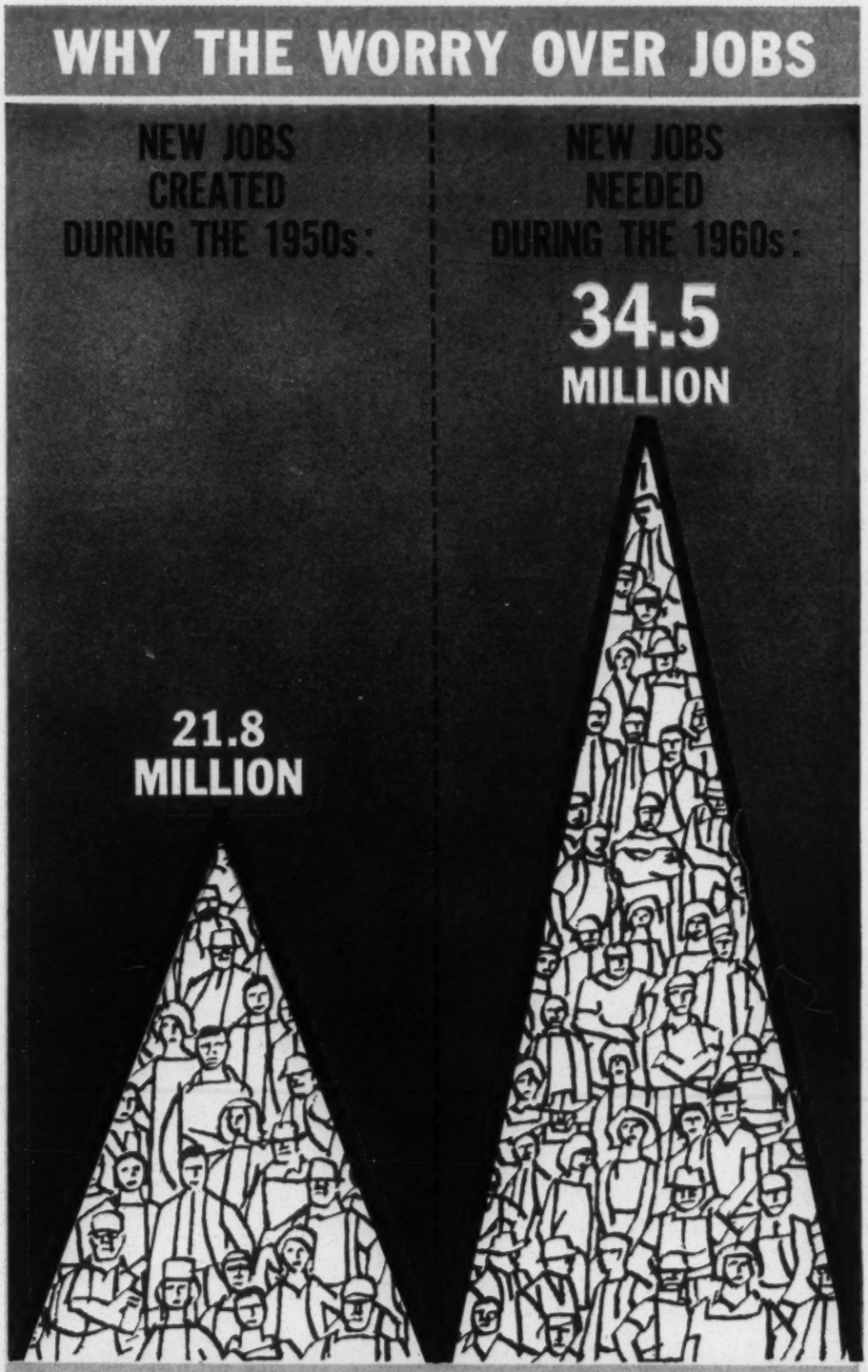
Demand for skilled workers. Another headache: The need is growing for highly skilled workers. Jobs are diminishing for the untrained and for older workers with outmoded skills.

"There is nothing in the offing which appears to change this trend," Mr. Wolfbein noted.

Where are automation and improved technology affecting the employment picture? Mr. Wolfbein gave the Senate committee these examples:

- In farming, jobs have been disappearing at the rate of 200,000 a year since World War II.
- Railroading now employs 40 per cent fewer workers than a decade ago, but handles the same volume of traffic.
- In industry generally, jobs for blue-collar workers are going down, while white-collar employment is soaring.

It all adds up to a staggering problem.



In other words, for every 100 jobs created during the decade of the 1950s, the country will need to create 158 jobs during the 1960s.

Basic data: U. S. Dept. of Labor

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Republicans Look Over Another Possibility for '64

Looking for "dark horses," Republican leaders have their eyes on Senator Morton of Kentucky as a possibility for the 1964 presidential nomination. Mr. Morton has assets: He knows politics. He is well known and liked within the party, has never lost an election.

—USN&WR Photos

Senator Thruston B. Morton

The name of Senator Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky suddenly is bobbing up as Republicans look for a man to oppose President Kennedy in 1964.

As of now, Senator Barry Goldwater is far out in front among possibilities for the Republican presidential nomination. The Goldwater surge has followed a decline, at least temporary, in the prospects of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York.

The Eastern, "liberal" wing of the Republican Party, however, is strongly opposed to Goldwater. One worry is that he would lose in the big industrial States and carry State and local tickets down with him.

Wanted: a candidate. Within the party, the next move is expected to be a "stop Goldwater" movement. Such movements, to succeed, must have candidates to support.

Governor George Romney of Michigan was brought out first as a personality around whom to rally what are known as "liberal" Republicans. The Michigan Governor, however, with numerous problems at home, has shown no enthusiasm for moving to the national stage at this time.

Thought has been given, too, to Governor William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania. He is showing some interest in the nomination. He has indicated that he intends to become a "favorite son" candidate. However, Governor Scranton is even less well known to the country than is Governor Romney.

It's at this point that the name of Senator Morton comes up.

The Kentucky Senator has served three terms in the House of Representatives. At 55, he is in his second term as a U. S. Senator. He held an important office in the Department of State.

Senator Morton has been Chairman of the Republican National Committee. Right now he is in charge of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee. All this means that he is on close terms with party leaders, the country over. They like him and in many cases may be beholden to him.

Not long ago, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, former President, mentioned the Kentucky Senator as a man who should be considered for the presidential nomination. Other leaders within the party have taken up that suggestion.

What all this means is that, in the event that Senator Goldwater is "stopped," the name of Thruston B. Morton will be in the minds of key leaders of the Republican Party.

So far as anyone knows, Senator Morton, a strapping, friendly man, has no enemies within the party. He takes the middle road on most issues, once described himself, somewhat ambiguously, as being "two degrees left of center."

Border State background. The Morton record is one of support for civil-rights legislation. He comes from a Border State, however, and that tends to temper opposition in the South. He is from Louisville, where long strides have been made toward ending segregation.

The Senator disparages his own presidential prospects, refuses to let the talk give rise to any special ambitions.

"In terms of political reality," the Senator firmly told a recent interviewer, "I have no intention of seeking a place on the national ticket. I have a comfortable six-year term ahead in the Senate, and the Senate is the height of my ambition. I'm not even coming out of the starting gate on this one."

Mr. Morton is not interested in the Vice Presidency either. What interests him is his work in the Senate and the challenge of his job as chairman of the Senatorial Campaign Committee.

This keeps him traveling, making speeches, stirring up party enthusiasm. The job also includes raising money, building the party organization and developing attractive Senate candidates.

On the last score, he is trying to stir up rivalries within the party—not usually a Republican tactic. He would like to see some hard-fought primary campaigns for Senate nominations. This, he thinks, would get Republican candidates into the field early and give them an exposure they will need for battling Democratic incumbents.

Out of it all, he looks for a net gain of 7 to 10 Republican Senate seats next year, but concedes that developments could alter his calculations. However, with the Senate now 67 Democrats to 33 Republicans, he scarcely expects his party to take control of it.

Basis for optimism. On his travels, Senator Morton finds a great and growing interest in Republican prospects.

"I can't accept a tenth of the speaking invitations I get," he says. "Our meetings are big and enthusiastic. There's a lot of enthusiasm in senatorial, gubernatorial and other elections that should carry over into the presidential campaign. I think President Kennedy can be beaten. I am not overconfident. It will be an uphill fight, but it can be done."

Unforeseeable factors are involved, however, the Senator says. Mr. Kennedy might get a break in foreign affairs and that would help him. Or there might be an adverse break. Meanwhile, a developing economic boom would be of immense value to Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Morton foresees the passage of a civil-rights bill which will be pretty much what the President asked for, except for the public-accommodation section. He has grave doubts about that section. The Governor of his State on June 26 issued an executive order to ban discrimination in Kentucky. Mr. Morton would like to see how it works.

Leaving Senate floor, where he takes middle road on most issues.

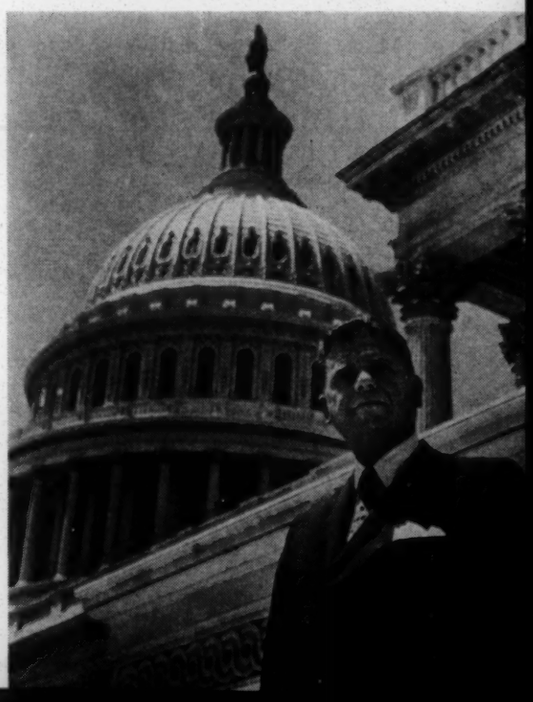
Boarding Senate subway, the Senator heads back to the Capitol. He is on close terms with party leaders, heads Senatorial Campaign Committee.

In Capitol rotunda, he confers with Delaware's Senator John J. Williams.

In office, he checks schedule with secretary. Work for party keeps him on go.

With Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, Senator Morton discusses prospects for Republican gains in 1964.

Rejecting "dark horse" role, he says, "Senate is the height of my ambition."



The Senator in the past has voted for shutting off a filibuster against civil-rights legislation, and will again if the leadership makes a genuine effort to get a vote before asking for cloture and if he is satisfied with the bill.

Career in business. Senator Morton was a businessman before he entered politics. He grew up to moderate wealth, went to Yale, and then took his place in the family-owned business, Ballard & Ballard, a grain-milling concern in Louisville.

Mr. Morton rose to the top and, under his leadership, the business expanded. It was sold to the Pillsbury interests in 1951. Meanwhile, the Senator served as a director of other Louisville companies and was active in civic affairs. In World War II, he served in the Navy.

After the war, at the urging of friends, he turned to politics. In 1946, he ran for the House, ousting a long-standing Democratic incumbent. He was re-elected in 1948 and 1950. In 1952, he stepped aside to manage the successful Senate campaign of his present colleague, John Sherman Cooper, and to campaign for General Eisenhower.

Mr. Eisenhower called Mr. Morton to Washington for work as Assistant Secretary of State. But politics still beckoned. He ran for the Senate and defeated the redoubtable Kentucky politician, Earle C. Clements, by 6,981 votes. Mr. Morton was re-elected last year. He never has lost an election.

An "open" convention? Looking ahead to next year, Senator Morton foresees a "wide open" convention with a "big batch of favorite sons." He thinks Governor Rockefeller has been hurt by his marital situation and that this has brought Senator Goldwater up.

All this could mean a "deadlock" in the early balloting, with development of the sort of situation from which a compromise nominee emerges. As of now, the compromise choice might easily be Thruston B. Morton.

LOOK ■ JULY 16, 1963 Volume 27, No. 14

Pol. Gen.

Backed by John Birch Society pros, Robert Gaston this year took over California's Young Republican Federation.

THE RAMPANT RIGHT INVADES THE GOP

In the political buildup to '64, the radicals are on the right. They attack the two-party liberalism of the center. Dozens of new organizations, from the fanatic John Birch Society to the wide-eyed Young Americans for Freedom, cry for Goldwater and try to impose a right-wing orthodoxy upon the Republican party.

BY T GEORGE HARRIS
LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

A FIERCE NEW BREED of political activist is at work across the land. In public, he calls himself "Conservative." In private, he may lightly put on another label: "Right wing." He has lately become the main topic of intense back-room talk among veteran Republican leaders in many states. He is, they know, moving in on the party machinery. His bid for authority is vigorously supported by the money, propaganda and membership of fast-growing right-wing organizations outside the party.

"It's a real raid," says a ranking member of the GOP central committee in one Rocky Mountain state. "They're grabbing for control of the party." Though a wealthy and conservative businessman, this Republican is one of many who fear to speak of the problem in public. "I don't want to be attacked as a Communist."

Some GOP leaders are delighted, others worried. "I think that in three or four months you'll see the responsible leadership get in and head

continued

THE RAMPANT RIGHT continued

Robert Welch, 63, and his aide, former Congressman John Rousselot, 35, who takes the John Birch message to GOP women's clubs, other party branches.

them off," says Seattle's R. Mort Frayn, 57, the most experienced leader in the Washington state GOP and Richard Nixon's Northwest anchor man in 1960. "This crowd can blow the whole bundle if we're not careful. If we can keep a balance, the party will come out stronger."

The new right shows its greatest strength in the West and South. But in other sections where traditional GOP leadership shows weakness or division, it is moving in to fill the vacuum. The "moderates," as Eisenhower Republicans are now tagged, have to fight or join up, or both. In Illinois, business executive Charles H. Percy, an Eisenhower favorite for years, has been running for governor. If he can get the GOP nomination, he has an odds-on chance to beat a faltering Democratic incumbent, Gov. Otto Kerner. But Percy is under bitter personal attack inside his party and has to wage his campaign on a single, defensive theme. "Chuck keeps trying to prove he's a conservative," says one angry critic. "We aren't buying it."

Politicians in the Rocky Mountain states report a strong upsurge in rightist activity, often boosted by piped-in national radio and TV orators. In this thinly populated region, where four Democratic senators face rough reelection fights in '64, a few right-wing programs can saturate the electorate. But some GOP leaders do not want this outside help. The propaganda makes it difficult for them to consider nominating nonradicals and hands the Democrats a dandy issue—invasion by monied "foreign interests."

California, with its habit of hyperbole, offers the vanguard example of the radical right at work. Here, the John Birch Society, which trains the far right's toughest militants, is now gaining fast in members and in influence upon a badly splintered GOP. In the past year, the JBS has become, to the astonishment of most politicians, the new force to be reckoned with. Its power centers lie in the everspreading suburbs around Los Angeles. Any candidate for GOP nomination to an important office must make peace on Birch terms or take on a battle. Each GOP congressman knows that if he doesn't show skill in "the care and feeding of the right," as one veteran calls it, he will face "pro-Communist" charges until the next primary—when he will have to run against a massively financed opponent.

It's easier to feed the fires of fear. Rep. James Utt (R., Calif.), though not a Birch member, mailed out a newsletter on the U. S. Army's "Exercise Water Moccasin." This Georgia maneuver, he declared, might be "probing the resistance of the American people to an internal take-over, fantastic as that may seem, although the present tendency is to deliver this country into the tender hands of the UN peace-keeping army." By the time right-wing enthusiasts got through expanding the Water Moccasin story, there were 16,000 African troops in Georgia, "with rings in their ears and noses," trained to take over the U. S. under command of a Russian general at the United Nations.

The most effective new operator in Birch politics is former Republican Congressman John Rousselot of California. Now 35, he long ago proved his oratorical and organizational skills, and knows the California party from years of work in Richard Nixon's statewide organization. In 1956, he was Nixon-picked for state chief of the Young Republican Federation. He dearly wanted to run for Congress in 1958. Nixon's decision to run another candidate, who lost, turned Rousselot into a bitter critic of the middle-roading organization. In 1960, he overrode Nixon's men, got enough financial backing from somewhere to win both the primary and the general election. He had already been in Congress several months when the press uncovered his membership—and that of his fellow GOP Congressman Edgar (Eck) Hiestand—in the John Birch Society.

Most politicians thought Rousselot's career was ended. The Democratic legislators in Sacramento, then redistricting the state, smelled opportunity. They gerrymandered his 25th Congressional District, boxed him into a new one that was 62 percent Democratic. Also, as Birch Society founder Robert Welch later reported, the old district had 59 Birch chapters; the new one, only five.

Rousselot, Hiestand and H. L. (Bill) Richardson, a young Birch member making his first race for Congress, all lost in last fall's general election. The national press reported a Birch rout. But local Republicans noticed that the three Birchers had raised more money than any other Congressional candidates in L.A. County (Rousselot reported expenditures of $80,556.24) and had benefited from the most ardent core of workers in California politics. Only a massive election-day effort by Democratic pros defeated Rousselot—by just 8,410 votes.

Rousselot became the Birch Society's most useful new weapon. Handsome and blue-eyed, an ardent Christian Scientist, he gave the Birchers a new look of nonsecret activity and respectability. Robert Welch hired him as "District Governor" for the Far West. He opened a sleek, modern headquarters in the posh Los Angeles suburb of San Marino, recruited a dozen well-scrubbed, earnest young men as "coordinators" to organize in California. One was Bill Richardson, who works night and day in the suburbs.

In Utah, Reed Benson, son of former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson, started recruiting among the Mormons after he lost a Congressional primary there last year. (Birchers turning up in Mormon chapels, like those in Christian Science churches, have inspired quiet, painful struggles in some congregations.) The Birch Society is no longer represented, as a Democrat once quipped, by "little old ladies in tennis shoes." It is led by young politicians with well-developed ambitions for GOP leadership.

The young coordinators are building a base. Mr Welch, as his followers respectfully address him, claims that his national membership doubled last year. Rousselot adds that in the first three months of this year, JBS gained more members, 30 percent more, than all of last year. Reed Benson claims to have tripled Birch enrollment in Utah, where he touts home-reading memberships for people who don't want anybody to spot them at chapter meetings. The actual membership totals remain a closely guarded secret. They sank briefly two years ago, but chapter activity and the heavy schedules of right-wing speakers like Nashville's Tom Anderson, who jets from city to city as the movement's barefoot wit, confirm the Society's claim that it is resurgent. "We grow," one chapter leader told LOOK, "like a fungus."

Birchers have developed a rowdy style of politics, as other Republicans can testify. Take Jack and Kitty De Stories of Covina, a suburb in the district where Rousselot ran for reelection last year. Jack, 31, a financial analyst, is an elected officer of the Los Angeles County Republican Central Committee and a director of the statewide GOP businessmen's organization known as the California Republican Assembly (CRA). Kitty works hard at Republican women's activities. One night last summer, the De Stories invited the local CRA chapter, of which Jack was one of the leaders, to hold its annual election meeting in their home. The couple often let GOP groups use

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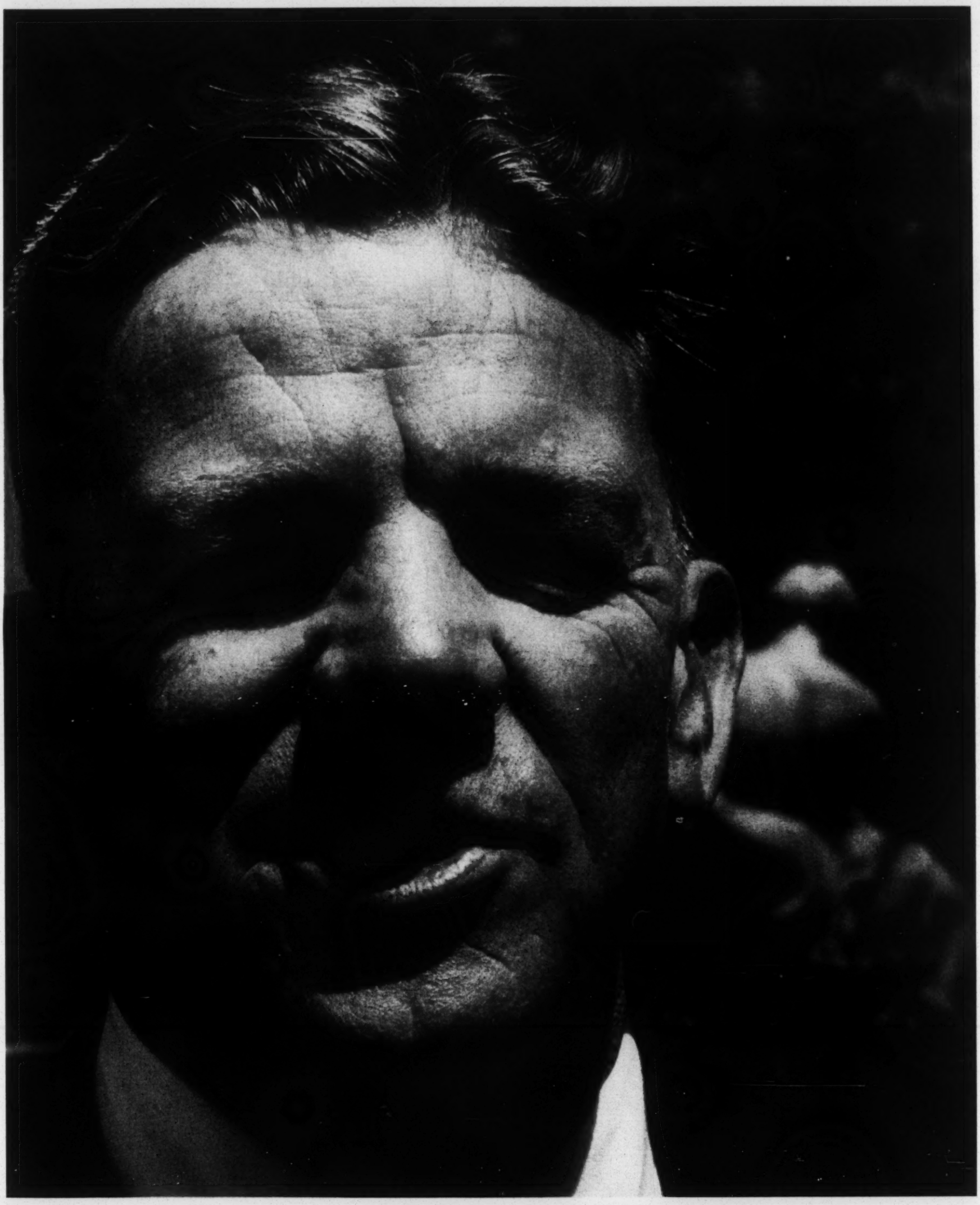
"Switching from Kennedy to Rockefeller would be like leaving a soiled diaper on the baby



nd changing the safety pins."

Tom Anderson, 51, owner-editor of Farm and Ranch, *is the Birchers' Southern humorist. Ike, he says, "is the most overrated man since Santa Claus." Anderson preaches "grass-roots rebellion" against both major parties, "Socialist party A and Socialist party B. . . . Our leaders are not fighting communism—they're promoting it . . . treason is the reason." Goldwater would carry the South, and if the* GOP *nominates Rockefeller, "it deserves to die."*

THE RAMPANT RIGHT continued

Suave William F. Buckley, Jr., (Yale '50) toastmastered a recent New York banquet for Charles Edison, ex-New Dealer and one of the few big businessmen aiding the far right.

Young Americans for Freedom run Ft. Wayne, Ind., campaign against Communist merchandise. Led by an adult counselor, YAF *burned Yugoslav baskets that a supermarket owner donated.*

The Republican party, wrote Birch founder Welch, must have help from "forces outside."

their house. Since the club had only 23 members, they expected no more than 15 to show up for a genial session.

That night, a paid Birch organizer rang in a band of noisy strangers and had them made members by the club's pro-Birch vice-president. The "instant" members voted in a new "instant" president, walked out with the club's records and checkbook. De Stories was left with three big cigarette holes in his carpet and a mischievously unplugged refrigerator. The same roving band—expanded once to 87 when they needed more votes—invaded two other CRA clubs.

Such rambunctious tactics fail only when responsible people fight back. CRA's leaders got busy last summer, revoked charters of wayward clubs, fended off an all-out take-over attack by the Birchers.

The fight went the other way in the California Young Republican Federation. This time the Birchers, old hands at YR politics, had the advantage of working behind a non-Birch candidate—young, wealthy, well-spoken Robert Gaston of Los Angeles—for state YR president. "I had known Bob Gaston when I was in Congress," explains Rousselot. "One thing a person learns in the Birch Society is to work where it counts and stick with it." He worked long and hard. In the buildup to the election early this year, Birch organizers in Bakersfield and other cities suddenly packed the YR lists with new members, hung on opponents the dangerous tag of "liberal." Some Birch chapters just constituted themselves as YR clubs. When moderate YR leaders spoke out against the JBS "power grab," and documented the charge, an older Bircher darkly asked, in the press, why they should fear "the intrusion and infiltration of constitutional Americanism."

Gaston's Birch-backed campaign carried the YR convention this January. With whoop and holler, the new leadership added California's punch to the "gung-ho" conservatism that dominates Young Republican sessions in many states. Since 1959, the behind-the-scenes YR leaders—successors to those who once rah-rahed for Eisenhower against Robert Taft—have been shifting toward the political style of Arizona's Sen. Barry Goldwater. He uses their youth image.

In the older branches of the California GOP, the right-wing rise has come as a part of a suburban revolt. "The California Club Crowd," as the downtown Los Angeles business leaders have been dubbed, found their dominant role in GOP finances challenged in recent years by prospering rebels in the suburbs. The old hands, never exactly raving liberals, backed candidates whom many of the suburbanites considered a bit soft on communism. Example: Richard Nixon, in last year's gubernatorial primary and election. Nixon's friends lost control of the County Central Committee, had to raise campaign funds by direct contribution. The suburbanites, many of them Birchers, put their money directly into the Congressional races. Seeking peace and Birch funds, the downtowners seated Bircher Paul Talbert, Beverly Hills insurance man and member of the JBS National Council, on their United Republican Fund board.

But there is no peace, and the GOP is now a shambles in the biggest state. Norman Chandler's Los Angeles *Times*, once the voice of party regularity, has been under attack since it ran an evenhanded series on the Birch Society: "The *Times* is moving heavily to the left," charges Rousselot. In the absence of clear party leadership, the GOP has come to be represented by any faction that is vocal in its name. That, for the moment, is the right wing. "The Birchers have taken over the GOP image by default," says Aime Michaud, a party stalwart in Northern California. Thoughtful big businessmen, now a bit dismayed by the JBS, wait for somebody else to show leadership.

Such quiverish fret about the Birch Society only confirms the deep suspicions of the average dues-paying member. Be he truck driver or salesman, he is convinced that something's wrong with the big shots who run everything, the GOP included. He knows for sure that he is earnestly fighting communism, so why should any but Communists be scared of him? At his chapter meeting, he throbs with good old foot-stomping patriotism when the phonograph bellows out *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*. He gets a lift from the Pledge of Allegiance and comes out strong on the "under God." He feels a healthy tweak of discipline when he stands up to applaud his leaders.

He is a student in the most thorough indoctrination school this side of the Communist party. "It's a discipline of education," says John Rousselot, "not a discipline of leadership." Mr. Welch's long monthly *Bulletin* to each member does not command; it genially "educates" him, step by step, toward the Welch belief that the whole U. S. Government is in the firm grip of the Communists. The member can come along at his own pace. He does not have to decide whether General Eisenhower is, as Mr. Welch now puts it, "a mere stooge, or . . . a Communist assigned the specific job of being a political front man." The Founder's biography of Ike, *The Politician*, is now on sale for $8 at chapter meetings and the 60 Birch libraries. But a new prologue explains why Mr. Welch did not make it required doctrine. He could not, he wrote, "lead people too rapidly into a realization of truths that they were unwilling to accept." Outside speakers help lead the faithful deeper into suspicion and anxiety. At Birch Chapter 307 in San Marino, ex-Maj. George Racey Jordan recently warned that under present economic policy, "you're going to be in exactly the same position you were in when they closed the banks in 1933."

The Birch member's local chapter is a seminar, kept small enough for him to take part. At meetings, he finds the Society's slick, sneering monthly, *American Opinion* (50 cents), assorted right-wing pamphlets and a dozen true-story books on all the Reds in our midst, put out cheap by "the largest anti-Communist publishing house." The well-read student also learns by doing. He lends a hand at forming Birch fronts, pushes the "Impeach Earl Warren" petitions that Mr. Welch seldom fails to mention. He may go on a Birch "card party" to tag Communist merchandise. (Birchers don't appreciate the businessman who looks down upon the JBS as—in Rousselot's words—"below his dignity.") Or he may infiltrate the PTA and help a fellow member campaign for the school board to straighten out those teachers who—again Rousselot—"have the attitude of being above us . . . a professional sophistication, like an untouchable thing."

It's a program of total, around-the-clock political activity. It gives the member a sense that he's taking a hand in his own destiny, if only by getting even with all those people who look down on him. Yet by the time a Bircher does his duties, he has become not a member of an organization like the GOP, but an organic part of a "body," as Mr. Welch says, like the Communist party. And so, the faithful Bircher works his way up to the big thing that Mr. Welch spells out on pages 110 and 111 of *The Blue Book*, the JBS founding document:

"Finally, and probably most important of all these courses of action, we would put our weight into the political scales in this country just as fast and far as we could . . . especially if the Republican party then stands nationally for any Americanist principles whatsoever, it cannot win *unless* it has strong help and backing from forces outside . . . such as the Democratic party has on the other side in Walter Reuther's Committee on Political Education."

The Society does not formally contribute to campaigns. But the discipline of education tells members whom to back, and the leaders may hint a bit. In 1962, the Birchers contributed so much to their favorite candidates that they were in danger, Mr. Welch gently warned, of "forgetting us financially." The body's new strength will make it a major money factor in politics between now and November, 1964.

Robert Welch has become a serious embarrassment to the host of more sensible men and organizations that make up the diverse elements of "the Conservative Movement." Many knew of his beliefs long before the press uncovered his chief work of art, the Eisenhower book. But they foolishly kept silent. Then they attacked Welch's leadership, not the body he had shaped in his own image. Senator Gold-

continued

THE RAMPANT RIGHT continued

Pretty girls and earnest boys, activists in Buckley's YAF, happily picket U.S. Agriculture office in Indianapolis.

"We have been freed," says William F. Buckley, Jr., "from the burden of Eisenhower."

water, whose 1958 Senatorial campaign benefited from $2,000 that Welch personally raised, suggested that the Birch founder resign, or that members reconstitute the Society under a new leader. "Mr. Welch has revived in many men the spirit of patriotism," wrote William F. Buckley, Jr., in his *National Review*, "and that same spirit calls now for rejecting, out of a love of truth and country, his false counsels."

The tactic did not work, in part because rightists felt so outnumbered that they could not bear to do in one of their own. Mr. Welch's body refused to cut off its head. Today, his Birch Society dominates the right-wing picture—not just the minds of sensation-seeking reporters—for the simple reason that it is more successful than the other groups. The leading Birchers also hold key spots in most active conservative enterprises. Though they may disagree privately with Mr. Welch's erratic intuitions, their acquiescent membership in his body, which indeed acts as an extension of his thought, taints their more reasonable efforts at political persuasion.

In the years ahead, however, the non-Birchers of the Conservative Movement, from radicals to reasonables, will have a deeper impact. They have already accomplished, to their own satisfaction, one major goal. "Our chief contribution has been to expose Modern Republicanism's intellectual emptiness," says Bill Buckley.

The Republican party's narrow loss of the 1960 Presidential race gave the entire right its strongest stimulus. The country went off Ike tranquilizers, went on Kennedy vigor pills. "We have been freed," says Buckley, "from the burden of Eisenhower." Though he would rather have a Nixon than a Kennedy, others disagree. Says the irrepressible Tom Anderson: "I think we're a lot better off with Kennedy than with Nixon. I think it's better to go to socialism at a hundred miles an hour than to go at fifty. It shocks people more."

The purification of the GOP—washing that Ike out of its hair—thus becomes the right's most important mission and the one to which it dedicates sizzling energy. To Robert Welch, Eisenhower is a traitor to his country. But to the new alliance of very old and very young conservatives now on the move, Ike and his big-business Cabinet are traitors to party ideology. When he appears at the 1964 Republican Convention, the former President may be treated to the hisses and laughs that his name often sets off in right-wing meetings.

The liturgy of the purifiers repeats and repeats the word "Goldwater." If elected President, they agree, the jet-flying Senator would "stop our drift into communism." In his name, often without his nod, a very wide assortment of people, from Birchers to stolid old party pros, demand that the GOP "give the voters a clear choice between Americanism and socialism." Some with delicate antennae fear that Goldwater, now almost convinced he should run, is softening his line to improve his prospects. But, for the most part, the right-wing's champion has avoided the kind of specific statements that would comfort the moderates—and cool the ardents.

The dedicated rightists are, as they often say, "Conservatives first and Republicans second." They are ready to lose almost any election if the loss will help "reform" the GOP to fit their creed. They have devised a satchelful of tools to do the job. Many of them are consciously copied from Democratic liberals—who seem, to the concerned conservatives, gifted with a diabolical skill in such matters.

One tool is New York's Conservative party. Buckley's magazine came up with the idea for a "fourth party" to anchor the state GOP on the right, as the Liberal party has anchored the big state's Democrats on the left. A couple of *National Review* readers spontaneously adopted the suggestion, put two of the magazine's staff on their board and set up political shop. They soon threw a monkey wrench into Rockefeller's machine. Last year, their little-known candidate for governor cut 142,000 votes out of the majority racked up by Rockefeller, whose liberalism had made him their latest Public Enemy No. 1. They did more than tarnish his victory cup: They delivered a warning to the whole GOP. The Conservative party is legally locked on the New York ballot through 1966—"up there like Telstar," beams one strategist—and ready for use in protest against any Republican Presidential nominee who does not please the right. The GOP cannot ignore it. Only Rockefeller, or a candidate of like liberalism, has a chance to swing New York's big vote against Kennedy. But if the Conservative party has the will and the way to throw the state to Kennedy, the GOP must find a candidate able to pick up a bundle of new votes in other states. Who is he? The question comes with a built-in answer: Goldwater, whose backers believe that he really could take the Solid South and Texas from the restless old Democratic pros.

As conservatives copied one scheme from New York's Liberal party, so they took another from a group they revile, the Americans for Democratic Action. They built a reverse-ADA and called it ACA, Americans for Constitutional Action. In only four years of operation, ACA has built up more political muscle than ADA ever flexed in its heyday. ACA damns what ADA blesses. It opposes the graduated income tax, "bribery of the Sovereign States with 'handouts'" (the Federal-aid programs), costly internationalism (e.g., the purchase of UN bonds), and such measures as last year's trade act, which allows the President to cut tariffs. Democratic congressmen once attacked it as a "Birch front."

ACA makes a fundamental assault upon U.S. Government as it has developed since 1932. ACA-ers insist they are not "radicals," even though they fervently demand, in the name of the Founding Fathers, such a revolution in the status quo as to fit Webster's definition of radical: "one who advocates . . . sweeping changes in laws . . . and methods of government with the least delay. . . ."

ACA's Washington headquarters lists key votes in the House and Senate, rates each man's ideological purity on a percentage scale. The result: ACA's "Cumulative Consistency Index." It operates like the indices long published by ADA and the AFL-CIO's political arm, COPE. But, naturally, it comes out with opposite figures. Barry Goldwater grades 99 percent perfect on the votes he has cast since 1955, but Kentucky's able Republican Sen. John Sherman Cooper

has flunked, by ACA's grading system, on all but 25 percent of his votes.

The driving force in ACA is Adm. Ben Moreell, a selfless conservative. He now runs ACA as he formerly ran the "can-do" Seabees of World War II. In the 1962 campaigns, he fielded 18 "professional organizers and campaign specialists" to work quietly for 46 favored candidates. In its wider theater of political operations, ACA provided money and other help to a total of 184 candidates, of whom 135 won (14 of them Democrats). The Admiral claims for ACA a "substantial role" in sinking two incumbent senators and ten liberal members of the House. His organization has been the most decisive factor in the pattern of Republican change in Congress. While gaining fewer seats than expected, the GOP elected, in its Classes of '61 and '63, a band of some 25 "gung-ho" young conservatives. This new bloc works as a unit, pretty much the way the liberal caucus once operated on the other side of the aisle.

ACA reaches out through 29 local chapters across the country, but it serves mainly for money-raising and lacks the grass-roots fervor coveted by the Conservative Movement. In the grass-roots business, the Birch Society outgrows everybody else. However, many a less weedy organization has been sprouting among the under-35 set, all the way from California's Orange County to New York's Westchester. In Chicago's Near North Side, the liberal ladies of the Women for Peace March now find themselves outmarched by the North Side Young Conservatives, who ring doorbells for GOP candidates and throw cocktail parties ($1.50 at the door) to raise funds. "We talk politics," explains a happy partygoer, "so the evening isn't wasted."

YAF LEADS THE YOUNG ACTIVISTS

The most active of the new groups is Young Americans for Freedom. YAF was born in 1960 on the Buckley family's Connecticut estate, and editor Buckley nourishes it through his magazine and some seventy lecture-circuit performances a year. YAF now claims a national membership of 20,000. Not all of the members share Buckley's aversion to "fetishistic" views of democracy. But they do share his bent for political activism to overcome the helpless feeling that one vote, out of 68 million, "has about the weight of a grain of sand."

YAF's chief in Indiana is dedicated Richard Allen, 24. Though he has a wife and three children, he suddenly quit his job as an insurance adjuster a year ago to be a full-time crusader. "Some conservatives have to make sacrifices," he said. He set up an office for YAF political action, soon solicited enough money from businessmen to pay his pared-down salary ($95 a week), meet the office rent and hire a secretary. Allen eats little, works seven days most weeks and lets the grass at home go unmowed, while he "does a little research on Socialistic propaganda." He formed 18 new YAF chapters, many of them among ebullient teen-agers. One handsome YAF-er at Butler University checks out the political views of pretty girls so that he will not accidentally date a liberal. Courting couples go out gaily on picket lines to counter such menaces as peace marchers, to fight Medicare or to demand a "no" vote in the wheat referendum. Allen's forces now are gathering signatures on their nationwide "Draft Goldwater" petitions. "If they don't nominate Goldwater," Allen believes, "there will be a lot of effort around the country for a third party."

So it goes. ACA, YAF and dozens of other organizations and publications exert increasing pressure upon a Republican leadership already well to the right of its membership. The militants threaten to impose upon the GOP a hard-right orthodoxy as rigid, though opposite in ideology, as the left-wing line that labor once tried to impose upon the Democratic party. As the GOP moves right, Kennedy Democrats take over the whole center. Even now, the broad middle area once occupied by Rockefeller-style Republicans has come to look narrow. Top right-wing planners, letting the wish father the thought, counted Rockefeller out of the Presidential race before his Happy marriage. They worry instead about Eisenhower and Nixon throwing weight behind Romney or Scranton.

Whatever it may do to the GOP, the right has already brought the fire of passion—a hotter flame than reason—back into politics. The emotion arises less from the leaders than the led, most of whom come fresh and fervid to any kind of politics or civic action. The typical member is a hard worker who has, in the postwar prosperity, outrun his economic dreams. He is ready to do things, but the civic groups and political parties lack the vitality to come collect his energy. He belongs, with many non-Birchers, to the latest big wave of citizens who have surged into the vast middle-class.

Newcomers have always had to fight, rudely, to prove themselves as good as the stuffed shirts already there. The Populists attacked the whole system—banks, railroads, political parties. In the '20's, revivalist Billy Sunday's white-shirted believers waved the Temperance banner and declared themselves better than all those whiskey-drinking rich people. The labor movement led the power play for the blue-collars, and McCarthy gave some ambitious Catholics the chance to claim they were "more American" than those overeducated pinkos. Now, roaring in, comes the new wave, led by the West's latest battalion of affluent migrants. They attack the biggest thing around, the Federal Government—which bites into their goodly but always tight budgets with taxes, is unable (or is it unwilling?) to get rid of world communism and turns a deaf ear to their cries of danger.

In this superheated situation, even the old-fashioned demagogues see opportunity. Jew-baiter Gerald L. K. Smith has popped up, active again. Smith's monthly, *The Cross and the Flag*, advises followers to infiltrate Birch chapters in search of members who will add the Jews to their list of Red conspirators. But Smith, the neo-Nazis and other racists get rough treatment from most right-wing leaders. One of Goldwater's attractions is his half-Jewish blood, which insures the right against the racist evil and the appearance of evil.

Though they ward off racists, the new right's leaders seem unable to purge themselves of Robert Welch. Nor will they until they can offer something more responsible than phantom Communists and freedom whoops. They have yet to put substance into what they call "the Conservative vision." The liberal vision of the future, whatever its Utopian defects, inspired men to specific action toward a better society. Now it has grown fat with success and stale in its addiction to Federal pills for all ills. What is the right's alternative? Buckley's deepest book, *Up From Liberalism*, attacked the liberal's apparent lack of a philosophy of goals. But his own proposed goals, to enhance individual freedom, offer few specifics for responsible men: "I will not willingly cede more power to anyone, not to the state, not to General Motors, not to the CIO."

This, he admits, is "a No-Program." In the name of conservatism, it does injustice to the responsible conservatives who work with the whole complex of their institutions—their businesses, their charities and (as little as possible) the different echelons of their government—to better the conditions in which they and their nation live. The no-program also leaves the new affluent with the heart-sinking certainty that the future offers nothing more worthy than a tax reduction. Without vision, the road ahead looms dark and dangerous.

But it is not impassable to any but the soul-sick minority. California's Thomas Kuchel, GOP Senate Whip, recently stood up and fought back at the "fright mail" flooding his office, as it does every office on the Hill. Kuchel's simple courage cleared the air. Back came 13,000 letters. Hundreds were "unsigned epistles sopping with hate and bigotry," but, significantly, the whole pile counted out four-to-one for Kuchel. Many citizens who had never before written to Washington declared their determination to stand against extremism. They, like other Americans in the years just ahead, will have to fight at home for what they believe and, in the fight, come to know better and care more for what it is. The '64 campaign, already boiling, promises to be this generation's hottest political test.

END

Pol. Gen. LWD SB

From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
TUESDAY, JULY 16, 1963

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The following are remarks of Senator Jacob K. Javits prepared for delivery on the Senate floor, July 16, 1963.
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GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER'S CHALLENGE

I would like to call the Senate's attention to an important political document in the history of the Republican Party. I refer to a statement which was made by Governor Rockefeller this weekend and which has already developed widespread comment and reaction.

Governor Rockefeller's statement marks a struggle for the soul of the Republican Party, which is vital to the nation and therefore, worthy of thoughtful consideration without regard to parties. For, the success of the radical right, which is boring from within the Republican Party and seeking to take it over, using the imminent Presidential campaign as a vehicle, will determine whether the two-party system in the United States can continue.

The Democratic Party has seen such a challenge, too, in the States' Rights Party of 1948; and even now, important legislation in the Congress is under the threat from some quarters of paralysis because of the imminent civil rights debate and the powerful positions held, as a result of seniority, within the Congressional structure of the majority party.

To continue a viable two-party system, neither major party can leave the mainstream of American political thought -- and this is without regard to liberal or conservative principles. The Republican Party has to be true to the principles which make it the party of Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Robert Taft and Dwight Eisenhower, and other greats, just as the Democratic Party has to be true to the principles of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, and its greats.

For this reason, the struggle within the Republican Party is not just an intra-party struggle. It is a national struggle.

Governor Rockefeller's statement is a challenge to the conscience of every Republican. But more than that, it is a call to all Americans to deal in a forthright manner with the grave threat to our political institutions posed by extremist elements, whether in the Democratic Party or the Republican Party.

Those who view the Governor's statement as merely a political gambit or an opening gun in the Presidential sweepstakes are underestimating its importance. They are running away from the issues and the challenge which Governor Rockefeller has presented.

The party of Abraham Lincoln must be true to its heritage in the civil rights fight and in the coming Presidential campaign; without such fidelity to principle and precedent, the civil rights fight cannot be won in the Congress and the Presidential campaign could develop into a threat to the nation's principles of justice and freedom.

The issue is joined. Governor Rockefeller is obviously enlisting for the duration; so are many other Republicans, including colleagues in the Senate; and so am I.

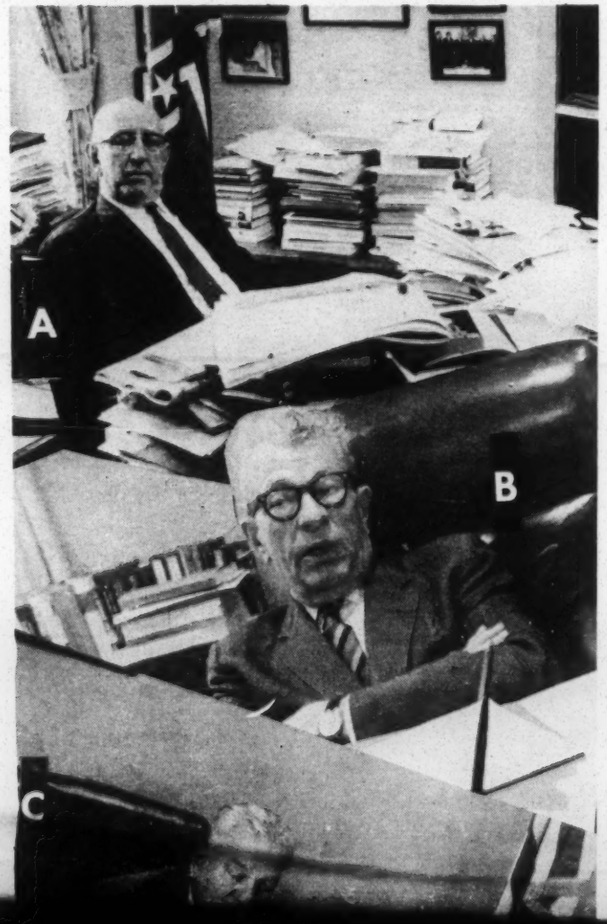
* * * * * *

Pol. Gen. 1963

A WEEK IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

A Special Section of Jordan Enterprises Weekly Newspapers

NORTH DEKALB RECORD--THE WEEKLY STAR--TRI COUNTY GRAPHIC



Actions In Washington Influence All Of Us

All of us are influenced by what goes on in Washington. Indeed, every person on the face of the earth is affected by every major decision that takes place at that focal point of government.

All of us read about Washington, and hear what is going on there. But few of us ever take the time and trouble to investigate first hand just exactly what is factual, actual, and true. The publisher of Jordan Enterprises Weekly Newspapers, DuPree Jordan, Jr., has just returned from a full week in the nation's Capital doing just exactly that.

Publisher Jordan originally made the trip for the purpose of interviewing half a dozen key leaders of this nation, asking them questions to get a picture of exactly what this country is doing, and how, what problems are being met in exactly what way, and why.

But the first few days of talks and discussions quickly led to still more appointments, and the idea of a series of articles in the NORTH DEKALB RECORD, in THE WEEKLY STAR, and in the TRI COUNTY GRAPHIC, gradually grew into this special magazine supplement which is appearing simultaneously in all three newspapers.

Although it was not an easy matter, as our readers can well imagine, these interviews led to the very heart of the thinking and planning of Congress and of the nation. Talks with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, with Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, and personal contacts with many key figures in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, gave a comprehensive and accurate picture of just what is being done in Washington, and how it is being handled.

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The following pages reveal the results of these many top-level interviews. Washington thinking on domestic difficulties such as Civil Rights and financial problems, and the many fields of foreign affairs, can be seen directly from the conversations of the men responsible for these major decisions.

TYPICAL OF THE LEADERSHIP in Washington today are these men in all branches of government, from all sections of the country, representing both major political parties. Comments from all of these twelve leaders and from many others not pictured on this page, will be found inside this special section prepared from personal interviews conducted in Washington by the publisher of Jordan Enterprises Weekly Newspaper.

* * *

(A)

SENIOR SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL of Georgia peers over a stack of papers on his desk to listen as he is questioned on various matters of legislation now before Congress. Like other members of the Georgia delegation, he is strongly opposed to the public accommodations provisions of the President's Civil Rights legislation.

(B)

SENATOR EVERETT M. DIRKSEN relaxes behind his desk as he discusses the prospects of various pieces of legislation now under consideration by the House and Senate. He sees many problems before the country at the present time, and believes there is a definite sentiment moving the nation toward the Republican Party.

(C)

CHARLES E. HALLECK, the Republican Minority Leader in the House, studies some of the business on his desk as he discusses in an interview the major matters of legislation now being considered by the Congress. He sees many problems in some of the bills now being thrashed out in committees, but is most optimistic about the chances of his Party in the 1964 presidential election.

(D)

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT MCNAMARA was most positive in his insistence that no recent military secrets of any value or consequence have been passed on to the Communists in Russia or elsewhere. He says that the latest defectors from nations that have been allied with the United States could not have carried any real information of value to our enemies.

(E)

CONGRESSMAN HALE BOGGS of Louisiana is the majority whip inthe House of Representatives. He is caught in the very deep and basic conflict between the constituents he represents back home, and the Administration for which he is working in Washington.

(F)

HOUSE SPEAKER JOHN W. MCCORMACK is constantly busy with correspondence and documents on his desk, as well as with a steady stream of callers in his office. In this particular shot, the publisher inadvertently caught himself in the large mirror behind the Speaker's desk.

(G)

JOHN J. FLYNT is typical of the Georgia delegation which is strongly opposed to the proposed Civil Rights legislation of the Kennedy Administration, and especially the public accommodations provisions. Congressman Flynt is pictured here in his Washington office, with photos of many key leaders in the nation's Capitol shown on the wall in the background.

(H)

CONGRESSMAN LANDRUM PAUSES for a moment in discussing various legislative matters now in the congressional mill. He is most concerned about the Civil Rights proposals before Congress, and believes there are many matters of great urgency that will be disposed of before this year is out.

(I)

CONGRESSMAN CARL VINSON, representative of Georgia's Sixth District, has been in the nation's Capitol longer than any other legislator. Just two weeks ago he surpassed the record of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn, and Mr. Vinson is still going strong.

(J)

STUDYING ONE OF THE several directories of Congressional Committees and Bureaus, Congressman Weltner is looking up the responsibility of a particular board which his office was contacting on behalf of one of his constituent

(K)

ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNED looks intently over the corner of his desk as l describes the encouraging progress made by A lanta and other exemplory cities throughout th nation in dealing with racial problems. M Kennedy is thoroughly familiar with th problems of the south, and recognizes the fa that those same problems are becoming increa ingly acute in many other parts of the natio

(L)

SIGNING A STACK of letters toward the end of busy work day, Senator Harry F. Byrd dram tizes one of the common problems of all sen tors and representatives in Washington. Th tremendous volume of mail handled by all these men is enough to discourage anyone fro running for public office.

Presidential 1964 Prospects Leads Washington Topics

Everywhere you turn in Washington, government leaders are talking about the prospects, problems, and possibilities involved in the 1964 presidential campaign.

Everyone assumes that the Democratic Convention will be simply a routine performance, with very little more real debate over issues in a platform than the rubber-stamp approval of the President as the party's candidate.

The Republicans prospects are much more complicated. Many expect a real knock-down-drag-out fight over both the platform and the candidates that will make up the GOP ticket. The prelude to that battle has already begun in the heated exchanges between Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York and Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. Although many Republican leaders such as Senator Thruston Morton of Kentucky feel that these verbal volleys back and forth will have no lasting effect, and that the party will eventually unite completely behind one man, there are many others who are much less comfortable over the problems.

Quite a number of the Republican leaders such as Senator Jacob Javits of New York believe that there is a definite and dangerous division within the party, and that it well might not be possible to reconcile the various elements by the time the convention is completed.

Some of the more liberal Republicans will be pushing very hard for a strong platform, stating in detail the stand of the party on several basic issues, such as the need for much more specific Civil Rights legislation. Others do not want to be forced into any statement of policy that would alienate the south and the mid-west, the strongest hopes for a Republican candidate at the present time. There is a very real dilemma within the GOP as to whether it would be best to write off the less populous areas such as the south and midwest, and to make an all-out appeal for the heavily populated industrial areas of the East and West Coast.

This cleavage in the Republican ranks, which gives every evidence of growing rather than lessening in the months ahead, gives some little comfort to democratic strategists. Many Administration leaders would be most disconsolate over the severe reaction against the President's Civil Rights proposals, for example, but for the fact that they feel confident the Republicans will eventually alienate the staunch segregationists and states righters who have reacted so violently to the Kennedy ideas for enforcement of such legislation.

These Democratic leaders state quite candidly that they do not expect Civil Rights to

PUBLIC HEARINGS ARE very common before the various committees of the House and Senate. This was one of the hearings conducted by the Senate Commerce Committee to

ONE OF MANY hearings of the Senate Commerce Committee was this session in one of the larger public rooms, at which Secretary of Labor Willard Weeks gave a prepared statement as to why he felt the public accommodations provisions of the Civil Rights legislation was right and needed.

All Other Questions Tend To Point To The White House

There are many strong currents and cross-currents in Washington today. Many feel that it is tragic but others regard as wholesome the fact that in the background of all these activities is the problem of a presidential election in 1964. Certainly very few decisions are made in the Nation's Capital today without reference to the political campaigning that will be done next year.

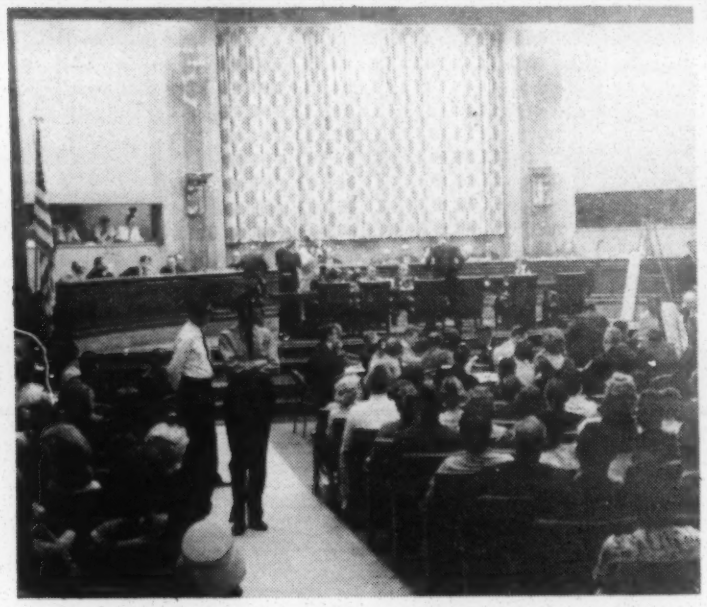
The biggest, and most urgent matters are influenced by political considerations just as cide who goes back to Congress next year, and who is selected as the nation's Chief Executive for the next four years.

Civil Rights continues to consume more time and energy than any single consideration. Many officials are on the spot with this bill, particularly the most volatile portions of it such as the public accommodations section. Many protagonists on both sides of the issue are seeking a happy compromise, but are finding it most difficult to locate.

for the Administration are speaking out regularly and are increasingly insistent, both publicly and privately, trying to emphasize the dangers of these demonstrations.

Despite the furor and heated emotions connected with the Civil Rights controversies, there are several conservative leaders in Washington who still feel that fiscal affairs should receive priority in all matters before Congress at the present time. Some such as Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia point out the very real and growing dangers to

PUBLIC HEARINGS ARE very common before the various committees of the House and Senate. This was one of the hearings conducted by the Senate Commerce Committee to get a sounding of public sentiment on the Civil Rights proposals, and specifically the public accommodations provisions. At this particular session, in one of the smaller hearing rooms, several officials from the state of Maryland, and from private businesses in that state, gave their testimony against the force and compulsion involved in the public accommodations proposals.



PART OF THE OVERFLOW crowd which packed into the auditorium of the Senate Office Building for the public hearings of the Senate Judiciary Committee considering the Civil Rights legislation and the public accommodations provisions of those proposals.

STANDING BETWEEN LARGE PHOTOS of the President and Vice President, Congressman Weltner looks at some of the objects he has in the bookshelves of his office.

over the severe reaction against the President's Civil Rights proposals, for example, but for the fact that they feel confident the Republicans will eventually alienate the staunch segregationists and states righters who have reacted so violently to the Kennedy ideas for enforcement of such legislation.

These Democratic leaders state quite candidly that they do not expect Civil Rights to be the over-riding issue in the presidential campaign next year. They are counting on the fact that the Republicans will be forced to come out strongly for Civil Rights legislation in a bid for the high density industrial areas that favor such action, and consequently will leave the conservatives of the South and Midwest with nowhere to go on that particular point. When the vote is decided on other issues, the Democrats feel that their historical and traditional stronghold on the South will still carry most of those states for them, and that the President is in a fairly good position for his re-election efforts.

Many southern congressmen reason the same way, but not all of them are as comfortable about it. Indeed, some of them who would like to support the President are very hesitant about how much help they can afford to give him in his campaign next year, and still others are openly inclined to support a Republican candidate if the GOP ticket should be headed by a more conservative politician such as Goldwater.

There is no question but that next year will see the political game played to the hilt, regard as wholesome the fact that in the background of all these activities is the problem of a presidential election in 1964. Certainly very few decisions are made in the Nation's Capital today without reference to the political campaigning that will be done next year.

The biggest, and most urgent matters are influenced by political considerations just as much as the others. Indeed, some feel that the more important and far-reaching the decision, the more carefully it is weighed in reference to its political effects.

The current Civil Rights controversy, the many financial or fiscal problems, including the proposed tax cuts, the need for an increase in the nation's debt ceiling, and the problem of the nation's outflow of gold, together with the complications on the labor scene as typified by the threatened nationwide railroad strike, and the many trouble spots in foreign affairs all over the face of the earth, and the proposed test ban agreements, all are viewed in the light of what people will think of each individual's vote both here at home and abroad, but particularly the voters who will decide the outcome of the next years.

Civil Rights continues to consume more time and energy than any single consideration. Many officials are on the spot with this bill, particularly the most volatile portions of it such as the public accommodations section. Many protagonists on both sides of the issue are seeking a happy compromise, but are finding it most difficult to locate. Many feel that regardless of the final outcome, the proposals will have created much more harm than good this year, and will probably damage distinctly the President's relationship with and influence upon Congress.

Demonstrations in the streets of many of our cities, and the increasingly angry mood of the more militant Negro leaders, is regarded by everyone as a dangerous two-edged sword. In fact, it seems that the more liberal leaders who are pushing for the Civil Rights measures are even more concerned about the riots and the threats of bloodshed than are the more conservative politicians who are steadfastly opposed to any break in segregationist practices. All agree on the fact that increasing pressure from the most aggressive Negroes is much more likely to kill the public accommodations proposals than it is to help them. The President, the Attorney General, and many other influential spokesmen to emphasize the dangers of these demonstrations.

Despite the furor and heated emotions connected with the Civil Rights controversies, there are several conservative leaders in Washington who still feel that fiscal affairs should receive priority in all matters before Congress at the present time. Some such as Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia point out the very real and growing dangers to the economic stability of this nation and its influence in the world, while many others on both sides of the Civil Rights issue point to the fact that racial problems are very closely and directly relared to economic developments. The unrest of many Negroes is tied to the rising unemployment among the colored work problem of unemployment is directly related to the general economic health of the United States.

Foreign Affairs has a tendency to be pushed back behind other more pressing problems unless there is some particular crisis or national emergency. If the threat in Cuba, in Southeast Asia, or elsewhere should break out into a boiling issue, then most congressmen would immediately turn their attention to that crisis problem. But as long as those foreign fields are relatively quiet, and with the growing rift between the Communist Chinese and Soviet Russia, many representatives feel safe in turning away from those problems to the more immediate domestic difficulties.

Everyone is very much aware of the nuclear test ban proposals, but the details of the suggested agreement will probably be getting a thorough airing for several more days yet. Most observers feel that this weak first step will probably be approved when it is all over, but it may be a close vote.

Everything has a tendency to keep coming back to next year, and the problems and prospects involved in the presidential campaign. Key leaders in both parties have their eyes glued to the conflict between two representative candidates in the 1964 election, and somehow everything else tends to pale by comparison.

THE ROTUNDA OF THE CAPITOL is a very popular focal point where tourists come and go in a steady stream all throughout the year. The Capitol Building is one of the fine points of interest for everyone visiting Washington.

SHOWN IN HIS PRIVATE office, Georgia Senator Richard B. Russell is surrounded by papers and documents indicative of the heavy load of responsibility which he carries. A visitor to Washington very quickly gets the impression that our Federal Government floats on a sea of paper.

TALKING ABOUT SEVERAL key issues now being considered by the Senate, Senator Richard B. Russell expresses himself forcefully on all matters, and has a wealth of information on any subject, gathered from his 30 years service in the Senate.

PICTURED HERE IN the recording studios of the Senate is Georgia's Junior Senator, Herman E. Talmadge, preparing to give his regular weekly report for radio and TV stations all over Georgia. The Senator regularly reports to the people back home the various activities in the nation's Capital, rarely using notes.

Talmadge And Russell Agreed In Opposition To Civil Rights

Both of Georgia's senators are greatly disturbed by the latest Civil Rights proposals of President John F. Kennedy, particularly the public accommodations provisions which have stirred up such a furor throughout the nation.

Senator Russell, who has already spoken out publicly on a number of occasions including a major address in Georgia a couple of weeks ago, says that it is hard for him to imagine just what caused the Administration to go to such extremes, or how the President could have been so badly misled as to the real feeling of the American people as a whole.

law were enforced as the Kennedys would like to see it passed, it would spell the end of freedom and democracy in the United States.

He said, for example, that if any individual were refused service for any justifiable reason, he could still claim racial discrimination, and in effect place the burden of proof upon the business or company with whom he was dealing to prove that discrimination had not been practiced against him. In the absence of such proof that there was no discrimination, that business could be fined and penalized, and tied up in legal entanglements indefinitely,

cut off from any federal funds even to stopping Social Security payments and other federal benefits to individuals who happened to live within that state.

STILL DEMOCRATIC

Both of the Senators were reluctant to make any prediction about a national election more than a year in the future, though they agreed that at the present time, Republican Barry Goldwater's states rights views had generated considerable strength for him throughout the South. Both said that Georgia is not as surely Democratic as it has been for the past 90 years, though both were agreed that

STANDING BEFORE THE fireplace in his private office, Senator Herman E. Talmadge looks at the pictures of his family. His lovely wife, Betty, is featured in the large wall portrait, with his parents on the left, and the two boys on the right.

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Senator Talmadge, who has also been outspoken already in his opposition to and criticism of the President's recommendations, pointed out some of the penalty provisions provided by the public accommodations proposals, and described them as the most dictatorial and high-handed display of brutal political force that this country has ever seen. He stated with vehemence his conviction that if the

reason, he could still claim racial discrimination, and in effect place the burden of proof upon the business or company with whom he was dealing to prove that discrimination had not been practiced against him. In the absence of such proof that there was no discrimination, that business could be fined and penalized, and tied up in legal entanglements indefinitely, and the state in which it was located could likewise be penalized severely.

As an example, if the charges were made against a bank or a savings and loan association, the federal government could withdraw its guarantee of that institution's deposits, and sever all connections and relationships with that financial institution. Further, the state in which the business was located could be completely

reluctant to make any prediction about a national election more than a year in the future, though they agreed that at the present time, Republican Barry Goldwater's states rights views had generated considerable strength for him throughout the South. Both said that Georgia is not as surely Democratic as it has been for the past 90 years, though both were agreed that Governor Rockefeller would make a miserable showing if he were the Republican nominee.

Senator Talmadge said that having always been a Democrat, he hopes to remain a Democrat, and so vote in the coming presidential election.

Senator Russell stated that President Kennedy's rapid about-face and sudden determination to press what he calls his civil rights bill to passage has decreased the President's popularity throughout the South. This was particularly true because the bill went even farther than the very drastic platform upon which the President ran.

Both Senators stated that there was very little understanding througout the country of the many threats which the bill posed to the liberties of the people in every section and that they expect a long hard fight in the Senate before the nation generally would be awakened to the dangers in

STANDING BEFORE THE fireplace in his private office, Senator Herman E. Talmadge looks at the pictures of his family. His lovely wife, Betty, is featured in the large wall portrait, with his parents on the left, and the two boys on the right.

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the "fine print" implications of the bill and the manner in which its provisions could be utilized to establish a police state.

Senator Russell indicated a surprising admiration for

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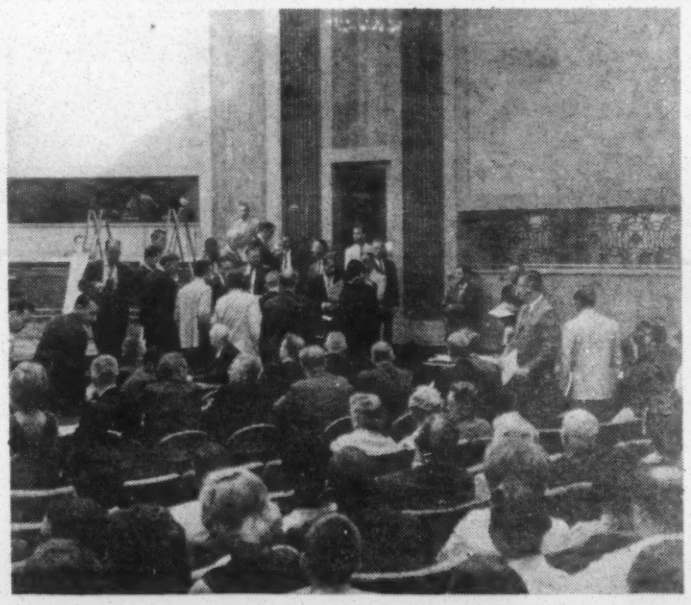
Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. The chairman of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee, and the man who probably knows more about the nation's military preparedness than any other

* * *

individual, said that even though he has disagreed often with the Secretary of Defense that he appreciates the brilliant intellect of the man, and feels that he is doing an outstanding job in that position.

THE SENATE SUBWAY SYSTEM speeds up travel between the Senate Office Buildings and the Capitol. There is a vast labyrinth of tunnels and underground passageways honeycombing all of the area between the Capitol, the two separate Senate Office Buildings, and the three House Office Buildings, including the new one now nearing completion.

GRIMACING AND GROWLING over the difficulties he encountered in using a new candid camera during his recent week in Washington, Publisher DuPree Jordan, Jr. wonders why the contrary contraption acted up as badly as it did during his many interviews. Mr. Jordan took literally hundreds of photographs of key government leaders all over Washington, and many of them simply did not turn out, through some mechanical difficulties which have yet to be explained satisfactorily. For example, all of the photographs he made of Senator George Smathers of Florida and Senator Thruston Morton of Kentucky turned up completely blank.



ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY is seen in the middle of this photo talking with a group of newsmen just after he had entered the Senate auditorium to testify at a public hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

INDICATIVE OF THE VAST volume of mail handled by members of Congress are these rows of robot typewriters which type up individually but automatically hundreds upon hundreds of form letters that are sent out by the various members of the House and Senate. Most Senators have at least two of these automatic machines in regular service for their offices, and most members of the House of Representatives are also compelled to use these same facilities, either in their own offices, or in pools that are available at the Capitol.

RELAXED BEHIND HIS desk, busy House Speaker John McCormack discusses legislative matters which are now under consideration by various committees of the House. He emphasizes the committee system of operation in Congress, and stresses the fact that there has been a great deal more accomplished this year than most people realize.

House Speaker Sees Progress Being Made By 88Th Congress

Despite the many charges made against it, and much criticism as a do-nothing Congress, the present 88th Congress is not nearly as bad as many have feared, according to Speaker of the House John W. McCormack.

The real accomplishments of the present Congress can not be measured until its two years have been finished, and even this present year may turn out much better than many seem to think at the present time. So much of the work in the House of Representatives goes on in committee sessions that you can never tell just exactly what is being done or how much is being accomplished simply by following the action on the floor of the House itself.

Speaker McCormack emphasizes the fact that there are so many important matters in key committees at the present time, it is grossly unfair to label the Congress as lazy and inept purely because little major legislation has come to a vote on the floor. The Speaker from Massachusetts says that he tries to keep up with all important matters as they are being considered by committees, and he confers regularly with the various committee chairmen, but there are so many factors involved in these various considerations, and in the time required for the committees to do their work, that it is very difficult to give a meaningful assessment of what Congress has done or is doing until it is ready for its final adjournment.

In the opinion of Mr. McCormack, the problem of Civil Rights is no greater than several other key issues before Congress at the present time. He points to the fiscal problems of the nation, and to the labor difficulties facing the United States. He says that the question of a tax cut, and the need to raise the debt ceiling of the goverment again, tied in with many other money matters such as the problem of the outflow of gold from this nation, combine to make a most serious and complicated problem demanding congressional attention.

The same is true in the field of possible labor legislation to meet the threat of strikes that threaten the national interest, and to deal with the so-called "feather bedding" problem as is now faced in the railroad dispute, and which has parallels in many other key industries. All of these are urgent matters, according to Speaker McCormack.

The Speaker has a steady flow of important visitors parading in and out of his office. On the three different days we visited in his office, we waited for several hours on the different occasions, as he conferred with congressional leaders, discussed problems with men like Walter Reuther, who was testifying before a special committee considering Civil Rights legislation, and he enjoys entertaining visiting delegations from foreign countries such as the group from Afghanistan which had a lengthy social visit with the Speaker on one of the occasions while we were waiting.

The activity all around the Speaker's office is indicative of the variety of legislative action in which he is involved. If you spend much time in those offices you are likely to see almost anyone from the legislative, and/or executive branches of government. McCormack meets them all without definite appointments, and sees as many as he possibly can every day.

SOMBER AND SERIOUS as he is asked about some of the most pressing problems before the House today, Speaker John W. McCormack talks about how these various problems are being solved, and indicates that much progress is being made in committee deliberations.

Byrd Fights Growing Debt And Excess Federal Spending

Like most staunch southerners, Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia is violently opposed to the Civil Rights measures now being debated in various Congressional Committees. However, he feels just as strongly that fiscal affairs are just as important as the Civil Rights issue, and that both fields show some most disturbing signs about which all American citizens should be concerned.

Long regarded as the watchdog of the United States budget, Senator Byrd says that there is a positive danger of increasingly serious financial of stopping the rapid trend toward larger and more expensive central government, but he still opposes the developments in this direction with all of the influence he can muster, which is quite considerable. He advocates states rights and individual initiative, and urges everyone to consider the wisdom of flatly refusing federal funds. He says the only way to reverse the trend is for local and state governments to turn down federal assistance, and to do on their own anything and everything that they possible can.

He does believe that many stitutional abridgements of individual rights involves many grave dangers, which could quite conceivably lose the White House for the Democratic Party in 1964. Byrd points with some concern to the fact that his state has gone Republican in the last three presidential elections, and could well do so again as a result of this particular problem.

In the Senate for more than 30 years, the Virginia senator will not now talk about retirement. He had announced his retirement toward the end of his last term, but was draft-

LEAVE 'EM ON

Because of more daylight hours this time of year, many Georgia egg producers turn off artificial lights in laying houses too early. Milton Dendy, Extension Service poultryman, says it usually proves profitable to set the time switch for the morning lights to come on as usual throughout the summer months. Turning the lights off too early often results in birds going into a neck molt or complete molt. This is particularly true in flocks of older birds. Lower egg production and lower profits may be the result.

R. E. Smith, Extension community development specialist, says 1963 looks like Georgia's top year in community development work. "We have more counties taking part in area programs than ever before," he states.

When you argue with a fool, make sure that he is not sim-

There is a great deal of unmapped [illegible]

mittees. However, he feels just as strongly that fiscal affairs are just as important as the Civil Rights issue, and that both fields show some most disturbing signs about which all American citizens should be concerned.

Long regarded as the watchdog of the United States budget, Senator Byrd says that there is a positive danger of increasingly serious financial problems in this nation. He is convinced that the danger of national bankruptcy, or of having the world lose confidence in our economic stability, is just as urgent and as real a problem as are the individual rights, the trouble spots on the foreign scene, or any other matter which addresses itself to the attention of Congress.

You can see the genuine alarm and concern of the man whenever he thinks of our national debt as being more than one trillion dollars (that's a thousand billion dollars). This staggering sum is much more than the combined debts of all the other nations of the world, and the Virginia senator wonders aloud just how much longer we can continue to carry it.

Byrd sees no immediate hope

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He does believe that many people are waking up to the fact that everything going to Washington loses 15% and comes back not only with reduced funds, but with strings attached and often excessive government demands tied in with the lesser amounts of money.

He sees a logical justification for federal participation in some areas, such as highway construction on interstate routes, but he is unalterably opposed to federal aid to education, and in many other fields where he feels that the problems can be better and more effectively handled on a local level.

Senator Byrd is very much opposed to the Civil Rights legislation, and intends to fight it in every way that he can. He feels that forcing upon the south and the nation unconpoints with some concern to the fact that his state has gone Republican in the last three presidential elections, and could well do so again as a result of this particular problem.

* * *

In the Senate for more than 30 years, the Virginia senator will not now talk about retirement. He had announced his retirement toward the end of his last term, but was drafted by the leadership of his state and persuaded to run again for the seat he has held these many years. There are strong indications that the powerful Senator Byrd will be around for many more years yet.

Horticulturists feel that the peach tree borer is the number one problem as far as insects of peaches are concerned. "I believe we are losing many trees because of borer damage," said Extension Horticulturist C. D. Spivey.

Two cowpokes at a bar were discussing a deceased friend.

"How did old Bill die?" asked the first.

"He fell through a scaffolding."

"What was he doin' up there?"

"Gittin' hung."

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and to the labor difficulties facing the United States. He says that the question of a tax cut, and the need to raise the debt ceiling of the goverment again, tied in with many other money matters such as the problem of the outflow of gold from this nation, combine to make a most serious and complicated problem demanding congressional attention.

action in which he is involved. If you spend much time in those offices you are likely to see almost anyone from the legislative, and/or executive branches of government. McCormack meets them all without definite appointments, and sees as many as he possibly can every day.

There is a great deal of unmapped country within us.

- George Eliot

fits may be the result.

R. E. Smith, Extension community development specialist, says 1963 looks like Georgia's top year in community development work. "We have more counties taking part in area programs than ever before," he states.

When you argue with a fool, make sure that he is not similarly occupied.

EXAMINING SEVERAL DIFFERENT Confederate flags which he keeps on the mantle of his office, Virginia Senator Harry F. Byrd stands before an extensive display of political cartoons which have been sent to him from all parts of the country. Actually, he has all of the walls in his whole suite of offices covered with almost 500 such political cartoons. Many of them are umcomplimentary and somewhat critical of the senator's positions on the various matters, but he accepts the commendation and criticism with equal equanimity.

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DURING THE GRAND OPENING OF STANDARD FEDERAL'S NEW NORTHWEST OFFICE

Thursday, August 8
Friday, August 9
Saturday, August 10

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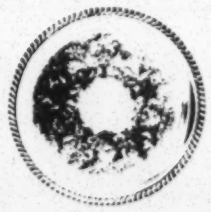
Take your choice of any one of these three attractive gifts when you save $100 or more at Standard Federal before September 13. Open a new account or add to your present account to receive a gift. One gift allowed for each customer.

6 INSULATED TUMBLERS

Complete set of six insulated tumblers, 14-oz. size. Double-wall construction keeps beverages hot or cold longer, with little moisture condensation. Elegantly designed for "guest" use. Safe, shatterproof — will not break when dropped!

SILVERPLATED SANDWICH TRAY

Magnificent Wm. Rogers serving tray in luxurious silverplate. Made by famous International Silver Co. It's 10 inches in diameter, perfect for hors d'oeuvres, cakes, almost all entertaining.



SHEAFFER'S PEN AND PENCIL

Cartridge pen that "loads like a rifle" — quick, clean, easy with convenient cartridges of 'Skrip' writing fluid. Packaged with handsome mechanical pencil in attractive gift box.

ENTER THE MILLIONAIRE FOR A DAY DRAWING

Enter your name in Standard Federal's fabulous "Millionaire for a Day" contest—lucky winners will receive the interest on $1,000,000 for one day based on the planned rate of 4¼% per annum. Seven prizes—drawings will be at 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. on August 8; 1 p.m., 5 p.m. and 8 p.m. on August 9; and at 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. on August 10. Nothing to do, nothing to buy. Just register your name.

SOUVENIRS AND REFRESHMENTS

Stop in and receive a free souvenir — leather key cases for adults, balloons for the kids — and have some refreshments during our Grand Opening days. You're welcome to enjoy our hospitality any time you're in the neighborhood.

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Attorney General Is Concerned About Demonstrations And Crime

Atlanta is the best example in the nation of good race relations, and the practical workings of an intelligent approach to a very serious problem that is growing in all parts of the nation today.

That is the opinion of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, and he was most cordial in discussing the problems of race in the United States today, and most complimentary to the city of Atlanta for the happy solutions worked out by thoughtful men of intelligence and good will who are willing to deal with the problem in a practical and progressive way.

Kennedy stated flatly that he feels Atlanta has shown the way not only for the South, but for the entire nation, perhaps even more for many hypocritical cities of the north. The Attorney General is very frankly aware of the fact that many of those in the north who have been talking the most about equality for the Negroes have done even less to put it into practice than have the major cities of the South.

The man who controls the law enforcement apparatus of the United States government, and who is considered to be the most powerful individual in the nation next to his brother who sits in the President's chair, says he believes the Negroes need to slow down in extreme actions that lead to violence. He is convinced, and has told Negro leaders, that the extremes of their recent demonstrations only hurt their own cause. He believes that continued demonstrations, especially if they lead to more riots and violence, could well kill the Civil Rights legislation now before Congress.

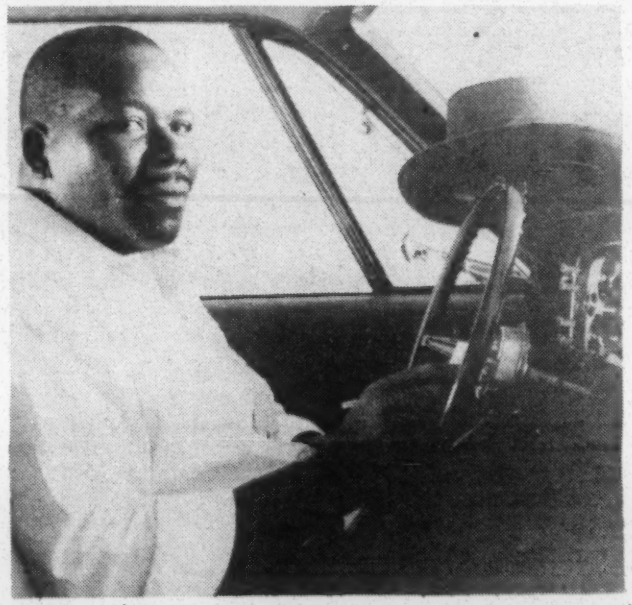
SEES A NEED

Bobby Kennedy feels very strongly the need for such legislation, and adequate enforcement of it. He presented a most eloquent statement to the Senate Judiciary Committee at its hearings last week, and he is doing everything within his power to push through the Civil Rights proposals made by the Administration. But he understands the reaction of southern congressmen, and their voters back home, against the more militant demands of the extreme Negro leadership, and the evidences of ingratitude expressed dramatically on several recent occasions by such Negro leaders. The Attorney General has been puzzled about as much as southern segregationists over the treatment received by people like James Meredith who integrated the University of Mississippi and Mayor Daly of Chicago who has done so much to help the Negroes in that city.

Apart from the pressing problem of racial strife, crime of all kinds is receiving systematic study by the Justice Department today, and its vigorous young leader. The crime problem is being attacked in co-operation with

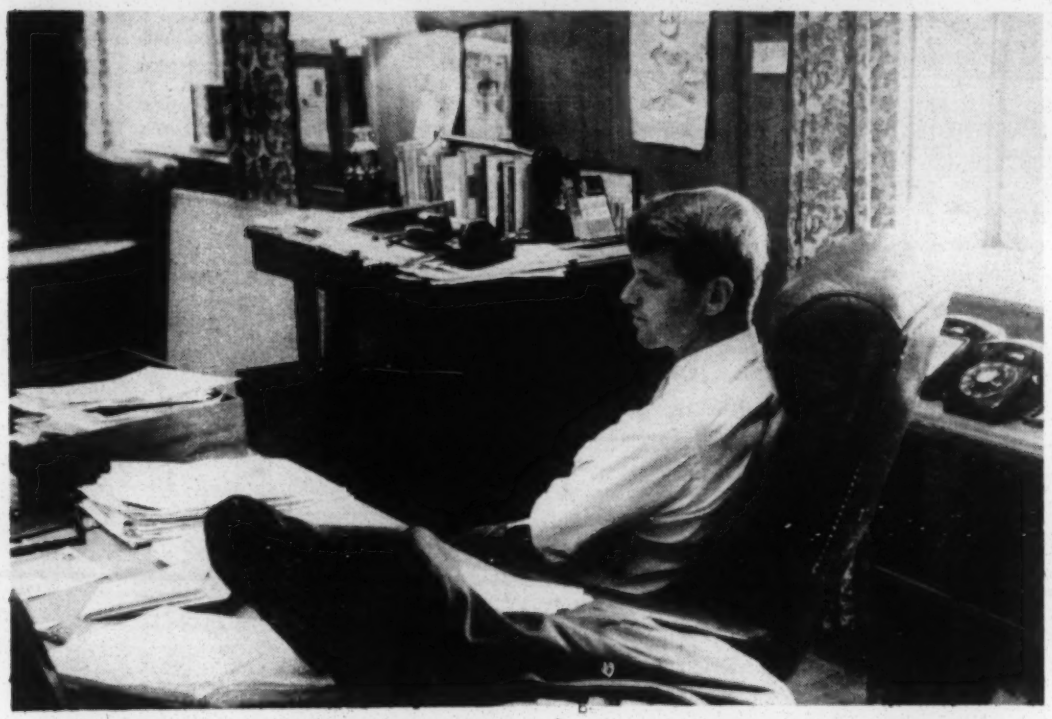
ROBERT F. KENNEDY talks with a great deal of conviction as he discusses the various problems which face him in the position which he holds in the Administration of his brother, the President. Relatively small and extremely youthful in appearance, he displays a dynamic and dedicated personality, completely devoted to his tasks.

RELAXED BEHIND HIS DESK as he discussed the problems of Civil Rights legislation

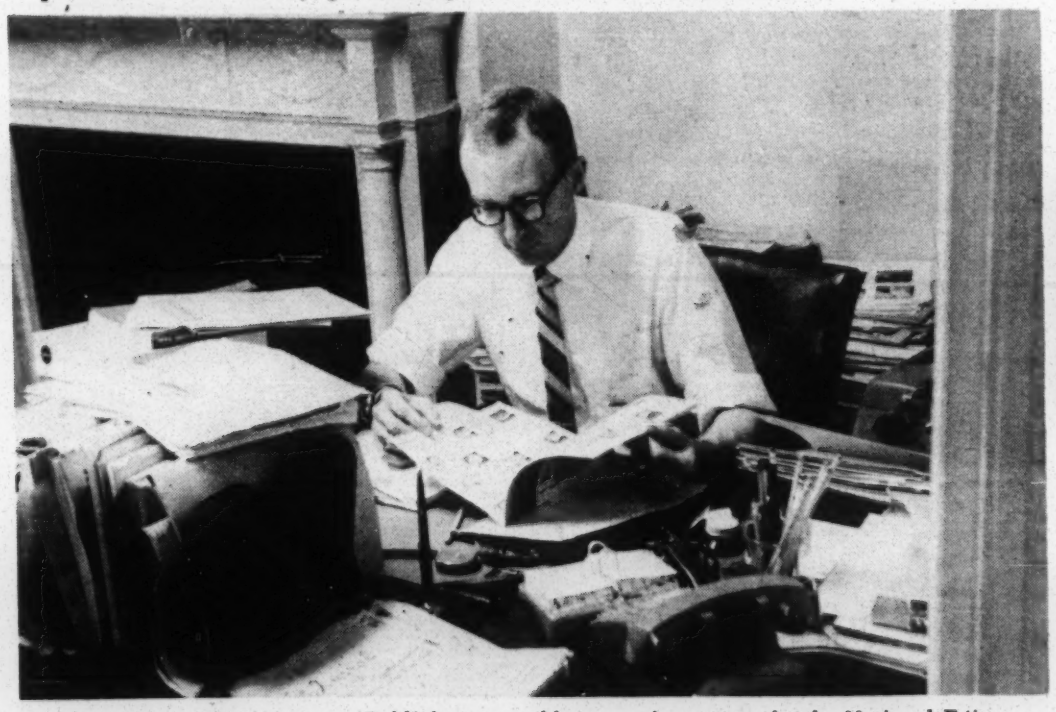


A CAB DRIVER named Karey expressed the thinking and sentiment of many Negroes in the nation's Capital when he compared the present demands for Civil Rights to collecting a long overdue debt. Originally from North Carolina, but a resident of Washington for many years, this man expressed a distaste of the street demonstrations which are being carried on in a number of cities throughout the nation, but said that if such action was necessary that it should

RELAXED BEHIND HIS DESK as he discussed the problems of Civil Rights legislation now before Congress, the Attorney General sympathizes with the problems of the of the South, and was most complimentary in describing the progress made in Atlanta.



THE ATTORNEY GENERAL of the United States has a deceptively youthful appearance, but demonstrates beyond question the drive and determination that have made him the second most powerful man in the nation today. He is thoroughly familiar with all of the problems of this country, particularly in the field of law enforcement.



EDITOR OF THE National Publisher, monthly magazine put out by the National Editorial Association, John Maroue keeps up with all the activities in the nation's Capital, and tries to keep weekly newspaper publishers informed throughout the nation.

treatment received by people like James Meredith who integrated the University of Mississippi and Mayor Daly of Chicago who has done so much to help the Negroes in that city.

Apart from the pressing problem of racial strife, crime of all kinds is receiving systematic study by the Justice Department today, and its vigorous young leader. The crime problem is being attacked in co-operation with local law enforcement agencies throughout the nation.

The Attorney General points out that most crime is local in its nature, and must be handled primarily on that local level. But his offices are doing everything possible to cooperate with local law enforcement officials, and are effectively finding more ways every day to help meet the many problems in this area.

Crime in the District of Columbia, while recognized as a very serious problem, is not nearly as bad or entirely black as it is often pictured, according to Robert Kennedy. The situation in the Nation's Capital is vastly complicated by the multiple involvements of so many different groups and individuals, but basically the Attorney General feels that the situation is improving, and that most of the present problems could be solved under a thorough-going home rule authority given to the residents of the district.

During World War II, U. S. railroads paid an average of $3,172,000 in federal income taxes per day.

A CAB DRIVER named Karey expressed the thinking and sentiment of many Negroes in the nation's Capital when he compared the present demands for Civil Rights to collecting a long overdue debt. Originally from North Carolina, but a resident of Washington for many years, this man expressed a distaste of the street demonstrations which are being carried on in a number of cities throughout the nation, but said that if such action was necessary that it should be continued.

He said that it was just like trying to collect money from someone who had been owing it to you a long time, and had finally forced you to employ extreme means of collecting what was already your rightful due. He believes that many Negroes now feel that the full and complete citizenship which they are demanding with increasing vehemence is something that should have been theirs 100 years ago, and that any means necessary are now justified in obtaining it.

There are others among the more militant leaders of the Negroes today who carry the analogy to a long overdue debt a step further. They reason that the colored people of this country not only have a right to demand everything that is due them, and demand that it be given immediately and without any further excuses or delays, but also that interest should be paid on that long standing debt. This line of logic insists that Negroes in the United States today should not only be treated as equals, but should actually be given preference in any circumstances where all other factors are equal, and that this preferential treatment of their race in the years ahead is simply payment on the interest to compensate for the fact that they have been discriminated against for many years in the past.

The customs man poked through an old gentleman's luggage and located a flask of whiskey.

"I thought you said you have nothing but clothes in here", the inspector said.

"I did, and it's true," the old gent replied. "That, sire, is my nightcap!"

It is right to be contented with what we have, never with what we are. - Sir J. Mackintosh.

* * *

What's in a Name?

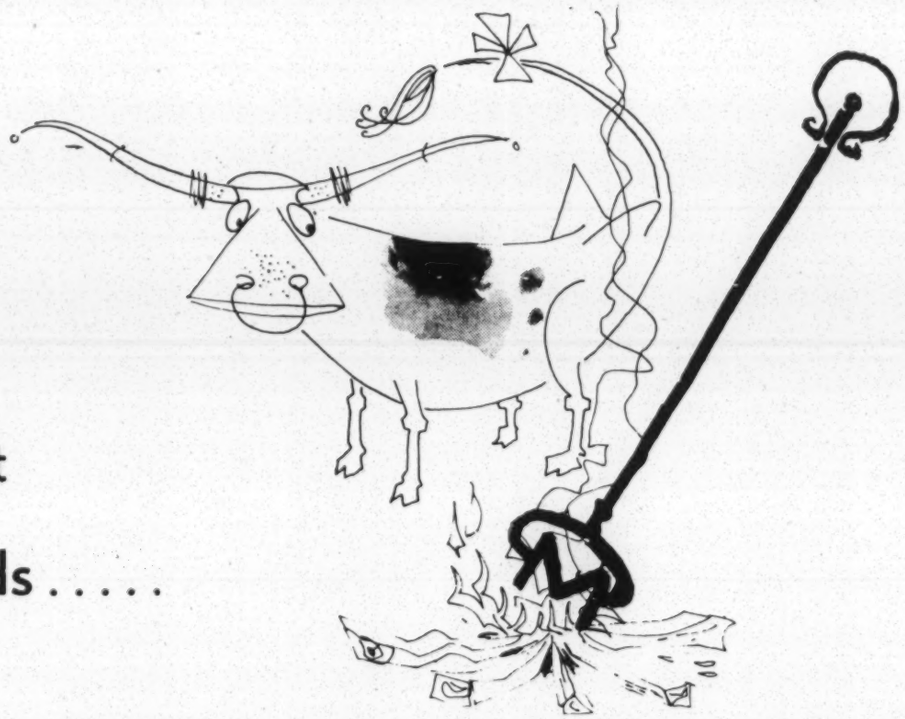
In Africa native tribes beat the ground with clubs and utter bloodcurdling yells. Anthropologists call this primitive expression. Here, we call it golf.

CONGRESSMAN CHARLES L. WELTNER leans back in his chair to discuss a legislative matter with one of the many visitors he sees in personal conferences every day.

A GREAT DEAL OF a congressman's time is spent on the telephone, talking with visitors to Washington, with constituents back home, and with various officials on Capitol Hill. Congressman Weltner is no exception to this pattern either, but is required to spend many hours every day on the telephone.

CONGRESSMAN WELTNER CHATS with a visitor who has dropped into his office unexpectedly, as other members of his staff work away industriously at the steady pile of routine that they must handle every day.

let's talk about brands.....



here we produce 6 labels all famous in the world of quality and all 6 brands exclusively at Muse's in Atlanta

Hickey-Freeman
CUSTOMIZED CLOTHES

CONGRESSMAN WELTNER CHATS with a visitor who has dropped into his office unexpectedly, as other members of his staff work away industriously at the steady pile of routine that they must handle every day.

STANDING BESIDE A BUST of former Vice President John Nance Garner, Tennessee Senator Estes Kefauver discusses legislative matters in the reception room just outside the Senate. Concerned as are many of his colleagues about the multiplicity of urgent matters now before the Senate, Senator Kefauver believes that the practical problems associated with the Civil Rights controversy may well grow worse before they get better. He is deeply disturbed about the demonstrations and many instances of rioting around the country, and hopes that Congress can come up with some satisfactory legislation that will bring more benefits to Negroes without destroying the individual rights of white southerners, or of any others in the United States.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF the Atlanta area in Congress points to the other members of the Georgia delegation whose pictures are on the wall of his office.

Of all the labor-saving devices ever invented, none comes close to matching money.

* * *

"What makes you think your wife is getting tired of you?"
"Every day this week she has wrapped my lunch in a road map!"

The following letter was received by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Bureau: "Dear Sir: Please send me a pamphlet on Wildlife in our government".

* * *

Five secrets of happiness: Money. Money. Money. Money. Money.

Hickey-Freeman
CUSTOMIZED CLOTHES

Society Brand

We believe there is one infallible way to judge fine clothes . . . it's the little silken label sewn inside your Muse's suit . . . it's visual, it's non-technical, yet it tells you . . . "here's quality, good styling . . . interesting and different fabric . . . outstanding value for the money you invest."

Kingsridge

hand shaped Austin Leeds

Muse's
ATLANTA

And at Muse's we are concerned with the man and how he wants to look. We know there is more style . . . more satisfaction in individuality.

That's why men seek us out . . . they know at Muse's they will see . . . on them . . . the various trends . . . they know we will make suggestions.

THE ARDEN
Muse's

LOUIS ROTH
CLOTHES
Tailored in California

. . . and in addition to these 6 famous brands . . . Palm Beach suits, Haspel suits and other lightweight clothing

now in our 84th year

Muse's

the style center of the South

downtown, peachtree, walton and broad and lenox square

State Department Sees Great Progress All Over The Globe

The traditional image of the United States as the "land of the free and the home of the brave" has been greatly damaged by recent racial demonstrations in the nation, and especially by the riots and violence which have presented a picture to the world of police dogs, fire hoses, and screaming Negro demonstrators. However, some of the damage done in other nations by these unhappy scenes can be eradicated if a strong Civil Rights Bill is passed by the present Congress.

That is the firm opinion of the State Department, and is based upon their careful study of all nations throughout the world, both those who have been inclined to support United States policy abroad, and also those who have been most critical of this nation. According to the top officials of the State Department, the world believes in President Kennedy and in the United States under his leadership. But failure to take action on the Civil Rights program would result in distinct damage to the prestige of both.

Special interviews with Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and with his top policy-planner Walt Rostow, brought out these facts and many other details relating to the foreign policy of the United States at this time.

Both men feel that the attitudes toward the United States have improved dramatically among the peoples of the world during the last two or three years, in some instances changing from antagonism and as it has often been pictured in some press reports.

For example, the new President of Brazil is not considered a Communist by our State Department, but is looked upon as a practical politician who seems to be turning more to the United States, and is genuinely inclined to cooperate in the Alliance for Progress.

State Department officials also pointed to the latest political vote in Argentina as being a happy reflection of a turn towards stable democratic government.

Several other nations and specific problems were clicked off in order, with emphasis Communist leadership in China today has been together through so very much for so many years that they are determined to stick together and ment is watching closely is the growing conflict between the Soviet Union and Red China. Our officials feel that the setback of the Russians in Berlin and Cuba, and Soviet difficulties in other areas, are very much on the plus side of the ledger for us.

The Chinese, incidentally, are in a bad way, with problems that are likely much more severe than have even been pictured in this country. Officials say that the heavy industrial develop-

SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK goes through some of the papers on his desk in his office in the magnificent new State Department Building. A native Georgian, the Secretary grew up in the West End section of Atlanta, and went through Lee Street School.

* * *

cussion all over Washington, and in the offices of those representatives who will decide the issue in Congress, indicating that Mr. Rusk made quite a forceful impression. Part of this may stem from the fact that everyone knows Dean Rusk is a Georgian, and is thoroughly familiar with the problems and the attitudes of the South.

He grew up in the West End area, and went through Lee

* * *

Street School. In his interview for this report he concluded by asking that we pass on his greetings to the many friends around Atlanta, and that we phone his sister, Margaret Rusk, who still lives here. We are delighted to pass on those personal words from the strong personality shaping the foreign policy of the United States at this critical time in history.

TALKING INTENTLY ABOUT the foreign policy of the United States and the various problems faced by this nation abroad, Secretary of State Dean Rusk displays an intimate know-

• BARBS

The gal who wants attention should make up her mind to mind her make-up.

* * *

Funny how we consider a bore the fellow who talks when we want to.

* * *

The best measure of a gen-

There's a big future awaiting the ad man who can figure some way to put the fun back into funerals.

* * *

A broker advises investing hoarded money in government bonds. From socks to bonds.

* * *

would result in distinct damage to the prestige of both.

Special interviews with Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and with his top policy-planner Walt Rostow, brought out these facts and many other details relating to the foreign policy of the United States at this time.

Both men feel that the attitudes toward the United States have improved dramatically among the peoples of the world during the last two or three years, in some instances changing from antagonism and distrust to strong gratitude and confidence. Mr. Rostow cited India as one example of this, and said that our quick support of the Indians at the time of the Communist Chinese invasion had won us a lasting friendship among the peoples of that vast nation, and has made real heroes of Americans in India at that time and since.

In discussing several specific problems and trouble points in Asia, such as India, Laos and South Vietnam, the strong opinion was expressed repeatedly that Asia is finding its feet and Communist thrusts are being dealt with. The same is true among many of the newer emerging nations of Africa, with many of them making progress toward a much better understanding of this nation and working relationship with us. And Latin America has never been as bad

TALKING INTENTLY ABOUT the foreign policy of the United States and the various problems faced by this nation abroad, Secretary of State Dean Rusk displays an intimate knowledge of a vast variety of matters, and is thoroughly familiar with everything this nation is doing in all parts of the world. He believes that the drive for Civil Rights in the United States today has vast and far-reaching consequences in our relations with other nations all over the face of the earth.

* * *

given to each one, showing the progress that has been made toward a more favorable working relationship with the United States, and a growing acceptance of U.S. policy during the past few years.

Another factor in our foreign affairs which the State Department convinced that when these strong-willed leaders die out, the multiplicity of problems in China will very likely cause important changes in policy and could well overwhelm the new leaders of the nation, causing these younger men to fall out among themselves. It is the concensus at State that any other group of ambitious politicians would probably have already split up under the pressure of so many great and urgent problems, but the top

* * *

ment of Communist China has all but vanished, their big agricultural push is faltering, and a generally impossible situation in that nation is held together only by the indomitable will and camaraderie of the old Reds who are running the nation. Our officials are fight the thing out even against overwhelming odds.

While part of our improved position in the eyes of the world has come about through the conflict and disagreements among our Communist competition on the global scene, much of it has also been accomplished as a result of the vigorous and youthful picture presented to the world by the Kennedy Administration. But the image is flawed by the racial incidents in the United

* * *

States. Thus, Secretary of State Rusk made a most eloquent appeal before the Senate Commerce Committee in behalf of the proposed Civil Rights legislation, pointing out the effects that passage of the bill or failure to pass such a bill would have upon this nation and its relationships abroad.

The testimony of the Secretary before the Senate had quite an impact upon a great many people. There was dis-

* * *

the South.

He grew up in the West End area, and went through Lee

shaping the foreign policy of the United States at this critical time in history.

• BARBS

The gal who wants attention should make up her mind to mind her make-up.

* * *

Funny how we consider a bore the fellow who talks when we want to.

* * *

The best measure of a gentleman is his respect for those who cannot possibly do anything for him.

* * *

The crime figures are in: Looks as though evil is the root of a lot of money these days.

* * *

Nothing is more frustrating to a man than to drive in back of a woman motorist who is doing everything right.

* * *

A friend of ours had a proposal of marriage turned down three weeks ago and he's been drinking ever since. Offhand, we'd say that's carrying a celebration a bit too far.

There's a big future awaiting the ad man who can figure some way to put the fun back into funerals.

* * *

A broker advises investing hoarded money in government bonds. From socks to bonds.

* * *

Many wonderful summer trips will be followed by a fall--in funds.

* * *

You might just as well keep your temper -- nobody wants any part of it.

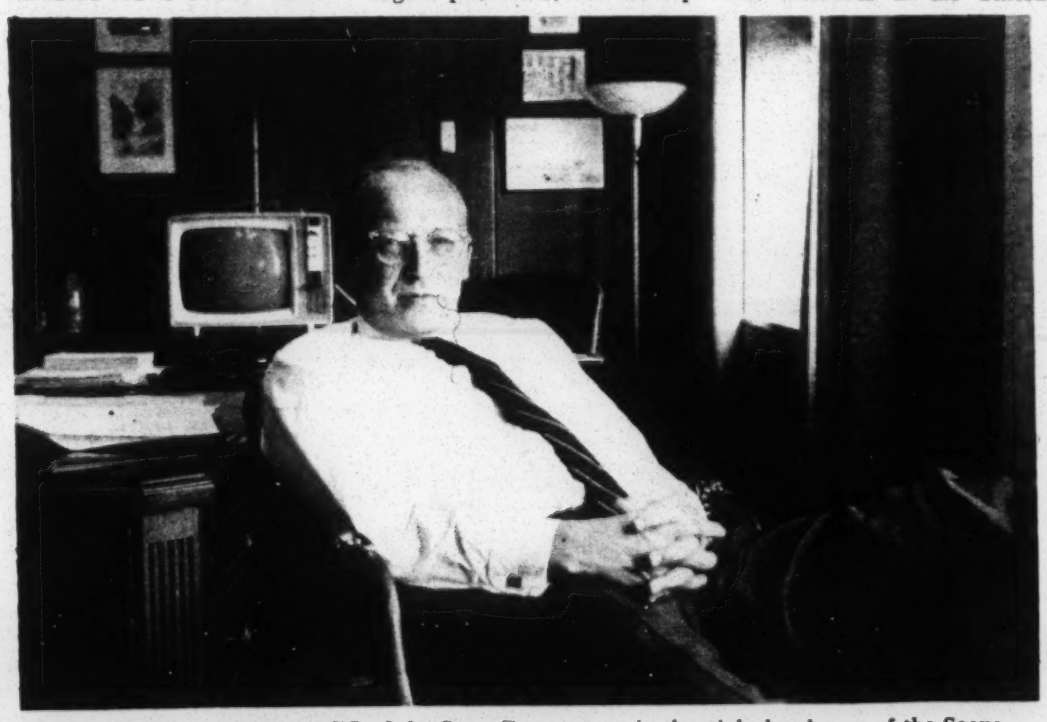
* * *

If you're raising corn this year we hope you won't be able to believe your ears.

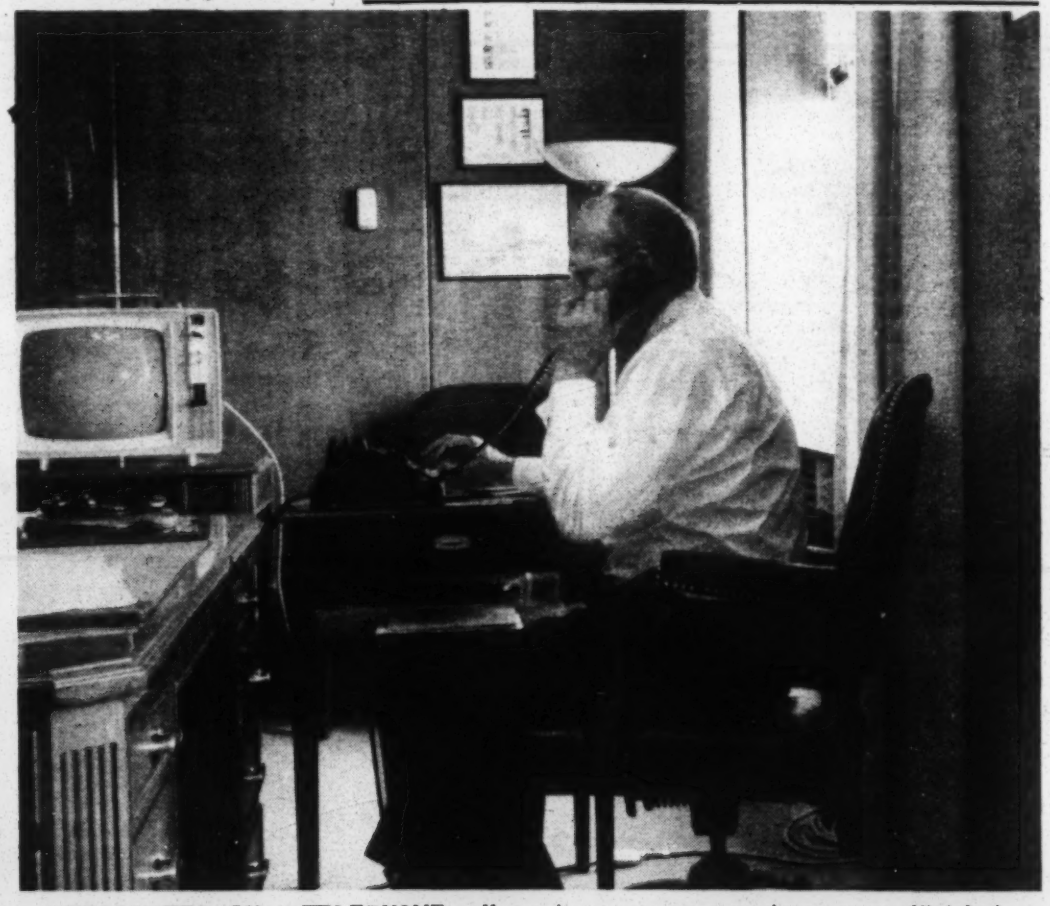
It's okay to be intoxicated with love if it doesn't lead to being punch drunk after marriage.

* * *

There's a college for waiters in the east. Study up on your arithmetic boys.



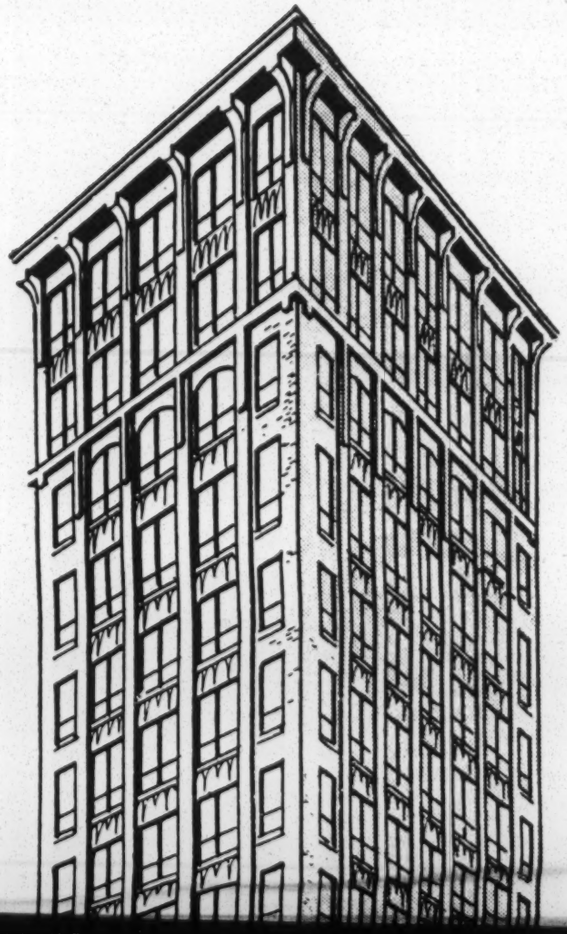
THE CHIEF POLICYMAKER of the State Department is the right hand man of the Secretary of State, Walt M. Rostow. Relaxed behind his desk, he talked freely about the various problems faced by this country in foreign affairs, and how our image abroad is affected by conditions here in this country.



INTERRUPTED BY A TELEPHONE call, as is a common experience most officials in Washington, Walt Rostow discusses matters of policy affecting the State Department, and all the activities of the United States. He was most optimistic about the accomplishments of the present Administration in all parts of the world, and believes that continued progress will be achieved by the Kennedy leadership in the months ahead.

Thousandaire Headquarters

north...east...south...west...



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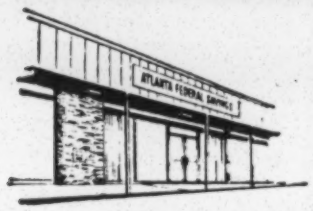
LAKEWOOD at STEWART

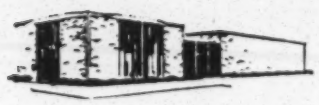


LAKEWOOD
LAKEWOOD at STEWART

TENTH STREET
1124 PEACHTREE

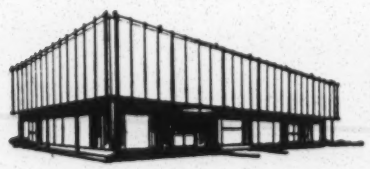
WEST END
GORDON at ASHBY

MEMBER F.S.L.I.C. / $225,000,000 RESOURCES



BROOKHAVEN
3975 PEACHTREE

BUCKHEAD
PEACHTREE at PIEDMONT



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Key Republican Leaders Feel GOP Will Win Presidency

Three key leaders of the Republican Party on a national level have differing views on the Civil Rights proposals now before Congress, the motivations of the President and the present democratic administration in making these proposals, and the likely outcome of these debates in the legislative process.

House Minority Leader Charles E. Halleck of Indiana made it plain that he has not yet taken any position on the Civil Rights proposals now be-

HOUSE MINORITY LEADER Charles E. Halleck looks intently across his desk as he discusses the various matters before the House of Representatives at the present time. Like many other Republicans in Washington, he is convinced that the President will be defeated in 1964.

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fore the Congress, nor has the Republican Party in the House of Representatives adopted any official course of action. However, Halleck did admit

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tions, at least under the provisions as outlined by President Kennedy. Morton was the only one of the three Republican leaders who felt there was any possibility of passage of any public accommodations provisions, and he indicated that such would be possible only if they were drastically revised and modified from the original proposals of the Administration.

Although all three men were agreed in their general opposition to the extreme action intended by the President, they did not agree on their interpretations of the reasoning behind such action, or the likely consequences of

been on the payroll of any particular Party, and promoting the candidacy of a particular individual. Dirksen wondered if Harris had questioned people in the United States, or had done his interviewing in Laos or South Vietnam.

Morton felt that there could be some reasonable justification for the conclusions drawn, and that the wording, phrasing, and presentation of the questions could have predetermined the answers. He also pointed out that a random sampling of people throughout the population is not necessarily an accurate reflection of voter preferences. He said, for example, that he could visualize getting 54% of a random sampling in the South to favor almost anything that would seem to benefit minority groups. His logic was that some 35% of the population would be identified with such minorities, and so you could assume that they would feel almost unanimously in favor of any action that might promise anything to their advantage. Of the majority group, one out of three would probably be sympathetic with the minorities, and would favor almost any action that would seem to benefit them. The addition of that one-third of the 65% majority, added to the entire 35% minority, would make up a majority of some 55% or more of the total population. But, he cautioned, the 55% of the total population might represent only 10% or 15% of the registered voters, or those likely to go to

election, and with the Civil Rights Issue as the latest of many major blunders, it would take a combination of several spectacular miracles to salvage enough public confidence for the President to retain his office.

While none of them would indicate any personal preference of a presidential nominee for next year, they all denied there was any serious split in their Party ranks. Morton said that despite the verbal block-busters that have been exchanged recently between Nelson Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater, he feels confident that either man could win the presidency if nominated, and that either of them would support the other if he received the nomination. The Kentucky Senator said that he did not consider himself a candidate, but did appreciate the confidence of former President Eisenhower and others in Republican ranks who have indicated that he would make a strong standard-bearer.

GROWTH IN SOUTH

All three GOP leaders were especially encouraged about the prospects for their Party in the southern states, and particularly in Georgia. Halleck and Dirksen both indi-

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IN THE OFFICES of Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen, the Republican stalwart discusses the problems before Congress at the present time. He is most optimistic about the chances of the GOP in 1964, and believes that any candidate of his party will defeat President Kennedy.

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cated some familiarity with the growth of Republican strength around Atlanta, and the interest in a two-party system throughout Georgia. Halleck said that he had visited Atlanta on a number of occasions, and felt that the Republicans would give more attention to the South during

* * *

the 1964 presidential campaign. Dirksen said that while he did not know either of the men personally, he had heard of Rodney Cook and Richard Freeman, Atlanta's two Republican aldermen, and felt that the Party was projecting a favorable and progressive image around Atlanta.

Pictorial

HOUSE MINORITY LEADER Charles E. Halleck looks intently across his desk as he discusses the various matters before the House of Representatives at the present time. Like many other Republicans in Washington, he is convinced that the President will be defeated in 1964.

* * *

fore the Congress, nor has the Republican Party in the House of Representatives adopted any official course of action. However, Halleck did admit that he had received some expressions of opposition from his constituents who felt that this particular legislation is not desired, at least in the form of the present proposals, at this particular time.

Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen indicated that he felt the majority of the voters throughout the United States were opposed to the public accommodations proposals, and compared the residents of Southern Illinois, whom he knows best, with those in the deep south, as being equally opposed to forced regimentation in this matter.

Senator Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky, a Republican Party stalwart, who was a leader in drafting the platform for the Party in 1960, and frequently being mentioned now as a possible presidential candidate for 1964, feels that even the liberal voters of his state are not ready for forced public accommoda-

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tion intended by the President, they did not agree on their interpretations of the reasoning behind such action, or the likely consequences of it. While Dirksen labeled the proposals as purely politics, and Halleck seemed to feel the same way although refusing to make that statement, Morton disagreed decisively. Senator Morton feels it was not good politics, and that there is strong evidence the President and the Attorney General became frightened and fearful of the growing unrest among Negroes throughout the nation, and were stampeded into any suggestions that would relieve some of that growing minority group pressure.

All three Republican leaders were questioned about a public opinion poll published recently by Louis Harris in which Harris claimed that a survey indicated that throughout the nation 74% of those questioned were in favor of the public accommodations provisions, and that 54% in the South favored such action. Halleck was suspicious of the objectivity of any polls conducted by an individual who has

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age. Of the majority group, one out of three would probably be sympathetic with the minorities, and would favor almost any action that would seem to benefit them. The addition of that one-third of the 65% majority, added to the entire 35% minority, would make up a majority of some 55% or more of the total population. But, he cautioned, the 55% of the total population might represent only 10% or 15% of the registered voters, or those likely to go to the polls and express their opinions on such an issue.

KENNEDY IS DEAD

All three Republican leaders were quite positive in their feelings that John F. Kennedy will be a single term president. Halleck and Dirksen refused to express any preference for possible Republican candidates, or even to give an idea of who they felt to be out front at the moment. (Morton did say that Goldwater seemed to be in front of the pack at the time of these interviews.) But they all three were agreed that regardless of what candidate was chosen by the Republican Party, he would certainly defeat the Democrat's Mr. Kennedy next year.

Senator Dirksen explained in some detail his feeling that rarely does a presidential candidate win an election, rather the other man manages to lose. He indicated that President Kennedy has already lost next year's

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GROWTH IN SOUTH

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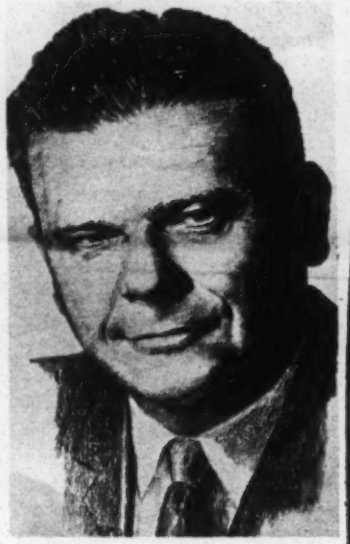

THIS FACE WILL probably become more and more familiar during the next year, as Senator Thruston B. Morton of Kentucky will surely be one of the key figures in the Republican efforts to re-capture the White House in 1964. He has been mentioned as a possible presidential candidate himself, but shrugs off any interest in the job. He has had a strong voice in policy decisions of the GOP, however, and had a great deal to do with drafting their presidential platform for 1960, and will likely play a major role in setting up the platform and the ticket of his Party for 1964.

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* * *

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the 1964 presidential campaign. Dirksen said that while he did not know either of the men personally, he had heard of Rodney Cook and Richard Freeman, Atlanta's two Republican aldermen, and felt that the Party was projecting a favorable and progressive image around Atlanta.

Pictorial INTELLIGRAM

How are you on recent events? Complete the following six statements, then check with answers below to find out.

1—Pictured (Henry Cabot Lodge) (Harold Stassen) was named ambassador to South Vietnam.

2—The U.S.S.R. ousted five (American) (Red Chinese) officials for actions the government considered detrimental to Soviet interests.

3—When President Kennedy visited West Berlin he was given a warm welcome, but when Premier Khrushchev visited East Berlin, he was given (an even warmer) (milder) welcome.

4—Democrats and Republicans chose (different cities) (the same city) in which to hold their respective 1964 national conventions.

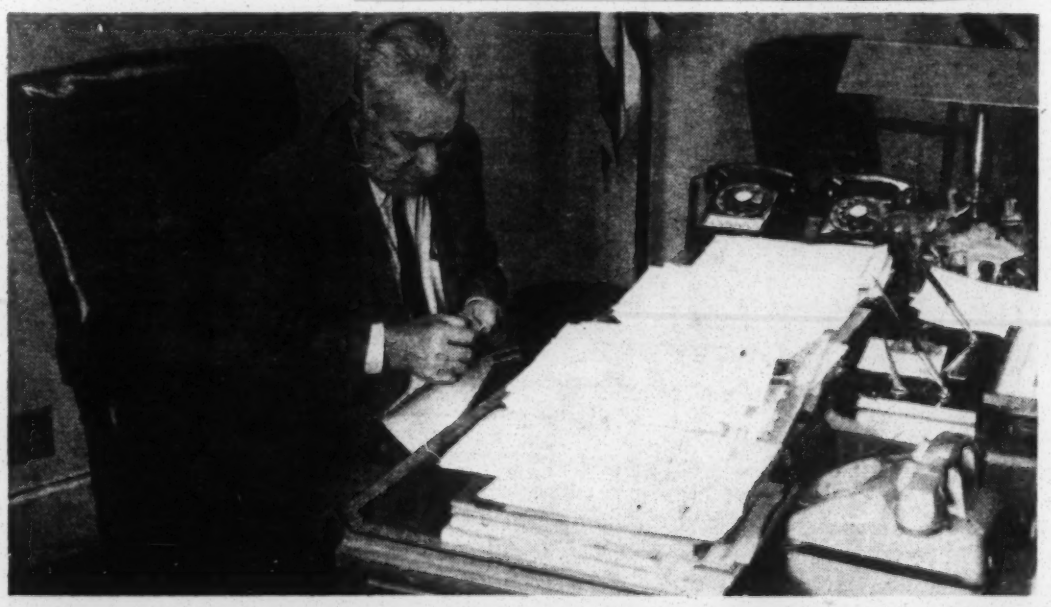
5—The underwater search vessel Trieste (failed to locate) (located) the position of the sunken Thresher during first series of dives.

6—Pictured golfer (Tony Lema) (Arnold Palmer) won a three-way play-off in the Cleveland, Ohio, Open.

Count 10 for each correct choice. A score of 60 is excellent; 50, good; 40, fair; less than 40, poor.

1--Lodge. 2--Chinese. 3--Milder. 4--Different. 5--Failed. 6--Palmer.

DISCUSSING WITH A GREAT deal of vigorous emphasis the matters before the Senate at the present time, Senator Dirksen still talks relatively slowly, but with a resonant and mellifluous voice.



GOING THROUGH THE hefty stack of papers on his desk, House Minority Leader Charles E. Halleck gives some indication of the very busy schedule which he follows every day in trying to map the strategy of his party in the halls of Congress.

Secretary Of Defense Sees Strong And Secure Nation

At a special press conference last week Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara said that no real military secrets have been lost to Communist nations in recent months. He declared that no defense secrets were lost in the recent cases that have been publicized so much of individuals who have defected to Communist - block nations. According to the Secretary, any information which was shared with our Allies, which was passed on to the Russians by the latest defectors, was entirely out of date and of very little value to the

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ments already made in the B-70 or RS-70 program. He stated: "I suspect that many of the materials and the design techniques that were incorporated in the B-70 will be of some value to the supersonic transport, and we will be very happy to make that technical information available to the transport."

HEDGES TEST BAN

When he was asked the question: Do you believe, from a military standpoint, that a limited test ban would be advantageous to the United States? The Defense Secretary replied:

* * *

for the rumors that you refer to. We have no present plans for removing either one of the two combat divisions now assigned to Korea."

Asked about reports circulating in the press that Red China is about to make a move in southeast Asia, Mr. McNamara replied simply: "I have no such information."

The last question of the news conference came back to the country of most concern to Americans: Mr. Secretary, I want to ask you if you see any lessening in dangers from Cuba, the movements there, or the construction

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AT A SPECIAL PRESS CONFERENCE in Washington last week, the Secretary of Defense discussed with newsmen many matters being carried out by the military forces of this nation. He believes that this mammoth department is being operated with increasing efficiency, and that the waste of the past is being trimmed regularly as fast as it is uncovered.

AMONG THE DOZENS of newsmen from all parts of the world interviewing the Secretary of Defense at a special press conference last week, cameramen and television photographers were all over the room. Some climbed step-ladders to get a better vantage point, and many went up and down for close up shots of Mr. McNamara as he made a prepared presentation.

Vinson Not Only The Dean Of Congress, But Powerful

Every day now, Georgia's Sixth District Congressman, Representative Carl Vinson of Milledgeville, sets new records of service in Washington. As Senator Herman E. Talmadge said in honoring the venerable Georgia statesman last week, "No other man in history has served so long or so well in the United States House of Representatives.

This dean of legislators was sworn in as a member of the House on November 3, 1914, and two weeks ago now passed the record of 48 years and 8 months

power in the nation's Capital, and probably knows the ins and outs of national politics as well as any man alive. He can walk into almost any office in Washington, and immediately the entire staff is falling all over itself to carry out his wishes.

Despite his tremendous prestige and influence, he is still a quiet and unpretentious man, and does not hesitate to express his opinions. Asked about his position on Civil Rights, for example, he stated flatly and quickly that he was opposed to the proposals and

although much misunderstood, and he believes that the efforts of the government thus far in the field of Civil Defense have not been wasted despite all of the vicious criticism.

And when this youthful and tireless 79-year-old speaks on these matters, you recognize his authority, and do not question his word.

Senator Talmadge was only one of many who paid tribute to Carl Vinson on the occasion of his setting a new record of length of service in

AT A SPECIAL PRESS CONFERENCE in Washington last week, the Secretary of Defense discussed with newsmen many matters being carried out by the military forces of this nation. He believes that this mammoth department is being operated with increasing efficiency, and that the waste of the past is being trimmed regularly as fast as it is uncovered.

* * *

sians by the latest defectors, was entirely out of date and of very little value to the Communist cause.

Asked what measures have been taken to avoid security leaks and plug up the defenses against any loss of important military information, Secretary McNamara said: ". . . . I know of no compromise of any current U. S. military plans . . . or of any release of classified information to non-U. S. sources . . . I am satisfied and very pleased with the action that General Carroll (in charge of the Defense Intelligence Agency) and his counterparts in the Services have taken to insure proper safeguarding of our classified information."

At his interview last week Mr. McNamara also said that he felt the overall defense posture of the United States is as strong and stable at the present time as it has been in many years. He is not troubled by the criticism which has come to his Department from many sides, not even the constant barrage of harrassment and harranging which has resulted from the TFX controversy. In fact, despite his natural regret over the time and energy his staff has been forced to devote to these hearings, he does not believe that the final completion of the TFX program has really been delayed by the debates thus far.

Asked if his thinking had changed on the B-70 bomber program, and the need for continued manned bombers such as the massive B-70 (Senate Armed Services Chairman Richard Russelll had indicated that perhaps the Secretary's position has changed), he refused to say one way or the other, but made no admission of any change in thinking. The Secretary did admit, however, that there will probably be side benefits derived from the develop-

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vantageous to the United States? The Defense Secretary replied:

"I think all responsible leaders of this Department believe that it is against the interests of this nation to allow further proliferation of nuclear weapons, and any action we can take that protects our national security, and at the same time reduces the risk of further proliferation, is desirable. I believe an enforceable test ban would assist in accomplishing that objective. I think it is unwise for me to say anything more in a period such as this, a time when negotiations relating to a test ban are underway."

Asked about waste and inefficiency in the Defense Department, Mr. McNamara smiled and said that certainly there had been some, and unfortunately would likely continue to be in the future. but he feels very strongly that such waste and inefficiency has been drastically reduced under his leadership, and that there is a relentless determination on the part of all of his staff to continue to cut out everything possible that is unnecessary. The sheer size of his Department, with almost 4-million military and another million civilian employees, or a total of close to 5-million personnel, makes some amount of waste inescapable.

COMMUNIST THREAT

Several questions touched upon the threats of military aggression by the Communists at various points in the world. One reporter referred to the statement of the Korean Foreign Minister when visiting recently in this country that it would be unthinkable for the United States to remove one of its military divisions from Korea and pull it back either to Hawaii or Okinawa, as has been rumored. The Secretary replied firmly: "I don't know the basis

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any lessening in dangers from Cuba, the movements there, or the construction or the concentration of troops? The Defense leader replied forcefully: "I don't believe we can ever accept a Soviet satellite in this Hemisphere, and we must continue to take the actions we have taken to put pressure upon Cuba and the Soviet Union to insure the removal of Soviet military personnel from that island is continued. Thank you very much."

In 1962, U. S. railroads spent $833,050,000 for new equipment and to maintain and improve existing equipment and other facilities.

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Foods on USDA's Plentiful Foods list for July include turkeys, milk and milk products, summer vegetables, peanut butter, watermelons, fresh peaches, and vegetable fats and oils.

venerable Georgia statesman last week, "No other man in history has served so long or so well in the United States House of Representatives.

This dean of legislators was sworn in as a member of the House on November 3, 1914, and two weeks ago now passed the record of 48 years and 8 months service established by the late Speaker Sam Rayburn. No current member of Congress even comes close, or is ever likely to reach that period of longevity in the future. Indeed, some have pointed out that Vinson took his seat in Congress when many of the present members of that body were still infants, or not yet born.

There is every indication that the phenomenal record of this man will continue to grow in the months and years ahead, as he gives no hint whatever of an early retirement. Indeed, he is vigorous, quick and alert, and works hard and long every day of the week. He arrives at his office early every morning, and usually has done a good day's work by the time most other Congressmen are getting started.

Vinson wields tremendous

over itself to carry out his wishes.

Despite his tremendous prestige and influence, he is still a quiet and unpretentious man, and does not hesitate to express his opinions. Asked about his position on Civil Rights, for example, he stated flatly and quickly that he was opposed to the proposals and would vote against them. Asked about the prospects of the presidential campaign next year, he did not hesitate to say that he felt that was too far ahead to be making a judgment at this time, but he does not see any Republican candidate likely to give President Kennedy any real competition. And thus far, he sees no reason why he should not continue to support the Administration.

As chairman for many years of the House Armed Services Committee, he has been a key figure in shaping this nation's defenses. He believes that the defenses of the United States are strong and adequate at the moment, but cautions that we must be constantly on our guard to keep them that way.

He also feels that Civil Defense is most important,

criticism.

And when this youthful and tireless 79-year-old speaks on these matters, you recognize his authority, and do not question his word.

Senator Talmadge was only one of many who paid tribute to Carl Vinson on the occasion of his setting a new record of length of service in Congress. In the remarks that Georgia's Junior Senator made on the floor of the Senate, he summed up something of the position of the man:

"For almost half a century, Congressman Vinson has served Georgia and the nation with unswerving dedication to the high principles upon which this country was founded. He is devoted to the American way of life and the American system of government, and in the discharge of this public trust throughout his remarkable career, Congressman Vinson is without peer.

"All the people of the United States owe Carl Vinson an abiding debt of gratitude. Though his activities have been many and his interests varied, his every deed has been calculated to further the welfare of the nation.

"More than any other member of Congress, he was principally responsbile for the development of our two-ocean Navy, and for this history will mark him the 'Father of the Modern Navy'.

"No other man in history has served so long or so well in the House of Representatives. He is truly one of the greatest statesmen of all time, and on this momentous occasion, I would like to congratulate him as the alltime dean of the House, thank him for his outstanding service and contributions to the United States, and wish him Godspeed in all that he is to do in the future."

On a passenger-mile basis, railroad travel is the safest in the U. S. In 1962, travel fatalities, per 100 million passenger-miles, were: private autos and taxis-2.3; domestic airlines - .35; buses - .16; and railroads - .15.

A PIERCING and incisive look is typical of the intellect and personality of the dean of Congressmen, Representative Carl Vinson of Georgia's Sixth District. Rapidly approaching the 50-year mark in the House, Mr. Vinson is chairman of the powerful House on Services Committee, and has as much influence in Washington as any other individual in Congress.

NINTH DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVE Phil M. Landrum discusses with fervor the problems involved in the proposed Civil Rights measures now being considered by various congressional committees. Like the other members of the Georgia delegation, he is opposed to many aspects of the President's plan, especially the public accommodations provision.

* * * * * *

Landrum Sees No Big Hurry For Redistricting Of The State

Representative Phil M. Landrum of Georgia's Ninth Congressional District, the man whom many have felt should be most concerned about the redistricting of the state, does not seem to feel that there is any urgency about this particular matter. Even though his district is noticeably smaller than the Fifth Congressional District, the northeast Georgia Congressman cited several reasons why he found no cause for immediate alarm. In no state has federal court dictatify the time, trouble, and expense of a special session of the legislature in September, or at any time prior to its next regularly scheduled session.

The northeast Georgia Congressman cited several reasons why he found no cause for immediate alarm. In no state has federal court dictate the 1962 general election.

However, the important point to remember in Alabama's situation is that at no time did the federal court order the state to redistrict.

The U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled to consider the Georgia Congressional dis - tricting case in the fall term. Congressman Landrum be-

Congressional Redistricting Causing No Loss Of Sleep

Georgia congressmen may not be nearly as violently and immovably opposed to the redistricting of the state as many have been led to believe.

The ten representatives who are now in Washington naturally would prefer to leave things as they are. Any elected official would be disinclined to tamper with the boundaries of a district which had sent him to Washington in the first place. But the extreme opposition that has been pictured in many press reports simply is not representative of the total congressional delegation.

Most of the ten congressmen now in office were hesitant about rushing to Atlanta for a discussion of redistricting, and several of them felt strongly that it was not so urgent a matter as to demand that sort of emergency treatment. The concensus was that even though the action should be taken next year, and must be done somehow before these representatives run for reelection in 1964, that it can be handled at the regular session of the General Assembly in January, without calling an expensive extra session of the Legislature this fall.

While there is some natural resistance to any re-drawing of district lines, most of these men accept that necessity as inevitable, and are not nearly as concerned about its being done as exactly how and in what way it is handled. Certainly none of them want to be forced into a race against each other. But a couple of plans have already been suggested which would enable all ten incumbents to run again for their district, without competing with any of the others.

The greatest discrepancy in all of the ten districts in Georgia is between two adjacent districts, the Fifth and the Ninth. According to the population figures of the 1960 Census, Congressman Charles L. Weltner represents 823,680 people in the Fifth District, while Phil M. Landrum of Jasper represents only 272,154 in the Ninth District.

A committee of the Georgia General Assembly is now working on the realignment of district lines, and is expected to have a fair and equitable picture to present to the Legislature in January. The concensus right now seems to be that the Governor will not call a special session of the Legislature before the end of this year.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. FLYNT of Georgia's Fourth Congressional District stands behind the desk in his private office. Like other members of the Georgia delegation, he is increasingly concerned about the multiplicity of legislative matters now being considered by the House of Representatives, and the growing possibility that many important items will be by-passed as a result of the Civil Rights controversy.

Our Man In Washington

for aid on personal problems they have in

districting of the state, does not seem to feel that there is any urgency about this particular matter. Even though his district is noticeably smaller than the Fifth Congressional District (around Atlanta), he feels very strongly that no Federal Court will ever take upon itself the task of carving out congressional districts for any state, or setting boundary lines for the voters of that state.

Congressman Landrum was among several of Georgia's ten representatives who were most reluctant to leave Washinton last week to confer with Governor Carl E. Sanders about the problem of re-arranging the district boundaries in the state. Landrum indicated that it was not because he was reluctant to discuss the matter, but that he simply did not feel that it was a matter of great urgency or any over-riding time consideration. He feels very strongly that the matter can be planned calmly and carefully in the months ahead, and that proper legislation can be drafted with every possible consideration and presented in a routine manner at the 1964 General Assembly when it convenes in January. He does not believe that there is anything about the issue to justsion.

The northeast Georgia Congressman cited several reasons why he found no cause for immediate alarm. In no state has federal court dictated the drawing of congressional district lines.

Not until 1962 did the courts even find competency to deal with apportionment questions, which throughout our history had been considered too political for judicial consideration. Consequently, as demonstrated in the Georgia case, federal judges appear to be hesitant to rush headlong into this area, preferring evidently to leave the matter in the hands of state legislators where this power under Article 1 Section 4 of the U.S. Constitution resides:

"The Times, Places and Manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof..."

After the 1960 census Alabama lost one of its nine Congressmen because of population changes. Alabama's state legislature attempted to redistrict the state, but could not agree on a plan. Because of this impasse, all of Alabama's Congressmen had to run on a state-wide basis in state to redistrict.

The U.S. Supreme Court is scheduled to consider the Georgia Congressional dis - tricting case in the fall term. Congressman Landrum believes, however, that the court will not redraw the district lines.

He adds that if the state legislature does change the present boundaries by adding new territory and additional constituents he "would welcome the opportunity to serve the new people and hope that they would be as good to me as the people I now serve."

STRONG FEELINGS

Like all other Georgia congressmen, and most representatives throughout the South, Landrum was very much disturbed by, and strongly opposed to, the latest Civil Rights proposals of the President, particularly the public accommodations section. He cited a rally held in the Ninth District a couple of weeks ago, at which Senator Richard B. Russell was the featured speaker. Landrum said it had been many years since he had seen such a large crowd for a political speech, or had experienced such an enthusiastic response to the remarks of any speaker.

PHIL M. LANDRUM, Georgia's Ninth District Representative in Congress, looks through some of his law books to substantiate his claims that no Federal Court would be inclined to try to set district lines for the various congressional divisions of a state. He believes that the very worst that any Federal Court would attempt would be to declare unconstitutional and discriminatory the present boundaries, and require the state legislature either to set new lines, or to have all congressmen in that state to run on a statewide basis.

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The Georgia General Assembly last winter muffed its chance to receive almost $1,000,000 in additional highway funds from Washington when it rejected legislation to control billboards along the sections of these highways passing through Georgia. As a result of Mr. Weltner's efforts, the Assembly will have another opportunity next January to recoup this loss.

Of particular interest to DeKalb countians have been Mr. Weltner's successful efforts to obtain a new post office for Doraville and to unsnarl the legal tangle in which the new Chamblee post office had become enmeshed.

Constituents who have written Mr. Weltner

CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. FLYNT of Georgia's Fourth Congressional District stands behind the desk in his private office. Like other members of the Georgia delegation, he is increasingly concerned about the multiplicity of legislative matters now being considered by the House of Representatives, and the growing possibility that many important items will be by-passed as a result of the Civil Rights controversy.

Our Man In Washington

It was the intention of the Founding Fathers who wrote the Constitution that Congressmen should be the direct representatives of the people, while Senators should represent the several states as sovereign members of the Union. That concept was changed somewhat by the 17th Amendment which provided for the direct election of Senators. Before that they had been chosen by the state legislatures.

But it is still true that Representatives in the House are closer to the average citizen than anyone else in Washington. We invariably turn to our Congressman when we have some individual need in the Capital. Or when our district, county or city faces a crisis, like the recent spring floods here, when Federal help is urgently required.

We are happy to note that the Fifth District's new Congressman, Charles L. Weltner, now rounding out his first half-year in Washington, has shown a keen responsiveness to the needs of the people who elected him. Just a few days ago he obtained House approval of $70,000 for a Federal flood control study in Fulton and DeKalb counties, and is working to get an appropriation for it during the current fiscal year.

He also has worked hard to obtain an extension of Section 221 of the Federal Housing Act to make possible the erection of low-cost homes for low-income groups, which are urgently needed in Atlanta where the expressways and other large - scale projects have forced many to move from their former homes.

He has devoted his efforts to obtaining Federal aid for municipal rapid transit systems of the type envisaged for Metropolitan Atlanta.

Mr. Weltner also has concentrated on obtaining an extension of the billboard bonus provisions of the legislation for construction of the Interstate Highway System, which was

for aid on personal problems they have in Washington have found him quickly responsive and helpful.

So much for the purely local aspects of Congressman Weltner's service.

On a national level, the Fifth District Congressman already has attracted attention as one of the most capable and promising of the freshman members of the House. At the beginning of the session he was assigned to the Banking and Currency Committee, a signal honor. Recently he became one of four new House members chosen among the Ten Most Promising Members of the the 86th Congress.

Visitors to Washington from the Fifth District have been told by older Congressmen that they regard Mr. Weltner as one of the most brilliant and effective of the new members.

Although Mr. Weltner is generally regarded as a liberal in the field of human relations, he undoubtedly expressed the majority sentiment of his District when he recently made a statement strongly opposing the "public accommodations" section of President Kennedy's civil rights legislation. This is the section under which the Federal Government might coerce businessmen to serve customers regardless of race.

Mr. Weltner's concern with the welfare and the opinions of his constituents has been shown by other activities outside Congress. During the recent disastrous floods, he and the Fifth District Executive Committee took the lead in appealing for furniture and clothing for the destitute residents of the Butler-Chestnut Street area of Atlanta.

The committee and Mr. Weltner also are making an unprecedented effort to learn the opinions of Fifth District citizens on public issues. Recently they circulated a questionnaire asking for the views of citizens on 10 important public questions, including a Federal tax cut, use of Federal funds for rapid transit and voluntary desegregation of hotels and restaurants.

This demonstrates the Congressman's eagerness to know what his constituents are thinking, and to reflect their views in Washington. In so doing he is filling the role envisioned for a Representative under the U.S. Constitution.

We believe most readers will agree with us that Congressman Weltner has made an auspicious start on his career in the House. As he gains experience, he should become increasingly useful to his District.

Hale Bogg Is On The Spot Representing Progressive South

A man squarely on the spot in the the present crosscurrent of opinions and prejudices in the Civil Rights controversy is Congressman Hale Boggs of Louisiana. He is torn between basic and very deep conflicts between the constituents he tries earnestly and conscientiously to represent on the one hand, and some parts of the program of the Kennedy Administration, of which he is the majority whip in the House, on the other.

While his personal preference is for continued segregation, and he understands the strong feelings of his state against the public accommodations proposals, he is still sympathetic with many of the problems of Negroes. He is in favor of more educational and vocational training, manpower retraining, better schools, and broader economic opportunities for the Negroes. He wants to help and to treat them like fellow human beings, but he strongly resents the unnecessary demonstrations which they have been conducting, the recent riots, and the extreme expressions of opinion and of aggressive militancy on both sides. Indeed, he expressed a personal fear of both extremes, indicating that he is greatly disturbed that emotion might prevent an intelligent approach to solving the problems the nation faces in that area.

Congressman Boggs quickly impresses anyone as a vigorous and intelligent new breed of southern leadership. He is quick to go to the heart of any matter, and sensitive to see the problems and the implications of all issues involved. He is fully aware of the dangers to any southern representative who does too much to help the Negroes, particularly in light of the present unrest in the south and throughout the nation, but he still feels compelled to face their needs for education and job opportunities, and believes that many southern leaders will follow their consciences in these matters. This does not imply, he emphasized, that responsible southern leadership is changing drastically in its traditional positions, but rather is simply seeing all sides of the various issues now, and is trying to weight carefully all of the factors and the equities involved.

The Louisiana Congressman is conscious of the responsibility of any politician to stay in office, if he is to accomplish anything. He feels that it would be a real tragedy if the more intelligent and progressive leadership from southern states were destroyed by unreasonable demands by the extremists on both sides. He is convinced that modifications will be made in the present proposals that will avoid just such a head-on clash. If so, he feels that it is likely that many southern congressmen, like Boggs, will vote for such programs as expanded vocational education, manpower retraining, better education, improved job opportunities, and others designed to improve relations between the races, as long as they are not forced to cast their vote for the features that are most objectionable to whites in the south.

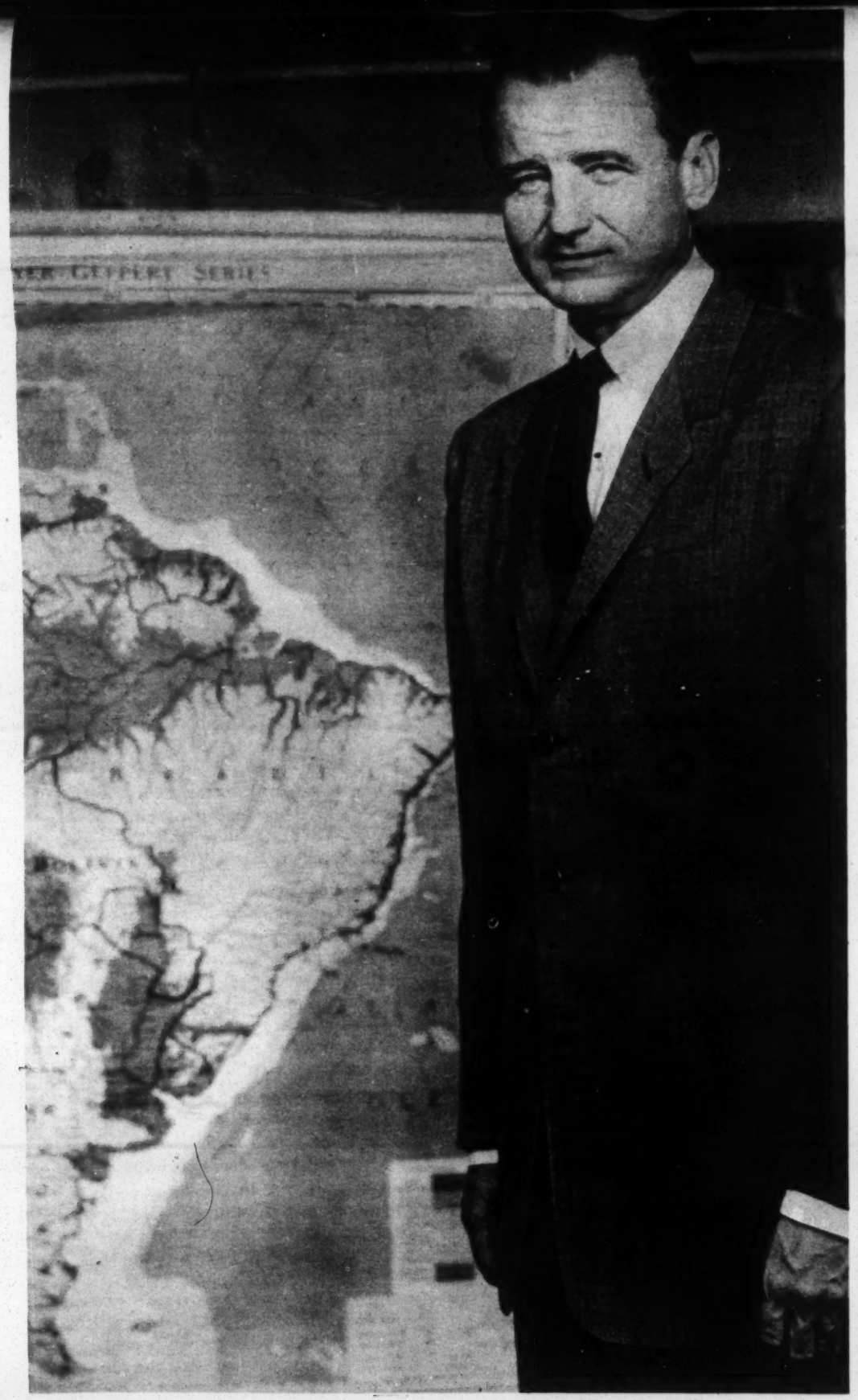
MAN ON THE SPOT in the welter of Washington activities is Democratic Majority Whip in the House of Representatives, Congressman Hale Boggs of Louisiana. He is uncomfortably aware of the fact that the sentiments of many of his constituents back home are in direct conflict with the desires of the Administration for which he must act in the nation's Capital.

Smathers Sees Demos Safe, Is Critical Of Demonstrations

The Republican party has little chance of capturing the White House throughout the nation next year and the deep south must consider issues other than civil rights in determining a Presidential candidate.

Those are the feelings of Senator George A. Smathers, Democrat of Florida, and a very close personal friend of President John F. Kennedy. While Senator Smathers has openly differed with the Administration on such important issues as Cuba, Medicare, and now the Civil Rights legislation, he believes that the President has done an outstanding job in providing the nation with opposition party will select another man as their best chance for the White House. In either event, Senator Smathers is confident that the Democrats will win.

The Florida law-maker feels that he can support a few of the provisions contained in the Civil Rights legislation but states frankly that he will definitely vote against the public accommodations section of the legislation now being considered by Congress. He is very strong in his opinion that the Negroes should take their



FLORIDA SENATOR GEORGE SMATHERS looks at a map of South America, and the Caribbean area about which he is so vitally concerned. Because of the geographical location of his state, he has been keenly aware of the Communist threat in Cuba, and concerned about the growth of Communism throughout Latin America. Despite some differences with the Kennedy Administration, he continues to hold the President in high regard, and believes that a great deal has been accomplished under the present Administration, and he will be returned to office in 1964.

COMTEMPLATING THE ENDLESS variety of problems presented to his staff for solution, you might imagine that Congressman Charles L. Weltner sometimes wonders why he wanted to go to Washington in the first place. But the dynamic young legislator insists that he is enjoying the heavy responsibilities of his office, and many of those who have been observing him in action feel that he is doing an outstanding job.

mocrat of Florida, and a very close personal friend of President John F. Kennedy. While Senator Smathers has openly differed with the Administration on such important issues as Cuba, Medicare, and now the Civil Rights legislation, he believes that the President has done an outstanding job in providing the nation with strong leadership.

Looking ahead to next year's Presidential possibilities, Smathers believes that Kennedy can and will defeat any Republican candidate that might be selected to run against him.

The vigorous young Florida Senator would like to see Barry Goldwater as the GOP standard-bearer because he feels that a Kennedy-Goldwater confrontation would give a more positive proof of the sentiment of the American people and decide more definitely in the election between conservative and liberal leadership for the nation's policies.

However, he is doubtful of the chances of the Arizona Senator and believes that the Democrats will win.

The Florida law-maker feels that he can support a few of the provisions contained in the Civil Rights legislation but states frankly that he will definitely vote against the public accommodations section of the legislation now being considered by Congress. He is very strong in his opinion that the Negroes should take their grievances "off the streets and into the courts" and should resist any pressures that would or could easily lead to violence and rioting conditions as has been seen in a number of cities recently.

Regardless of differences on Civil Rights, or on any other specific issues, Senator Smathers emphasizes that "certainly the Republican Party has nothing to offer the deep South. We must not forget it was the Democratic leaders in the Congress, working within the framework of the Democratic Party, that have lifted the economic shackles from the South and moved us into the position of the nation's most progressive area..."

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DISCUSSING ENTHUSIASTICALLY THE various accomplishments of the Kennedy Administration, George Smathers indicates that he is still a close personal friend of the President, and believes that the President is doing an outstanding job in leading the United States, despite some disagreements between the two men. The Florida Senator talked warmly and earnestly for almost an hour explaining why the Republicans cannot win in 1964, and why the south should continue to support the Democratic Party.

From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

Pol. Gen.

FOR RELEASE MONDAY AMs
AUGUST 5, 1963

SB

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"SENATE NEWS CONFERENCE"

with

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS
****

The following is a transcript of a television show, "Senate News Conference", taped in Washington for broadcast Sunday, August 4, 1963. on seven television stations and 26 radio station in New York State. Senator Javits was questioned by Tom Wicker, White House reporter for the New York Times, and Jim Canan, Washington reporter for Gannett Newspapers.

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CONGRESS MUST ACTIVATE ITSELF TO MEET CRISES

QUESTION: You have had some fairly harsh things to say about this Congress, calling it maybe one of the worst in recent history in terms of getting something done. Do you think this might be a reflection of lack of purpose in the country at-large? Does this nation know where it's going or what it wants to do? Does anyone feel any need to have anything done?

SENATOR JAVITS: I deeply believe the nation does. I think the nation does know where it's going. The problems are very complex, and therefore leadership is so important a factor. I have pointed out that in the big crises, the civil rights crisis, the international balance of payments crisis, the endemic unemployment crisis, even the railroad crisis -- we somehow get bogged down, and on big things, like Federal aid to education, even higher education, youth opportunities, manpower developments, area redevelopment, etc., we just didn't seem to be able to get off the ground. My plea was, and is, that we activate ourselves, and that the President show as much fire in making the majority party go to work and get something done, as he does in sending messages to the Congress.

NOMINEE WILL PROBABLY BE ROCKEFELLER OR GOLDWATER

QUESTION: Leadership is one of the most talked about things in Washington today, particularly the Republican leadership for next year. Do you puts any stock in the proposition that Govèrnor Rockefeller and Senator Goldwater next year might deadlock the Republican convention and the party would then turn to a compromise candidate, perhaps someone standing between those two men?

SENATOR JAVITS: I believe it takes a long time to build up a presidential candidate and so the nominee must be very well-known to the country and the world. Because of this, there is the greatest likelihood that the Republican nominee will be either Rockefeller or Goldwater. That's my honest judgement. It's very difficult in these times to suddenly produce another personality on the scene. But it is not a two-man race. There are others: Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania, Governor Romney of Michigan -- and what has been little noticed is that there are people in the Senate. There's Tom Kuchel of California, there's Clifford Case of New Jersey, men who've won outstanding victories. There's John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, and I'm sure there are others who are not in the Senate. The Senate has always produced presidential candidates and it's astounding to me that -- other than Senator Goldwater -- there has been no consideration of the Senate. To sum up, it is most likely that it will be Rockefeller or Goldwater, because both are national and international figures, as things stand today.

GOLDWATER CAN BE OVERTAKEN

QUESTION: Do you agree that Senator Goldwater is the front runner?

SENATOR JAVITS: The Gallup Poll shows that. I would not say that he is the front runner in the sense that he can't be overtaken. I think he is ahead in the Gallup Poll, but I think that Rockefeller can overtake him, and I have a feeling that he has a good chance.

- more -

ROCKEFELLER-GOLDWATER DEBATE GOOD FOR THE PARTY

QUESTION: Do you think your party can come out of this nomination fight without being almost as bitterly divided as you accuse the Democrats of being?

SENATOR JAVITS: The Democrats are divided, but they've managed to win an awful lot of elections, notwithstanding their divisions. The question of division must be tested in the light of whether it will hurt the party. In my opinion, the Rockefeller-Goldwater debate over the ideology of the party -- shall it be a party in the mainstream of American public life; or shall it go over to a conservative point of view, which I think swings beyond the mainstream of American public life -- is good. It may tell the public that the Republicans aren't unified, but it gives the party strength and vitality and interest. It's provocative and therefore it's good for the party, not bad. The party will be stronger in the convention than it would be, if the debate were not held.

"WHITE ONLY" TACTIC WOULD SET GOP BACK 20 YEARS

QUESTION: Do you have any fears that the Republican Party or some of its leaders might become the "party of the white man" in an attempt to beat President Kennedy through the "white backlash" on civil rights?

SENATOR JAVITS: I think there is a danger of that. I think it is a seduction, if you will, for some of the people in the Republican Party-- some of Senator Goldwater's backers, for example, are constantly calculating that he is the man who can win because he can carry the South. Under present conditions, it seems to me, the only way anybody can contemplate this result is if our party becomes "lily-white" and abandons its heritage of Lincoln and abandons its advocacy of civil rights, and abandons the moral issue involved. In my judgement, this would not have the superficial and immediate effect of materially carrying the South -- although even if it did, I would be against it. In my opinion, this tactic would set the party back 20 years and discredit it as a party of principle that means what it says.

COALITION NEEDED TO PASS CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

QUESTION: I have talked with a number of White House officials, and almost without exception they say that the passage of a civil rights bill this year is, in the main, dependent on the Republican Party, because they can't expect anything but the largest defections in the Southern wing of the Democratic Party in Congress. Simply on a numerical basis, they say that the Republicans must provide the votes that will pass the bill, and they then put the responsibility on the Republican Party. How do you view this prospect and do you think it is true, numerically?

SENATOR JAVITS: Numerically it's true. But I think the political advantage sought to be gained is a false one, and I hope it will not mislead the people. If the Democratic Party is going to take the credit for civil rights legislation -- and the President's message to the country certainly indicates that that's their intention -- it's inconsistent with the fact that they can't deliver on it in their own Party. After all, they have two-thirds of the Senate. If the Democrats all voted together -- with every Republican vote the other way -- they could impose cloture. Now obviously, that isn't going to happen with 22 Senators from Southern states who probably will vote against cloture. So they've got to depend on Republicans. That's what ought to be emphasized to the country. I welcome this responsibility because I think it demonstrates where my party stands, in terms of the strength in the country. After all, a voter has the right to say, 'Why should I elect Republicans, if the Democrats have got the majority of the Congress.' The answer is that in our country, we are governing not by the Democrats. We are governing by a coalition -- on specific issues -- of people who have similar ideas. It is important to point to this as an element of weakness for the Democrats, and an element of strength for the Republicans. The Democrats are admitting that they can not carry the responsibility of government themselves. They must have the Republicans with them, and because I think it is to my party's great interest and to the great interest of the nation, I shall do everything I can in my party to marshall the necessary number of Republican votes -- which I estimate at not less than 22.

- more -

GOP LEADERSHIP WILL BACK CLOTURE AND RIGHTS PACKAGE

QUESTION: Do you think that the Republican leadership in the Senate, and in the House, is going to share that view; is this your impression?

SENATOR JAVITS: I think this issue is somewhat muddled, as these thing: always are. I think a civil rights bill will carry in the House without any question. In the Senate where the showdown will be, I think the Republican leadership will ultimately back cloture -- not for as broad a bill as I would back -- but perhaps for a watered-down public accommodations section, because of the feeling of Senator Dirkson and some others on that subject. I think you will find even the Republican leadership behind most of the civil rights package in the Congress. As to how it will come up and just how the votes will be, I can't divine now. The Republican leadership, in my opinion, will ultimately be found supporting a major part of the President's civil rights package.

COMMUNIST TAG ON RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS "RED HERRING"

QUESTION: Do you put any stock in accusations being made by some of the southerners recently that there is a pretty healthy bite of Communism in the civil rights movement; or that the movement is being used by Communists?

SENATOR JAVITS: Well even so conservative and reasonable a member as Mike Monroney of Oklahoma has stated he sees nothing in that; and he's been sitting in the Commerce Committee, hearing the testimony all the time. There is no evidence of it whatever. I think it is just a "red herring" -- I don't like to use catch-words, but this one is so descriptive in this case -- drawn across the civil rights trail to make people suspicious. The minute that Communist influence is mentioned, many people get suspicious, but I hope there are also reasonable citizens who want some evidence -- and there is none. Obviously this is a native-led movement of Negroes and white Americans who feel very deeply about this particular situation and very importantly it is led by people who have been at it for years and years. I mean most of them are not newcomers to the civil rights struggle. I'd like to add, however, that you can't expect that Communists will not try to fish in these waters. But I feel the question the American people want to ask is -- 'Is this Communist-led, communist stimulated?' The answer is 'NO,' in my opinion, but certainly they're going to try to take advantage of it.

GOP LEADERS HAVE SOME RESERVATIONS ON TREATY

QUESTION: What is the significance of the decisions of Senators Dirkson and Hickenlooper not to go to the signing in Moscow of the test ban treaty?

SENATOR JAVITS: It indicates that they have rather more reservations on the subject than others of us do. For myself, I am very much predisposed in its favor. I have no doubt whatever that I shall vote for it. Naturally it's very important -- critical -- to the security of the country, and I would want to hear all the evidence before I finally cast my vote. I think that's pretty much the prevailing view. But their reservations are deeper and whether they will ultimately be against it or not, nobody can tell. In any case, it indicates a higher order of reservation than that held by Senators Aiken or Saltonstall who are going for the Republicans, although they also reserve the right to vote for the treaty or against it.

CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT GOING WELL

QUESTION: As a fighter, how do you feel about the way the fight is going on civil rights? Give us your mood.

SENATOR JAVITS: The fight, I think, is going well. Demonstrations are all right if they're orderly. Laws must be enforced --in New York as well as in any Southern city --provided they're constitutional laws, not, as some Southern states have, suppressive unconstitutional laws.

* * * * *

Hampshire Republican put it, "the ball game is over." On the other hand, Goldwater intimates candidly admit: "Barry doesn't really want to campaign there and spend half a million dollars, stuff every mailbox, shake every hand, and kiss every baby in the state." In that kind of campaign, the ebullient Rocky is at his best—at least the first time around. What's more, he has plenty of cash to finance a proper campaign. "Rockefeller is going to do an Estes Kefauver in New Hampshire," predicts one observer.

Underdog: Working against Rockefeller is the fact that New Hampshire's GOP is badly splintered; some of the more popular GOP fixtures are expected to line up for Goldwater. The current view was stated this way by a Republican officeholder: "Anything can happen. If Rockefeller puts on a good campaign, he could pull it out; if he puts on a poor campaign, he'll get the stuffing kicked out of him." On winter-book form, Rocky is the underdog; but he is confident that in the state where he went to college (Dartmouth), an appeal to youth, person-to-person meetings, and careful organization will sweep him in.

Farther afield—should he win in New Hampshire, he may go into primaries in Wisconsin, West Virginia, and Oregon, as well as California—Rockefeller can count on the fact that he is better known to the public than any other GOP Presidential possibility. The latest NEWSWEEK Poll indicates that the New York governor is familiar to 67 per cent of all voters, while Goldwater is known to only 42 per cent—compared with Romney's 39 per cent and Scranton's 19 per cent. In the next two months, Rockefeller hopes further to capitalize on this currency with speaking forays to Illinois, Colorado, West Virginia, Virginia, Oregon—and an official trip to Europe.

Fascinated by the rising temper of the Rockefeller and Goldwater factions, many Republicans get the uneasy feeling that it might all end in a kind of GOP Armageddon; and that Rockefeller is so determined to stop the Arizona senator (and would be so vindictive if clobbered) that he would throw whatever weight he had to Nixon.

"If Rockefeller decides that he can't win," says one Eastern congressman, "I don't think it is too farfetched to think of him throwing his support to Nixon . . . Dick Nixon could look pretty good to us next summer."

In any event, now that Nelson Rockefeller has chosen to throw down the gauntlet to Barry Goldwater, the 1964 GOP Presidential race promises to be a knockdown drag-out. And if the two contenders and their loyal factions really start playing rough, in the words of one close political observer, "this could be the gutsiest campaign in history."

Newsweek Pol Gen. 8/26/63

THE NEWSWEEK POLL

'64: The GOP Could Win—IF

by Louis Harris

IF THE 1964 election were being held during this long summer of discontent, John F. Kennedy could win in a landslide, almost equaling Dwight Eisenhower's second victory over Adlai Stevenson in 1956. In the latest NEWSWEEK Poll of a cross section of American voters, the Democratic President outdistances Gov. George Romney of Michigan by a 55-45 per cent margin, Sen. Barry Goldwater by 56-44 per cent, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller by 58-42 per cent, and Gov. William Scranton by 59-41 per cent.

The real story of how next year's Presidential campaign begins to shape up, however, must go beyond such trial heats, interesting as they may be. For despite these pairings—and despite voters' greater familiarity with Mr. Kennedy (below)—the fact is the Republicans *could* win in 1964. But to do so they must find a moderate candidate who will not lose GOP votes while appealing to nonparty middle-of-the-roaders. This is said not as a hedge, but because it is a fact that other early Kennedy leads have been known to disappear in the past. In the 1960 primaries, for example, he campaigned best and delivered his most decisive political majorities when he began as an underdog. When he began as the far-out front-runner, his leads tended to fade.

In order to win, the Republican candidate must be able to seize the initiative and attack, attack, and attack—in the right places, at the right times, and on the right issues. And the fact is the issues are there to be seized, areas of Kennedy weakness that can be exploited (page 27). In many ways, indeed, Kennedy weaknesses are more important to the GOP than Republican strengths. These soft spots must be examined in depth to find the combination that might win for the Republicans.

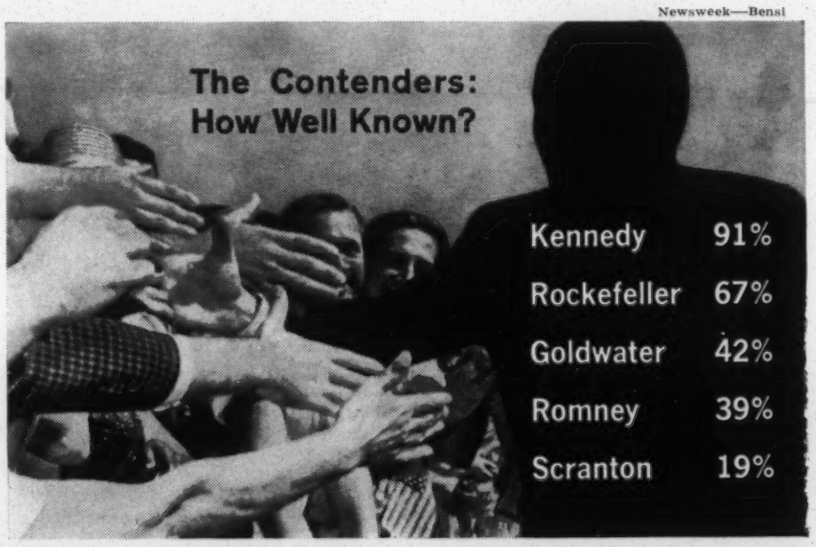
The most vulnerable areas for President Kennedy in the political pattern of today can be seen in a roster of issues on the domestic front, such as his attempts at keeping the economy healthy, the civil-rights battle, medical care for the aged, and the push for an income-tax cut this year, on all of which he receives no better than an even split of public approval. Furthermore, between now and next year, he may have to explain the continued failure of Congress to act on his programs.

In the foreign-policy field, the issue of foreign aid does not add up to a positive for the incumbent President (as, indeed, it never worked well for Truman or Eisenhower before him). And, despite widespread public approval of his bold action last October in the Cuban crisis, the question of handling Cuba and Castro still is a political thorn in the President's side.

Popular as Mr. Kennedy may be personally, it is interesting to see what happens when voters are asked to stack him against his predecessor, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

ACTUALLY, we asked voters to choose in a hypothetical contest between the Eisenhower of 1952 and the Kennedy of 1963, so that Ike's age factor would be discounted. On that basis, Eisenhower wins by a 53-47 per cent margin. This pairing is politically significant because a breakdown of the Kennedy-Eisenhower ratings among the various voting groups provides the analyst with new insights and an incisive tool for examining in depth the

Newsweek—Bensi



key patterns of political America today.

In 1960, John F. Kennedy fashioned his razor-thin victory over Vice President Nixon by running a tight, efficient, and daring campaign. He won in the big states of the East, where the polyglot minorities of the big cities, beginning to spill into the suburbs, piled up record majorities to offset losses in the heavily anti-Catholic small towns in the South, Midwest, and West. In an election settled by 119,000 out of 69 million votes cast, obviously every element in the victory was marginal. Everyone and also no one could claim the credit for the win.

In that dramatic contest Mr. Kennedy's Catholicism cost him better than one voter in every four to Vice President Nixon. On balance, the religious issue made what would otherwise have been a clear Kennedy victory one of the closest of all Presidential elections. The religious issue has not disappeared in 1963. In 1960, 30 per cent of the voters expressed concern over undue Catholic influence on Mr. Kennedy if he became President. Today, this figure has gone down only slightly to 26 per cent. It is still most severe in the Fundamentalist Bible belt of the border states and the South.

But while his religion will still work against him in 1964, occupancy of the White House will offer President Kennedy an opportunity to overcome some of the obstacles he faced in 1960. A prime example is familiarity. At no point in 1960 was Mr. Kennedy as well known (82 per cent) as was Vice President Nixon (94 per cent). Today, the President is a thoroughly familiar figure to over nine out of every ten voters, whereas none of his prospective opponents is known to better than two out of every three. Even Barry Goldwater is not yet known to a majority of the American people.

Even more significant is the vast advantage accruing to the President as the man who shapes the nation's defense and foreign policy. To be sure, if mishandled, foreign policy and security can be the fastest exit from the White House. But if the conduct of foreign policy has been reasonably successful, it gives an incumbent a huge reservoir of prestige and public confidence that must surely demoralize the opposition. An attack on the foreign policy and defense posture of the President can come precariously close in the eyes of some voters to an attack on the national security itself. That is why in 1960, candidate Kennedy's treatment of foreign policy and defense was general and peripheral. He tried to register a sense of urgency about the country's prestige abroad, but took care not to level a frontal assault on the Eisenhower record in foreign affairs.

NEXT year, any Republican will face the same difficulty in attacking the way Mr. Kennedy has handled Khrushchev, his efforts in the space program, his defense program, the establishment of the Peace Corps, his exercise of leadership in the free world, or the recent test-ban agreement with the Soviet Union and Great Britain. In the field of foreign affairs, only foreign aid, Cuba, and the Alliance for Progress in Latin America might be fair game for the GOP candidate. And even in these areas, there is enough divided opinion not to give the Republicans a really wide open shot at Mr. Kennedy.

Thus, the Republicans' best chances for developing 1964 campaign issues would appear to rest in a massive assault on President Kennedy's domestic policies, especially for not moving the domestic economy ahead as vigorously as he promised in 1960. Tied to this central theme, the charge that Mr. Kennedy is a "spender" receives much public credence, and the President's inability to get a Democratic Congress to act on vital legislation also incurs criticism.

Without emphasizing civil rights at all, the Republicans are likely to make capital out of the issue and in all likelihood, as things stand now, the GOP will carry the South. If the South were the only dynamic part of the electorate, and if everything stood the way it did on that dramatic election night, Nov. 4, 1960, then President Kennedy would in all probability be defeated.

However, things have not remained static among key groups in the electorate. At this moment, the President is enjoying some rather healthy gains among pivotal groups of voters.

▶He has gained significantly among Negroes; these gains seem likely to stick.

▶He has spurted well ahead among young, male voters, and his whopping 64-36 per cent edge is likely to hold.

▶He has come back handsomely in the West, especially in California, and will be difficult to overtake in that sec-

U.S. Voting Patterns: JFK's Gains and Losses

	JFK in '60	JFK in '63*	JFK vs. Ike	Comment
Democratic Strongholds				
Negroes	78	87	93	Solid gain for JFK
Jews	78	77	75	Holding firm for JFK
Poles	74	79	72	Holding firm for JFK
Italians	71	74	57	Potential GOP target
Catholics	68	77	66	New JFK gains soft
Unskilled labor	61	62	56	No real change
Irish	58	57	54	Shaky for JFK
Skilled labor	57	60	48	Potential GOP target
Men 21-34	57	64	63	Solid gain for JFK
Republican Strongholds				
Farmers	35	43	39	Slight JFK gain
Retired	36	42	27	Potential GOP target
Professionals	37	46	38	Slight JFK gain
Businessmen	39	45	37	No real change
Scandinavians	40	43	31	Potential GOP target
Women 50 and over	41	51	41	JFK gains soft
Germans	42	55	41	JFK gains soft
Protestants	44	48	38	Holding for GOP
Men 50 and over	44	48	40	Holding for GOP
Swing Groups				
Men 35-49	53	52	47	Slight Gop gain
All men	52	55	47	No real change
East	52	63	50	JFK gains soft
South	51	47	41	Solid GOP gain
Women 21-34	50	61	47	JFK gains soft
Women 35-49	49	59	48	JFK gains soft
West	48	57	55	JFK gains solid
All women	48	58	47	JFK gains soft
Midwest	46	55	47	Slight JFK gain
White collar	46	53	40	Potential GOP target
Personal service	46	58	46	JFK gains soft

*Against current GOP contenders

Figures in percentages

Newsweek

ond biggest prize among electoral votes.

These gains can be documented by analyzing data on the Kennedy-Eisenhower pairing. Among Negroes, young men, and voters in the West, not even Ike can dent the gains registered by Mr. Kennedy since 1960.

The patterns among a whole roster of other key voting segments, moreover, put Mr. Kennedy well ahead of the average of his four leading opponents—Governors Rockefeller, Romney, and Scranton, and Senator Goldwater. Accordingly, if the Kennedy margins of today persist, then the incumbent Democratic President can bust the election of 1964 wide open. These pro-Kennedy blocs include Catholic voters (except Irish voters who were not very Democratic in 1960 and are less so today); women of all ages; Americans of German descent; workers in personal-service jobs, such as department-store clerks, office workers, and sales personnel; and voters in the East.

The Kennedy margins in all of these voting blocs, however, are suddenly wiped out when he is pitted against someone like General Eisenhower. This can only be read to mean that President Kennedy is moving well with these groups, but has not consolidated his vote against any eventuality. Certainly these are the targets toward which Mr. Kennedy can be expected to push the hardest in the months ahead and when the campaign moves into high gear.

But there are also some sleeper groups in the electorate among whom President Kennedy has not moved appreciably ahead of his 1960 showing, and where General Eisenhower also scores especially well in comparison to Mr. Kennedy. These are voters of Scandinavian descent, traditionally Republican anyhow; Italian-American voters, a bulwark of Kennedy strength last time and still behind him today, though there are increasing signs of disaffection and complaints of having been forgotten; retired people, again traditionally Republican, who have not been set afire by the President's oft-repeated promises of medical care for the aged; white-collar people, the backbone of Eisenhower strength in the 1950s, who feel Mr. Kennedy has been too pro-union; and skilled labor, particularly among the Teamsters and Railroad Brotherhoods who feel the President is too little on their side.

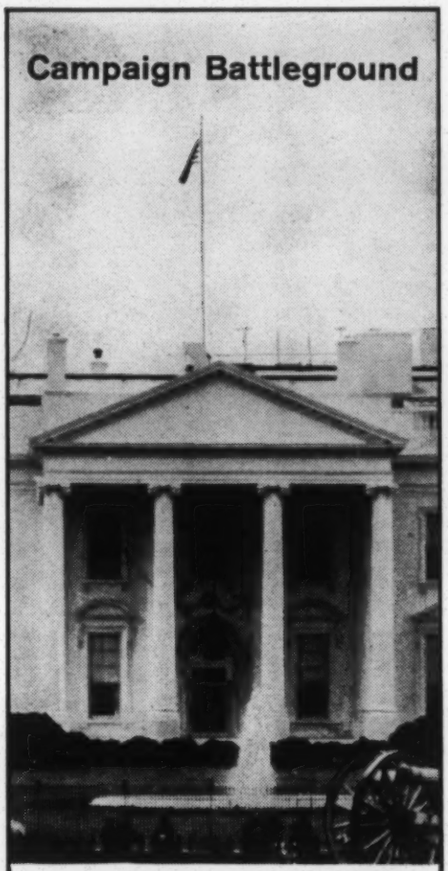
Ironically, on the labor-disputes area as an issue, President Kennedy receives widespread credit that cuts across the board. But among white-collar and skilled-labor voters, the labor issue works the other way.

Thus, the Republican pattern for victory clearly rests in coming up with a candidate who can make a convincing case among white-collar voters, skilled workers, farmers, and small-town and suburban residents. That case rests perhaps on the argument that they have been forgotten financially in the Kennedy Administration's bid for minority-group support, on the one hand, and its appeasement of Congress, on the other. Above all, this approach dictates a GOP candidate who is not an extremist in the eyes of these middle-of-the-road voters. Our latest surveys show that neither Governor Rockefeller nor Senator Goldwater, as they are known to the public thus far, fits this image. To the rank-and-file Republican, Rockefeller seems too liberal and Goldwater seems too conservative. But the Republicans' dilemma is that unless they nominate a relatively familiar figure, they face the almost insurmountable task of building up an unknown—a handicap that has proved fatal before.

For Mr. Kennedy's party, the 1964 campaign is likely to be entirely different from that of four years ago. Now he will be able to ride hard on his accomplishments in foreign policy as an experienced world leader, and he will no doubt taunt his GOP opponent for his party's conservative record on domestic economic issues.

Most of all, perhaps, President Kennedy's personality will be going for him powerfully. It is ironic that in the dynamic, changing era of the mid-twentieth century, the obvious formula for incumbent Presidents to win re-election is to keep the country strong militarily, avoid a war abroad, and above all else, stay personally popular with the voters. It used to be that performance on bread-and-butter issues was decisive. Now a President can survive by avoiding a severe recession or depression. But landslide victories these days in politics are built on quite different stuff: don't rock the boat at home and abroad and maintain a magnetic personal appeal. President Eisenhower did it in 1956 and President Kennedy appears to be on the road to doing it in 1964.

Campaign Battleground



	JFK rating For	JFK rating Against
Working for Kennedy		
Military security	81	19
Berlin stand	76	24
Peace Corps	75	25
Federal aid to education	69	31
Space program	66	34
Settling strikes	64	36
Free-world leadership	63	37
Keeping public informed	63	37
Handling Khrushchev	62	38
Working for Republicans		
Logjam in Congress	42	58
Farm problems	35	65
Federal spending	31	69
Swing Issues		
Medicare	53	47
Latin America	53	47
Handling of tax cut	48	52
Civil-rights policies	48	52
Keeping economy healthy	47	53
Handling Castro	47	53
Foreign aid	46	54

Figures in percentages

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ESPIONAGE:

'A Most Awful Crime'

Hands tightly clasped before him, Nelson Cornelius Drummond, a 34-year-old Negro, stood before Federal Judge Thomas F. Murphy in New York City.

"You have been convicted of a most awful crime—one so heinous that the Congress has empowered the court to impose the death sentence," Judge Murphy said. But out of "compassion" for Drummond's family, Judge Murphy sentenced the first-class petty officer with seventeen years' service to life in prison for handing data on naval weapons to the Russians.

It was Drummond's third trial. Two

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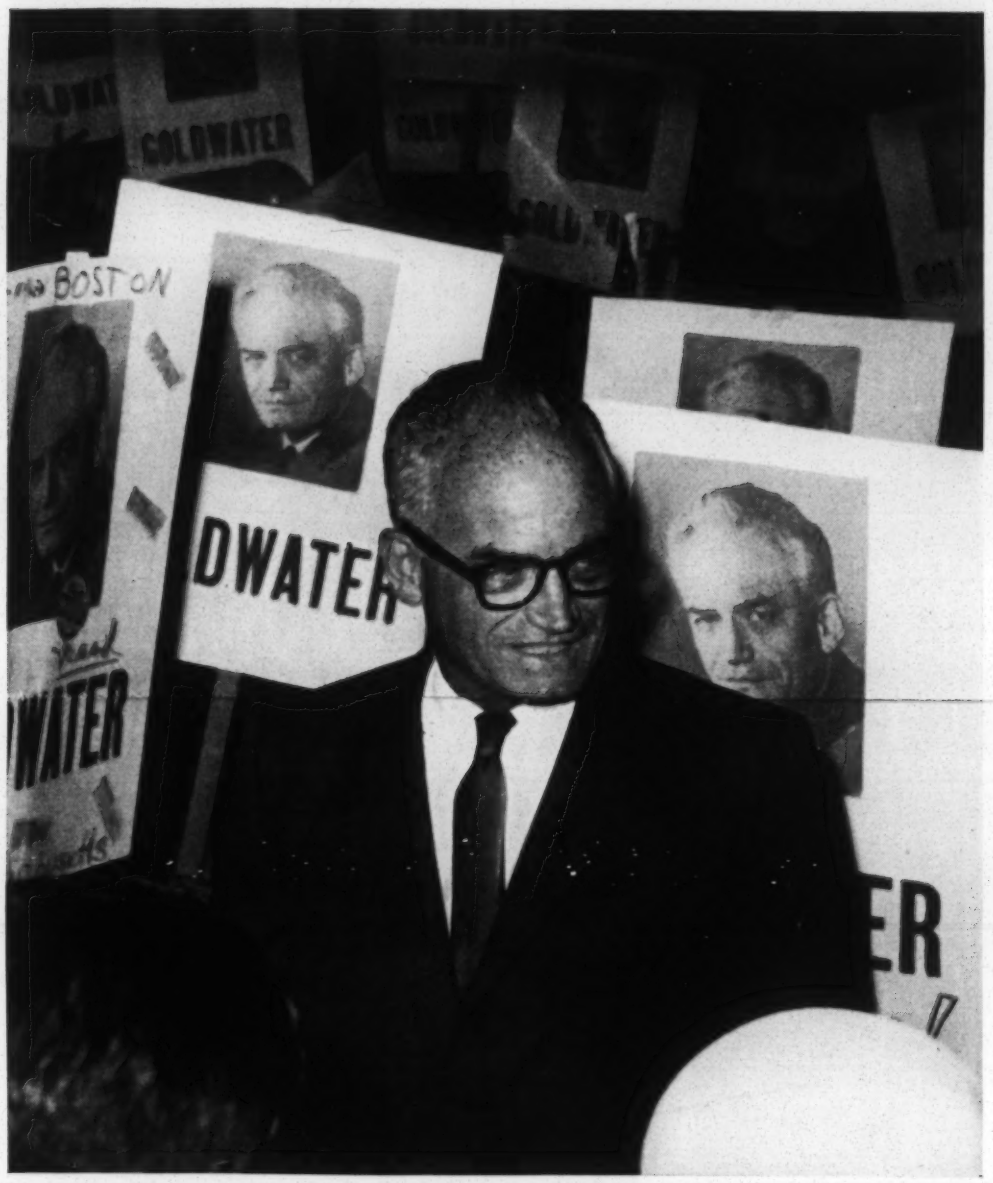
THE SATURDAY EVENING POST
FOUNDED BY Benj. Franklin
8/24-31/63

CAN GOLDWATER WIN IN 64?



THE RACE ISSUE, "HAPPY," HIS PERSONAL CHARM MAKE HIM THE GOP'S SURPRISE FRONT-RUNNER.

By Stewart Alsop

Let us try to imagine a politician with no chance whatever of becoming President of the United States.

First, let us suppose that our man is a junior senator from a small state with a mere five electoral votes, and that he is half-Jewish. No such politician has ever been nominated for the Presidency, much less elected.

Then, just to make sure that our man hasn't a prayer, let us suppose that he has consistently taken positions nicely calculated to alienate *all* the major voting blocs in the country—labor, the aged, the teachers, the Negroes, the subsidized farmers, all the beneficiaries of the welfare state, the liberal-minded independent voters, and finally, just to make doubly sure, the inhabitants of the entire East Coast.

It is not easy to come upon a description of a less likely presidential candidate. Yet the above description precisely fits the current front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination—Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

The fact that Goldwater is the front-runner is thus, on the face of it, an almost incredible fact. Talking to Goldwater, it is easy to sense that he himself is amazed, and a bit appalled, by what he calls "this President thing." Yet however incredible, the fact is a fact—Barry Goldwater now is unquestionably the man to beat for the Republican nomination. Moreover, among the political professionals there is beginning to be a feeling that Goldwater just might make it all the way to the White House, in 1968 if not in 1964. The Goldwater phenomenon is plainly a most peculiar phenomenon, which needs explaining.

Part of the explanation lies, of course, with the charming "Happy" Rockefeller. Before his marriage, New York's Gov. Nelson Rockefeller had the nomination just about

An unstuffed shirt, Barry is crazy about jet planes, Indians and mechanical doodads. The idea of waking up as President,

he says, "Frankly scares the hell out of me."

sewed up. Another part of the explanation lies with Goldwater himself. "Barry's a damned hard man to dislike," says a liberal senator, "though some of us have tried pretty hard."

Likability is not surprising in a politician—it is a necessary tool of the trade. But it is surprising to find an extremely conservative politician extremely likable—to find, instead of a purse-mouthed ancient in a high collar, a pleasant man with boyish enthusiasms for jet planes, ham radios, Indian tribes and corny jokes about himself.

Because of a bad back—he shares President Kennedy's lady doctor—Goldwater walks like an old man, head bent forward, steps short and stiff. Otherwise he is, at 54, in a remarkable state of preservation. With his bronzed and rugged face, he is visibly what the Latins call *muy macho*—very much a man—and this is doubtless one secret of the Goldwater charm.

A more important secret is the fact that Goldwater's shirt is astonishingly unstuffed. During a long plane ride from Washington to Arizona, and again at intervals between Goldwater-piloted flights in an elderly plane to remote Arizonian outposts, this reporter interviewed Goldwater at length. Here are a few Goldwaterisms, culled from my notebook, which suggest why Goldwater is a "damned hard man to dislike":

On the possibility that he might actually wake up to be President one day: "Frankly, it scares the hell out of me."

On his own intelligence quotient: "You know, I haven't got a really first-class brain."

On his leaving college in freshman year to become a salesman in the family store: "Worst mistake I ever made. But then I guess a peddler doesn't need a higher education."

On the possibility that he might emulate Lyndon Johnson, and safeguard his Senate seat by running both for the Senate and the presidency in 1964: "No, I can't do that after what I said about Lyndon in 1960—they'd run me out of the country. But if I hadn't opened my big mouth so loud, I might do it."

On how he achieves his vast literary output—he has produced three best-selling books and innumerable magazine articles, and he signs a thrice-a-week column that goes to about 175 papers: "Oh, hell, I've got ghosts all over the place. I pick up a lot of Fletcher Knebel's stuff too. I sent him an item about Bobby Kennedy's pool, and he sent me two bucks. I sent it right back—I wrote him if we began paying each other off, I'd owe him $2,000 right off the bat."

On a draft he had written for a humorous speech: "I took it back to the apartment and read it to my wife Peggy and a couple of her girl friends. I thought they'd be rolling on the floor, but they never cracked a smile. So I said, what the hell's the matter and Peggy said, look, this is a sophisticated audience, they're not a lot of lame-brains like you, they don't spend their time looking at TV Westerns. You can't give them that corn."

Goldwater says this sort of thing with a small, lopsided smile, which is as disarming as his unpretentiousness. Moreover, however superficial or reactionary many of his political views may seem to the liberal-minded, nobody can accuse Goldwater of pussyfooting—except, perhaps, on one vital subject. Before interviewing him, this reporter made a selection of his more extreme political sentiments. Having interviewed other politicians who heard the beating of distant presidential drums, the reporter waited confidently for the hedge and the weasel. They never came. Here are a few more jottings from the notebook:

REPORTER: "You have been quoted as saying that you oppose the progressive income tax, that everyone should pay the same rate."

GOLDWATER: "Yes. Yes, I still believe that."

REPORTER: "But do you really think it's fair that a man with five million a year should pay the same rate as a man with five thousand?"

GOLDWATER: "Yes. Yes, I do."

(Goldwater explains that the poor man would benefit from the rich man's investments, while in his mind's ear the reporter hears liberal orators make mincemeat of candidate Goldwater as "the rich man's candidate" in 1964.)

GOLDWATER (*volunteering*): "You know, I think we ought to sell TVA."

REPORTER (*scribbling busily*): "You really do?"

GOLDWATER: "Yes. Yes, I do."

(Oops, thinks the reporter, there goes the whole Tennessee Valley.)

REPORTER: "You were quoted some time ago as favoring the 'prompt and final termination of all farm subsidies.' Do you still believe that?"

GOLDWATER: "Yes, I believe that. Might take three years, might take five. But it's not right to force an inefficient farmer to stay on the farm when he'd be much better off in industry."

(Oops again, there go the farm states.)

Goldwater's other views, on subjects ranging from Medicare and Walter Reuther to Castro and the welfare state—he's against them all—are similarly simple and refreshingly forthright. And aside from private charm, Goldwater also has public charisma—star quality, call it what you will. Although he is no great shakes as an orator, this quality has helped to make him, after the President, the most sought-after public speaker in the United States.

Goldwater's star quality obviously has a lot to do with the Goldwater phenomenon. To understand more about the phenomenon, it is necessary to visit Goldwater on his native heath.

Flying into Phoenix, his hometown, Goldwater looked down affectionately on the arid, sunlit land below. "If you'd dropped a five-dollar bill down there before the war," he said, "it would be worth a couple of hundred now." After a short colloquy with his younger brother Bob at the airport ("Straighten your tie, Barry, it's all crooked"—the potential President obediently straightened his tie), Goldwater drove eagerly to his house, which he obviously adores.

Like just about everything else in Arizona, the house is new—it was built in 1957, on a small dusty hill outside of Phoenix. Aside from books,

At Draft-Goldwater-for-President HQ in Washington, volunteer worker Carolyn Birely displays materials to be used in campaign for nomination—and perhaps for election.

"Pooping about" home state in his private airplane, Goldwater salutes Legionnaire guard at San Manuel.

The Negro vote, the "effete" East appear lost. So why not hunt where the ducks are?

Pat aimed at a non-voter makes contact with a voter as Goldwater shows charm on home-state stumping tour.

there is nothing old in the house, nothing to suggest that the Goldwaters have been in Arizona for a hundred years. Barry Goldwater's grandfather, Big Mike Goldwater—born Michel Goldwasser in Poznan, Poland—founded the family fortune when he moved to Arizona in 1860 and set up shop as a storekeeper. The Goldwaters have been storekeepers ever since, and prosperous ones—grandson Barry's house is certainly worth more than $100,000.

Goldwater's house is built in a desert—the land round about hasn't enough green stuff on it to support a jackrabbit in reasonable comfort. For those not born to it, the desert takes some getting used to. Goldwater's wife Peggy, whom he married in 1934 after snatching her away from another suitor, former Michigan Gov. G. Mennen Williams, came from Indiana. At first, Goldwater recalls, Peggy hated Arizona. "I found her crying and I asked her what was the matter, and she said it was because she missed the leaves changing in the fall."

Nowadays Peggy Goldwater, a chic grandmother, loves Arizona with the passion of the converted, and she spends far more time in the Arizona house than in their Washington apartment. Only one of the four Goldwater children lives in the house, but the others come back often. Yet to a remarkable extent, the house is Barry Goldwater's house, and his alone. It tells a lot about the man, as houses often do.

For one thing, the house suggests that Goldwater has never quite grown up—a not unusual characteristic in a successful politician. "You must remember," wrote the British ambassador about Theodore Roosevelt, "that the President is about six." Goldwater is about 12. His house might have been built by a dexterous 12-year-old boy suffering from an overdose of *Popular Mechanics*, which is in fact one of Goldwater's favorite publications.

The place is alive with electronic gadgets, which are constantly getting out of order—the flagpole with the electronic eye, which raises Old Glory at sunup and lowers it at sundown, had not been working for several weeks, Goldwater admitted with annoyance. He was also having trouble with the motion-picture screen which lowers automatically from the living-room ceiling, but his other gadgets, like the ham-radio sets, the wind-speed indicator, the garage door with the electronic eye, the intercom system and the bedside push-button console were working fine.

The fact that he has never quite grown up is another secret of the Goldwater charm. Goldwater's favorite gadget is an airplane—any airplane—and "pooping about" Arizona with him in an airplane is fun. ("Pooping about" is a favorite Goldwater expression—when a friend suggested that it was about time he put together a national campaign organization, he replied, "I seem to have done all right so far pooping about on my own.") The pooping can be a bit hair-raising. "Gee, that was a boo-boo," he said, after landing on a cow pasture at an Indian reservation. "Know what I did? I feathered the props before landing." But, as with other men who have forgotten to grow up, Goldwater is fun to be with.

Goldwater's house tells other things about Goldwater the man, and about Goldwater the political phenomenon as well. The desert on which Goldwater's house is built is a uniquely American desert. It is an overpopulated desert—anywhere else in the world it would be nomad country, camel country. When Goldwater built

Sunshine, speech and a box lunch for a gathering

his house, only six years ago, the desert was what most deserts are—empty. In those days, Goldwater says, "you could shoot a thirty-thirty in any direction and never hit a thing."

Now, all around Goldwater's house, there are $50,000 and $100,000 houses crowded together on a few arid acres which often cost more than the houses. Goldwater remarked happily that a single hillside lot he owned would sell for around $30,000. Before the war this desert land went begging for a few dollars an acre.

"I can remember when Phoenix was a little town of 10,000 or so," Goldwater says. "I can remember when Phoenix got its first paved street, its first telephone. I wish my kids could have the experience of growing up with a town like this."

Growing up with a town like Phoenix is a rewarding experience, financially as well as spiritually. Phoenix is pushing 500,000, and its population has quintupled since 1950. In the post-war period any reasonably shrewd Arizonian with a bit of capital has seen his net worth multiplied by ten, or a hundred. The Federal Government has had a lot to do with the amazing Arizona boom. Federally supported reclamation projects going back to Teddy Roosevelt's day have made the state habitable for human beings as well as jackrabbits. And defense spending, of

of Republican faithful at Oracle, Ariz. Out where the skies are not cloudy all day, says Goldwater, "we're not harassed by the fear of what might happen."

which Arizona enjoys a lot more than its per capita share, is at the heart of the current Arizona boom. But to the beneficiaries of the boom, as to Goldwater, the Federal Government, with its nasty interfering habits, is The Enemy.

One key to the Goldwater phenomenon, in short, is money—new money, boom money. Wherever there is a lot of new money in the United States—in the West and Southwest, in Texas, in the newly industrialized South—there is fanatical Goldwater support. In such areas, for the first time, an actual majority of the voters belong to what Prof. J. Kenneth Galbraith—one of Goldwater's pet hates—has dubbed "the affluent society." The newly affluent provide Goldwater with the broad base of his support.

Another key to the Goldwater phenomenon is what sociologists have called the "revolt of the South and West." That revolt is now complete. The era when the South and West were semi-colonial dependencies of New York-dominated capital is over, but in these areas "the East" is still regarded with a mixture of suspicion, dislike and envy. Goldwater perfectly expresses this attitude—to an extent hardly recognized in the East, he is the anti-Eastern candidate. He once remarked—perhaps only half jokingly—that the East Coast ought to be "sliced off and set adrift."

On the second day of whistle-stopping-by-airplane, Goldwater and his attendant reporter came to the little town of Oracle, high on a naked mountain, and at a dude ranch there Goldwater addressed a Republican gathering. The assembly—the floppy-hatted ladies especially—had the country-club look of gatherings of Republican faithful anywhere. But to Goldwater they were a different breed from the "effete Easterners"; and perhaps he was right.

Who's afraid of Khrushchev?

"I wish the President would take a tour," he said, "and get out where the people of this country live, out where people live without the constant fear of what would happen if we got Khrushchev mad. What's happened to us? Why must the United States fear a little island like Cuba that's not as big as some counties in Arizona? We grovel, we back off, we seem to be afraid. I've never known Americans to be afraid of anything. Out here in the West and Midwest we're not constantly harassed by the fear of what might happen. Sure there are risks, but we've always taken risks."

There was a big burst of applause. And indeed, on that sunny mountain it did seem rather silly to worry about Nikita Khrushchev and his bombs. Perhaps if Goldwater had lived his life in a place of mists and rains and vagrant weather, his thinking might lack some of the simple absolutes which are its chief hallmark. But there are plenty of people who like to think in similar absolutes. Goldwater's trumpet call for "total victory over Communism" may sound like shallow and dangerous semantics in the "effete East." But out where the skies are not cloudy all day, it strikes a responsive chord. Goldwater's remarkable talent for the unsubtle and the unqualified is a third key to the Goldwater phenomenon.

The fourth key to the Goldwater phenomenon is the ugly racial crisis which now confronts the United States. If there were no racial crisis, it is most unlikely that Goldwater would be a serious presidential contender. For the Goldwater candidacy is squarely based on the assumption that he could carry the South and, in so doing, defeat John F. Kennedy. And Goldwater's views on the racial issue in turn underlie that assumption.

The Goldwaterites argue with passion that *only* Barry Goldwater could defeat Kennedy. Their reasoning is simple.

The industrial East is lost anyway, sure to support Kennedy. So is the northern Negro vote, overwhelmingly Democratic. Therefore, in Goldwater's words, the Republicans should "stop trying to outbid the Democrats for the Negro vote." Again in his words, the Republicans should "go

ALSOP ON GOLDWATER'S CHANCES FOR THE NOMINATION

Sen. Barry Goldwater's nomination at the Republican convention is probable, as long as his election is considered impossible. But if it begins to seem that he might actually win in November, his nomination will be a lot less probable and may even be impossible.

To understand the sense behind this paradox, consider the words of Walter Lippmann: "If they wanted to make American politics logical and clear . . . I think it would be just as well . . . to let Kennedy and Goldwater, who is supposed to be a true Republican, fight it out and see what the country wants."

Until recently this Lippmann theory has been widely shared within that amorphous but powerful body, the Eastern Establishment—on the rather complacent assumption that John F. Kennedy would murder Barry Goldwater at the polls. In this event, the notion that the Republican Party is the minority party because it is not conservative enough would be exposed as a myth. And the Eastern Establishment, the moderate-internationalist, old-money wing of the party, would be left to pick up the pieces.

But lately the Establishment, which twice vetoed the nomination of Sen. Robert A. Taft, has been having second thoughts: Is the assumption that Kennedy would murder Goldwater necessarily valid? A Goldwater victory would require a peculiar combination of circumstances—say a sudden economic downturn combined with Communist triumphs in Latin America or elsewhere. But there would have to be an X factor as well. The X factor might be the racial issue, now the dominant issue all over the United States.

It is not only in the South that President Kennedy's forthright stand on civil rights is unpopular. In this situation it is not inconceivable that such Negro extremists as the Black Muslims might make Goldwater President. "A few race riots in the North," remarked an old pro on Capitol Hill, "and Barry might make it."

The mere idea that "Barry might make it" is enough to give the Establishment the galloping colleywobbles. Even if Goldwater polled no more than 45 percent of the votes, this, by his own formula, would be enough to give the right-wing-nationalist-new-money-anti-Eastern wing control of the Republican Party.

Lately Goldwater has been at pains to dissociate himself from such figures of the radical right as Robert Welch, head of the John Birch Society. But certain of his own positions are radical in the exact sense of that word. His view that the "jackassian" decisions of the Supreme Court are "not necessarily the law of the land" is genuinely radical in that it clearly implies a constitutional upheaval.

Goldwater, if elected, would have to back away from his candid prescription for "total victory over Communism" or accept a grave risk of nuclear war. The men who have hitherto had the last word at Republican conventions want no such risks. Nor do they want a bitter partisan conflict on the racial issue.

This is why, if it begins to seem that Goldwater might *not* be sunk without trace by Kennedy, the Establishment will marshal all its power to block his nomination. In the past that would have been enough—given the other factors against him—to stop Goldwater cold. But there is no visible candidate to fit the miracle-man role of Willkie in 1940 and Eisenhower in 1952. Goldwater's supporters are fanatical and well heeled. It is already clear that next year's convention may be far more than a meaningless exercise to select a sacrificial lamb.

hunting where the ducks are." The ducks are in the electoral votes of the West, the Middle West and the South.

A presidential candidate needs 268 electoral votes to win. Give Goldwater the Old Confederacy (103 electoral votes), Texas (24), California (40), and every other state Nixon carried in 1960 (151), and Goldwater coasts home with 318 electoral votes. He could lose California, or another big state carried by Nixon in 1960, and still win. So runs the Goldwater argument. The South, obviously, is the *sine qua non* of the argument. But if numerous polls are accurate, Goldwater really *is* popular in the South.

Goldwater is popular in part because, in the South as in the West, the industrial boom has made his brand of conservatism popular. But the basic reason is that, in the South, Goldwater is regarded as a sort of honorary Southerner where the racial issue is concerned.

In some ways it is ironical that Goldwater should be the hero of southern conservatives and segregationists. He made his first political reputation as a member of the Phoenix city council, when he fought for the integration of the city's high schools, before he went to the Senate in 1952.

He was at the time a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He claims that his views have not changed at all—he only left the N.A.A.C.P., he says, when "they began calling me an s.o.b."—and he is still a member of the antisegregationist Urban League. He states flatly that the Federal Government has a constitutional obligation to prevent discrimination on interstate bus, rail and air lines, and to ensure that qualified Negroes have the right to vote.

All this would hardly seem to make him the hero of southern racists. Moreover, Goldwater himself does not talk like a racist, and never has. On the plane to Phoenix he pointed to a picture on the front page of a newspaper on the reporter's lap. The picture showed a Negro on the floor of a Mississippi restaurant. A white man was kicking the Negro while white spectators grinned at the revolting spectacle.

"That sort of thing's going to make a change in the South," he said. "Kicking a man who's down, and those guys smiling. White or black, it makes no difference. Decent people won't take that."

The indignation in his tone sounded real. "I made a speech up at Andover school," he said a little later, "and a boy asked me a very perceptive question—would I be patient if I was a Negro in, say, Alabama? Hell, no, I wouldn't be patient; I'd be damned impatient. That's the only honest answer."

How is it, then, that despite this "honest answer," this part-Jewish member of the Urban League is a hero to the southern racists? Part of the answer is a matter of attitude, which derives, oddly enough, from Goldwater's own racial heritage. "You can't force people to associate together," he says. "I know as being part Jewish—there are no more racially inclined people than the Jews. My second cousin ran away to marry a Gentile, and the family practically ostracized him."

But the heart of the answer lies in Goldwater's interpretation of the Constitution, which differs markedly from that of the Supreme Court, whose decisions Goldwater has described as "jackassian." Asked whether, and how, he would enforce the Supreme Court's ruling on school integration if he became President, Goldwater's answers turned fuzzy for the first time. "I don't necessarily buy the idea that what the Supreme Court says is the law of the land. . . . The school question is a problem for the states.

"If the Federal Government moves in to enforce integration, it also moves in to control the schools. . . . I don't think there's any legal way to solve this thing. It's a question of man himself, his own worst enemy."

Since the Administration's civil-rights bill was presented, Goldwater has talked of giving the Attorney General the right to intervene in school cases, on "proof of grievance." But he opposes the heart of the bill, which would prevent discrimination in public accommodations. And as a practical matter, if "there is no legal way to solve this thing," that means leaving the "thing" in the hands of such impeccable States' Righters as Governors Ross Barnett of Mississippi and George Wallace of Alabama. This is enough to suggest why, although Goldwater himself is no racist, he is acceptable to southern racists.

It is also enough to suggest why the nomination of Goldwater, and the adoption of the "southern strategy" by the Republican Party, would force a radically new political alignment. It would bring the Republican and Democratic candidates into direct conflict on the race issue, at the moment of the greatest race crisis since the Civil War.

Goldwater's leading rival, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, has blasted the "Southern strategy" as a recipe for disaster. Many northern and border-state Republicans agree with him. "My God," says a respected Republican senator, "we'd be the *apartheid* party." But even in the East some professionals in high party posts are coming around to the view that a Goldwater candidacy would be a political plus. "With Barry at the head of the ticket," says one pro, "I'd guarantee a whole passel of new Republican seats in the House, and some in the Senate too." Some are even beginning to believe that Goldwater—and only Goldwater—just might defeat Kennedy.

Trade black votes for white?

There is an unspoken, or rarely spoken, reason for this view. It is the growing belief that white votes for Goldwater might at this time of racial crisis vastly outnumber black votes for Kennedy, in the North as well as in the South.

Whites, after all, outnumber Negroes at the polls by a ratio of more than ten to one. This is still another reason why Goldwater, who seems at first glance so wildly unlikely in the role of presidential candidate, is nevertheless the Republican front-runner.

One senses that Goldwater himself, who likes "pooping about" the country making headlines, seems somewhat dismayed by the Goldwater phenomenon, and half hopes that the Goldwater boom will fade away. "A senator can say things a President can't," he reflects, and then he tries to laugh off "this President thing" with small jokes. But Goldwater has passed the point of no return, and in his heart he knows it. As a friend says, "Barry has reached the point where he can't not be a candidate."

And so this pleasant, uncomplicated, unpretentious, very likable man confronts the Republican Party with a historic choice. Should the Republican Party, which freed the slaves, now abandon claim to Negro support and go all out instead for the electoral votes of the Old Confederacy? The political shape of the future may depend on the answer. THE END

As girl piper plays familiar tune, a solemn Goldwater sets the pace and Legionnaires fall into step behind.

Photographs by Ollie Atkins

New Negro Party Proposed

The Christian Century 9/11/63

Pol. Gen.

✦ A GROUP of Negroes announced in New York city on August 25 that they are creating an all-Negro political party to enter the national elections in 1964. The party, inspired by Negro newsman William Worthy at a Harlem street rally last June, will be called the Freedom Now party. The group has already set up a national committee and appointed as its chairman Conrad J. Lynn, Manhattan attorney and veteran of civil rights struggles. Lynn says that the new party will support an all-black slate in its aim to elect Negroes to both houses of Congress and to state and local offices. The formation of such a party is bad news for Negroes and whites who want both justice for the Negro and integration of the Negro into the total life of the nation. In the first place it is bad because it constitutes racism carried to the same extreme southern Democrats carried it in excluding Negroes from those elements of the Democratic party over which they had control. It is regrettable that just as the nation begins to awake to the evils of racism Negro groups like the Black Muslims and the Freedom Now party arise to feed on and to perpetuate racism. The formation of this all-black party is bad news in the second place because it will waste the Negro's vote and his increasing political power. An independent Negro electorate, free to throw its weight to whichever major party offers it the best bargain, has tremendous political leverage; an all-Negro political party will have little or none. Third, when national elections are as close as the last one was the isolation of the Negro vote will elect the party

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

candidates least disposed to do justice to the Negro. Recalling President Kennedy's slim margin of victory over Richard Nixon in 1960, Lynn said, "That margin is the Negro's political strength." This is probably correct; but if the Freedom Now party succeeds in drawing the Negro vote away from the contest between the major parties, the power of the margin will evaporate. The best thing the national committee for a Freedom Now party can do for the Negro is to dissolve.

Pol. Gen.

Preview of '64?

WHY KENNEDY, GOLDWATER ARE GOING TO THE VOTERS NOW

Behind the rash of trips already arranged by President Kennedy and Senator Goldwater—

Democrats are calling for Kennedy appearances in weak areas.

Republicans, encouraged, now see the nomination as something worth fighting for in '64.

A few months ago, many politicians were saying that the re-election of John F. Kennedy in 1964 could be taken for granted.

Now, with some surprise, politicians of both parties report that the presidential campaign is beginning to look like a wide-open battle.

Worry shows up among presidential advisers at the White House. And prospective Republican candidates are viewing the chance to run against Mr. Kennedy as worth fighting for.

Political itinerary. There are suggestions that something of a preview of 1964 may be glimpsed in the plans now taking shape in the two parties.

On the Democratic side, President Kennedy is preparing for a "nonpolitical" tour of Western States almost a full year before regular campaign time. It was in these States that he got fewest electoral votes in 1960.

For the Republicans, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona is stepping up the pace of his work, making flying trips about the country and invading Eastern industrial States where he has been described as weakest. Governor Nelson Rockefeller of New York is building a campaign organization and making tentative probes of battleground areas.

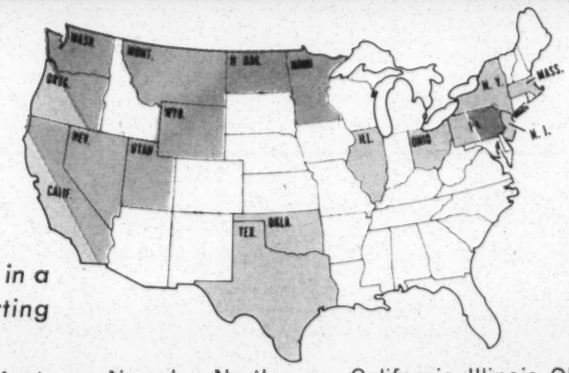
The prospect of a race between Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Goldwater in 1964 no longer is scoffed at by White House strategists. And, the politicians say, the West is gaining steadily in political importance.

"Goldwater was considered something of a joke a few months ago," said a Democratic strategist. "That is not true any more. We don't know how things will look next year, but I believe that, if the election were held today, Goldwater would need to gain only one big State, such as California or Pennsylvania, to win the election."

Reports keep coming into Washington that white voters in the East are jarred by the President's racial policies. If one of the big Eastern States should slip away from Mr. Kennedy in 1964, his men would look to the 40 electoral

(continued on next page)

KENNEDY: INTO THE WEST—



States to be visited in a cross-country trip starting September 25:

California, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

7 of these 10 States were lost by Kennedy in 1960: California, Montana, North Dakota, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. They have 70 electoral votes. The President's Western trip will give him an early start on his 1964 campaign in these doubtful States.

GOLDWATER: INTO THE BIG-VOTE STATES—

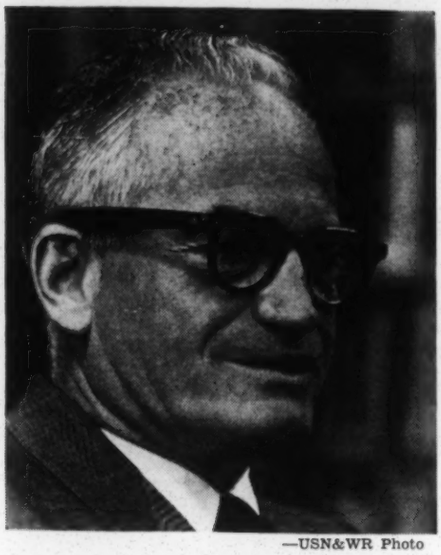
States to be visited in speaking engagements during September-October:

California, Illinois, Ohio, Oklahoma, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas.

6 of these 10 States were lost by the Republicans in 1960: Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Texas. They have a total of 154 electoral votes. Senator Goldwater's appearances in big-city States will give him a chance to show Republican leaders his voter appeal in the States that have the most electoral votes.

[continued from preceding page]

KENNEDY AND GOLDWATER



—USN&WR Photo

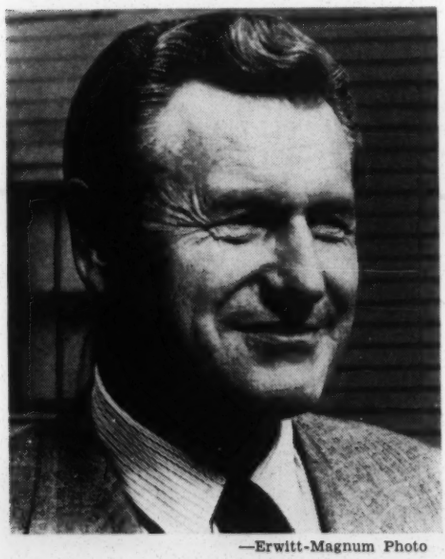
SENATOR GOLDWATER. The pace is fast, and flying trips include the East.

votes of California to make up the difference. These are a prime target.

Stress on the West. It was the votes of the Northeast that turned the tide for Mr. Kennedy in 1960; in 1964, his men say, more stress must be placed upon efforts to win States in the West.

In 1960, Mr. Kennedy carried only eight of the 24 States west of the Mississippi. Three of these—Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas—are Southern States, none of which are counted as safe today for Mr. Kennedy. A fourth was Missouri, a Border State with Democratic traditions, but reports are that this State is slipping into an uncertain category.

Of the others, Mr. Kennedy got Minnesota, among the farm States; New Mexico and Nevada, among the Rocky Mountain States; and Hawaii, out in the Pacific. These are thinly populated and have few electoral votes.



—Erwitt-Magnum Photo

GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER. His path is marked to cross Senator Goldwater's.

Mr. Kennedy carried 15 of the 26 States east of the Mississippi. But with the Southern States excluded, Mr. Kennedy carried only six States in that broad stretch of country between the Appalachians and Hawaii. These were Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Minnesota, New Mexico and Nevada.

10-State tour. Mr. Kennedy's September study of the ground for the 1964 campaign takes him to 10 States: Pennsylvania, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Washington, Oregon, California and Nevada. He lost seven of these in 1960, all west of the Mississippi. Six of these seven have Democratic Senators up for re-election.

Interestingly, virtually all of these States have one or more big recreational, flood-control or power projects in the works for which they would be able to use large sums of federal money. Mr. Kennedy plans to visit the sites of many of these projects on his Western trip.

The Senators involved in these six States are Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic Leader, and Clair Engle of California, Quentin Burdick of North Dakota, Frank E. Moss of Utah, Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Gale W. McGee of Wyoming. All of these except Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Jackson are just rounding out their first terms.

The only State east of the Mississippi that is to be visited by Mr. Kennedy on the late September trip is Pennsylvania. This he carried by 51.1 per cent of the vote in 1960, helped along by good pluralities in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Pennsylvania also has a Senate contest in 1964, but the seat is now held by Senator Hugh Scott, Republican.

Many things have changed in Pennsylvania since 1960. Then, it had a powerful Democratic Governor in David L. Lawrence, backed by hundreds of State employes. Now it has a Republican Governor, William Scranton, and most State employes are Republicans.

Goldwater soundings. Pennsylvania is one of the 10 States on the ambitious schedule of speaking engagements that has been worked up for Mr. Goldwater during September and October.

The Senator, although he has not yet positively committed himself to making the race for the Republican nomination, is continuing to make soundings and, his men report, is drawing wide support.

Much of the Goldwater support has been found in the South, the Rocky Mountain States and the farm States. His September and October schedules take him into Eastern States: Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. He also is to visit four other States, outside the East, that are rich in delegate votes. These are California, Illinois, Ohio and Texas. Oklahoma and Oregon round out his itinerary.

Altogether, the 10 States to be visited by Senator Goldwater during these two months have 528 delegates to the Republican Convention at San Francisco in 1964. To win nomination, a candidate will need 655 delegate votes.

Some "favorite sons." Quite a few of the delegates in these Eastern States, however, are likely to go to other candidates in early balloting. Governor Rockefeller has first call on the New York delegates. Governor Scranton holds Pennsylvania. Governor James A. Rhodes may hold Ohio. And there are other favorite-son groups.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY. He will go West, where his votes were sparse in '60.

The Goldwater trips, however, will give selected groups of people a chance to see the Senator in action. He is to speak primarily to Republican groups—fund-raising dinners, Republican women's meetings and similar affairs. His trail is to cross that of Governor Rockefeller at the Western Republican Conference at Eugene, Oreg., on October 12.

Clearly, the politicians say as the tumult rises, the presidential campaign of 1964 is going to be long and hard.

Dollar wheat: new worry for politicians, page 86.

Interview With the Governor of New York

WHERE ROCKEFELLER STANDS

—USN&WR Photo

"I don't think there's a split in the Republican Party. . . . It's healthy to have the issues debated on the national level."

Governor Rockefeller now sizes up the chances for 1964—his own and the Republican Party's.

As he sees it: Senator Goldwater may be leading for the nomination, but can be stopped.

In this interview with staff members of "U. S. News & World Report," the Governor also discusses the issues, tells how he differs from both Mr. Goldwater and President Kennedy.

Q Governor Rockefeller, most of the recent polls seem to show Senator Goldwater as the strongest possibility currently for the Republican nomination. Would you agree with that appraisal?

A I think it's a fact that the Gallup Poll has him in the lead, but I think it's fair to say that his standing in the polls has been rather volatile over the period of the last two or three years.

Q You think the poll results keep changing—

A Senator Goldwater is now rated as the choice of around 39 per cent of those polled. I was as high as 44 per cent at one point.

I think the latest poll is always something that is interesting and important in terms of registering the public's feeling as of the moment. But the trends are more important than any one specific moment. We're still quite a way from the Convention, and even further from the elections.

Q You don't think, then, that this necessarily means that he's going to win the nomination?

A No, I really don't.

Q Do you believe he can be stopped?

A If you mean do I think someone else can be nominated, I do.

Q Are you and Senator Goldwater really at odds on all issues, or are there many areas of agreement between you?

A I would say there are many areas of agreement. And there are many other areas in which it's hard for me to know just exactly where he does stand. His position on many issues has been importantly modified in recent weeks or months.

As a matter of fact, in the interview in "U. S. News & World Report" [issue of Sept. 2, 1963] you asked him, "Would you, over a period of years, phase out various welfare programs?"—a position he had taken in his book. And he said, "Oh, I don't think you can do that."

Now, this makes it very hard for me to be able to say, in certain areas, what the differences are between us.

Q You mean you can't be sure of what his position is?

A Yes, that's right. But I can say that, for instance, in our belief in the role of individual initiative and free enterprise, I don't think there's any difference. We both feel that this is the vital creative force in America. As far as fiscal integrity is concerned, I think there's no difference between us. However, I would have to put a caveat there, because he said in his book that he was against the progressive in-

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. . . "The States should take the leadership" on civil rights

come tax. When you asked him the question, he had modified his position. He was going to get a group off in the corner to write a new tax plan.

Now, if he really meant, as he said in his book, "Conscience of a Conservative," that he was against the progressive income tax and would go to a flat income tax, either our revenue would be so seriously impaired as a nation as to undermine any possibility of fiscal integrity or there would have to be an increase in income taxes for 40 million taxpayers. This assumes he would try to get the same amount of revenue with a flat rate. It would mean an increase in taxes for nine out of 10 taxpayers. Forty million people would get tax increases.

To me this is completely unrealistic. Now, I just raise the question, because I think we have to discuss these problems on the basis of issues rather than on the basis of slogans such as "conservative" or "liberal."

DIFFERING WITH GOLDWATER

Q Senator Goldwater also said in that interview that we ought to withdraw recognition of the Soviet Union. Where would you stand on that?

A I think it's unrealistic to feel, at this point in the history of the world, that we can cut off relations with the principal leader of the Communist world, dedicated to burying America, as they've stated, and dedicated to a take-over of all free people and world domination by the Communist state. On that I disagree with him.

Q Do you differ with him on the civil-rights issue?

A Yes. From what I gather, he would leave most aspects of civil rights exclusively to the States. For example, back in 1957, when the Eisenhower civil-rights proposal was before the Senate, Senator Goldwater voted for a motion to refer the bill to the Eastland Committee, which was tantamount to killing the bill by burying it. This was a very constructive bill, the first civil-rights legislation since the Civil War.

My feeling is that the States should take the primary leadership. In New York State we have traditionally been the leader in civil-rights legislation. Under Republican leadership, with majorities in both houses, we completed last year the framework of laws barring discrimination in all phases of the social and economic life of this State. Where you have a State that is out in front in its understanding of the basic problems which relate to our fundamental beliefs in the worth and dignity of each individual and his or her right to equality of opportunity, that's fine. But remember that the Federal Constitution guarantees basic civil rights, and the Federal Government has the responsibility of insuring these fundamental rights of its citizens.

Q Back in July you issued a statement that was sharply critical of what you referred to as the "radical right"—

A That's correct.

Q This was widely interpreted as an attack on Senator Goldwater. Was it?

A If it was interpreted as such, it was erroneously interpreted.

What I was doing was sounding a call of warning to our party not to take lightly the "radical right." I made that statement after the Young Republican Convention, which, in the words of the "conservative" outgoing chairman, degenerated into a situation where hoodlum tactics were used.

Q You're speaking of the California convention?

A The National Young Republican Convention in California. Candidates' lists, pamphlets, posters and equipment were stolen. Telephone wires were cut. The candidate who won the chairmanship was supported by these activities. He is a man who stands for the repeal of the income tax. This is typical of the "radical right." It is completely unrealistic and deceptive to the American people. The "radical right" also stands for a hard, strong line against Communism, with which I agree. Yet 80 per cent of our revenues come from the corporate and individual income tax.

How are we going to be able to meet the challenge of worldwide Communism and block its objective of world domination—whether by military, subversive, economic, or political warfare—if our Federal Government has 80 per cent of its revenue cut off? We'd have to fight the Communists with bows and arrows.

It's preposterous to me to think that our party could find itself in a position where its leaders were advocating anything as unrealistic, as escapist, as that. Yet here is the head of the Young Republican national organization who does. If this is possible at that level, based on the tactics that were used there, I think we've got to take it seriously. And I think that we want to be clear in analyzing these tactics and positions so that we're sure we don't find ourselves as a party in a position where it becomes impossible to present to the American people an intelligent and effective alternative in 1964.

Q Do you think whoever the Republican nominee is next year will have to repudiate the support of the John Birch Society?

A I would think that he would repudiate them because of their positions and the secret and undemocratic nature of their organization, if he really was intelligently interested and concerned about the future of America. It would be hard for me to conceive of somebody not repudiating their tactics or the list of objectives which they have outlined as their goals.

Q Governor, do you think that your divorce and remarriage have damaged your chances of being nominated and elected President?

A I think that the reaction on that subject is a highly personal one with all people. Until such time as there is an occasion when they have to make a decision, it's hard to tell exactly what that reaction will be. But when an individual has to make a decision, whether it's in a convention or in the voting booth, then I think that he will bring that factor, along with all of the other factors, into balance and make a decision. The collective effect of all the people's decisions would, of course, give the answer.

SLOGANS VS. PRINCIPLES—

Q When do you intend to announce your intentions for 1964?

A I would say sometime before the end of this year—whatever the decision is.

Q Then if your decision is to be a candidate, will you go into the New Hampshire primary and others?

A I would feel that's a reasonable assumption.

Q What kind of Republican nominee would have the best chance of winning, Governor—a "liberal" or a "conservative" or a "middle-of-the-roader"?

A I would presume that a "middle-of-the-roader"—if we're going to use slogans—is the one who would be closest to reflecting the sentiment of the people of this country. However, I'm very skeptical of labels and slogans, because I think they tend to confuse the issues. I would rather talk about principles and specific problems and our

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ON POWER OF GOVERNMENT: "I am very concerned about the growing centralization of authority in the Government and the loss of respect for the States."

solutions to those problems, because that's where, really, the test comes.

Q How would you characterize yourself—as a "liberal," as a "conservative," as a "middle-of-the-roader"?

A As I said before, I really don't think it's possible to use such labels. They have different meanings to each individual. So I'd rather be judged by my record and my positions on the basic issues. I feel that my position is related to the fundamental beliefs of our country, to the mainstream of American political thought. It's a positive, constructive, optimistic approach to the problems and the tremendous possibilities and opportunities that face us in this world and at home.

I think that labels are dangerous and very confusing in relation to the complex issues of today. Too many people say, in a sense are saying when they identify themselves with a slogan, "Don't confuse me with the facts, my mind is already made up." And they don't get down to the heart of the problem.

A scientist doesn't go into a laboratory to find a solution and say, "I'm going to find a 'liberal' solution or a 'conservative' solution."

A businessman doesn't go into a new market and say, "I'm going to make a 'liberal' approach to this market or a 'conservative' approach." He goes in and says, "I want to find out what the facts are." Then he adapts his program and his approach to the realities. And I think that's what we've got to do, and in the process be guided by fundamental principles.

Now, I don't know whether it's "liberal" or "conservative," but New York State has brought its fiscal situation back into balance, has gone on a pay-as-you-go basis, and has increased State aid to education by nearly 500 million dollars this year over five years ago. To me these are fundamental requirements of our society—fiscal integrity, pay-as-you-go, the best education for our young people.

We would rather meet our problems in education ourselves than have the Federal Government come in. We believe in local responsibility. We want to keep the control at the local level. The State during these five years has increased its aid from 39 per cent to 47 per cent of the total cost of primary and secondary public-school education in this State.

Q There's a great deal being said, Governor, about a split in the Republican Party. How serious is that division in the party?

A I don't think there's a split in the Republican Party. I personally believe that the greatest tragedy for our party would be to find ourselves where we had a monolithic attitude toward the problems of life.

To me the strength of democracy has been the divergence of the points of view of individuals and their willingness to discuss and debate their different beliefs. Our strength as a party is directly proportionate to the vitality of those beliefs on the part of the membership and the leadership of the party.

When I ran for the Governorship in 1958, there were five candidates seeking the nomination. I think this did a tremendous amount to arouse public interest, to stimulate a sense of confidence that the Republicans could win, because everybody said, "Well, if all these people want to get the nomination, they must think it's worth something." Up to that point, there had been a feeling that Harriman [Governor Averell Harriman, Democrat] had the next election in the bag, and that there was no chance of a Republican's winning. The people began to get interested in what the different candidates had to say.

Now, my feeling is that it's very healthy to have the issues debated on the national scene at the present time. I only wish there were more people in our party talking on the issues than there are. I think this is essential. I don't think it hurts the party. I think it helps the party. It makes for interest, it makes for public understanding and awareness, and this is the whole basis of democracy.

IF A "CONSERVATIVE" WINS—

Q Would you support a "conservative" candidate as the nominee of your party?

A I have absolute confidence that the Republican Convention is going to adopt a platform that reflects the great heritage and tradition of our party, that recognizes the realities and the problems of the world in which we live, that looks into the future with optimism and confidence—and whoever is selected to be the candidate to run on that platform will have my wholehearted support.

Q Do you think a "conservative" could win?

A I think it's going to depend on what his positions are on the key issues. I don't really think that anyone can say what is a "conservative." Therefore, it's what does Mr. X think about this issue? What is his position on that issue? Now, when those are added up, that is the basis, in my opinion, on which the voters are going to make their determination.

Q Governor, do you think the Conservative Party in New York State would present any threat to you as Republican nominee for the Presidency, so far as winning New York State is concerned?

A Let's look at the Conservative Party in the last election. Out of almost 6 million votes, they got 141,000. The Lieutenant Governor and I won by 529,000 as against about 573,000 in the 1958 election. So it would be hard to say that they were really an important factor.

If that is the strength of this group, it's about half that of the Liberal Party on the other side. The Liberals have a registered membership of about 100,000, although they'll score as high as 300,000 votes in a Statewide election.

Q Do you think that Kennedy can be beaten in 1964?

A Yes, I do. And I think it's very much in the interest of our country and the welfare of our people and the security of our nation and of the free world that a change be made.

. . . "There is great Republican strength in industrial States"

Q Do you feel that the Republican chances have improved recently—say, in the last six to 12 months?

A Yes. However, I think the characteristics of this present Administration were visible very early in the Administration. By that I mean the inability of that Administration to carry out programs that it puts forward to meet the problems, and this has just become clearer and clearer as time has gone by. I think the American people are becoming more aware of the fact that the Kennedy Administration is not meeting the fundamental problems, either at home or abroad.

Q In what parts of the country, Governor, would you say that the Republicans have a good chance of putting together a winning combination of electoral votes?

A I feel that, basically, we, as a party, have strength throughout the country—in the Midwestern agricultural States, in the industrial States, and in other areas. I think this was shown very clearly in the last election.

It was shown in 1958 when I was fortunate enough to win in New York, which is a big industrial State. The voters in New York did not feel that the Democratic Administration then in power under Governor Harriman understood how to encourage private enterprise, investment of capital, and the creation of additional jobs, which were essential.

The same situation was evidenced, for example, in Pennsylvania, in Michigan, in Rhode Island and in Ohio, in the election of Republican Governors in this last election.

Q Do you see a similar situation now developing on the national scene?

A Yes. I think we are getting on the national scene the same kind of awareness we had in New York and in these other industrial States. I think there is going to be great Republican strength in the industrial States.

The hope of the urban areas, the industrial areas and of the minority groups is, basically, increased job opportunities —a more rapid rate of economic growth. If they don't have that, they're not going to get jobs and they're not going to be able to provide for their own security, their own opportunity of development and self-realization.

COMING: A TWO-PARTY SOUTH—

Q How about Republican strength in the South? What do you see there as the prospect?

A What I see in the South is a gradual realization on the part of the people in the South that a two-party system is a pretty fundamentally sound proposition to reflect the best interests of the people. In a one-party system, you just don't have the kind of vitality in political life which has proven its usefulness in this country. And I think Southern people are coming—not on any one issue, but basically and fundamentally—to a feeling that a two-party system has value. I believe that, regardless of who is the candidate, there is going to be a very strong Republican showing in the South.

Q If you were the Republican nominee, would you expect to take the South?

A I'd expect to do my best to win the South, if I were a candidate, as well as the North and the East and the West and the central areas.

I think that what you've got to do is to go to the heart of the problems, come up with constructive alternatives to the present Administration, offer sound solutions that are within the tradition of our heritage, the fundamental beliefs of the American people, and build on those for the future.

The American people want to go forward, they don't want to stand still or go backward. And they want to feel a sense of confidence and optimism and excitement about the future, not only in our own country, but in our role in the world scene.

Q You wouldn't agree with those who say that the Republicans have to cross off the big industrial States in the East in 1964—

A To me it's inconceivable. New York State is the second most Republican State in the nation today, next to Kansas. Now, why would anyone talk about crossing off New York when the Republicans have all but one State-wide office, majorities in both houses of the legislature, both United States Senators and a majority of the congressional delegation?

I don't know why anyone talks about crossing off the industrial States. I think the people of New York, in their re-electing the present Republican Administration by a plurality of over half a million last year, evidenced the fact that they want the kind of sound administration of their affairs which we have been providing. They want to have opportunity for jobs, and they want to have decent educational opportunities. They want to have the things which go to make up the values which we hold dear in America.

WINNING THE NEGRO VOTE—

Q How do you feel about the possibility of the Republicans' taking the Negro vote?

A I think it depends upon the position of the Republican Party and its candidates. It depends upon whether we stand by our heritage as a party—our heritage as the "party of Lincoln," a deep belief—not only through Lincoln, but through the Founding Fathers—in the Judaeo-Christian concept of the worth and dignity of every citizen.

If we stick to those principles and fight for the realization by minority groups of their aspirations for equal opportunity —through legislation, through co-operative action with community leaders at all levels, with labor groups, with industrial groups—I think we will command the confidence of the minority groups. And they will say, "Well, not only do these people believe in us as human beings, but they also understand how to create the jobs we need." Republicans know how to encourage the forces of private enterprise—private initiative, a free-enterprise system—and they know how to create a climate which will encourage a more rapid rate of capital investment, expansion of production at lower cost, and a more competitive position at home and abroad.

Now, we've got to have 20 million more jobs in the next five years if we're going to meet the tremendous increase in the number of young people coming out of school and college, and if we're going to make possible the realization of the goal of equal opportunity in employment for minority groups.

Q Then you don't write off the labor vote either—

A No, sir, I certainly do not. I feel that the Republican Party is the party of all the people, not of special interests, not of any section or group or race or creed or color, but the party of all the people. I feel that our tradition is with the people, and that our ability is to solve the problems of the people within the framework of principles and the fundamental values which have been the foundations of this great nation.

Q On the basis of your analysis of the situation in New York, do you figure the Republicans would also have a pretty good chance in Pennsylvania and other big-city States?

A Yes, in Pennsylvania, in Ohio, in Michigan, in Illinois, in California.

I feel that we can't think of ourselves as only a rural party. Rural areas are tremendously important, and we have great strength there. But the people, over the past 150 years, have

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ON U. S. ALLIES: "I am disturbed by the bypassing of our allies in negotiations with the Soviet. . . . There's been a major weakening of our relations with our allies."

been moving slowly from the rural areas into the industrial areas, the urban areas. And now the people are moving out of the urban areas into suburban areas. We have got to follow the people as a party if we're going to be a party of all the people and represent them wherever they are, helping them by creating a framework of laws, administrative policies and attitudes which will encourage the freedom and opportunity of the individual in our system.

Q Do you think the Republican Party could win without either New York or California?

A It could, but I think it would be less likely.

Q How do you feel about the Kennedy civil-rights bill?

A It was 2½ years too late, in my opinion, but it should be enacted. I feel very strongly that a great deal of the turmoil and upheaval we've been going through in this country could have been and would have been avoided had President Kennedy done what he said he was going to do in his campaign. He said he was going to make civil-rights legislation the first order of business.

The Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, had a strong civil-rights platform. Senator Joe Clark of Pennsylvania and Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York introduced a bill encompassing the Democratic platform during the first session of the new Administration. Pierre Salinger, for the White House, disassociated the President from this bill. The result was that it took these massive demonstrations, strife and bloodshed, and two and a half years of lost time before he was willing to act on the pledge he had made in the campaign, which he said he would make the first order of business. And I think that his inaction is importantly responsible for having brought on a great deal of the confusion, humiliation and suffering that has transpired. The country was ready to move the programs which both the Republican and Democratic parties had advocated. The platforms of both parties were generally agreed upon. The basic principles and the legislation could have gone forward. This is one example of how the Kennedy Administration puts political expediency ahead of principle, and what can happen as a result.

Q How do you feel about the sections of the civil-rights bill that would outlaw discrimination in public accommodations?

A At the request of the Senate committee, I stated my position, which is in support of these sections. We have had such laws on the books of the State of New York for a long time, and never have had any difficulty with them. I feel that this proposal will not have the adverse effects which so many people seem to fear. It is part of giving equal rights and equal opportunities to all our citizens.

Q How about the power to withhold federal assistance in cases where discrimination is practiced?

A I am opposed to that provision as originally drawn because it was so broad and loose that there was real danger of its being misused for political purposes.

It seems to me whatever is done in that area should be specific in the law and not left to decision by federal agencies or individuals. There should be court procedures so that anyone who is accused of having discriminated will have a chance to defend himself.

I am very strongly concerned about the growing centralization of power and authority in the Federal Government and the growing disregard and loss of respect for the States and their responsibilities. I am particularly concerned about the ability to use these growing federal powers for purposes of political power and advantage, and the federal bypassing of the States in order to work directly with the local communities, which are becoming more and more dependent on federal funds, and therefore more subservient to federal political dictates.

FORCE TO BACK UP COURTS—

Q What about the use of federal troops to enforce school integration?

A If the federal courts have taken a position, then the Federal Government has the responsibility to back up and enforce their decision with whatever means it has.

But I think that the President could have used his authority and his position of leadership to save a lot of the heartaches and bloodshed which have taken place.

Legislation at the federal level would also have helped. I have felt for a long time, and advocated in 1959, that the Attorney General should have the right in limited situations to initiate cases himself on school desegregation. I thought this would speed up the process. Kennedy finally got around to recommending this in June of this year. The proposal has not, of course, been enacted.

Q Speaking of the civil-rights issue, why are they picketing your office in New York City? As Governor of New York, haven't you done a great deal toward promoting employment for Negroes?

A This is a sit-in group which has a series of demands regarding the employment of Negroes in State-financed construction.

There have been demonstrations here in the city, and

. . . "Federal expenditures should be held at present levels"

over at the downstate medical center in Brooklyn, which is a State job. Ministers and various other groups had been involved. I've met with the leaders of the groups to explain the legal and administrative procedures the State has developed to prevent discrimination in union membership and State-contract employment. We set up co-operative programs to help them find qualified workers in the various trades who can apply and seek membership in the unions.

Q Has that satisfied them?

A The group downstairs is not satisfied with that approach. The ministers and the other groups have all agreed and have called off the pickets, and there's only a handful left.

They would like a racial-quota system on jobs, which I oppose. We cannot have quotas for any racial or national groups. It is counter to the law and would be an impossibility. I've been opposing it for months. In addition, they would like to have the State actually employ the people for the unions on State-financed construction jobs. Their program would destroy the whole concept of free unions and of union membership.

As a matter of fact, in a meeting I had with the various leaders of the national Negro groups, the representative of CORE [Congress on Racial Equality] proposed their program, and Roy Wilkins [executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People] said his association was opposed to the quota system.

WHERE KENNEDY FAILS—

Q There are some "conservatives" who say that there's no difference between you and President Kennedy. What would be your comment on that?

A They're just plain misinformed. That would be my answer. I think the President lacks a real understanding of the role of the free-enterprise system in our country, and the responsibility of Government to create a framework within which it can operate most effectively.

I have mentioned his lack of adherence or belief in the importance of fiscal integrity in Government. I recognize the fiscal problems of the moment, but I feel that it's essential that there be goals established relating to immediate income tax cuts, federal-expenditure controls at present levels, and plans to achieve a balanced federal cash budget by '65 or '66, all of which are importantly interrelated.

Only in this way can confidence be restored and the necessary encouragement be given to increase the rate of private-capital investment and thus develop the millions of new jobs needed in the immediate years ahead. At the present time there seems to be complete abandonment relating to federal expenditures.

Also, I feel that there's a very real lack of understanding of the role of the States in our federal system of shared responsibility. There is increasing evidence of a desire to bypass the States.

Also, I am not sure of the depth of the President's understanding of the dangers of world Communism and its objectives of world domination.

And I am deeply disturbed by and disagree with the bypassing of our allies in negotiations with the Soviet. This is a serious mistake, in my view.

I feel that there's been a major weakening of our relations with our allies in Europe, in Asia and in Latin America.

Another very fundamental area in which I disagree with the President is his failure to state clear, long-term objectives, either at home or abroad, toward which we can build solidly for the future, step by step. Rather he is handling things on an *ad hoc*, expediency, basis, as the crises develop and they become hot politically.

In the balance-of-payments area, for example—another tremendously important one for the future of America—he has taken no decisive action, and the second quarter of this year we reached a rate of 5.2 billion dollars in our balance-of-payments deficit. It can undermine world confidence in the dollar if this keeps up, and could have tremendously serious effects. He has been aware of the problem for three years and yet has not taken effective action to deal with it.

Q How about tax cuts? Do you differ with President Kennedy there?

A His whole approach to stimulating the economy—and, again, he talked about this in the campaign—has been tardy and ineffective.

Only after a major stock-market crash did he come up with the proposal for tax cuts. Then the cuts were watered down by so-called reforms which would have, in very important respects, wrought chaos for tens of millions of taxpayers and all our religious, philanthropic and private educational institutions. It would have undermined confidence rather than increased it. The effective dates of proposed tax cuts were delayed.

On the other hand, I feel that there should be tax cuts reducing corporate rates from 52 per cent to 47 per cent and a 7.5-billion-dollar personal income tax cut, without the so-called reforms, and that they should all take effect immediately. At the same time, I feel that federal expenditures should be held at present levels and the federal cash budget balanced by '65 or '66.

Q Any other points of difference?

A In the field of transportation: On various occasions he's mentioned it, but has not come up with an over-all approach to the problem of transportation, which in this country is in a chaotic state and a financial crisis—the railroads, the airlines, the bus companies, the truck companies. There is no co-ordinated policy. I have urged time and again the creation of a Department of Transportation and the development of an over-all national transportation policy.

In the field of agriculture, I disagree fundamentally with his supply-management concepts. He's added 2 billion dollars to the 5.2 billion that was spent under the Eisenhower Administration. All of his concepts go to rigid controls by the Federal Government, with penalties—for instance, in the case of milk producers—if they don't conform, both in terms of jail sentences and up to a $2,000 fine. His program is not realistic and goes counter to the whole philosophy of a free-enterprise society.

The Administration's actions in all of these areas which I have been discussing reflect fundamentally a lack of true understanding of what makes our system work, of encouraging initiative and the opportunity for advancement of the individual and the free-enterprise system, of the importance of removal rather than the introduction of further Government interference from Washington, and they also reflect a serious undermining of the role of the States and the preservation of our federal system.

THE BIG ISSUES FOR '64—

Q What do you regard as the key issues for 1964?

A It's hard to tell yet, but I would think that two areas will be dominant in the campaign:

One is our security and free-world security.

The other is the domestic economy and unemployment, and the lack of effective steps to encourage a rate of growth

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ON FOREIGN AID: **"Objectives are constantly being shifted. I don't think most of our allies are very clear about the goals any longer, either."**

and a reduction in the percentage of unemployment that I think is essential to preserve the strength of this country at home.

Q Do you think those two objectives could be met and the budget still be balanced in any early year?

A If the tax cut were made now—this year, right now—with corporate rates reduced to 47 per cent and 7.5 billion dollars' personal income tax cut, effective immediately, but without the so-called reforms, there would be about a 10-billion-dollar saving in taxes. This would restore profit margins for corporations, and the incentive to invest capital would be strengthened. The result would be an increased rate of capital investment in new plant and equipment and expanded production. Employment would be increased, productive efficiency would rise, and we as a country would enjoy a better competitive position internationally.

Coupled with that, the President should hold the present line on federal spending and, as new programs came in that he believed essential, he should give them a priority and cut out existing programs of a lower priority.

At the same time he should take steps, and have all his departments take steps, to save money at every turn in Government. It's the savings of dollars and hundreds of dollars and thousands of dollars and hundreds of thousands that build up to savings in the billions, and if you don't start with small amounts, you'll never get the big amounts of saving.

Federal employment should be held down. We have put a freeze in this State on the filling of vacancies at the present time. The President should stop this tremendous rate of growth in the Federal Government. I think there's got to be a determined effort in that direction.

We have got to stimulate the growth of the economy and the increase in employment opportunities. Out of that, then, will come the increased revenues which will make possible a balanced budget. I think that they could balance the cash budget by fiscal 1966.

Q Do you think that expanded school aid and a program such as medicare could be made effective and still control federal spending?

A The medicare program—which the President has talked about but done nothing to implement—would not come from general taxes. It would come from a contributory system under Social Security—which I favor—so that wouldn't affect the federal budget as such. Incidentally, I have important differences with the President with respect to medicare. I would offer the individual a choice of taking cash benefits to buy private health insurance.

As far as school aid is concerned, I think that has got to be balanced with many of these other programs.

I think if we adopted a sensible agricultural program, tremendous amounts of money could be saved there.

I think we've got to be able to bring our expenditures into line with our revenues. It can't be done overnight. Our individual and corporate taxes are too high to encourage the rate of growth that's essential. Therefore, I feel that, if he made the tax cuts now, it would stimulate the growth of the economy, and with that stimulation, he would get a growth rate which would result in increased Government revenues. As those revenues grew, he could bring the budget into balance—if he had held expenditures in line.

Q And continuing budget deficits do worry you—

A Very much, and I've been advocating right along that the Government set a goal for balancing the budget.

SPEEDING ECONOMIC GROWTH—

Q You spoke of our slow rate of growth. What would spark a faster growth?

A The only way we're going to get the growth we need, and the reduction in our percentage of unemployed, is by increasing private capital investment. It was running at around 37 billions a year last year. It's closer to 39 billion now, but, in order to get the greater growth that we need, it ought to be around 45 or 46 billion a year.

If we get up to 45-46 billions, we could achieve a 4.5 per cent growth rate. I think, at that point, through greatly expanded and more-efficient production facilities, we would have the increased job opportunities necessary to absorb the tremendous increase in the number of young people who will be coming out of school, plus those who will be losing their jobs through automation. By retraining, they could get back into the labor market. Our production costs would be lower. At the present time our plant is growing older each year, rather than more modern, whereas in Germany and Japan and many of the other industrial areas of the world plants are becoming more modern, more competitive, and we're at an increasing disadvantage.

So if we can get on a more competitive basis, then we will find ourselves in the position of being able to improve our balance-of-payments picture. These things are all interrelated, but they all involve a faith in the individual citizen and his ability to assume his responsibilities, or hers, and to make decisions instead of having them all made in Washington.

Q Do you feel that foreign-aid expenditures are running too high?

. . . "U.S. just cannot carry the whole world on its back alone"

A Well, it is hard to understand clearly today what our long-term objectives and goals are in the foreign field, and, therefore, it's difficult to appraise intelligently the character and the level of foreign aid necessary to achieve them.

I think that foreign aid is something that's run on and on and on since the end of the war, and I don't think there has been a clear reappraisal of our objectives in the light of changing conditions.

Foreign aid is a tool to achieve an objective. Unless you understand clearly what the objectives are, it's very hard to determine and to measure the size of the tool that's needed. So I don't think that at the present time the American people know—and certainly I don't know—clearly what they are trying to accomplish, what our goals are.

One day we're told one thing, another day another. Programs, plans, objectives are constantly being shifted. I don't think most of our allies are very clear about the goals any longer, either. Without clear understanding, it's very hard to have a judgment about the scope of the programs that are being used.

Q And so, would you like to see a reappraisal of the whole foreign-aid picture?

A A reappraisal of the foreign-aid picture, a reappraisal of what we're trying to do, of our goals and specific objectives in the world.

How do we, as still the leading free nation of the world, visualize five or 10 years from now the structure of the free-world relationships? Nobody proposes that we abandon our alliances. Are we going to continue to undermine the governments of some of our allies? Or are we going to try to build these alliances, are we going to try to work toward closer ties and closer relationships?

I don't think there is any clear picture as to where we want to go or where we are going, and where we will be five or 10 years from now. Without that, I don't see how you can determine the scope of these programs.

Q Do you feel foreign-aid spending could be cut and still not damage our long-range program with our allies?

A Gen. Lucius Clay and the members of his committee that studied foreign aid said certain cuts could be made. I have great respect for him and his judgment, his ability and his awareness of the Communist threat in the world. So if he says that he thinks certain cuts can be made, I would say that was probably the best judgment we could get. Now, he's said that the cuts that were made by the Congress were too much. I would still follow his advice because I don't have the basis today for an independent judgment.

Honestly, I don't feel that this country can carry, on a unilateral basis, the economies of 50, 60, 100 nations. I think we have got to have some structures in the world, like the Atlantic community and the Western Hemisphere, where we can work closely together in a common effort. The United States just cannot carry the whole world on its back alone.

THE "FIASCO" IN CUBA—

Q If you were President, what would be your position on Cuba?

A You have to go back and retrace each step all the way, starting with the Bay of Pigs fiasco. The first one was the most tragic. In fact, I think it is one of the most tragic situations in the history of America. The last-minute lack of air cover and support of the Cuban "freedom fighters" as they went ashore in the Bay of Pigs is inconceivable.

I went down to talk to the President the week afterward. I had done some intensive work with very close political and governmental friends of mine in the Western Hemisphere to develop a plan by which we could retrieve the disaster of the Bay of Pigs and permit the establishment of a free government truly representative of the people of Cuba. I outlined the plan to the President. He was extremely courteous, but to my knowledge nothing was ever done in relation to it.

The next thing we knew, Senator Keating of New York was warning us of the Soviet buildup in Cuba and of Soviet missiles coming in. And then came the very dramatic statement on the part of the President that the Soviets had to take the missiles out and we demanded inspection. He had mobilized our military forces on an international basis, but again he backed off. He did not follow through on his demand for on-the-spot inspection. We never actually got on-site determination as to what was going out. We had pictures of boats and so forth. But the President's tremendously dramatic action which started out so strongly ended up by leaving Cuba as an armed Communist fortress, 90 miles off our shore. This was an abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine, and a very serious weakening of Western Hemisphere unity.

Now we're confronted with a Soviet fortress off our shores, which—based on the briefing that was given by the Defense Department—is equipped with the most modern radar and ground-to-air missiles and ground-to-sea missiles. They have the latest MIG's there, and these MIG's have a range that would easily reach the United States with nuclear bombs, if they are smuggled into Cuba.

I think we have got to isolate this Communist infection from the rest of the Western Hemisphere. I think we have got to have as our goal getting the Soviet forces out, and then freedom for the Cuban people. Those would be my goals, and, without having access to intelligence reports as to what is going on, it's very hard to make a more definitive statement at the present time. Two years ago the problem was far less complicated.

WHY TEST BAN IS NEEDED—

Q Do you favor ratification of the nuclear-test-ban treaty?

A I do, and have so stated, because I feel that it has come to reflect the hopes of millions of people throughout the world—hundreds of millions—and the prestige of the United States has been invested in it. Moreover, our responsible military leaders have testified that if we act independently within the terms of the treaty, our security will not be jeopardized. Therefore, I feel we have no alternative but to ratify.

However, I have recommended in a full statement the advice which, it seemed to me, it is essential the Senate should give to the President in the way of understandings about the treaty at the time of its ratification. One of the most important is that we would be free to use nuclear weapons in the defense of freedom anywhere, a point which is ambiguous in the treaty. The President has stated that we can use them, but, if this is his interpretation, I don't know why they didn't write it into the treaty clearly instead of his having to interpret it. As a matter of fact, three of the five articles of the treaty are ambiguous.

Q If the nominee should not happen to be yourself or Senator Goldwater, where do you think the party would turn?

A There are a lot of good Republican Governors, Senators, Congressmen, leaders throughout the country. I personally would like to see more Republicans talking and speaking on the issues and participating in the debates on the problems that lie ahead of us. **[END]**

11/29/63

There are numerous people who were close to him during his congressional years, too, who visit him here. His opinions on politics, and on what is good and bad for the State and Nation, still are sought, and he shows that he hasn't let current events and their evaluation escape his interests. He has a ready answer for almost any question involving Government, its present and future, and he draws on the past in giving comparisons or in providing background that may have influenced his views.

He doesn't return to Washington often, for he made up his mind upon retirement to stay away as much as possible from the active scene.

He was there during the early days of the nuclear test ban hearings. His opinions were sought—and he favored the treaty—but he didn't testify for public appraisal.

He also has been retained by the American Pharmaceutical Association as a consultant on needed legislation or proposed legislation involving the drug industry. This will consume little time, he explains, since most of his duties will be in discussion groups and in making speeches before pharmaceutical associations.

Mr. Durham was a pharmacist here before he was tapped for Congress, and he has not lost his interests in the profession.

It was his interest in science, as a part of his education, that placed him in a strong position of leadership when the atomic age blossomed for the Nation and basic organizations were established in Congress. As a member of the original Joint Atomic Energy Committee in Congress, he was then made vice chairman and later chairman. He also served as vice chairman of the House Armed Forces Committee.

When he decided on his retirement from Congress, he was urged to accept a civilian position with the atomic energy program, but he declined. He wanted to return home.

On the sidelines today, though in prominence through correspondence and other contacts that seek his opinions, Mr. Durham does not regret his decision to leave Congress.

He is enjoying his children and grandchildren as they come home from their own homes at nearby and distant points. He enjoys a more relaxed life with his friends and neighbors here, as well as in the Sixth District and other sections of the State. He enjoys his hobbies and other interests.

His health is good, except for some occasional conflict with an asthmatic condition he has had for many years, and his appearance shows that Chapel Hill and a less occupied life agree with him.

But the influences of yesteryear are not blotted from his life.

The respect in which he was held in Washington still is marked prominently in the tributes to him by inscriptions on pictures, plaques, and the many other personal possessions he has with him here.

And he, too, can still call off names and cite the family background or some other point of interest or experience of Alamance County residents today as easily as he could through the years in Congress. His district, then, was his family, and he hasn't broken his personal ties, though today he is not the slightest bit interested in votes.

Pat. Jean

My Fight for Civil Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 29, 1963

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, much has been said in recent months regarding the necessity of passing an effective civil rights bill. This urgency has been recognized as essential for America's proof to the world that she believes in democracy.

The question of civil rights is no longer the problem of Negro people—it is the problem of all the people of the United States of America. Many fear that the United States may be finished as a great power in the eyes of the world unless she solves this problem and solves it now.

However, on November 7, 1944, when I was elected to the 79th Congress of the United States of America, I pledged myself to dedicate my efforts to the task of making democracy work. From the very beginning of my term, I introduced bills relating to underprivileged and minority groups and utilized every opportunity provided me to remind my colleagues of the importance of this issue. Now as we come to the time when Americans generally turn their hearts and minds to this all-important challenge of America, I would like to take this opportunity to review my record in this matter as evidenced by bills introduced and remarks made in the House of Representatives.

The material follows:

MY FIGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

79TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Armed Forces

H.R. 2708 (Mr. POWELL): A bill to prohibit race segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States after the termination of hostilities in the present war and the beginning of the demobilization.

District of Columbia

House Joint Resolution 84 (Mr. POWELL): Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States empowering Congress to grant representation in the Congress and among the electors of President and Vice President to the people of the District of Columbia.

Fair employment practices

What we are interested in is a permanent FEPC—a permanent act of this Congress which will forever, in wartime and peacetime, rule out discrimination in public and private employment.

It is the cheapest and lowest form of politics to play upon any subject as delicate as is the subject of race in connection with legislation which is distinctly of a nonracial character. This bill should stand upon its own merits. It should be passed on its own merits or rejected on its own merits.

"I am opposed to this bill because it fundamentally negates the entire American tradition of the freedom of contract. I will never subscribe to the philosophy that the end justified the means. We are out to win this war, but not just another victory. We want to win a permanent, people's democratic victory. We cannot gain a moral victory with immoral means. This bill is immoral. * * * Its passage would mean that in the 'land of the free and the home of the brave' we have reverted to slavery, not just of the blacks but of the entire American working class" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 31, 1945, pp. 652–653).

Lynching and violence against the individual

H.R. 1747 (Mr. POWELL): A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching.

Poll tax and voting rights

H.R. 2183 (Mr. POWELL): A bill making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers.

"This Nation will never achieve full stature until the whole South is free. The South can never start the upward march to political freedom until the chains of poll taxes are broken. * * * Two dollars is a lot of money to 6 million sharecroppers in the Southern States who average less than 6 cents per day. Two dollars is a lot of money to men who at the end of a year's work are told that they still owe the planter money" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 12, 1945, p. 5983).

Racial discrimination

H.R. 1743 (Mr. POWELL): A bill to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Labor (antilabor legislation)

"Naturally, no American citizen wants unrest and dissension; nevertheless, this is America and among the things our men fought for were not only that a world might be made safe for democracy but also America. Democracy gives to a man the right not only to say what he wants to, when he wants, but also the right to stand together with his fellow citizens and demand the things he should have. Any attempt to take any of these things away from American workers is winning the war for Hitler."

"Generally speaking, this legislation denies the basic right of labor to strike. It will force American workers to work. It will prevent them from getting together their forces to strike if necessary.

"Put this bill in operation and American workers * * * would be chained to the wheels of economic salvery" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Dec. 11, 1945, p. 11836).

79TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

District of Columbia

H.R. 5990 (Mr. POWELL): An amendment to the District of Columbia Appropriation Act for 1947.

"*Provided*, That no part of any appropriation contained in this act shall be used for any agency, office, or department of the District of Columbia which segregates the citizens of the District of Columbia is employment, facilities afforded, services performed, accommodations furnished, instructions, or aid granted on account of the race, color, creed, or place of national origin of the citizens of the District of Columbia."

Public accommodations

H.R. 7220 (Mr. POWELL): A bill to assure to all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States full and equal privileges with respect to public conveyances and places of public accommodations, resort, entertainment, amusement, assemblage, and institutions.

School lunch programs

An amendment to the School Lunch Act of 1946 to provide that "no funds made available * * * shall be paid or disbursed to any State of school if, in carrying out its functions under this title, it makes any discrimination because of race, creed,. color, or national origin of children or between types of schools, or with respect to a State which maintains separate schools for minority and for majority races, it discriminates between such schools on this account.

"We should see that this bill guarantees that the health of America's poorest citizens, the people of the minorities, be protected. I am sure the author of the bill intended this; I am sure all of us who are in favor of the bill want it. It does not in any way alter the existing educational pattern of some States; it does not mean equal education, which is another subject to go into some other time. I know we do not in some States spend equal amounts of money for education, but I am sure that no one can be found to say that we would not want to spend equal amounts of money for food. We are spending vast sums through UNRRA for Europe, and we should. We can-

not do any less for our own American citizens.

"I am merely offering this amendment in the hope that we will be humane enough to see that minority races have the same opportunity in the free-lunch program as do those of the majority race.

"This is a program for the children of the United States; and the children who need it whatever race, color, or creed should have equally the rights and benefits of it" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Feb. 20, 1946, p. 1494).

Segregation in interstate transportation

H.R. 1925. (Mr. POWELL): "The Supreme Court of the United States has just handed down a decision which marks the most important step toward winning the peace since the conclusion of the war. The decision abolishes separation of races on interstate transportation. It strikes at the heart of the un-Christian, undemocratic hypocrisy of some Americans. * * * It is ridiculous that Negro veterans who have fought all over the earth for democracy, returning to the United States must ride in inferior, separate Jim Crow cars which prisoners of war from Germany are allowed first-class accommodations on all trains. It is a travesty that we can fight two wars to make a world safe for democracy in one generation and do nothing whatsoever about our own democracy here. When I say here, I mean here in the Halls of Congress. We have not passed a single win-the-peace law since the conclusion of the war. We have sat by and allowed the Supreme Court to do what we are paid to do."

80TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

District of Columbia

House Resolution 30 (Mr. POWELL): Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States empowering Congress to grant representation in the Congress among the electors of President and Vice President to the people of the District of Columbia.

H.R. 805 (Mr. POWELL): To assure to all persons within the District of Columbia full and equal privileges of places of public accommodation, resort, entertainment, and amusement.

Armed Forces

H.R. 279 (Mr. POWELL): A bill to prohibit race segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States after the termination of hostilities in the present war and beginning of demobilization.

Equal employment

H.R. 3105 (Mr. POWELL): A bill to prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry. Also, H.R. 806.

Interstate transportation

H.R. 280 (Mr. POWELL): A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to prohibit the segregation of passengers on account of race or color.

Lynching and mob violence

H.R. 278 (Mr. POWELL): A bill for the better assurance of the protection of persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes.

Segregation in Government cafeterias

House Resolution 143 (Mr. POWELL): Directing the Committee on Education and Labor to conduct an investigation with respect to (1) the exclusion of Negroes as patrons of the public portions of the restaurants and cafeterias in the U.S. Government buildings in the District of Columbia, and (2) the exclusion of Negro employees as patrons of the restaurants and cafeterias in the U.S. Government buildings in the District of Columbia.

80TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

District of Columbia

H.R. 6227 (Mr. POWELL): To provide for home rule and reorganization in the District of Columbia.

H.R. 4951 (Mr. POWELL): To assure to all persons within the District of Columbia full and equal privileges of places of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment, and amusement, and for other purposes.

H.R. 627 (Mr. POWELL): An amendment to this bill offered by Mr. POWELL to provide a new section in the District of Columbia Charter Act entitled "Functions Relating to Civil Rights."

Armed Forces

H.R. 4952 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit race segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Poll tax

H.R. 5261 (Mr. POWELL): Making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers.

Civil rights

In a general statement about failure of the 80th Congress to act:

"Now we have come to the period of the Great Crisis. Two billion, who can either be our enemies or our friends, look askance at the kind of democracy we practice in America and are saying 'If that's what you want to force on us, no thanks.' Sure, we have the atom bomb but it cannot kill two billion people. Or maybe some of our leaders would like to try. Away with the Marshall plan, Truman doctrine, Mason and Dixon's line, the North, the South, black and white, and let the American plan have a chance. Let us practice at home what we preach abroad." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 24, 1948, p. A1871.)

Armed Forces segregation and Negro patriotism

H.R. 4952 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit racial segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States.

"I make no excuse, when I present this amendment, for the patriotism of my people, the Negro people. Back in the beginning of this Republic, the first blood that was shed that America might be free was shed on March 5, 1773, on Boston Common by a black man, Crispus Attucks. From the days of then until the days of now Negro people have been the most loyal minority in this democracy. The Negro people will stand ready at all times to defend this Nation, but they are saying, 'We want some of the democracy here now at home that you are trying to sell abroad to other people that you ask us to go ahead and fight for. We have proven our loyalty. We are asking for democracy now'" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, March 15, 1948, p. 4543).

81ST CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Federally financed housing

Statement in support of a civil rights amendment to the Housing Act of 1949:

"Let me speak to you very frankly as a Negro and let me tell you great northern liberals that regardless of what Uncle Tom Negroes may inform you, the Negro people would rather continue living in the slums fighting for their God-given civil rights than to have public housing and be Jim Crowed, segregated and discriminated against.

"How long will you continue to say every time a civil rights amendment is brought up, 'It will kill the bill?' How can you be so consistently dishonest by promising people civil rights at campaign time and then repeatedly defeating civil rights on this floor?" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 24, 1949, p. 12186).

Armed Forces

H.R. 23 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit race segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States.

District of Columbia

House Joint Resoluiton 43 (Mr. POWELL): Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States empowering Congress to grant representation in the Congress and among the electors of President and Vice President to the people within the District of Columbia.

H.R. 24 (Mr. POWELL): To assure to all persons within the District of Columbia full and equal privileges of places of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment, and amusement.

Fair employment

H.R. 21 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

H.R. 4453 (Mr. POWELL): Same purpose.

Interstate transportation

H.R. 22 (Mr. POWELL): To amend the Interstate Commerce Act so as to prohibit the segregation of passengers on account of race or color.

Lynching and mob violence

H.R. 115 (Mr. POWELL): For the better asssurance of the protection of citizens of the United States and other persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching.

Poll tax

H.R. 117 (Mr. POWELL): Making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers.

Labor relations

Statement about pending congressional action on a Labor Relations Act:

"The Taft-Hartley law was the No. 1 election issue. There were 106 Members of the House who were here in the 80th Congress who are not here now. They voted for the Taft-Hartley law. If there is not an indication of the thinking of the American people, I do not know what is. A majority of the American people sent most of us to this Congress to repudiate and wipe out the Taft-Hartley law and to give them back the kind of a law which functioned in America under the name of the Wagner Act. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Where are the 106 former Members who are not here now? They voted for the Taft-Hartley law and the electorate purged them on November 2." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Apr. 27, 1949, p. 5165.)

81ST CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

Armed Forces

Statement in support of an antidiscrimination amendment to the Selective Service Act of 1948:

"Six years ago when I first came to this body I was the first to introduce legislation to abolish discrimination and segregation in the Armed Forces. At that time discrimination and segregation were rampant and rife in all branches of our military service. I have consistently kept up the fight. When this particular bill came before us in 1948 I led the movement that kept the House in session over 1 week. During the past 6 years we have seen considerable progress and today in our armed services, in the Coast Guard—which, of course, is really not a part of the Armed Forces but in time of war is a part of the Navy—and in the Navy, and to a certain extent in the Air Corps, there is but little discrimination and little segregation. In our Army, however, the President of our Nation and the committee which he appointed, * * * have come up against some stubborn opposition. The time has come now for the Congress to act.

"We are here to do that which education has not done. We are here to implement education. We are here to speed up the timetable of progress. * * * I believe the time has arrived for us to implement the educational processes which have been going along so well, because there is nothing further which can be done in the field of education. The President has spoken. The Fahy Committee report has been written and now it is up to the Congress to act.

"When we had the battle of the Belgian Bulge, Negro men who had been restricted to certain menial capacities were called up out of transportation and out of porter's work and given guns. Black and white stood together and fought for democracy. When victory came the Negroes were left in Europe and the whites paraded on Fifth Avenue. Is that democracy? Now, in peacetime, I ask that we here will do that which at least we owe to the citizens of this Nation, to our conscience and to the world, given men the right to serve side by side with their fellow citizens in all branches of our services" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 24, 1950, p. 7678).

Fair employment practices

Statement in opposition to an amendment to remove the penalty provision of the proposed FEPC legislation introduced by Mr. POWELL (H.R. 4453).

"If this amendment succeeds, then we will have nothing but a statement of policy.

"Those who are against any kind of FEPC will support the * * * amendment, then it is obvious that it is nothing but a subterfuge to kill FEPC. I can assure you that the people of this Nation who are in favor of FEPC are not in favor of the * * * substitute about which they know nothing. They are in favor of H.R. 4453 which has been before them for 6 years, since the 79th Congress" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Feb. 22, 1950, p. 2221).

Housing—discrimination in housing

Statement in support of a civil rights amendment to the Housing Act of 1950:

"It is time we took the bit in our teeth and took a positive stand on this issue. When this amendment to bar discrimination in housing came up before, it was defeated by the sponsors of housing on the ground that it would defeat final passage and that such amendments must be ruled out and brought only as civil rights bills. Since then we have voted on a civil rights bill. We know what happened, the FEPC bill was completely emasculated. We can no longer compromise. Now we must take a stand even if we run the risk of defeating final passage. There can be no compromise with wrong" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 22, 1950, p. 3877).

District of Columbia

Statement in support of an antidiscrimination amendment to the District of Columbia Appropriations Act:

"This is an amendment that I have offered for 6 years. The amendment which, if adopted will clean up our Capital.

"This amendment has been defeated each year, but I am happy to say the record shows an increasing number of yeas in support of it.

"When we consider the Capital of our Nation, and more than that, the Capital of world democracy, we should submerge these local and sectional differences and try to legislate in Washington, D.C., a capital whose atmosphere would be in keeping with the sentiments expressed yesterday on 'I Am an American Day,' a capital in keeping with the principles of government that we are trying to sell to the peoples of the world through the Marshall plan, a capital that would not be a world disgrace. All the money that we voted for today when we adopted the conference report on the Marshall plan was simply money poured down the drain, unless we prove to the peoples of the world that here in Washington, D.C., we are willing to practice what we preach. It is bad enough to practice native fascism sectionally but inexcusable to practice it right here in the Capital. The Marshall plan is nothing but lipservice to democracy unless we back it up with the practice of real democracy.

"Democracy that is dual—one way for dark and one way for white—is worse than no democracy at all, for it is a farce" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD May 23, 1950, p. 7543).

82D CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Armed Forces

"During the 6 years that I have been in the House I have always offered an antisegregation amendment to every bill that has come before us pertaining to the Armed Forces. I rise today to state that I will not do this during the period now—the period when we are at war. The thing that is important to us now is victory, victory at all costs, except the cost of losing our civil liberties.

"During the 6 years that I have fought for the abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces, step by step we have seen great improvement; and I am happy to state today that men of my racial group are serving with great distinction and courage in the Korean conflict. Before the Korean conflict Paul Robeson said that Negro people would not take up arms against Soviet Russia. The very next morning I stood in the well of this House and said the Paul Robeson not stating the truth concerning the peoples of my group, that when the call to arms came, we would answer the same as anyone else, as they always have done. Time has proven that I was correct. * * * Segregation is vanishing in the Armed Forces.

"Before June 25, the Korean conflict, my aim was the abolition of segregation in the Armed Forces, and my record for 6 years substantiates that, but now we are at war and we must win. We must not give aid and comfort to our enemies, and on the other hand we must not lose any vestige of democracy that we have already won. In fact, we must go forward.

"Personally, during this session of Congress, I intend to press for all civil rights bills and intend to fight, by the way of amendments, for increased democracy on the home front. I intend to support during this war every single piece of legislation aimed at victory for our way of life. For the duration only, I will not offer any antisegregation bills as amendments to bills pertaining to the Military Establishment as long as progress continues and there are no violations of the order abolishing segregation.

"However, if there are any flagrant abuses, if there are any cases where segregation and discrimination do come to the forefront, then I will fight the slightest injustice, and if this injustice continues as a pattern, then I will be forced to come back to this floor and again raise the issue" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 14, 1951, p. 649).

83D CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Armed Forces

H.R. 562 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit race segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States.

"Mr. Chairman, 9 years ago when I came to this House I introduced an amendment to abolish segregation in the Armed Forces and each time this bill or any bill concerning the Defense Department came up I did likewise. When the Korean conflict began I made a speech saying I would not introduce such an amendment during this conflict. I have introduced each year my bill which this year is H.R. 562, to prohibit race segregation in the Armed Forces of the United States.

"One-half of the Negroes now serving in the U.S. Navy are serving as messmen, nothing more than manservants to the admiral clique. It is in absolute defiance of the President's orders. I am bringing this particularly to the attention of President Eisenhower. Intelligent, ambitious Negroes are boycotting the U.S. Navy because they are not interest in making the world safe for democracy by shining shoes, nor are they interested in fighting communism with frying pans. The last vestige of aristocracy in America is the gold braid of the U.S. Navy. Generals of the Army no longer have manservants. This is a modernized, 20th-century form of slavery.

"In the second place, integration is not proceeding in the Pentagon, among the civilian personnel. * * *

"One last criticism: The military does not provide any Reserve Officers' Training Corps for Negroes in three States of the Union—Georgia, Mississippi, and Arkansas. Yet from these States scores of thousands of Negroes are drafted, but none of them with any chance of being commissioned as officers. The result is that there is a shortage today or qualified Negroes for commissioned Army assignments. The military must, therefore, provide immediately ROTC training in these three States.

"Finally, I want to point out that we have segregation on the run. A new bill is coming out of my committee—the Committee on Education and Labor—next week, which will give the President of the United States complete power to integrate schools on Army posts. This bill will give this power by virtue of leaving the problem up to the base commander of each Army base."—(CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 2, 1953, p. 7971).

Civil rights

H.R. 2295 (Mr. POWELL): To provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

District of Columbia

House Joint Resolution 71 (Mr. POWELL): Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States empowering Congress to grant representation in the Congress and among the electors of President and Vice President to the people of the District of Columbia.

H.R. 169 (Mr. POWELL): To assure to all persons within the District of Columbia full and equal privileges of places of public education, accommodation, resort, entertainment, and amusement, and for other purposes.

H.R. 170 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

"Mr. Speaker, I am placing on the clerk's desk today discharge petitions for two of my bills, H.R. 169 and H.R. 170. * * *

"The great gap between our professions and our practices must be closed. This is the one great contributing factor to the increasing lack of respect by the American citizenry for the U.S. Congress, and of world citizenry for the U.S. leadership.

"As we plunge deeper into the second half of the 20th century, we find that not a single civil-rights bill has passed the U.S. Congress under the leadership of the Republican or of the Democratic Party, except the provision which I was successful in inserting in the Federal school-lunch program. The hour has arrived to remedy this situation for the good of our country as a whole.

"Our Nation is the least liked nation in the world today, in Anglo-Saxon Europe and amongst the 2 billion peoples of the colored races of the rest of the world. We are least liked—despite the billions that we have squandered under various aspects of the Marshall plan—for many reasons, but the major reason that I have found, as a result of many months of travel throughout the world, is that the world knows we are trying to get them to follow a kind of democracy that we are not practicing at home. * * *

"No single thing will assure the peoples of the earth that we are resuming the greatness that once was ours, in terms of the spirit and in terms of ethical values, than to let them know that Washington, D.C., is one place in America where any human being can have the right to live as a free

citizen—let them know that America is a place where each and every citizen, regardless of his color, creed, national origin or ancestry, can have the right to exercise the talents God has given him and the training that he has accomplished.

"We cannot continue to endure as a nation with loud professions and little deeds. We cannot continue as a first-class power as long as we have second-class citizens. Our foreign policy is valueless unless our domestic policy undergirds it.

"The great crusade of right against wrong demands that we do even that which individually we do not agree with, but which corporately we are certain is for the best of our land, and our world" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 23, 1953, pp. 7114–7115).

LYNCHING AND MOB VIOLENCE

H.R. 561 (Mr. POWELL): For the better assurance of the protection of citizens of the United States and other persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes.

POLL TAX

H.R. 560 (Mr. POWELL): Making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION

H.R. 563 (Mr. POWELL): To amend the Interstate Commerce Act (U.S.C., title 49, sec. 3(1)), so as to prohibit the segregation of passengers on account of race or color.

SCHOOL ASSISTANCE UNDER THE IMPACTED AREAS PROGRAMS PUBLIC LAW 815 AND PUBLIC LAW 874

"I am against subsidizing with Federal funds, any form of segregation. I want to point out that under Public Law 874 the sons and daughters of Negro men serving in our Armed Forces are not allowed to go to schools which Federal funds built; that only the sons and daughters of white soldiers and white officers are allowed to go.

"Under Public Law 874, there has been a tremendous waste of the taxpayers' money to support separate schools on the basis of race.

"I have a number of complaints in my office from families of servicemen who are forced to send their children to separate schools outside the military posts. * * * They are serving their country in the armed services, and, as a penalty for such service, they are forced to send their children, who have never previously been exposed to segregation, to schools for colored in the communities surrounding the posts. At all of these forts, there are perfectly good schools on the posts, but they are for the white children only. * * *

"It is bad enough when segregation in schools comes about because of local boards of education, but it is infinitely worse when it is supported by action of the Congress of the United States. * * *

"The fundamental question facing Members of this body is simply this: Shall we continue to use tax money collected from the entire country to support a wasteful system of segregation in schools such as those located in Arlington County and nearby Maryland? * * *

"I believe that we should do everything possible to help out the local communities of this country so that the services provided for U.S. citizens will be uniformly high in all parts of the country, but I strongly oppose spending New York, Illinois, or New Jersey tax money to support segregated schools in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, or anywhere else.

"I am against squandering Federal millions to maintain prejudice and to subsidize segregation" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Feb. 18, 1953, p. 1212).

National Housing Act

Statement in support of nonrestriction by race, creed, color, or national origin.

"Communism wins only when democracy fails, and communism can win by default regardless of whether we are a great colossus with one foot in Oak Ridge and the other in Fort Knox. The idea is fallacious that communism can be destroyed by gold and by atomic bombs; it can only be destroyed by the greater idea of democracy. Democracy is the finest idea man has ever dreamed of, and it is being defeated by the worst idea man ever concocted. Democracy is being defeated by communism globally today because of our failure to put it into practice.

" 'Piecemeal legislation,' you call it. All legislation is piecemeal. 'Education,' you say, will solve the problem. How long? The world tempo has been so increased that there is no longer time for education to solve our problems. We do not know what holocaust will be visited upon us within the next 30 days or the next year. We have made tremendous technical progress in America, but in terms of moral and ethical progress there is a distinct law. Education cannot make up this lag; it is up to us, the elected Members of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, by legislation at every opportunity we have for the good of our Nation and our world that we hold up as a shining symbol of ethical and moral progress; that we let the 2 billion colored peoples of the earth know that we are not trying to sell a kind of democracy to the rest of the world that we are refusing to practice here.

"Let us have a bipartisan foreign policy backed up by a bipartisan democracy policy. You cannot have a successful bipartisan foreign policy with a bipartisan domestic Jim Crow policy" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Feb. 25, 1953, p. 1429).

83D CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

Interstate transportation

H.R. 7324 (Mr. POWELL): Providing relief against certain forms of discrimination in interstate transportation.

White House Conference on Education

Statement on the value of the proposed conference and acknowledging the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in public school education.

"This bill is long overdue. After many trips to various portions of the earth on committee business, I have come back to the Committee on Education and Labor and repeatedly asked that we have some type of modus operandi to arrive at a Federal concept of education, an American concept of education and the proper relationships between State educational bodies and our Federal Government.

"We have floundered through these years without any clearly defined American philosophy of education. That is why we have the conflicts, the tensions, and the irritations that constantly crop up in our land.

"This White House Conference may easily be the first step toward bringing about a harmonious working together of the 48 States, retaining their individual philosophies of education, but working together on a Federal basis. This is the most serious problem facing our Nation. It demands our best. This bill has become much more important over the weekend because of the decision of our Supreme Court. Despite the fact that there are many Members of this body whom I personally respect, you cannot call the decision of the Supreme Court unconstitutional.

"We have it. It is a fact. We must go on from here now and see what can be done to make this great shining hour of democracy a more brilliant, a more luminous hour for all our people. We should not here in this body, especially, take this shining hour of democracy and allow it to be tarnished by the oratory of a few who are still living in the 19th century * * *.

"So let us go on from here today to greater heights. Let this great body, of which I am proud to be a Member, lift up the arms of our Government, whether it be the judicial, the executive, or the legislative arm" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 19, 1954, p. 6859).

84TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Employment

H.R. 690 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Interstate transportation

H.R. 691 (Mr. POWELL): Providing relief against certain forms of discrimination in interstate transportation.

Antisegregation Day

H.R. 3016 (Mr. POWELL): Making May 17 in each year a legal holiday to be known as Antisegregation Day.

Civil rights

H.R. 389 (Mr. POWELL): To provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

"Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Congress is a 19th century body in a 20th century world. In the field of civil rights we are still conducting ourselves along the pattern of yesterday's world. Tremendous changes are taking place in our country eradicating the concept of second-class citizenship. Yet the U.S. Congress has done absolutely nothing in this sphere. We are behind the times. We are a legislative anachronism. In an age of atomic energy, our dynamic is no more powerful than a watermill.

"For 10 years, my colleagues and I have introduced civil rights amendment after amendment, civil rights bill after bill, pleading, praying that you good ladies and gentlemen would give to this body the glory of dynamic leadership that it should have. But you failed and history has recorded it.

"I am proud to be a Member of the Congress of the United States. I am proud to be a Member of the legislative branch of the U.S. Government and I know you are too. But I beseech you to transform this emotion of pride into the deed of leadership. This is an hour for boldness. This is an hour when a world waits breathlessly, expectantly, almost hungrily, for this Congress, the 84th Congress, through legislation to give some semblance of democracy in action. Our President and our Supreme Court cannot be all this by themselves and, furthermore, we should not expect it. We are derelict in our duty if we continue to plow looking backward. No man is fit for this new world, for this new kingdom of God on earth, who plows looking forward.

"I would like to serve notice that some of us intend after a reasonable time of waiting for our committees and our committee chairmen to act to use every parliamentary device we can to bring before this Congress civil rights bills of worth and value." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 2, 1955, p. 1084–1085).

District of Columbia

House Joint Resolution 22 (Mr. POWELL): Proposing an amendment to the Constitution empowering Congress to provide by legislation for representation in the Congress of, and for granting the right to vote for Presidential and Vice Presidential electors to, the people of the District of Columbia.

H.R. 3457 (Mr. POWELL): To eliminate certain practices involving racial or religious discrimination in the District of Columbia.

Poll tax

H.R. 1600 (Mr. POWELL): Making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers.

Scholarship assistance to capable students

H.R. 2179 (Mr. POWELL): To increase the supply of scientific and technical manpower in the United States by providing a system

of scholarships for college and graduate level study of scientific subjects, to be administered by the Commissioner of Education.

H.R. 6176 (Mr. POWELL): To increase the supply of scientific and technical manpower in the United States by providing a system of scholarships for college and graduate level study of scientific subjects to be administered by the Commissioner of Education.

84TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

Federal assistance for school construction

H.R. 7535 (Mr. POWELL): An amendment that "school facilities of the States are open to all children without regard to race, in conformity with the requirements of the U.S. Supreme Court decisions: except that if a State plan does not so provide, it shall not prevent payment of funds authorized under this act to such State for use in counties or other political subdivisions within the States that are operating their schools in conformity with the said Supreme Court decisions."

"The May 17, 1954, decision of the U.S. Supreme Court declared that segregation in public education was unconstitutional. This was followed by the May 31 order that all provisions of Federal, State, or local law requiring or permitting segregation in public education must yield to the principle announced in the 1954 decision. In spite of this clear pronouncement by the Court, the Federal agencies still refuse to withhold funds which certain defiant States are using to extend segregation in the public schools * * *

"In other words, the Supreme Court drew up a great guidepost with a sign pointing 'This way to democracy through integration.' Failure of the Congress to include my amendment will place this body in the position of ignoring the clear requirements of the U.S. Constitution * * *

"One of the most ridiculous arguments made by many of my colleagues is that my amendments will hurt the Negro people. When I ask how do they know, they tell me, 'Well, we know the Negro.' This is as stupid as for me to stand up before an audience of Irishmen on St. Patrick's Day and tell them that I know the Irish, or to tell a group of Italians of the Order of Columbus that I know Italians. These men who say they know the Negro do not even know the white man. During the very week that the State of Virginia by a vote of 2 to 1 thrust education back into the Dark Ages and voted to scrap public education, the school board of Arlington, Va., voted that they would integrate.

"Negro people have waited many, many years for this hour of democracy to come and they are willing to wait a few more years rather than see a bill passed which will appropriate Federal funds to build a dual system of Jim Crow schools in defiance of the law" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Jan. 24, 1956, p. 1191, 119293).

"We have before us a series of amendments that by no stretch of the imagination can be called extremism, or punitive, but amendments that are aimed at helping the States and school districts to integrate.

"I am sure that we all agree that whenever there is a constitutional Executive order, judicial decision, or legislative action, immediately it is encumbent upon all the other branches of the Government to yield to whatever that decision, order, or law may be. We implemented the Supreme Court decision for 57 years in Plessy against Ferguson, which was the doctrine of separate but equal. We in this House and in the other body passed amendments to the draft bill, the Hill-Burton Act, the Federal school lunch program, implementing the Supreme Court decisions. Now we come to a new decision, a decision of integration, and this is the first test whether we are going to abide by the Supreme Court decision as a legislative body.

"Any vote against the Powell amendment is a vote in favor of segregation. * * *

"Now, I would just like to close with this one thought. In the last line of Elizabeth Browning's "Sonnets From the Portuguese," there is this magnificent thought: 'God's realities always exceed man's fondest dreams'. We have before us the American dream. It is a dream of one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all, and I believe that you should vote according to that American dream" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 3, 1956. p. 11757).

Civil rights

"Today marks the first anniversary of the African-Asian Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia. I was privileged to be present. I rise today to commemorate that occasion by addressing myself to the problem of how we can win the uncommitted nations.

"The Asian-African Conference was a great parliament of the world's religions. The concept of brotherhood was stressed repeatedly. One speaker said: 'If our religion, whatever it may be, does not allow us to get along with our brothers, regardless of what his religion may be, then our religion cannot be of much value.'

"We are a privileged people, privileged to live at one of the great crossroads that every now and then the force of history thrusts upon an unwilling world. Which way we should take depends entirely upon the individual choices made by American people up and down the main streets of our villages and hamlets and in our towns and cities. Capitol Hill cannot do it for us. The Supreme Court cannot be our personal witness. Individual, personal, moral witness must be made. The faith of our forefathers is not enough but the ferment of our forefathers is a deadly necessity." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 18, 1956, p. 6594, 6595).

"The world is moving with a startling rapidity that transcends not only the visual but even the imaginative. With our Yankee courage, our Madison Avenue know-how, our Christian heritage and the bulwark of the Bill of Rights, in back of us, using our 25 million colored citizens as a spearhead, we can launch a drive for peace and for full equality now in the Far East. Only through such a bold maneuver can we win. History will pass us by if we do not" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Apr. 19, 1956, p. 6598).

85TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Civil rights

H.R. 887 (Mr. POWELL): To provide means of further securing and protecting the civil rights of persons within the jurisdiction of the United States.

"Strip the opposition to this bill of all hypocrisy, dishonesty, and subterfuges and only one reason stands out why anyone is opposed to this bill and that is because a minority in this country has made up its mind that under no circumstances is it going to allow colored citizens the right to vote—even in a Federal election. Clothing their arguments in sheep's garments of high-sounding phrases, nevertheless, the heart of their approach is one of hypocrisy and dishonesty. The tragedy is that so many Members of this body, from both sides of the aisle and from areas outside of the southern section, are susceptible to the arguments being presented" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, June 14, 1957, pp. 9192–9193).

School construction

H.R. 1213 (Mr. POWELL): To authorize Federal assistance to the States and local communities in financing an expanded program of school construction so as to eliminate the national shortage of classrooms.

Scholarship assistance to capable students

H.R. 5030 (Mr. POWELL): To increase the supply of scientific and technical manpower in the United States by providing a system of scholarships for college and graduate level study of scientific subjects, to be administered by the Commissioner of Education.

Supreme Court decision on public school segregation

Statement in observance of the third anniversary of the decision.

"On this third anniversary we are aware, of course, that the Supreme Court's words have yet to bear tangible fruit in some parts of our Nation. We are aware of bitterness and violence and of unconcealed defiance of the supreme law of the land. We cannot, and must not, ignore these manifestations of resistance, for the denial of his rights to even one of our citizens must be of concern to all. But neither, Mr. Speaker, should we be plunged into despair. Whatever the roadblocks, there can be no question in which direction we are moving. We are moving ahead.

"May 17, 1954, was truly a landmark in the history of human freedom. Let us salute this anniversary with pride and with renewed determination that its promise will surely be realized in our own land and throughout the world," (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 16, 1957, p. 7117).

85TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

National Defense Education Act

Antidiscrimination amendments to title proposals considered under the act: title II for scholarships, title III on loans to students and title VI on fellowships for graduate education.

"I feel that the philosophy underlying this excellent piece of legislation is that we are out to aid the individual. The school construction bill we had under consideration before was to aid the States. Therefore I have designed amendments to apply at the precise moment that an individual comes forward to seek a scholarship, to ask for a loan, or to look for a graduate fellowship. At that moment the individual comes forward, then there shall not be any discrimination based upon race or color. That would include about 25 million of our American citizens, Mexican-Americans, Japanese-Americans, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, and Negroes.

"There would not be any discrimination based upon religion, which would include mainly our Roman Catholic brethren and Jewish brethren.

"There would not be any discrimination based upon national origin, which would include those born abroad. Two of the outstanding contributors to our nuclear physics program today are in this category. One is of Italian birth and the other of German birth.

"Lastly, there would be no discrimination based upon sex," (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, August 8, 1958, p. 16723).

Blind individuals

H.R. 9702 (Mr. POWELL): To protect the right of the blind to self-expression through organizations of the blind.

Civil Rights

H.R. 12536 (Mr. POWELL): To secure, protect, and strengthen the civil rights accruing to individuals under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

H.R. 10296 (Mr. POWELL): To amend part III of the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

Fair employment

H.R. 9704 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Housing

H.R. 12538 (Mr. POWELL): To provide that Federal funds shall not be used for loans, grants, or other financial assistance to provide housing with respect to which there is any discrimination against occupancy on account of race, religion, color, ancestry, or national origin.

Interstate transportation

H.R. 12535 (Mr. POWELL): Providing relief against certain forms of discrimination in interstate transportation and facilities furnished or connected therewith.

Lynching and mob violence

H.R. 9701 (Mr. POWELL): For the better assurance of the protection of citizens of the United States and other persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes.

Poll tax

H.R. 9707 (Mr. POWELL): Making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers.

National Guard

H.R. 9705 (Mr. POWELL): To eliminate discrimination and segregation in the National Guard and Air National Guard, and to prohibit the use of the National Guard and the Air National Guard to aid or abet the violation of Federal law.

86TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Economic and social development in less developed countries

H.R. 6693 (Mr. POWELL): To promote the foreign policy of the United States and help to build essential world conditions of peace by the more effective use of U.S. agricultural commodities for the relief of human hunger, and for promoting economic and social development in less developed countries through the United Nations or its appropriate agencies.

Armed Forces

H.R. 5277.

"This continuous peacetime draft is a new thing in our country and one that requires a hard look at the conditions which surround our Armed Forces.

"The armed personnel in the 13 Southern States amounted to more than 43 percent of the total. Yet we know that areas outside those 13 States subject Negroes to discrimination. Also we know that colored people other than Negroes are discriminated against in some parts of this country. So I would estimate conservatively that 50 percent of the armed personnel of our Government in this country is being trained in a discriminatory environment.

"I say that the Federal Government has no right to subject citizens to such discrimination. * * *

"I hold it to be an essential duty of this Government to prevent discrimination against members of the Armed Forces. Of course, this House knows that I do not favor discrimination anywhere, but at the very least we should protect our soldiers and sailors against it. * * *

"The ignoble practice of segregation has no legitimate place in a democracy. If it still persists in some area of this country, at least those who have been raised in the freer areas should not be subjected to it by the Federal Government.

"One-half of our armed personnel is now being unfairly punished by the Federal Government because of the conditions of segregation which they must endure as a part of their military service.

"This is unfair, unpatriotic, and unwise. I call upon my colleagues from all parts of the country to support H.R. 5277 so that we may put an end to such an abuse of our young citizens.

"If they are trained in a free environment they will know better the importance of defending freedom" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Mar. 24, 1959, p. 5111–2).

The blind

H.R. 1878 (Mr. POWELL): To protect the right of the blind to self-expression through organizations of the blind.

Civil rights

H.R. 619 (Mr. POWELL): To secure, protect, and strengthen the civil rights accruing to individuals under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

H.R. 618 (Mr. POWELL).

"The Committee on Education and Labor yesterday tentatively approved a bill-of-rights amendment to the new labor-management bill. It is unconscionable to think that any bill of rights can exist without there being included a guarantee of civil rights. There are 2,500,000 white workers in an undemocratic ghetto from which are excluded all Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, and, in some instances, Catholics. Anyone who votes for a labor-management bill that includes a bill of rights without any rights of admission guaranteed for all Americans is flirting with the label of hypocrisy. Therefore, I am offering such an amendment to remedy this anti-American situation." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, July 7, 1959, p. 13594).

Equal protection of the laws

H.R. 913 (Mr. POWELL): To effectuate and enforce the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, and for other purposes.

H.R. 617 (Mr. POWELL): To assure to all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States full and equal privileges with respect to public conveyances and places of public accommodation, resort, entertainment, amusement, assemblage, and institutions.

National Guard

H.R. 910 (Mr. POWELL): To eliminate discrimination and segregation in the National Guard and Air National Guard, and to prohibit the use of the National Guard and the Air National Guard to aid or abet the violation of Federal law

Fair employment

H.R. 908 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

Voter Registration Commission

H.R. 7957 (Mr. POWELL): To provide for the establishment of a Federal Voter Registration Commission to provide, in certain instances, for the registration of citizens of the United States for the purpose of voting in Federal and State elections, and for other purposes.

Housing

H.R. 1053.

"Today the Civil Rights Commission started hearings in New York City, and the good people of Virginia have started desegregation. This, therefore, should be a day for sober reflection. Are we not witnessing increasing heroic honesty in the South and increasing cowardly hypocrisy in the North?

"May I say that the Powell type of amendment is just as applicable to the denial of Federal funds in New York City because of segregation there as it is in any other area in defiance of the Supreme Court. Also, I concur with the president of Notre Dame, Father Hesburgh, a member of the Civil Rights Commission, that in the North some areas practice discrimination in housing more than many areas in the South. Legislation to remedy this has been introduced by me and the number of the bill is H.R. 1053. It will prohibit discrimination prior to construction and during the lifetime of publicly financed housing by putting guarantees in the application for FHA insured mortgages" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 2, 1959, p. 1592).

Lynching and mob violence

H.R. 914 (Mr. POWELL): For the better assurance of the protection of citizens of the United States and other persons within the several States from mob violence and lynching, and for other purposes.

Poll tax

H.R. 912 (Mr. POWELL): Making unlawful the requirement for the payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in a primary or other election for national officers.

Public schools and desegregation

H.R. 7958: (Mr. POWELL): Authorizing appropriations for the operation of public schools in the several States which would otherwise be closed by State action intended to prevent compliance with certain orders of courts of the United States.

School construction

H.R. 909 (Mr. POWELL): To authorize Federal assistance to the States and local communities in financing an expanded program of school construction so as to eliminate the national shortage of classrooms.

86TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

School construction

Amendment providing an antidiscrimination clause in the proposed school construction bill H.R. 10128:

"The school facilities constructed with the assistance of payment received under this act shall be available to students without regard to race, creed, color, national origin, or religion, in accordance with the Supreme Court."

"There are those who say this amendment will kill the bill.

"Who is going to vote against the bill if the Powell amendment is in there? Those who are opposed to Federal aid to education will. If they are in the majority we are going to defeat the bill anyway. Many sountherners have told me they do not want the bill in any form.

"In the next place there are those who say my amendment is hurting the educational future of little Negro children. I would like to say that on every visit I have made to the South, and I have made many in recent months, every group I have talked to, every group of students, for instance, I talked to, has unanimously without dissent been in favor of this amendment. Every single church organization, including the National Baptist Churches, the Council of Bishops and the African Methodist Church are in favor of this amendment. The delegations to the NAACP national convention coming from the Southern States voted unanimously last year without any dissent in favor of this amendment.

"Therefore * * * the only recourse we have to impose these conditions or to guarantee that the Supreme Court decision is followed is by adopting this amendment. A vote against this amendment is a vote against the Supreme Court. A vote against this amendment is a vote against civil rights.

"I ask in conclusion that we adopt this amendment and get on to the business of having education in compliance with the law of the land which is 6 years old already" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 26, 1960, p. 11296).

Fair employment

H.R. 13023 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

87TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

African Freedom Day

House Resolution 63 (Mr. POWELL): Expresses the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to the struggle of the African peoples for independence and nationhood, and recognizing April 15, 1959, as "African Freedom Day."

Ambassadors and Foreign Ministers

H.R. 6726 (Mr. POWELL): Make it a crime punishable by a fine of $10,000 or imprisonment for 2 years, or both to discriminate against Ambassadors, public ministers and their servants.

Apprenticeship program

H.R. 8219 (Mr. POWELL): Withdraws Federal support and approval from apprenticeship programs which deny individuals an equal opportunity to participate on account of race, color, or creed.

Civil rights

H.R. 1231 (Mr. POWELL): Authorizes the Attorney General to institute proceedings for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction, (1) upon the written complaint or information on oath of any person threatened with loss of the right to equal protection of the laws by reason of race, color, creed, or national origin, who is unable to proceed in his own behalf, against any person or persons acting or conspiring to deprive him of the right to equal protection, and (2) upon the written request of State authorities, against two or more persons conspiring to hinder such State authorities from securing to any person equal protection of the laws.

Gives the district courts jurisdiction over such proceeding, regardless of the non-exhaustion of other remedies, and makes the United States liable for costs the same as a private person. Provides that existing rights or remedies are not impaired [amending 71 Stat. 637].

H.R. 540 (Mr. POWELL): Omnibus Human Rights Act—Makes the Civil Rights Commission permanent. Directs the Attorney General to increase the personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or Justice Department used to investigate civil rights cases.

Establishes a congressional Joint Committee on Civil Rights to make a continuing study of such matters.

Imposes a fine and/or imprisonment for any person to interfere with the exercise or enjoyment of another's civil rights. Increases the penalty to a maximum $10,000 and 20 years' imprisonment if death or maiming is the result of such wrongful conduct.

Enumerates rights, privileges (including right to vote), and due process protected. Penalizes an attempt to entice another into slavery or an attempt to sell another into involuntary servitude.

Prohibits discrimination in interstate transportation and punishes violators hereof.

Federal Equality of Opportunity Employment Act—Declares the right to employment without discrimination because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry to be a civil right. Declares it to be an unlawful employment practice for either an employer, or a labor organization to discriminate against an individual because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry.

Establishes a seven-member Equality of Opportunity in Employment Commission, to investigate, hold hearings, and issue orders for the prevention of unlawful employment practices. Provides that the Commission shall have the power to petition any U.S. court of appeals or district court for the enforcement of any order and grants the court jurisdiction to proceed in a determination of the case.

Federal Antilynching Act—Declares the right to be free from lynching to be a right of all citizens. Imposes a fine and/or imprisonment on any person who is a member of a lynch mob or who instigates or commits a lynching where death, maiming, or other serious physical or mental injury or damage to property results and on governmental officers of employees who neglect their duty in knowingly failing to prevent or punish lynching. Authorizes civil actions for injury or death as a result of a lynching.

Federal Anti-Poll-Tax Act: Makes it unlawful for any person to levy, collect, or require the payment of a poll tax or otherwise interfere with any person's right to vote in any national election.

Death penalty

House Joint Resolution 64 (Mr. POWELL): Constitutional amendment—Proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to abolish the death penalty under the laws of the United States, any State, or any other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

Education

H.R. 264 (Mr. POWELL): Authorizes funds for the operation of schools closed as a result of State action to prevent local compliance with desegregation court orders.

Employment

H.R. 262 (Mr. POWELL): Federal Equality of Opportunity in Employment Act—Makes it an unlawful employment practice (1) for an employer to discriminate in employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry, or to obtain assistance in hiring from sources discriminating for such reasons; (2) for an employment agency to fail or refuse to properly classify or refer for employment because of race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry, or to force an employer to discriminate against an individual.

Establishes a seven-member Equality of Opportunity in Employment Commission, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate (1) to prevent any unlawful employment practice; (2) to investigate charges of unlawful employment practices and eliminate same, and (3) to restrain unlawful employment practices and take affirmative action to redress persons aggrieved thereby. Prohibits Commission members filing charges from participating in the hearing or trial. Provides procedure for judicial review and court enforcement of Commission orders.

Empowers the President to effectuate the purposes of this act with regard to Government employment.

Equal protection of the laws

H.R. 547 (Mr. POWELL): Civil Rights Act—Title I. Declares it to be the intention of Congress that no one should be deprived the right to the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Constitution because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Title II: Authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, to assist States and local governments in eliminating segregation in public schools. Requires the Secretary to make reports to Congress on the progress made.

Provides that the Secretary shall employ specialists to assist in plans for eliminating segregation in public education. Permits reimbursement to local officials and representatives carrying out authorized functions of the Secretary for travel expenses and subsistence.

Authorizes $2,500,000 per year for 5 years for carrying out the purposes of title II.

Title III: Authorizes grants to State and local governments to assist in meeting the cost of additional educational measures undertaken in an effort to eliminate segregation in public schools.

Title IV: Provides that the Secretary shall prepare tentative plans for the elimination of segregation in public education and forward such plans to the State Governor or appropriate official for concurrence.

Provides that where State and local officials do not agree to the plans submitted hearings are to be held after which the Secretary shall prepare and issue an approved plan for the elimination of segregation.

Title V: Authorizes the Attorney General to institute for or in the name of the United States proceeding for preventive relief against State officials to enforce compliance with the approved plans for integration.

Title VI: Authorizes the Attorney General to institute for or in the name of the United States proceeding for relief against any individual who deprives or threatens to deprive persons of, the right to equal protection of the laws by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin.

Title VII: Provides that the district courts shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted hereunder. Provides that nothing in this act shall be construed to impair existing legal rights or remedies already available.

Fair labor standards

H.R. 6887 (Mr. POWELL): Extends protection of Fair Labor Standards Act to employees of large hotels, motels, restaurants and laundries with gross sales of $1 million annually.

Great white fleet

House Congressional Resolution 66 (Mr. POWELL): Expresses the sense of Congress on the use of a Great White Fleet in support of American foreign policy.

Housing

H.R. 544 (Mr. POWELL): Fair Housing Practices Act—provides that Federal funds shall not be used for financial assistance to provide housing with respect to which there is any discrimination on account of race, religion, color, ancestry, or national origin.

Immigration

H.R. 543 (Mr. POWELL): Grants natives of British Guiana, British Honduras, the British Virgin Islands, and the West Indies Federation unlimited access to the immigration quota for Great Britain.

H.R. 549 (Mr. POWELL): Provides that individuals born in British Guiana, British Honduras, the British Virgin Islands, or the West Indies Federation shall be nonquota immigrants under the Immigration and Nationality Act [amending U.S.C. 8:1101 (a) (27) (c)].

Impacted areas assistance and National Defense Education Act

H.R. 9000 (Mr. POWELL): Extends the program of aid for schools in areas affected by Federal activities for 2 years. Extends the National Defense Education Act for 2 years.

"In summary, this package carries a total for education in the United States for the next 2 years of approximately $902,992,000.

"I am extremely sorry that the Powell amendment banning funds to schools in defiance of the Supreme Court decision is not a part of the impacted areas portion of this legislation. Federal money is being spent for totally Federal projects in areas that have become impacted because of Federal work, most of them due to defense installations. It is shocking and totally inexcusable to have the children segregated in these schools. At the proper time next year, I shall press for action. I also believe that this entire phase should be carefully reexamined by my committee during the forthcoming year, because it is in danger of becoming an education pork barrel rather than really reaching the children who need this assistance; namely, school construction, maintenance, and teachers' salaries.

"I regret, too, that the forgiveness clause, as written, is a part of the National Defense Education Act because I, for one, would like to see this forgiveness clause completely changed, so that all people who obtain loans under this act and who teach for 5 years in public or private school shall be forgiven their loan. This would encourage more teachers to go into private and public teaching. The way it is now constituted, it waives 50 percent of the loan for those who go into public school teaching only.

Also, I believe that the disclaimer affidavit should be abolished; and here, the gentleman from California [Mr. HIESTAND] offered in committee an amendment which will take care of this problem without forcing our educators to be placed in an untenable position.

"I promise that during the coming year proper study and consideration will be given to both of these important portions of NDEA" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 6, 1961, pp. 17095–96).

Interstate transportation

H.R. 1229 (Mr. POWELL): Provides that all persons shall be entitled to equal privileges of any public conveyance operated by a common carrier engaged in interstate or foreign commerce, without discrimination or segregation based on race, color, religion, or national origin. Subjects any person who denies or attempts to deny to any person such privileges to a fine of $1,000 for each offense. Permits action for damages or other relief in a U.S. district court without regard to the sum or value of the matter in controversy.

Juvenile delinquency

"I am positive there is no one in the United States today who would dispute that juvenile delinquency is perhaps the most tragic evidence of social disorder we can imagine. It is evidence that we have not given our children the stable, sensible, and meaningful society we like to think we have. For the past 15 years we have been following a pace of change accelerated every day by the advance of science and technology. We have found little room in our busy lives for cushioning the impact of change on our young. We have abandoned them to hopelessness, cynicism, and desperation, and each year we reap larger and larger harvests of mental illness, delinquency, and crime.

"It is time, indeed, we stopped applying a bandage here and there according to what part of the body politic breaks out next. It is time, instead, to take the medicine of determination that is all we really need to improve the mental and moral health of our children.

"Juvenile delinquency, of course, has its ramifications in inadequate housing, inadequate job opportunities, lack of education, and discrimination in many areas. So does any social evil impinge one upon the other. The bill before you takes no wishful look at what better housing in a better neighborhood could do, or what an adequate educational system might accomplish. The bill has framed a proposal within the reference of where we are today, not where we might be—if * * * I suggest that when we go further into this matter, we do so with our hearts; that not only our minds be attuned to this end and that we view it with not only the assent of our minds but the consent of our hearts." (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Aug. 30, 1961, pp. 16459–60).

Lynching and mob violence

H.R. 546 (Mr. POWELL): Federal Anti-Lynching Act.—Defines lynching as the assemblage of two or more persons which shall, without authority of law, (1) commit violence upon the person of any citizen because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry, language, or religion, or (2) exercise by physical violence any power of correction over any person in the custody of a peace officer or charged with any criminal offense for the purpose of preventing the trial or punishment not authorized by law. Sets the maximum penalty for lynching at $10,000 fine and/or 20 years imprisonment. A State or local officer failing through neglect to prevent a lynching or to apprehend or prosecute any member of a lynching mob, shall be punished by a $5,000 fine and/or 5 years imprisonment. Any governmental subdivision failing through neglect to prevent a lynching or an abduction followed elsewhere by a lynching shall be liable for $2,000 to $10,000 in damages recoverable in a civil action. The interstate transportation of persons with a view to lynching is made subject to the penalties provided in the Lindbergh kidnapping law (death or life imprisonment).

Manpower resources

H.R. 7396 (Mr. POWELL): Provides for a program of occupational training and retraining of the Nation's labor force. Directs the Department of Labor to make studies and then develop training and skill development, programs utilizing the resources of industry, labor, educational institutions and State and local agencies. Grants weekly retraining allowances equal to unemployment compensation and relocation allowances to persons offered jobs in other areas. Provides for on- and off-the-job training and vocational training for the unemployed.

National Guard

H.R. 263 (Mr. POWELL): Prohibits a State National Guard from receiving Federal benefits if the State practices discrimination and segregation based on race, creed, or color in determining assignments or duties of members.

Prohibits units or members of the National Guard from being used to aid or abet the violation of any Federal law [amending U.S.C. 32: 108].

Narcotics

H.R. 9153 (Mr. POWELL): Authorizes the Surgeon General to make grants-in-aid to States and political subdivisions thereof in order to assist in solving their narcotic drug problems. Provides special grants for post-hospital addict care programs. Directs the Surgeon General to prescribe general standards for a program of posthospital care, treatment, and rehabilitation for narcotic addicts.

Poll tax

H.R. 1230 (Mr. POWELL): Federal anti-poll tax. Makes it unlawful for any State, municipality, or other governmental subdivision to require payment of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting at a Federal election.

Public conveyance

H.R. 541 (Mr. POWELL): Provides both civil and criminal penalties for any person who discriminated against another person because of his race, color, creed, or national origin with respect to accommodation in, any public conveyance or place of public accommodation.

Servicemen

H.R. 548 (Mr. POWELL): Makes it a crime punishable by a fine of $1,000 and/or 1-year imprisonment to discriminate against members of the Armed Forces because of race, color, or creed [adding U.S.C. 18: 245].

Student aid

H.R. 4930 (Mr. POWELL): Provides for low-interest loans for medical and dental students under the National Defense Education Act. Requires such loans to be evidenced by a rate and to bear interest of 3 percent beginning 1 year after the borrower ceases to pursue a full-time course.

Provides for grants to medical and dental schools of $1,000 per year for each student at the school receiving a loan hereunder.

H.R. 6762 (Mr. POWELL): Authorizes the Commissioner of Education to award 3,000 undergraduate scholarships in American institutions of higher education to certain students from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Directs the Commissioner to allocate such scholarships on the basis of the higher educational needs of each nation in the aforementioned areas.

"This simple and direct legislative proposal can do much to meet some of the greatest challenges and opportunities for American educational leadership that we have yet faced in our time. This scholarship program for African, Asian, and Latin American students can provide a new beginning—and its effect can become truly massive—in the development of wise leaders and educated citizens among all peoples. * * *

"We must provide now the educational sustenance that is demanded in the name of humanity and of our common cause. The 'revolution of rising expectations' is going on all around us, and we can help make it a constructive transformation for good or we can ignore it—and someone else will help in their own way and for their own ends. What is needed now is education—that 'critical mass' of education that will permit the peoples of the less-developed areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to provide their own self-renewing leadership and education for the future. * * *

"In meeting the challenge of education for the young people and adults of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, I am convinced that very helpful insights are to be had from the experience of our own areas of Hawaii and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, as well as from the evolving West Indies Federation. These can enhance our scholarship program for the less-developed and newly emerging nations, on the one hand, as living demonstrations of bootstrap economic development and, on the other, of intercultural communication and understanding and of the development of responsible governmental leadership. * * *

"Finally, Mr. Speaker, I would close with the observation that this Nation which values its freedom so highly that it can give away well over $23 billion in foreign military aid grants in the last decade alone, can surely find it possible to support this modest educational program that, at a cost of about $100 million a year, may be even more for freedom and progress everywhere. And let us all remember that independence is not an end in itself, but only a beginning. The revolution of freedom is always unfinished business" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, May 2, 1961, p. 6577–6578).

Territories of the United States

Guam—H.R. 5716 (Mr. POWELL): Provides for the election by the people of the territories of Guam and the Virgin Islands of a Deputy to the House of Representatives.

Virgin Islands—H.R. 545 (Mr. POWELL): Provides that the people of the Virgin Islands be represented by a Delegate in the House of Representatives.

Virgin Islands—H.R. 5716.

Welfare and pension plans

H.R. 7234 (Mr. POWELL): Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act Amendments—Amends the Welfare and Pension Plans Disclosure Act with respect to the method of enforcement. Makes bribery, embezzlement or false statements concerning employee benefit plans a Federal crime.

87TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

Equal pay for women

H.R. 11677 (Mr. POWELL): To prohibit discrimination on account of sex in the payment of wages by certain employers engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce and to provide for the restitution of wages lost by employees by reason of any such discrimination.

Manpower resources and capable students

H.R. 8399 (Mr. POWELL): Relating to the occupational training, development, and use of the manpower resources of the Nation, and for other purposes.

"In setting H.R. 8399 No. 1 on his priority list for domestic legislation, the President pointed out that this country cannot 'countenance the suffering, frustration, and injustice of unemployment, or let the vast potential of the world's leading economy run to waste in idle manpower, silent machinery, and empty plants.' * * *

"Despite recent indications of some recovery from the recession and a decrease in the unemployment rate, there still remains large numbers of workers who have exhausted, even extended, unemployment insurance benefits—those whose skills have

become obsolete; the unskilled, especially those without high school education; older workers; minority groups; and the youth. * * *

"The fact that we are in the midst of the cold war only increases the need for the programs this bill will provide. The present struggle requires the maximum use of all our manpower, with no waste of the skills and ability to produce that are now available in the ranks of our long-term unemployed, and which can be fully exploited and utilized when these unemployed are trained for the skills needed today and tomorrow" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, February 27, 1962, pp. 2734–2735).

Negro history

House Joint Resolution 635 (Mr. POWELL): To authorize the President to proclaim a week in 1963 as National Negro History Week.

Public health service facilities

H.R. 10217 (Mr. POWELL): Repeals the provisions of the Hill-Burton Act which permits Federal assistance for hospitals which discriminate against persons on the basis of race, creed or color [repealing U.S.C. 42:291 e(f)].

Student aid

H.R. 9743 (Mr. POWELL): Authorizes the appropriation of $130 million for fiscal 1963 and $145 million for fiscal 1964 for making student loans under the National Defense Education Act. Repeals the limitation relative to the maximum amount of Federal capital contribution to any institution. Increases the number and amount of loans to medical and dental students and lengthens the period of repayment for such loans. Provides loans for interns.

Territories of the United States

Puerto Rico—House Joint Resolution 626 (Mr. POWELL): Constitutional amendment—proposes an amendment to the Constitution of the United States granting representation in the electoral college to the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Virgin Islands—H.R. 11709 (Mr. POWELL): Amends the Revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands concerning the election of senators to the Legislature of the Virgin Islands.

Welfare and pension plans

H.R. 8723. "This Congress must assure the millions of men and women who are the beneficiaries of these plans, and their families, that their money is well handled and their promised benefits properly safeguarded" (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Feb. 6, 1962, p. 1557).

The Moon Race: Go or Not, the Cost Will Be About the Same

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 10, 1963

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I submit an article entitled "The Moon Race" by Howard Simons which appeared in the October 29 issue of the Washington Post.

This is a thought-provoking article which explains that any cut in the lunar program or even a slowdown will not save us money in the long run. In fact, stretching out the program will actually raise the cost of Project Apollo.

The article follows:

THE MOON RACE: GO OR NOT, THE COST WILL BE ABOUT THE SAME

(By Howard Simons)

Whatever official Washington finally decides about the moon race—to go or not to go, or to slow down—the cost will be roughly the same.

It has been estimated that the U.S. moon program will cost $20 billion.

But even before Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev took his nation out of the race—temporarily, at least—American space agency officials were telling Congress this wasn't really so. The point that National Aeronautics and Space Administration officials were making was that the manned lunar landing, itself, will cost between $1 billion and $3 billion.

The rest of the $20 billion is earmarked for big rocket boosters, launching pads, technical and scientific know-how, unmanned exploration, and tracking stations. And, these will be needed whether Americans travel to the moon's surface or not.

Doubt has been expressed in some quarters that NASA will be able to get Americans to the moon in this decade and for $20 billion.

Informed sources yesterday said that in recent weeks NASA officials have reappraised the moon program in the light of rising costs and schedule slippages. Their conclusion: the moon effort will not cost more than $20 billion and the 1970 target date still looks good.

To meet both the fiscal and the calendar goals, however, will require some program changes. These are now being made. Though the informed sources would not comment on the nature of the program adjustments, they did say the changes will be announced soon.

Unless the United States wants to abandon space exploration altogether or leave space superiority to the Russians, there seems little value in abandoning the manned lunar landing.

This is the view of many space experts who hold that the manned lunar landing, in spite of all the attention focused upon it, has been merely a symbol.

But because of this symbol, the United States is now racing to build bigger boosters than the Russians have thus far demonstrated. Unless this development continues, the Russians will continue to dominate space.

Moreover, in the view of these experts, although the pace of the U.S. space program has been set by real political needs, the ultimate objectives have always been there. Thus, there are military and scientific and practical applications of space near the earth. And beyond the moon there are the planets.

In effect, what these experts maintain is that with or without Soviet sputniks, Americans would have wanted to explore the heavens. The only question is whether to do it in a hurry.

Slowing down NASA's effort to get men to the moon within this decade brings as much horror to many space experts as does the suggestion of abandoning this goal outright. This is so because they say that it will cost the American taxpayer more to slow down than to keep on a steady pace.

NASA officials estimate that a slowdown in the sense of chopping a few hundred million from their budget request this year would raise the total cost of Project Apollo $2 billion to $3 billion. Not everyone agrees with the NASA officials.

But few persons argue with the notion that a slowdown or stretchout would cost the moon program some of its best scientific and technical talent, who would quit to seek other jobs.

Commission on International Rules of Judicial Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, October 29, 1963

Mr. SHELLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to offer for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the report of the California State Bar's Committee on International Rules of Judicial Process which appeared in the July–August 1963 edition of the Journal of the State Bar of California.

It is a matter of pride to me that the California bar recognizes the importance to the States of the work being done by the Commission and Advisory Committee on International Rules of Judicial Procedure, established by the act of September 2, 1958.

The Congress now has before it a bill, H.R. 7051, introduced by Chairman CELLER, of the Judiciary Committee, on June 10, 1963, which embodies the amendments in our Federal statutes recommended by the Commission in its Fourth Annual Report, House Document No. 88, 88th Congress, 1st session.

A draft Uniform Interstate and International Procedure Act was presented to the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws and has been adopted by the Conference.

That part of the Commission's work which will be of most value to the individual businessman engaging in the international trade which is so vital to our economy, or to the individual citizen who must prove a foreign document, lies ahead.

Identical bills, S. 2131, introduced on September 10, 1963, by Senator HART of the Senate Judiciary Committee, H.R. 8650, introduced on September 30, 1963, by Chairman CELLER of the House Judiciary Committee, and H.R. 8832, introduced on October 15, 1963, by a member of that committee, the gentleman from New York Mr. JOHN V. LINDSAY, would extend the life of this valuable Commission for another 5 years beyond its present expiration date of December 31, 1963.

The article follows:

INTERNATIONAL RULES OF JUDICIAL PROCESS

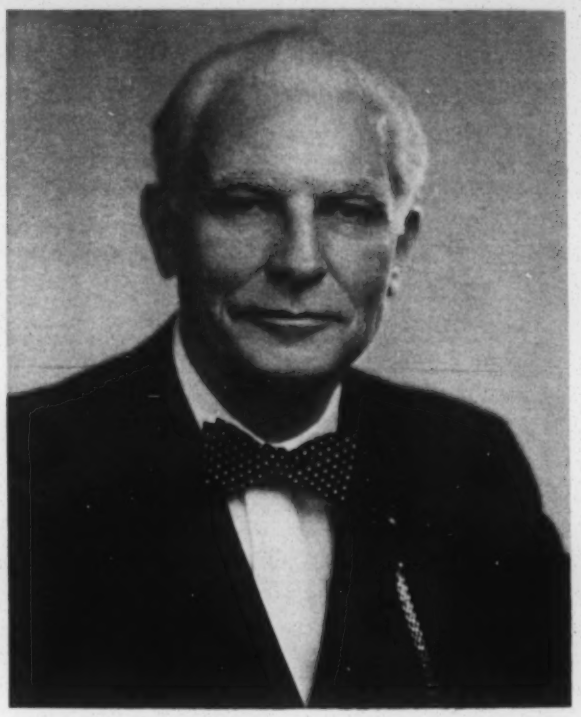
To the Board of Governors:

The committee has continued this year its study of the problems of judicial assistance and cooperation between the United States and other countries. A meeting was held during the State bar convention in Los Angeles. The subjects of discussion were the proposed amendments to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure 4(i) and 28(b) and the proposed Uniform Interstate and International Procedure Act. It was the feeling of the committee that the changes in the Federal rules were highly desirable. The committee's attention was, however, directed to a controversy that existed concerning the provisions of 4(i) in relation to making service in a foreign country by mail. Material on this matter has been obtained and placed before the committee for study.

As to the Uniform Interstate and International Procedure Act, the members of the

Pol. Gen. LWDV

YEAR END REPORT FROM SENATOR DODD



From our Nation's Capital, I extend to you a sincere wish for happiness during the Holiday Season and peace and prosperity in the New Year.

JOHN F. KENNEDY - IN MEMORIAM

The Holiday Season, sacred alike to those of the Christian and Jewish faiths, and rich in tradition for all Americans, comes to our nation's capital this year at a time of deepest grief.

John F. Kennedy, our friend and our President, has passed into history. His image need no longer be veiled or shrouded by the mists of partisanship or contention.

He was a man ideally equipped by nature and by training for the leadership of this nation and of the Free World in its crisis of survival.

He was born to wealth. He could have spent his days in idle pleasure and luxury or in the pursuit of some worthy but pleasant endeavor. Instead he chose the most difficult, the most demanding and the most burdensome of all careers--the path which led him to the Presidency of the United States and to that unforgettable November afternoon in Dallas.

There was a marvelous balance and proportion in John Kennedy that was not a product of our age but rather the result of a supreme lifetime effort to develop the qualities necessary to rise to the problems of our age.

He was thoughtful and reflective, yet he was a man of decision and action. He had great confidence and self-assurance, but there was nothing of conceit or arrogance in him. He was serious and solemn, yet he possessed a deep and rich vein of humor, which always flickered just beneath the surface and frequently came into view, lighting up his face and warming all around him.

He was always in the center of action, yet he had the capacity to look at himself objectively and dispassionately as though from a distance.

He demanded excellence of himself and made vast sacrifices to achieve it, yet he had a limitless compassion for the shortcomings of others.

He was a man of strong convictions, one who threw an almost superhuman effort into the struggle to have his convictions prevail; but he was never intolerant of the views of others, never dogmatic, always modest in victory and philosophic in defeat.

He could meet almost any man on his own level. He was scholar and athlete, soldier and writer, hero and intellectual, statesman and politician, a family man and a solitary man. Few American hearts were so narrow or hardened that John Kennedy could not join them on some common ground.

He was a blend of the idealist and the pragmatist - idealistic in the goals he set for American society, but eminently practical in his efforts to achieve those goals.

He had a fierce love of country which manifested itself not in hollow diatribes but in a total commitment of mind, spirit and body to the high purpose of making our nation strong and secure and of making our society conform more closely to our ancient national ideals.

It is a profound tragedy to see this beloved man, this friendly man, this husband, this father, brutally cut down in the flower of his life. It is a deeper tragedy to see a great life, a unique life, destroyed, wantonly and senselessly, in the midst of vast achievements, and on the threshhold of completion of a great design for human betterment to which he had consciously dedicated and disciplined his life.

The depth of our loss can be measured in some small way by the outpouring of emotion which plunged this nation and most of the world into grief. What cannot be measured is the full meaning of this tragedy for our country and for the causes we uphold in the world.

For in John F. Kennedy as President there was a singular joining of the man and the office. He had the intellect to perceive coolly and clearly the problems of the nation; the ingenuity to evolve solutions to those problems; the energy to press those solutions to a conclusion; the outward charm to win the hearts of people everywhere and the inner strength to win the respect of leaders of men.

He had three years of experience in the most powerful and demanding position on earth. He had mastered the job. He had the confidence of the people, the allegiance of our friends, the respect of our foes. On his shoulders rested the hope of free men everywhere.

All this --- laid in the dust by the bullets of a deranged assassin. The deeper tragedy, then, is the loss to our country and to the world. Every man, woman and child is wounded and harmed by this dreadful act.

From all sides and from all places there are reports of monuments being dedicated to the memory of President Kennedy. It is appropriate that this should be so. Let memorials be raised in all corners of this land which he loved so well and which loved him in return.

But I suggest that it is in pushing forward the great national causes to which he devoted his life that we can best pay tribute to our fallen leader.

In the midst of the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln said something that I think expresses a thought in all of our hearts. He was grieving over the loss of his beloved friend and ally Congressman Owen Lovejoy of Illinois. He was asked what he thought of a proposal to raise a statue in memory of his friend. He replied, "Let him have the marble monument, along with the well-assured and more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty, unselfishly, for all men."

It is in the hearts of the American people and grieving millions throughout the world that the truest memorial to John F. Kennedy resides.

Today in the White House a new President, Lyndon Johnson, has taken up the manifold burdens of our nation.

He, like his predecessor, is a man of great ability and high purpose who has devoted his entire adult life to the service of his country.

His first utterance as President was a plea for our help and for the help of God. He asks this help, not in any partisan cause but in a national cause, the cause of a strong and free America, the cause of equal rights for all, of improving the nation's schools, of reforming our tax policies, of creating jobs for all, the cause of moving forward as a united people to end bigotry and hatred and to take up the unfinished business before our nation.

The Congress and the people must give him this help, so that from an increased patriotism on the part of each of us we shall repair the terrible loss which has befallen all of us.

As we gather with our families in this Holiday Season, as we reflect upon the past year and look ahead to the new year, let us resolve to rise to the challenge which a youthful, buoyant, John F. Kennedy placed before us on his first day as President:

"Ask not what your country can do for you: ask what you can do for your country."

Thomas J. Dodd

U. S. Senator from Connecticut

Pol. Gen.

GOLDWATER FOR PRESIDENT
IN 1964

★ ★ ★

KENNEDY FOR KING

I pledge allegiance to the Kennedy Klan,
And to the dictatorship they demand,
Three "K's", indivisible, with unlimited power for all.

K K K

robert Kennedy - john Kennedy
edward Kennedy

G.O.P. Groups See Chance To Rebuild Party in South

POLITICS 10/30/66

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29—Two national Republican organizations said today the nomination of "demagogic candidates" in Southern Democratic primaries had provided the Republicans with an opportunity to build a strong, nonracist party in the South.

Republicans for Progress and the Ripon Society said in a joint statement that the nomination of segregationists for Governor in Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama and Maryland and for Congress in Louisiana had offended many "forward-looking Democrats and independents" in those states.

"These disaffected Democratic voters are natural recruits to a Republican crusade to save the South from those who condone terror, violence and defiance of law and order," the statement said.

The white backlash that resulted in segregationist victories this year will soon be "a dusty footnote in the history books," the groups said. "It is urgent that the Republican party seize its opportunity and rally responsible Southerners to fight for the leadership of a new South."

Integration Steps Urged

The statement accompanied publication of a 129-page report on the growth of the Republican party in the South in recent years, entitled "Southern Republicanism and the New South." The report points out that much of this growth has resulted from an influx of racists and recommends steps for integrated parties in the South.

"If the Republican party bets on the forces on the way up—the Negro, the moderate white middle class, the teacher—it will continue to grow," the report says. "Yet, should the Republican party choose instead for short-term gains to court segregationist whites, or Birchite

Continued on Page 63, Column 7

Republican Groups See a Chance Of Rebuilding the Party in South

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

extremists, it will surely pay a heavy penalty for decades."

Republicans for Progress, headed by Charles P. Taft of Cincinnati, is composed of Republican laymen, former officeholders and members of the Eisenhower Administration. It has been conducting a continuing study of the party in the South. The Ripon Society is composed of young Republican progressives with national headquarters in Cambridge, Mass. It was founded in Ripon, Wis.

In the statement, the organizations noted that Representative Charles L. Weltner, Democrat of Georgia, had withdrawn as a candidate for re-election because he could not support the Democratic nominee for Governor, Lester G. Maddox, a segregationist.

"Today, many Southerners, both white and Negro, share the distress of Congressman Weltner," the Republicans said. "If the Republican party is to rally these men and women to its banners in 1966 and the years ahead, it must offer them a real choice, not merely an echo of Democratic racism."

The statement failed to point out that some of the Republican nominees in the South are also segregationists. Representative Weltner has said that Mr. Maddox's opponent, Representative Howard Callaway, also supports segregation but uses "code names" for it.

The authors of the statement, however, suggested that candidates like Mr. Callaway could be drawn into a more moderate position.

"Failure by Republican candidates to differentiate their positions on race from those of their all-out segregationist Democratic opponents may result in large-scale nonvoting by forward-looking Southern voters," the statement said.

"Republican chances of defeating Lester Maddox depend heavily upon the ability of the Republican gubernatorial candidate, Congressman Callaway, to rally the support of racially moderate Georgians. Political pragmatism and moral imperatives coincide to require that the Republican candidates such as Callaway cast their lot with those who are fighting for a new South."

The statement said both national parties should formulate programs to combat racism, North and South. Congressional leaders, it said, should announce their intention to see that any candidate for the House or Senate who runs "an outspokenly racist campaign" will be denied committee chairmanships in the 90th Congress.

In the report, the authors list these recommendations for combating racism:

¶That the Republican National Committee require any state party having a discriminatory clause in its party platform or rules to repeal the provision without delay.

¶That the party on all levels make a "concerted effort" to see that a significant number of the new Negro registrants are Republicans.

¶That the national committee reactivate its minorities division and place staff workers in the field to recruit racial minorities.

The report was written by John C. Topping Jr., John R. Lazarek and William H. Linder, all members of the Ripon Society. Their recommendations were endorsed by both organizations.

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POLITICS

Johnson Must Fit Legislation To Dominant Dixie Democrats

KC 1/23/67

By MARJORIE HUNTER

(Copyright 1967 by The New York Times Co.)

WASHINGTON — Administration strategy in the months ahead is likely to rest heavily on tailoring legislation to fit the Southern Democratic bloc in the House.

Southern Democrats now hold the balance of power in Congress. No one is more aware of this than a man who grew up in that lively school of politics, Lyndon Baines Johnson.

Without Southern Democratic votes, the administration cannot hoep to salvage many of its Great Society programs. Without Southern Democratic votes, Republican efforts ot block or alter administration programs will be futile, too.

It is all a matter of arithmetic: There are now 245 Democrats and 187 Republicans in the House.

The administration can count on 140 to 170 Democratic votes, depending on the issue. It might also win 10 to 35 liberal or moderate Republican votes, again depending on the issue.

In either event, without sutstantial Southern Democratic support, the administration would fall short of the necessar 216 majority if all members wer present and voting.

Republicans too cannot go it alone. A certain number of liberal Republicans have voted more often with the Democrats than with their own party. But even with no Republican defections at all, at least 30 Democratic votes would be needed to trim or alter administration programs.

Until recently it had been assumed that most of the 83 southern Democrats, more in tune with the Republicans than with liberals of their own party, would automatically vote with the Republicans on most domestic issues.

But many southern Democrats are showing signs of growing resentment over repeated statements by Republican leaders that they will not actively court Southern Democratic votes in the House.

Republican leaders wa,t to carve out an image of their own, particularly in the South, where they have picked up congressional seats and other political offices in recent years. Hoping to make further inroads in the South, they feel they would be giving Sluthern Democrats a "free ride" by forming an open coalition witht hem.

Said one Republican leader:

Said one Republican leader:

"Southern Democrats could keep right on asking 'Why elect a Republican? I vote just as conservatively as any Republican.' "

Most Southern Democrats are conservative, some far more than many Northern and Western Republicans. Also, there is general hostiilty to President Johnson and his GreatSociety throughout much of the South.

But many Southern Democrats, unwilling to be taken for granted by Republicans, are casting around for the best bargaining position.

"There will bet imes when the administration and the Republicans will be damn glad to have votes from us," said Rep. Joe D. Waggoner Jr. of Louisiana, one of the most conservative of the Southern Democrats.

There is as yet no consensus among the Southerners as to ho best to make their influence felt.

There has been talk of creating a loosely knit organization, with staff and researchers, patterned somewhat along the lines of the Democratic study group, composed of about 140 House Democratic liberals.

Rep. Alton Lennon, D-N.C., favors an even more organized conservative organization, open not only to Southern Democrats but to other Democratic conservatives, largely from border states.

So far, the idea of setting up an organization has met with little favor among Southern Democrats.

"I don't want anybody telling me how to vote," said Rep. Basil Whitener, D-N.C.

Rep. Omar Burleson, D-Texas, one of the most popular of the Southern conservatives, also is opposed to such an organization.

POLITICS

Democrats Seeking To Mix Delegates?

2/17/67

By GENE ROBERTS

(Copyright 1967 by the New York Times Co.)

A move is developing among some Democratic national committeemen to close the doors of the 1968 convention to any Southern delegation that does not have Negro members and does not promise to uphold federal civil rights laws.

The plan is outlined in a seven-page set of proposals that is awaiting action in March by the special Equal Rights Committee of the Democratic National Committte.

The proposals are still regarded as confidential by their authors—members of an equal rights subcommittee headed by Mrs. Mildred Jeffrey, Democratic committeewoman from Michigan. But they are being quietly circulated in the South and are delighting white liberals and Negroes.

FIGHT LOOMS

However, the proposals promise to touch off a major fight from segregationist Democrats.

State Senator Edgar A. Brown, a member of the Equal Rights Committee from South Carolina, called the proposals "obnoxious" and said they were certain to cause "dissension, division and controversy" within the party.

One of the proposals would make it "prima facie evidence of discrimination" for any state with a population that is more than 20 per cent Negro to select a convention delegation that has less than 10 per cent Negro representation.

Another proposal would bar convention seats to delegations that do not present a document —signed by two top officers of the state Democratic party — pledging support for the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

THIRD PROPOSAL

A third proposal would allow the credentials committee to seat a rival integrated delegation if any regular delegation refused to desegregate or to sig nthe proper pledges.

Louis Martin, deputy director for minorities of the Democratic National Committee, said it was unfortunate that the proposals had been circulated in the South.

He said they were only "working proposals" prepared by a

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

Democratic Move Seeks All-White Delegation Ban

Continued from Page 1

"three-member subcommittee headed by Mrs. Jeffrey and that it was possible that other proposals are being drafted for the March meeting of the special Equal Rights Committee. Mrs. Jeffrey could not be reached for comment.

However, sources in the South said they unlderstood that there was enough support within the full Equal Rights Committee to get the proposals placed intact before the Democratic National Committee at its March 9 and 10 meeting in Washington.

The proposals are written as if majority approval by the Equal Rights Committee was only a formality.

The national committee appointed the panel in January 1965 to carry out an "Equal Rights" resolution adopted by the 1964 Democratic National Convention after a dispute arose over the seating of rival Mississippi delegations.

Other national committee members of the equal rights panel are: Mrs. Helen T. Gunsett, Ohio; Eugene L. Wyman, California; Stephen L. R. McNichols, Colorado; Mrs. Eugene M. Locke, Texas; Mrs. Mary E. Fantasia, Massachusetts, and E. Franklin Jackson, District of Columbia.

Brown, who said he could not recall being invited to any meetings of the Equal Rights Committee, said a major convention fight could develop if the proposals were forwarded to the convention's credentials committee.

"I'll sign no such damned thing," Brown said of the provision requiring a state party to say that it "fully supports" compliance with the Civil Rights and Voting Rights acts.

Other proposals would:

1. Bar any delegate, who has, at any time since the 1964 Democratic National Convention, in any way obstructed or urged or cooperated in the obstruction of, any person from registering or voting in elections in that state on grounds of race or color.

2. Ban delegates chosen from election districts "drawn for the purpose of avoiding Negro representation" or chosen from conventions that have not been "fully advertised."

DEMOCRATS FACE LOSSES IN SENATE

POLITICS

Of 23 Up for Re-election in '68, Half Are in Trouble—Ages and War Factors

5/29/67

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 28—On the office wall of the junior Senator from South Dakota is a framed certificate bearing two printed words: "Why Vietnam?" Beneath these is bold handwriting that proclaims: "To George McGovern in my search for peace not only in Vietnam but in all the world. Lyndon B. Johnson."

Mr. McGovern, a Democrat, is one of the most outspoken Congressional critics of President Johnson's policies in Vietnam. He received the certificate at the White House during the early stages of the Vietnam buildup when the President was still trying to pacify the Senate doves.

The Senator is no longer invited to the White House to discuss the war, but the certificate survives as a symbol of the political troubles that are piling up for Mr. McGovern and other Senate Democrats.

Of the 23 Senators of Mr. Johnson's party who are up for re-election next year, more than half may either be forced to retire or face difficult opposition in winning a new term, a matter of growing concern to the national party.

The war, age, crumbling state party organizations, resurgent Republicanism, public disaffection with the Johnson Administration and personal problems are afflicting the Democratic class that was elected in 1962 when the Democratic party was in its ascendancy under the leadership of John F. Kennedy. That year, the Democrats gained four Senate seats, a tremen-

Continued on Page 12, Column 4

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 29, 1967

Democrats Face Losses in the Senate

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

dous victory for an off-year election.

Senator McGovern acknowledges that he is in trouble for several reasons. He is young—age 44—vigorous and a hard worker. But he has chosen to be a dove while representing a constituency that is mostly hawkish, and he said in a recent interview that his mail contained a mixture of complaints about his stand on Vietnam and of condolences for the consequences of his courage.

Probably a greater handicap, however, is the fact that South Dakota is predominantly Republican. Senator McGovern won by only 597 votes in 1962 after almost single-handedly building a Democratic party in that state.

Because of a deep dissatisfaction with the Johnson Administration in South Dakota, the Republican party there is on the rise. Although Senator McGovern has opposed the Administration's farm policies and disagrees with the President on Vietnam, he said any Democratic candidate was likely to have trouble in 1968, barring a great change in the political climate.

Other Senators who advocated a reduced military effort in Vietnam face political problems at home. Frank Church of Idaho is the subject of a recall petition started by groups on the far right. Wayne Morse of Oregon has suffered a drastic loss in popularity, according to a recent poll and makes frequent trips to Oregon in an effort to mend fences.

J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has been the subject of much criticism in his home state because of his stand on Vietman. Former Gov. Orval E. Faubus, who endorses the President's Vietnam policy, has said he is considering running for Mr. Fulbright's seat.

A recent statement by 16 doves advising Hanoi that most of the American people either favor the President's war policy or advocate an even greater military effort was intended in part to reduce the political opposition against those who face re-election next year.

Age, however, may be a larger threat to more Senators than the war. The average age of the 23 Democrats is 64. Five will be past 70 at the time of

Senator George McGovern

Dodd, also of Connecticut, for alleged misuse of funds.

"Either way Senator Ribicoff votes, he will offend Democrats back home," the party official said.

Daniel B. Brewster of Maryland is in trouble within his own state party, and his position was not enhanced by a recent divorce and remarriage, party sources said. He is also expected to face strong Republican opposition.

A. S. Mike Monroney, who will be 66 next year, is said to be worried about a surge of Republican strength in Oklahoma.

To help those up for re-election, the Senatorial Campaign Committee has allocated about $15,000 for each Senator for use this year. Most of the money, part of the $700,000 raised at a party dinner held here recently, will go to pay for the Senators to make additional trips home for fence mending.

McGovern's Plans for 1968

WASHINGTON, May 28 (UPI)—Senator McGovern said today that he would run for re-election next year as a "ballot mate" of President Johnson's despite his criticism of the Administration's Vietnam policies.

In a televised interview on the Columbia Broadcasting System's Face the Nation, he stood by his recent description of the war as "the most tragic diplomatic and moral failure in our national experience" and his charge of a "credibility gap as wide as the Grand Canyon" in the Administration.

But he said that he agreed with most of the President's domestic programs. He also praised Mr. Johnson for "commendable restraint" in the United States war effort and said that it had taken "a considerable amount of courage and some real imagination and vision" to push for improved East-West trade relations at this time.

Arizona will be 91, Ernest Greuning of Alaska 81, Lister Hill of Alamaba 74, Frank J. Lausche of Ohio 73 and Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina 72.

Party leaders are not so worried about their possible inability as they are about the fact that American voters are becoming younger and in recent years have shown a tendency to turn out officials of advanced age.

Six of the 11 Republicans whose terms expire next year will be 70 or older. George D. Aiken of Vermont will be 76, Wallace F. Bennett of Utah 70, Frank Carlson of Kansas 75, Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois 72, Bourke D. Hickenlooper of Iowa 72 and Milton R. Young of North Dakota 71.

Most of the Republicans, however, are from traditional Republican states and are likely to be succeeded by Republicans, whereas most of the Democrats could be easily replaced by Republicans.

George A. Smathers of Florida has announced he will not seek re-election because of a health problem.

Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania is reported to be in deep trouble, primarily because his chief base of support, the Democratic organization in Philadelphia, has crumbled.

Edward V. Long of Missouri is faced with the recent charge of Life magazine—which he denied—that he used his office to try to keep James R. Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, out of jail.

A high party source said Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut has been placed in a precarious position by the Senate move to censure Thomas J.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1967

POLITICS

Wallace Is Pleased by Receptions in Wisconsin and Michigan

By DONALD JANSON

Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, June 18 — George C. Wallace returned to Alabama today, encouraged by friendly receptions to campaign appearances this weekend in Wisconsin and Michigan.

The former Alabama Governor, visiting the 11th and 12th states on a national tour to enlist support for his unannounced Presidential candidacy, was most pleased with the response last night in Michigan. He said it demonstrated that his appeal was not racist.

Some 500 members of the upper peninsula Association of American Legion posts and their wives cheered his attacks on big government, antiwar demonstrators and court restrictions that he said "hamper" the police in their efforts to prevent a "breakdown" of law and order.

Doors Kept Locked

Uniformed policemen stood guard at each end of the speakers table and all but one door to the sprawling Escanaba High School building were locked while Mr. Wallace addressed a Legion banquet. The action was taken at the insistence of the six Alabama state troopers whom Mr. Wallace brought along.

Mr. Wallace sought to associate himself with the Legion by telling of his own membership in Alabama and by declaring that the "ivory tower theoreticians" and "anarchists" who opposed his views also hated the views of the Legion.

The audience, quiet at first, quickly warmed up and laughed frequently at Mr. Wallace's sallies against the "liberal press" and "misuse" of academic freedom and the right to dissent.

They cheered when he declared that if he were President "the intellectual incompetents who say the right of dissent gives you the right to give aid and comfort to our enemy in Vietnam should be treated for what they are, traitors to our country."

As he has since he began his spasmodic tour in April, Mr. Wallace directed his plea to the "little man" who he contends is being sharply restricted by guidelines for living laid down by Federal agencies and is being misinformed by "liberal thinkers" of the Eastern establishment whose influence he said rules both major political parties and makes his third party effort necessary.

"I used to be a cab driver," he said. "I find that today they know more about why ve're in Vietnam than some of those Yale professors.

"They knew by instinct that Castro was a Communist when The New York Times was calling him the Robin Hood of the Caribbean," he went on.

"The average man in the street knows what's going on and he's getting mighty sick and tired of having the intellectual giants laying down guidelines for everything he does."

Gets a Rising Ovation

The Legionnaires gave him a rising ovation, interspersed with shouts of "hooray for Wallace!" At Legion drum and bugle corps exercises at an Escanaba athletic field later, a crowd of 1,000 rose to applaud the Alabamian.

The crowd at an open house in a Milwaukee hotel ballroom the night before was smaller but more boisterous. More than 300 persons gave Mr. Wallace prolonged cheers when he told his listeners that he would take his "movement" "the length and breadth of the land to give the people a choice in 1968."

Mr. Wallace was proudest of the reception in Upper Michigan. He pointed outl ater that the area has almost no Negroes and no race problem, that his appeal could not be "racist" as his opponents so often contend.

Despite friendly receptions, weekend foray demonstrated no groundswell of support. Turnouts at the airport and at the open house in Milwaukee were small. And any joy sparked in the Wallace camp by the Escansba visit was tempered by a boycott by a sizable segment of legionnaires who would have been on hand if Mr. Wallace had stayed home.

Edward J. Dundon, judge advocate of the upper peninsula association, sought in vain to have the Wallace speech canceled. He and a group he put at "50 to 60" boycotted the banquet. Joseph Paul, a former state commander of the Legion, dropped out as toastmaster and a Michigan Congressman, two State Senators and a State Representative declined to attend the Legion parade because Mr. Wallace had been invited to review it.

The Alabamian took the hassle in stride. He said he provoked controversy everywhere he went and that it had become "a status symbol."

The next stop on Mr. Wallace's campaign trial will be a "pre-harvest festival" on Friday at McComb, Ohio, and an address to the Arkansas Press Association in Hot Springs on Saturday.

Wrestler Becomes Evangelist

FORT WORTH, Tex. (UPI) —Tommy Phelps traded grunts and groans for prayer and Scripture quotations. Mr. Phelps, once known as "Nature Boy," had long blond hair and wore tights and wrestled for a living. Now his hair is black and he wears a suit and tie and he is an evangelist.

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A WALLACE DRIVE OPENS IN CAROLINA

POLITICS

Group Formed in Columbia Is Arranging Speeches

7/2/67

Special to The New York Times

COLUMBIA, S.C., July 1—A George C. Wallace "Stand Up For America" group is arranging speaking engagements in South Carolina for the former Alabama Governor.

Five members of the state House of Representatives, four Democrats and one Republican, were among the sponsors for the first meeting of the group this week.

Serving on the steering committee is a national director of the John Birch Society, Dr. Thomas H. Parker of Greenville.

At the organizational meeting here, Mayor Jerry Varn of Ehrhardt, who helped erect the first "Impeach Earl Warren" billboard in the country near his small town almost five years ago, was at the head table.

Bill Jones, manager of the Wallace campaign headquarters in Montgomery, made it clear that the new group, called the Wallace Forum Association of South Carolina would officially sponsor speeches and other appearances by Mr. Wallace.

The first is scheduled July 18 in Greenville, a conservative Piedmont textile center, and others are scheduled in Columbia in November and in Charleston early next year.

G.O.P. 'Front' Denied

Frank B. Best of Orangeburg, owner of the conservative-oriented radio station WDIX, is chairman of the Wallace Forum Association. He denied as "simply not true" a charge by Elmer E. Bessinger, a segregationist who is chairman of the South Carolina Independents, that the new group was a "front" for the state's Republican party.

The Republican state chairman, Harry S. Dent, also denied that his party was involved in the Wallace movement.

Mr. Dent said Mr. Bessinger apparently had been rejected by Mr. Wallace and was trying to use the Republican party as a "whipping boy to dethrone a rival pro-Wallace group in this state."

The Republican leader said a statement of charges by Mr. Bessinger on Republican involvement was "replete with

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The Republican leader said a statement of charges by Mr. Bessinger on Republican involvement was "replete with gross errors and exaggerations."

Mr. Bessinger announced last week that he would work to have the South Carolina Independents certified as an official party. He wants to run a slate of candidates for county and state offices on a ballot with Mr. Wallace at the top. Mr. Bessinger led a 1964 drive to get Mr. Wallace's name on the ballot by petition. The move was dropped after the nomination of Barry Goldwater by the Republicans.

The South Carolina Wallace organization is patterned after that of Virginia. It was set up after a meeting last month in Columbia between T. Coleman Andrews Jr. of Richmond and members of the South Carolina Steering Committee.

Mr. Andrews, the son of the former Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the Eisenhower Administration, heads the Wallace organization in Virginia. He is a member of the Virginia Legislature who says he quit the John Birch Society because of criticisms of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower made by Robert Welch, the society's founder.

At this week's meeting, Mr. Best told the group:

"This is not a Wallace Campaign Committee, but eventually this may develop."

The meeting opened with a prayer and a standing pledge of allegiance to the United States flag, which was flanked behind the head table by the Confederate flag and the state flag of South Carolina.

teen-agers as well as older men and women and working people. It was a group that might have been found at a typical midweek church meeting in a small Southern town.

Mr. Jones said "high type" people would run the Wallace campaign in South Carolina. But, he said, "the tone of the campaign and the issues on which he stands" will be determined by Mr. Wallace "if one of the major parties fails to get his message."

(C+d file) POLITICS

FORUM REPORTS

No. 1 GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY FORUM October 16, 1967

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE STARTING

Several copies of our newly-printed flyer are enclosed. Members may obtain more from the Forum office. We're now ready to roll! If each member will get another Georgian to join each month, we'll soon have the biggest roster of loyal Democrats ever put together in the state. Send and give these flyers to your friends. See that interested organizations circulate it. Local Democratic clubs will want to encourage their members to join so that they'll have a say in our statewide movement. In subsequent Newsletters we will acknowledge these efforts to promote the Forum, so let us know what you're doing.

MADDOX TO CHOOSE DELEGATES

Reversing progressive steps of the previous administration, Governor Maddox pushed through a rules change which now allows him to appoint Georgia's delegates to the Democratic Party's National Convention, now set for late August in Chicago. Forum Chairman, E. T. Kehrer said of this in a public statement: "The Maddox takeover of the Georgia Democratic Party is now virtually complete" and went on to indicate that the Forum will "see that loyal Democrats in Georgia are adequately represented at the national convention if Mr. Maddox is unable or unwilling to do so."

FORUM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FORMING

As provided for at the founding meeting in May, Forum members in each county are to select from one to six persons to serve on the statewide Executive Committee, the number to be determined by the county's population. If this hasn't been done in your area, write us about the necessary steps to get your representation chosen in time for a late fall meeting.

MADDOX WATCHERS SEE MOVE TO GO ALL-OUT FOR WALLACE!

That was a headline recently, not unlike others we've been seeing in recent months. It now seems certain that the question is not whether Maddox will support Wallace, but in what way and when. Will he come out openly, or just continue to use sign language or code words which everyone understands - while on alternate days he claims to be a good Democrat?

STANDARDS FOR STATE DELEGATIONS PROPOSED

Headed by Governor Hughes of New Jersey, an Equal Rights Committee has proposed guidelines to the Democratic National Committee which would require that convention delegates commit themselves to support the nominees of the convention. Also, they have proposed standards by which delegations would be judged in terms of racial representation. If a state is found to be in violation, Governor Hughes said his committee will recommend to the Convention Credentials Committee that its delegation be barred and that the vacant seats be filled "with a delegation broadly representative of the Democrats of that state." Translated into Georgia terms, this means watchbirds watching the watchers every which-a-way!

THE FORUM AND THE FUTURE

You can feel it in the air - and on the newsprint! An election year is fast approaching: One which will be determinative for Georgia and the Democratic Party. Since the Forum's launching in May we've watched the Dixicrat ghosts of yesterday come alive again to cast a pall over Democratic Party prospects in 1968. Any doubt as to the return of separatism and a vacuum in leadership has been removed by weekly - and sometimes more frequent - murmurings from the Party's titular leader who seeks to rekindle a Dixicratism we'd hoped was gone with the wind. Thoughtful and progressive-minded Georgians will not be left stranded again, however. A new current, first evident in the write-in movement, is moving through the state. It knows that right-wing Republicanism is only dressed up Dixicratism. Georgians who believe in the principles and ideals of the Democratic Party will not be isolated from the mainstream this time. National leaders know there's a different drum beat in Georgia today than just the worn-out Dixicratism of the Griffins and Talmadges. The Georgia Democratic Party Forum is slowly but surely building a statewide fellowship of moderate and liberal thinking citizens who believe that the Democratic Party is the best instrument for continued progress. As the lines are drawn in the coming Presidential year, we may emerge as one of the few statewide forces willing and ready to support the national ticket. While we take no pleasure in the return of a myopic, region-bound stance to official party echelons - neither will we stand idly by while the party of FDR and JFK is once more subverted in Georgia. State Chairman James Gray (a reactionary Republican disguised as a Dixicrat) says that Georgia Democrats may not conduct a vigorous campaign for the presidential ticket if the national party does not grant concessions to Southern views. Does he think we've forgotten that it was only Governor Sanders in 1964 who worked vigorously for the national ticket? Or where Mr. Gray himself was in 1964? He and his kind can just go on off to Spain now if they're going to quibble about whether they're Democrats or not. At least from overseas it would be more difficult for him to give help under the table to his political cousin, Ronald Reagon, who might be carrying the Republican banner.....All of which adds up to an obvious imperative for the Forum to move ahead to create the apparatus necessary to fill the void next year. It may be, as one high-ranking state party official put it, that the most we can hope for is for our titular leader to sit on his hands, wearing his Wallace button only on Tuesdays and Thursdays. But this isn't enough for good Democrats who want to get out and work for the ticket. The Forum has declared itself as committed to the national party and, furthermore, for as equally progressive a platform as we had in 1964, and we intend to fill the gaps if the old guard can not or will not.

THE 1964 DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM: PROMISE & PERFORMANCE

EDUCATION: "The demands on the already inadequate sources of state and local revenues place a serious limitation on education. New methods of financial aid must be explored, including the channeling of federally collected revenues to all levels of education."

Action: $1.3 billion in the first year for aid to educationally deprived children from low-income families and grants for books, research, and training. Signed into law, April 11, 1965.

Republican Party Vote: 73% of House Republicans against final passage.

VOTING RIGHTS: "The rights of all our citizens must be protected....We are firmly pledged to continue the Nation's march towards the goals of equal treatment for all Americans."

Action: Provisions to enforce the 15th Amendment and authorization of federal registrars where local officials discriminate against potential Negro voters. Signed into law, August 6, 1965.

Republican Party Vote: 85% of House Republicans voted to kill the bill.

HOUSING: "The goals of our housing program must be a decent home for all Americans."

Action: Expanded housing program, including rent supplements for low-income families, housing rehabilitation grants and public housing for the handicapped. Signed into law, August 10, 1965.

Republican Party Vote: 97% of House Republicans voted to kill the bill. 87% of House Republicans and 47% of Senate Republicans voted against final passage.

MEDICARE: "We will continue to fight until we have succeeded in including hospital care for older Americans in the Social Security program."

Action: A basic hospital insurance program under Social Security, a voluntary health insurance program and a 7% increase in old age and survivors benefits. Signed into law, July 30, 1965.

Republican Party Vote: 93% of House Republicans voted to kill the bill. 53% of House Republicans and 52% of Senate Republicans voted against final passage.

MANPOWER TRAINING: "We must develop fully our most precious resource - our manpower. Training and retraining programs must be expanded."

Action: Extension and expansion of the Manpower Development and Training Act and a new job development program. Signed into law, April 26, 1965.

Republican Party Vote: 71% of House Republicans voted against final passage.

MINIMUM WAGE: "The coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act must be extended to all workers employed in industries affecting interstate commerce....agricultural and migratory workers must be given equal protection and economic encouragement."

Action: Extension of coverage to 8.1 million new workers and minimum wage coverage for agricultural workers. $1.60 per hour effective 1968. Signed into law, September 23, 1966.

Republican Party Vote: 72% of House Republicans voted to kill the bill.

ANTI-POVERTY: "We will carry the War on Poverty forward as a total war against the causes of human want."

Action: Expansion of Economic Opportunity Act. Signed into law, October 9, 1965.

Republican Party Vote: 90% of House Republicans voted to kill the bill. 82% of House Republicans and 69% of Senate Republicans voted against final passage.

APPALACHIA: "We will move forward with programs to restore those areas, such as Appalachia, which the Nation's progress has by-passed."

Action: A 6 year $1.1 billion economic development program for the depressed 11-state Appalachia region (includes Georgia). Signed into law, March 9, 1965.

Republican Party Vote: 81% House Republicans and 69% Senate Republicans against final passage.

(Editorial Note: This is just a sampling. Need we say more?)

BO CALLAWAY TRIES TO REWRITE HISTORY: Endeavoring to explain away his defeat, the sometime Republican gubernatorial candidate has implied that there were sinister persons at the helm of the Write-In Georgia movement who really wanted Maddox. Since the Forum was originally an outgrowth of the W.I.G. undertaking, would this seem to be substantiated by our editorial viewpoint on the opposite page? Bo goes on to suggest that the little people "who voted for the write-in didn't know what, in effect, they were doing.", the implication being, and sometimes stated by Bo, that he was somehow or another the lesser of two evils. We have yet to meet such people, for it was our experience that the little people saw Bo for the dressed-up Dixicrat he is, a part of the sorry Republican record above, who would only have served to make right-wing politics more palatable than the present incumbent is able to do.

FULTON COUNTY FORUM MEMBERS: Until other local Democratic Party county structures are formed (probably by Forum members), it's only in Fulton that you can actually join and work within the official Democratic Party. Be sure you're a member of the Fulton County Democratic Party and that you keep your dues paid up!

GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY FORUM
Suite 1422 40 Marietta Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY FORUM

"I hope you will extend to all participants in the Georgia Democratic Party Forum my warm greetings. I welcome your announced strong support and that of all Georgia Democrats for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket."

—Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice-President of the United States

"Your pledge to promote progressive ideals will mean much to all Georgians."

—Horace T. Ward, State Senator

"Congratulations on the formation of the Georgia Democratic Party Forum, and my best regards to all of those present . . ."

—James A. Mackay, Former Congressman

"I commend your efforts to bring about in Georgia a party truly representative of the great traditions which have for so long been the common bond among Democrats"

—Virgil L. Musser, President, National Young Democrats

Excerpts from Messages read at the Fourm's Founding Meeting:

POLITICS

Bham News

EMBLEM REJECTED

NDP registration papers returned

BY DAN DOWE
News staff writer

MONTGOMERY

The Alabama version of the National Democratic Party was back at the starting gate today—without a donkey to ride upon.

The Huntsville-based political organization, which apparently hopes to capture both presidential electors and Democratic convention delegates, pledged to President Johnson, had its registration papers returned Tuesday by Secretary of State Mabel Amos.

MRS. AMOS' action was based on an attorney general's opinion that the National Democratic Party, which filed for registration in Alabama Jan. 12, has an emblem which is too similar to those of two other parties to be acceptable.

The new party's emblem is a donkey, surrounded by a circle in which the words, "The National Democratic Party," are imposed.

Chief Asst. Atty. Gen. John Bookout held that both the donkey and the word "Democratic" in the emblem are "very likely to mislead substantial numbers of voters."

Bookout's opinion cited an Alabama law which forbids the secretary of state from certifying any new party emblem "which is likely to mislead any voter."

THE ALABAMA Independent Democratic Party, which filed its papers Dec. 6, has already adopted a donkey as an emblem. The party, headed by David Vann of Birmingham, hopes to place a slate of electors pledged to President Johnson on the general election ballot if former Gov. George Wallace captures the electors of the regular Democratic Party in Alabama.

And the regular party, which has the word, "Democratic," under its traditional rooster emblem, also figured in the attorney general's opinion.

The next step in attempting to register the National Democratic Party is up to chairman Alvis Howard Jr. of Huntsville. He conceivably could win certification without an emblem, since three other parties have already done so.

Or he could submit an emblem which includes neither a donkey nor the word "Democratic."

POLITICS

PUBLIC NOTICE

For purposes of electing delegates to the Democratic National Convention who are representative of the Democrats of Georgia and who will support and work for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential Nominees of the Democratic Party, announcement is hereby made of the convening of -

THE GEORGIA CONVENTION OF LOYAL NATIONAL DEMOCRATS

Dempsey Hotel - Macon, Ga.

August 10, 1968

10:30 A.M.

WHO MAY PARTICIPATE?

All registered Georgia voters who are members of the Democratic Party and who will signify their intentions to support and work for the 1968 Presidential and Vice-Presidential Nominees of the Democratic Party. Membership in the Georgia Democratic Party Forum is not required.

WHO IS SPONSORING THIS CONVENTION?

Seventy members of the statewide Executive Committee of the Georgia Democratic Party Forum met in Atlanta on June 29th and determined that the Maddox delegation to the Democratic National Convention should be challenged. The Forum's Steering Committee met in Macon on July 6th to determine the date and place for this convention.

WHY A CHALLENGE?

Because loyal Georgia Democrats have had no voice in the selection of delegates, nor is the Maddox appointed and led slate in any way representative of the Democratic Party in Georgia. Maddox has hand-picked a group who will operate under the unit rule and do his bidding. Maddox is openly for the candidate of another party and has indicated that he may not support any Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party. Furthermore, he has suggested that not only might he walk out - he would run! Neither Mr. Maddox nor many of his appointees meet the test in the Call for the Democratic National Convention which says that delegates shall be "bona fide Democrats who have the interests, welfare and success of the Democratic Party at heart" and who will "participate in the Convention in good faith." The inclusion of only three Negroes as voting delegates (out of 64 voting delegates), and a total of only six out of 107 delegates and alternates, is hardly in conformity with the requirement of the Special Equal Rights Committee which said that delegations must be "broadly representative of the Democrats of the State."

WHAT PROCEDURES WILL BE FOLLOWED IN MACON?

It will be recommended to the Macon Convention that a procedure be adopted calling for a caucus period at which time participants from each Congressional District (areas proportioned according to population) will select four delegate nominees and one alternate, the slate from each District to be voted upon in plenary session after an opportunity has been provided for further nominations from the floor. Consideration will also be given to those few of the Maddox appointees who may meet the criteria of the Convention Call and who will consent to their nomination.

WHAT ABOUT THE CANDIDATES?

The Democratic Party Forum takes no position as between various announced Democratic Party presidential candidates, but welcomes to the Macon Convention all loyal Democrats who will signify their intention to support the Party's nominees. Those elected in Macon to go to the Democratic National Convention will be free to vote their preference if seated.

WHO ELSE IS GOING TO MACON?

Loyal Georgia Democrats from all parts of the State have been involved in planning for the Macon convention. For information on key persons in your area, write the Georgia Democratic Party Forum. Talk with your friends about going. Arrange car pools to Macon. Watch for word about chartered busses, or have some organization you belong to arrange one. We should be finished by 5:00 P.M., so you can get home the same day.

* * * * * * * *

COME TO MACON AND HELP PUT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY BACK IN THE HANDS OF LOYAL GEORGIA DEMOCRATS. DON'T LET LESTER MADDOX SPEAK FOR US IN CHICAGO!

* * * * * * * *

For Further Information Contact:

THE GEORGIA DEMOCRATIC PARTY FORUM
E. T. Kehrer, Chairman
P. O. Box 863
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

The Republican
SOUTHERN
CHALLENGE

Published by the Republican National Committee, Southern Division, 1625 Eye St. N.W., Washington, D. C.

Pol. Gen.

EDITORS
FOR
RELEASE UPON
RECEIPT

LWD, VJ, PA, VB, BP

Eyes of Nation on Nov. 5 Vote—

Two-Party Drive Roars Across Mississippi; Phillips Tops Slate!

Stanford Morse Seeks Lt. Governorship; 20 Vie for Legislature

The challenge of the century confronts the voters of Mississippi!

For the first time, they have the opportunity to vote for the two-party system. If they do, they will win the power to make the national political parties compete for their votes in future elections, and at the same time, set the pace in a South already afire with two-party gains.

At the head of the two-party ticket is Rubel Phillips—former chairman of the State Public Service Commission, proven administrator, articulate conservative.

The candidate for lieutenant governor is Stanford Morse—two-term State Senator, vital force in the legislature, leader in obtaining reapportionment.

Backing up the state-wide ticket are 20 legislative candidates—businessmen, community leaders, exceptionally qualified by experience and training for the offices they seek.

The Mississippi campaign has already won national attention, and, almost certainly, more will be forthcoming as the press seeks information on the "new" South.

Issues in the campaign have been crystallized. In addition to state objectives—such as Phillips' plank for a state merit system—the issues are identical to those in many Southern states: The need for competitive, two-party government; recognition that the liberal Democrat Party no longer represents the Jeffersonian concepts of Southerners; and, of course, the issue of "The Kennedys."

SHAKE, PARTNER!—U. S. Senator Barry Goldwater, left, congratulates Rubel Phillips, Republican candidate for governor of Mississippi.

The vote in the Mississippi gubernatorial contest could reveal whether the Kennedys can take the South for granted in 1964, as they have in the past. The contest is important to Republicans, also, for it is a well-recognized axiom that victories at lower levels of government build the organization and spirit necessary to capture higher offices—in this case, the supreme office, the presidency.

In this edition, the first of a planned series spotlighting 1963 campaigns in Southern states, we salute the two-party forces in Mississippi, and congratulate the Republicans and discerning Democrats who made it possible to field the outstanding ticket.

'Freedom of Choice Dinner' Is a Hit–

Mississippi Hears Tower Lash Kennedys

"John F. Kennedy is going to be the first one-term president since Herbert Hoover," Senator John Tower (R-Texas) told the more than 700 people who packed the convention hall of the Edgewater Gulf Hotel in Biloxi recently.

Tower was the featured speaker at the Mississippi Republican Party's "Freedom of Choice Dinner," honoring 1963 Republican candidates.

"Kennedy's approach to our problems is to either nationalize them, subsidize them, or suppress them," Tower charged. "Certainly these are not the real solutions to the problems that face us today."

South Rises Again

Tower told the packed house that their presence was proof that the South had risen again.

"The Republican Party reflects the beliefs of the Southern people," the Texas Senator said. "The Democratic Party has abandoned the principles of Thomas Jefferson. You are not leaving the Democratic Party, my friends, it left you a long time ago.

"Don't let anyone fool you. The majority of Americans are conservative," Tower said, "and they look to the Republican Party for a return to Constitutional government.

"The liberals in this country are well organized and well financed. We conservatives must overcome this barrier and become better organized and better financed if we expect to win the battle. If we do not do this soon, we may not have a country left."

Need Courageous Stand

"When I first went to Washington I was frightened about what was going on there," Tower continued, "but today I am simply terrified.

"We need people in public office who are willing to say that our problems are problems that we can solve ourselves," Tower charged. "They must stand up and say, 'we don't want your help, Uncle Sam.'

"I wish that Kennedy would use some of the same pressure that he is using on businessmen against the Soviet arms build-up in Cuba," Tower urged.

SCENES AT TOWER DINNER

'Newsweek' Sees Miss. Election 'Most Important' Event of 1963

"The most important political event of 1963 is likely to be the statewide election in Mississippi." These are not the words of a proud Mississippian or even of a Southerner, but are contained in an article in *Newsweek* magazine by Raymond Moley, a political expert of countless seasons of political experience.

Writing on the expanding Republican Party in the South, Moley expressed his belief that the GOP may, for the first time since the turn of the century, elect a Republican governor in a Deep South state.

"Republican leaders I have met in this extended tour of the South are young, respected citizens more interested in creating a strong Republican Party than in anything they may get personally," Moley writes.

Moley notes in his article that recently the former head of the state Young Republican organization was elected to the Mississippi Legislature. "The Democratic Party in the state is genuinely alarmed," he wrote.

"I hear constantly from these party workers that it is about time to end the long captivity in the Democratic Party," Moley says. Women, too, are finding that political loyalty should mean something far more than blindly voting for a label, Moley wrote.

Political parties aim their platforms and actions at areas where there's two-party competition—those are the votes they have to work for!

'Fight for Mississippi's Future'–

For Governor—Rubel Phillips

Rubel Phillips is one of those young men who seem to be born with an aura of success around them. His first political success was being elected president of all his high school classes. Following in succession, he was elected president of the entire student body in his senior year and later, president of the University of Mississippi Law School.

After obtaining his law degree in 1951, Rubel returned to his native Alcorn County and was elected Circuit Clerk. During his four-year term he was elected president of the Mississippi State Association of Circuit Clerks.

He's a Winner!

In 1955, only 10 days after his marriage to Margaret James, Rubel announced his candidacy for Public Service Commissioner from the northern district. What happened in this whirlwind campaign? Naturally, Rubel was elected and went on to be named by the fellow board members as chairman of the Mississippi Public Service Commission.

Rubel believes that unless the Kennedy Dynasty is stopped soon, all gov-

ernment authority will be transferred to Washington, and the last vestige of local rights and local responsibilities will be destroyed.

"Shall we cling blindly to a party label that has long since discarded the principles Mississippians cherish?" he asks "Shall we throw off the yoke of Socialism the Kennedys are tightening around our necks?"

In calling for a mass movement of Mississippians into the Republican Party, Rubel says, "We must have the courage to fight for Mississippi's future under a new banner that champions individual freedom, private enterprise, and the kind of Americanism our forefathers fought for."

Rubel's platform includes a strong plank for the establishment of a merit system for state employees. "Our state employees should be free to devote full time to their jobs and should not be required to participate in the governor's race," Phillips asserted.

Hits One-Party Rule

Rubel feels and has stated that one-party rule leads inevitably to corruption and abuse of power at the expense of the people. "My election will bring healthy competition into Mississippi politics, competition that will result in more efficient government at all levels," the 38-year-old Jackson attorney stated.

The father of two young sons, Rubel has dedicated himself to the restoring of Mississippi's honor and to the stopping of Mississippi's service as "whipping boy" for the Kennedys.

Leader in Reapportionment Fight–

For Lt. Governor—Stanford Morse

In the Mississippi Senate, as in all governing bodies, there is found a small corps of men who are recognized for their outstanding leadership ability. One of these men presently serving in the Mississippi Senate is Stanford E. Morse, Jr., of Gulfport.

Senator Morse, one of those men who seem destined to rise to the highest ranks of government, is the Republican nominee for the office of Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi.

Served Two Terms

Senator Morse, who is now in his second term in the Mississippi State Senate, representing Harrison and Stone Counties, was a leader in the fight for the reapportionment plan which was approved by Mississippi voters in the recent referendum.

In making his announcement, Sen-

ator Morse stated:

"I am aware of the reluctance of many Mississippians to give up the Democratic label. However, we must admit that the Democratic Party offers absolutely no hope for the people of Mississippi. The Democratic Party of our fathers and grandfathers has been destroyed. It no longer exists.

Matter of Principle

"Party label cannot be more important than our principles and our honor. I would willingly wear any label that would help us save our state from the New Frontier and from the brothers Kennedy.

"The only possible way by which we may exercise any influence in national affairs is to have a strong two-party system in our state. A Republican victory in Mississippi this year would do more for our state than the election of a hunded unpledged electors. I believe a majority of our people will agree."

Seven Seek Mississippi Senate Seats

CHARLES 'BUDDY' KLUMB

Copiah-Lawrence

Charles 'Buddy' Klumb, Crystal Springs lumberman and the State GOP Finance Chairman, is the Republican nominee for State Senator from the 47th district composed of Copiah and Lawrence Counties.

In making the announcement Klumb stated, "It is a feeling of deep concern for the future of our state and nation and a sense of moral obligation to fight to preserve our heritage of freedom that prompts my decision to seek public office. Too long have businessmen sat idly and complacently by and failed to fight for the future of our children, our state and our country."

Klumb further stated, "My decision to seek the nomination as a Republican is based on the simple, inescapable fact that John F. and Robert Kennedy are Democrats and only a strong two-party system in the South will bring about their defeat."

JOHN W. HOLMES

Sunflower County

John W. Holmes, an Indianola insurance man, is the Republican nominee for State Senator from Sunflower County.

Holmes says that he will seek the post because he believes that his 10 years experience with the Sunflower County Farm Bureau Organization has acquainted him with the many problems facing farm people; and his experience while serving on the Board of Aldermen in Indianola has given him an insight into the problems facing the municipalities.

Holmes is a World War II veteran having served in the South Pacific. He is a graduate of the University of Mississippi, holding a Bachelor of Business Administration degree, with a major in Banking and Finance.

W. S. 'MONK' FOWLER

Attala-Winston-Choctaw

W. S. (Monk) Fowler, a prominent Kosciusko businessman and retired Naval Commander, is the Republican nominee for District 34, Post 1, Mississippi Senate. This district is composed of Attala, Winston and Choctaw Counties.

Fowler has a distinguished military record which includes the Silver Star. Commander Fowler was credited with sinking more enemy submarines than any other U. S. flyer in history, and was recognized for this heroic feat in a number of national magazines.

"There is a dire need for true, dedicated Americans to serve their country," Fowler said. "If our country is to be saved from the evil forces from within and without, we must put aside our petty differences and work with zeal to straighten out the sad state of affairs in which we find our government."

"We Americans are at last awakening to the fact that our country is heading in the wrong direction," Fowler said, commenting on the grassroots movement that is evidencing itself in every part of our nation for a return to constitutional government.

"Every Republican vote is another nail in the political coffin of the Kennedy dynasty," Fowler said.

WILLIAM A. POWE

Forrest County

William A. Powe, Forrest County, who built a thriving business in Cuba only to see it seized by Castro, is the Republican nominee for the Forrest County Senate Post.

He is the first Republican senatorial candidate in the history of Forrest County.

Powe went to Cuba as a young man and developed sugar and farm equipment businesses. Castro took all Powe's holdings when he seized power, and Powe returned to Forrest County where he is now a businessman and tree farmer.

Powe, a prominent civic leader, stated, "I have chosen to run as a Republican because it is the conservative party. That is the party I want to be associated with. I don't want to be associated with the party of the Kennedys, Stevensons, and Adam Clayton Powells."

Powe, a district governor of Rotary International, ruled out the Democrat Party and the unpledged elector plan as the solution to Mississippi's political problems. "Only the Republican Party . . can assure us of private enterprise, sound money, and constitutional government," Powe stated.

JOHN ROBERT ARNOLD

Oktibbeha-Noxubee

John Robert Arnold, a Starkville businessman and farmer, is the Republican nominee for the Senate Seat representing Oktibbeha and Noxubee Counties.

"I choose to run as a Republican," Arnold stated, "believing that the establishment of a two-party system is vital to our state's destiny as it prepares for a period of tremendous growth."

"The freedom of individual choice has been our greatest heritage since the founding fathers had the courage and foresight to break away from the old and make new choices. I believe that the citizens of Oktibbeha and Noxubee Counties are ready and willing to break with the past and elect the best candidate, regardless of party label."

Arnold, the father of three children and a graduate of Mississippi State University, is the President of Howard Furniture Manufacturing Company of Starkville and is a cattle and cotton farmer in nearby Sessums, Mississippi.

JOE A. MOORE

Jackson County

Joe A. Moore, the State Vice-Chairman of the Mississippi Republican Executive Committee, is the Republican nominee for District 6, Post 1, representing Jackson County, for the Mississippi Senate.

Moore, a well-known South Mississippi Attorney, is a graduate of the University of Mississippi Law School and is active in the American Legion.

"The time has come for a nation-wide grassroots movement back to constitutional government," Moore stated, "and this move can best be accomplished through the Republican Party."

"For years the people of Mississippi and the South have been tied hand and foot to a party that no longer exists," Moore charged. "We must cast off the yoke of the Democratic Party and all join into the movement toward the Republican Party."

J. W. "JUDY" KING

Jones County

Julius W. (Judy) King of Laurel, is the Republican nominee for Senate Seat, District 5, Post 1, representing Jones County.

King, in making his announcement, said, "Having always been interested in the affairs of our people and this country, I can no longer stand on the sidelines and watch while we are completely overrun by the Kennedys."

"Therefore, I am offering my services as your state senator to represent you in the manner in keeping with the principles and traditions of this state and country prior to falling under the control and influence of the free-spending Kennedy administration.

"In the interest of morality and political integrity, I feel that it is time for us to take the party label that more nearly reflects our thinking. I want to be your Senator, so I am offering my candidacy as a Republican, for I believe if you elect me it will serve as an ultimatum to the Kennedys that the South has had enough!"

28 Southerners Named To Important Posts for 1964 GOP Convention

U. S. Rep. William E. Miller, chairman of the Republican National Committee, has announced the appointment of 28 Southerners to committees for the 1964 Republican National Convention, opening July 13, 1964 in San Francisco.

Included in the posts held by Southerners are three committee chairmanships: W. W. Wannamaker, Jr., South Carolina, heads the Committee on Concessions and Special Exhibits; Mrs. Ike S. Kampman, Jr., Texas, Convention Theme and Program Entertainment, and Robert R. Snodgrass, Georgia, Radio and Television.

Eight on Rules

Southern states placed eight representatives on the important Committee on Rules. They are Marvin Mostellar, Ala.; Winthrop Rockefeller, Ark.; Anthony S. Battaglia, Fla.; Fred LaRue, Miss.; J. E. Broyhill, N. C.; Mrs. A. Dabney Barnes, S. C.; Harry C. Carbaugh, Tenn., and Nile Straughan, Va.

Seven Southerners were appointed to the Committee on Call. They are Tom F. Brown, Fla.; Mrs. Capers Rice, Ga.; Ted H. Hardwick, Ky.; Charlton H. Lyons, Sr., La.; Erby L. Jenkins, Tenn.; Albert B. Fay, Tex., and Horace E. Henderson, Va.

Committee on Contests

John T. Diederich of Kentucky was appointed to the strategic Committee on Contests.

Others who received appointments and their committees: Mrs. Fred V. Lucas, Ky., Badges; Mrs. W. L. Jameson, Jr., Ark., Concessions and Exhibits; Mrs. Dorothy J. Lewis, La., Convention Hall Appearance; Mrs. Frank E. Williams, Fla., who is also assistant chairman of the Republican National Committee, Program Planning; Mrs. Louis G. Rogers, N. C., Housing; Mrs. Irene B. Baker, Tenn., Periodicals and Photographers; Mrs. Tom Abernethy, Ala., Press; Mrs. James F. Hooper, Miss., Tickets, and Mrs. Hazel K. Barger, Va., Transportation.

Here's How ALL Southerners Can Help Miss. Get Two Parties!

Everyone—no matter how little time he has—can help Mississippi obtain a two-party system!

If you're an out-of-stater, mail this edition of the "Challenge" to friends in Mississippi and ask their consideration of the Republican candidates. Encourage others to write their friends, too.

If you're a resident of Mississippi, volunteer your services to the Republican county chairman or the "Phillips for Governor" Headquarters. If you don't know the address, write Mississippi Republican Party, 514 Lamar Life Building, Jackson.

Even if your time limitations and physical capacities are such that you can't "ring doorbells," contributions in the form of "talking it up" with friends, letters to friends and the newspapers, etc., can be of immense value.

Your help, in whatever way you feel possible, when coupled with that of others, will be the crucial factor in the campaign!

EXTRA COPIES

Reprints of the "Southern Challenge" may be ordered directly from Corporate Press, 1714 14th St. N.W., Washington, D. C. Cost: 500—$69; 1,000—$83; 5,000—$193; 10,000—$301.70; 20,000—$550. Enclose check with order.

Regular features of the "Challenge" and discussions of national issues were omitted this month to provide maximum space for coverage of the historic Mississippi campaign.

If you would like to receive the "Challenge" regularly, write: Southern Division, Republican National Committee, 1625 Eye St., N.W, Washington 6, D. C.

Here Are Candidates For Miss. House

ROBERT E. BAKER

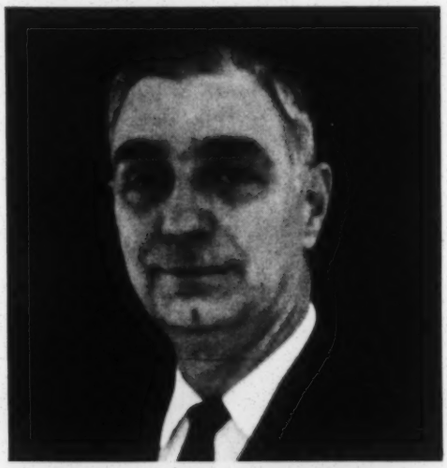
Jackson County

Robert E. Baker is the Republican nominee for Post #3, Mississippi House of Representatives from Jackson County.

Baker believes that the need for industrial development and the protection of state and individual rights are important issues in the forthcoming campaign. He maintains that we must face the problems 'head on' and seek solutions to these pressing problems.

He is a native of Ocean Springs, a World War II submarine veteran, and a graduate of LSU. He is presently a certified public accountant, practicing in Ocean Springs.

His past experience includes ten years in budget and cost control work with a major industrial concern.



W. T. 'TATE' STOKELY

Sunflower County

W. T. (Tate) Stokely, of Drew, Mississippi, is the Republican nominee for Post 2, Sunflower County, House of Representatives.

Stokely, 48, was born and has lived in Sunflower County most of his life. He is the owner of City Furniture Company in Drew. He is a member of the Methodist Church and serves on the board of finance, and has served on the Board of Aldermen of the city of Drew.

"I am basing my candidacy on my experience as a businessman and my ability to serve the people of Sunflower County in an honest and straightforward manner, subject to the will of the voters in the November election."

HAROLD DAVIS

Forrest County

Harold Davis, a prominent Hattiesburg businessman, is the Republican nominee for House Post #1, Forrest County.

In this county, where a good Republican vote is always in evidence, Davis feels that his chances are excellent and now is the time for a Republican victory.

Davis is known throughout the county for his outspoken sentiments for conservative government and is determined to run an outstanding campaign.

ROME EMMONS

Forrest County

Rome A. Emmons, a Hattiesburg business leader and an officer in the Forrest County Republican Party, is the nominee for House Post #2, Forrest County.

Emmons, who was one of the organizers of the Republican movement in Forrest County, says that the time now is ripe for a state-wide Republican victory. "This is the year that the Republican Party in the South will emerge as a factor to be contended with," he said.

HUGH M. ARANT

Leflore County

Hugh M. Arant, of Minter City, is the Republican nominee for Post 2, Mississippi House of Representatives, Leflore County.

Arant, a 35-year-old farmer, has been active in the GOP for the past two years.

"I believe that the principles on which our forefathers founded this great nation still hold true today," Arant said and pledged himself to a government where individual initiative and individual opportunity prevail.

Arant states that he will do everything in his power to oust the Kennedys and pledges himself to helping elect a conservative president in 1964.

SWAN YERGER—Hinds County

Swan Yerger, a Jackson attorney, is the Republican nominee for Post 4, Hinds County (in the City of Jackson) for the House of Representatives.

Yerger, a past president of the Jackson Junior Chamber of Commerce, listed his platform which included a strengthened free enterprise system, economy in state government, and strict enforcement of the state prohibition law as long as it remains the law of this state. He stated that he would support legislation to enact a rigid liquor control law on a local county-option basis.

Yerger also pledged his cooperation to the plan of conservatives in this state and throughout the country to defeat the Kennedy dynasty.

Yerger is a native of Jackson and is a fifth generation Mississippian. He attended the Jackson Public Schools, Virginia Military Institute, Ole Miss, and the University of Virginia Law School.

He is married to the former Virginia Palmer of Pine Bluff, Ark, and is a member of the First Baptist Church.

GEORGE PERSONS

Hinds County

George Persons, a 38-year-old Jackson businessman, is the Republican nominee for Hinds County, Post 5, Mississippi House of Representatives. Persons stated that a vote for him is a vote for states' rights, local self government, and a plan to put good business sense back into Mississippi government. "I intend to fight any law that would help the Federal Government take away any more of our remaining rights," Persons concluded.

Persons comes from an outstanding family of conservative statesmen. Persons' uncle, Gordon Persons, was Governor of Alabama from 1951 to 1955. Another uncle, Wilton Persons, was an aide to former President Eisenhower.

Persons, the first Republican to announce for the Legislature in Hinds County, is president of Answerphone, a telephone answering service.

Competition in government is like competition in business—it brings you the best product for the least cost.

L. L. (MACK) McALLISTER

Lauderdale County

L. L. (Mack) McAllister, Mississippi's only Republican legislator, will be seeking re-election this fall. McAllister is the Republican nominee for the House post inside the City of Meridian from Lauderdale County.

McAllister won his seat in the Mississippi lower house last February 19, in a special election. He won out over a field of three Democrats and became Mississippi's first Republican Legislator in over 39 years.

McAllister said that his election was "a step in the right direction" toward the establishment of a two-party system for Mississippi.

McAllister, a former state chairman of the Mississippi Young Republicans, is a 30-year-old certified public accountant.

ROBERT W. PELTON

Jackson County

Bob Pelton, of Pascagoula, is the Republican nominee for House Post #1, Jackson County.

Pelton, who is employed in real estate and insurance, has been very active in the Americanism Committee of the American Legion. For this outstanding work, Pelton has been recognized in many state and local newspapers.

A two-party system works like the Constitution—it provides a system of checks and balances, each Party watching the other, making sure each fulfills its obligations.

KENNETH SADLER—Harrison County

Kenneth Sadler, a Gulfport Insurance man, is the Republican nominee for Post #2, Harrison County, Mississippi, House of Representatives.

Sadler, the President of the West Harrison County Young Republican Club, is typical of the young, energetic community leaders who are seeking office on the Republican ticket in Mississippi this fall.

"Our future in the South and for our nation lies in the Republican Party," the well-known businessman told a recent audience.

"The people of the South are ready to throw off the shackles of the Democratic Party," Sadler said. "They deserve and will receive something better than they have been getting from the Democratic Party."

WALLACE SHERWOOD

Jackson County

Wallace Sherwood, a Pascagoula advertising man, is the GOP nominee for House Post #2, Jackson County.

Sherwood is presently serving as the president of the Pascagoula Young Republican Club and was a recent delegate to the National Young Republican Convention, held in San Francisco.

CHARLES H. MEADOWS—Simpson County

Charles H. Meadows, a Magee radio executive, is the Republican nominee for the Mississippi House of Representatives from Simpson County.

Meadows, the former President of the Mendenhall Junior Chamber of Commerce, stated that the problems that face Mississippi in the next four years will be ones which will require great deliberation. "We must see that capable men are elected to our state legislature," Meadows said.

Meadows, a very active civic worker, feels that a two-party system is a "must" if Mississippi is to move ahead.

WILSON McKINSTRY—Tippah County

Wilson McKinstry, of Blue Mountain, is the Republican nominee for the House seat from Tippah County.

McKinstry said in making his announcement, "I have no apology for taking my stand with those able and courageous men who are already out in front in a fight to establish a two-party system in Mississippi."

Pledging his support to the Republican Party, McKinstry said that he believes that every Republican victory in the South will contribute to an end of the misrule of the present administration.

Stating that he wanted to go on the record as opposing the overthrow of constitutional government, McKinstry said that he held strong convictions on this matter and if elected would fight for a return to constitutional government.

Two-Party Drive Forges Ahead Throughout Dixie!

The 1962 elections were a turning point in the political history of the South.

Southern voters not only elected five new Republican Congressmen, but installed two-party officials in state, county and municipal offices throughout the South. The drive is in high gear, and, just this year, Republicans have chalked up six impressive triumphs, including:

Georgia—Elected still another State Senator.

Mississippi—Elected State Representative.

Florida—Elected 12 more state legislators, tripling GOP delegation.

South Carolina—Elected first Republican city councilmen in North Augusta.

Texas—Elected still another State Representative.

North Carolina—Swept High Point municipal elections, winning mayorship and all eight council seats.

JFK's Record of Deceit

"To plan a deficit . . . would increase the risk of inflationary pressure, damaging alike to our domestic economy and to our international balance of payments." So said John F. Kennedy a year ago. Earlier, during the 1960 campaign, he said "Of couse we Democrats have programs. . . . But they will not be wasteful programs."

Here's JFK's record of deceit on spending:

Fact #1—He submitted a $98,800,000,000 budget for the coming fiscal year, at the same time purposefully planning a $12,000,000,000 deficit.

Fact #2—Some examples of Kennedy spending for "productivity:" $2,100 to study behavior patterns of the barren-ground caribou; $16,800 to study social behavior in termites; $65,400 to study the behavior and ecology of the wantering albatross . . . etc. . . . etc. . . . etc. . . .

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9/5/63

this report from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely,

LAWRENCE JONES
(For Robert E. Giles).

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 14, 1963.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Committee on Commerce,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your letter of May 9, 1963, enclosing for the comment of the Department of State a copy of S. 1459, a bill to authorize the President to proclaim regulations for preventing collisions at sea.

The Department of State wishes to express its support of the bill. The revision of the regulations for prevention of collisions was formulated by the Conference on Safety of Life at Sea, 1960. Representatives of the United States participated in the work of revision and the decision of the Conference to submit the revised rules for consideration by the governments which have accepted the present rules. The Conference also invited the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization, when substantial unanimity has been reached as to acceptance of the revised rules, to fix a date on and after which they shall be applied by the governments which have accepted them. Enactment of S. 1459 will permit submission of notice of acceptance by the United States. The procedure of formulation and submission to the Congress for authorization of the President to proclaim the regulations is the same as used for the adoption of the currently effective regulations which were prepared at the Conference on Safety of Life at Sea, 1948.

The Bureau of the Budget advises that from the standpoint of the administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Sincerely yours,

FREDERICK G. DUTTON,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

THE GENERAL COUNSEL
OF THE TREASURY,
Washington, August 19, 1963.

Hon. WARREN G. MAGNUSON,
Chairman, Committee on Commerce,
U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Reference is made to your request for the views of this Department on H.R. 6012, a bill to authorize the President to proclaim regulations for preventing collisions at sea.

Except for minor technical changes which are acceptable to the Department, H.R. 6012 is identical to a draft bill which the Secretary of the Treasury transmitted to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives on April 8, 1963. The purpose of the proposed legislation, which was explained in more detail in the letters of transmittal, is to authorize the President to proclaim the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea which were approved by the Fourth International Conference on Safety of Navigation at Sea, 1960. These regulations, which have received the approval of 15 nations to date, would replace the 1948 international rules which were approved by a similar conference and which were incorporated into the statutory law of this country by the act of October 11, 1951 (65 Stat. 406). The proposed bill would not affect existing navigation rules applicable to the inland waters of the United States, the Great Lakes of North America, or rivers emptying into the Gulf of Mexico.

The Department urges early and favorable consideration of the proposed legislation by your committee.

Prior to the transmittal of the proposed legislation to the Congress, the Department was advised by the Bureau of the Budget that there was no objection to its submission from the standpoint of the administration's program.

Sincerely yours,

G. D'ANDELOT BELIN,
General Counsel.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment of the amendment and the third reading of the bill.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed, and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill (H.R. 6012) was read the third time, and passed.

Pol. Ala.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION RECORDS CONCERNING GOV. GEORGE C. WALLACE, OF ALABAMA

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I have read in this morning's press that the senior Senator from Oregon is not one of the favorites of the Governor of Alabama. I wish to make it clear that a mutuality of disrespect exists between the two persons concerned. My record will speak for itself.

I say, most respectfully, that, in my judgment, Khrushchev does not have a more effective ally in the United States than the Governor of Alabama, because the course of action that the Governor of Alabama is following against human rights is typical of Communist strategy.

However, I have been informed from several sources this morning that the Governor of Alabama has raised some question concerning the psychiatric soundness of mind of the senior Senator from Oregon. I am perfectly willing to let my record on that score speak for itself. But I would have the RECORD at this time show the following information:

Official records concerning the Governor of Alabama will show that Governor Wallace entered active military service on October 20, 1942, and was honorably discharged on December 8, 1945, with the grade of sergeant in the Army Air Corps. His military specialty was that of flight engineer, with nine combat missions completed in B-29's—a brilliant military record of dedicated service to his country.

He participated in the offensive against Japan and earned the Air Medal plus Area and Good Conduct Medals.

During service, he was hospitalized from April 1, 1943, to June 3, 1943, for acute cerebral spinal meningitis. He was also hospitalized in September 1945 for severe anxiety state, chronic, manifested by tension states, anxiety attacks, anorexia, and loss of weight. It does not appear that he was disciplined for any infractions while in service.

He filed claim for compensation in June 1946 and in December 1946 was granted service-connected disability for psychoneurosis, for which an evaluation of 10 percent was assigned.

He was last examined by the VA in November 1956 when he gave his age as 37, and stated he was married, had three children, and was occupied as a circuit judge. He was tense, restless, and ill at ease, frequently drummed the desk with his fingers, changed position frequently, sighed occasionally, and showed a tendency to stammer, resulting in the diagnosis of anxiety reaction. The 10-percent rating was continued.

His accreditive representative is the American Legion.

Since Governor Wallace has not been examined since November 1956 it would seem to be appropriate for him to volunteer to be examined at this time.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business for the consideration of the nomination on the Executive Calendar.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider executive business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no reports of committees, the clerk will state the nomination on the Executive Calendar.

FEDERAL MARITIME COMMISSION

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Ashton C. Barrett, of Mississippi, to be a member of the Federal Maritime Commission for the term expiring June 30, 1967.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the confirmation of the nomination?

Mr. GRUENING. There is.

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. President, there is objection. I only wish that I might be here supporting the nomination of Mr. Ashton C. Barrett instead of opposing it. But based upon the evidence, presented during 2 days of hearings before the Commerce Committee, to which the nomination of Mr. Barrett for another term on the Federal Maritime Commission was sent by the President, I cannot agree with the majority of that committee that confirmation should follow.

The individual views expressed by the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Washington [Mr. MAGNUSON], are set forth in Executive Report No. 2 as are my individual views on this nomination.

Mr. President, Mr. Barrett testified before the committee on July 12 and again on July 19 of this year. The record of hearings has been printed. The transcript of the hearings constitutes a rather remarkable document in many ways. It deserves the reading of every Senator.

Mr. Barrett is a resident of Mississippi. He was warmly supported by my two friends the Senators from that State [Mr. EASTLAND and Mr. STENNIS]. They recommended him highly. I know him to be a gracious gentleman, a kind gentleman, and a very real gentleman. My objection is only based on the ground that I do not believe he is qualified for the position for which he was named. I think the evidence on that score is amply set forth in the printed record of the hearings.

My colleague [Mr. GRUENING] and I have a very special interest in the opera-

Pol. Ga.

GEORGIA'S SEN. RICHARD BREVARD RUSSELL AT VARIOUS STAGES OF HIS CAREER
(L-R) As Senator-Elect in 1932; News Conference in 1952; in Washington Recently

PRIVATE TALK BETWEEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY AND SEN. RUSSELL AT WHITE HOUSE
Two Men Walked Away from Medal Presentation Ceremony for Discussion

Russell Marks 30th Year in U.S. Senate

FEATURE Page

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11 (AP)—Sen. Richard Brevard Russell, D-Ga., rounds out 30 years of Senate service Saturday, primed to meet what he calls a new assault on that body's constitutional traditions.

Russell, 65, seasoned in a dozen previous filibuster battles, captains Southern opponents of civil rights measures ready to talk to death a proposed rules change.

Bipartisan liberals bent on giving a majority the right to shut off debate are seeking to change the rule which requires that two-thirds of those voting approve such action. Russell sees this as a threat to the Senate's claim to being the last bastion of free expression on earth.

"IN MY 30 years' service, I think I have made some contributions toward maintaining the Senate as the greatest stabilizing force in our government in preserving our Constitution," he said. "I hope to continue doing so."

To the public, generally, Russell appears to be more of a champion of a sectional view than of the Constitution. But the Russell who operates behind the scenes is completely a "Senate man" who moves in a broad spectrum of national affairs.

Those who disagree with Russell's views — particularly his espousal of segregationist policies — admire him as a gentleman and respect him as a tactician.

Russell is chairman of the Armed Services Committee and is a power on two of the Senate's other most important committees — Appropriations and Space. He is a member of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee.

FROM THIS vantage point, he has a finger on almost every government decision, including foreign policy matters which involve the Pentagon, as most of them do these days. He is one of the select few in Congress briefed on Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) activities.

Administration leaders from President Kennedy down have learned that Russell is a quick man with a "no" if he doesn't like what is going on.

When Kennedy briefed congressional leaders at the White House before he announced his quarantine action against Cuba, Russell spoke up for a more drastic course. He said that while the quarantine plan might any action he felt must be undertaken.

Chairman J. William Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee supported Russell's stand for an invasion.

The President told the group that he was going on television in 45 minutes and already had sent a copy of his speech to British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

"Well," Russell exploded, "if you had told us that before I wouldn't have wasted my time raising the issue."

Because of his demonstrated independence and his long experience, Russell exerts wide influence on the course of legislation. He is a key member of the Democratic Policy Committee which passes on all bills before they reach the Senate floor.

When he was the Senate majority leader, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson used to "check it with Dick" before final decisions were made. Democratic leader Mike Mansfield of Montana follows the same practice.

THIS IS because the Georgian represents, as clearly as any

As he has grown older, the man who supported Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal with votes for Social Security, the National Recovery Act, and the Tennessee Valley Authority has become more conservative.

In earlier days Russell wrote the first version of farm parity payments, supported federal aid to education and fought for universal military training. One of the accomplishments of which he is most proud is the origination of the school-lunch program.

Because he had become the outstanding spokesman for the South, Russell — who wasn't even there—got 263 votes in the 1948 Democratic Convention for the presidential nomination that went to Harry S. Truman. Russell declined to join party bolters and stayed regular.

IN 1952 Russell went after the presidential nomination full tilt. His 292 convention votes out of about 1,200 merely served to point out that he was regarded as too sectional to be the nominee.

Except when Civil Rights is the issue, this feeling doesn't exist about Russell's legislative

WASHINGTON OFFICE IS BUSY PLACE
Sen. Russell Receives Hundreds of Letters

but all doubts are seeking to change the rule which requires that two-thirds of those voting approve such action. Russell sees this as a threat to the Sen-

think I have made some contributions toward maintaining the Senate as the greatest stabilizing force in our government in preserving our Constitution,"

man of the Constitution. But the Russell who operates behind the scenes is completely a "Senate man" who moves in a broad spectrum of national affairs.

of them do these days. He is one of the select few in Congress briefed on Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) activities.

Administration leaders from President Kennedy down have learned that Russell is a quick man with a "no" if he doesn't like what is going on.

When Kennedy briefed congressional leaders at the White House before he announced his quarantine action against Cuba, Russell spoke up for a more drastic course. He said that while the quarantine plan might get the offensive missiles out, the only way to topple Castro was for the United States to strike in force.

"I think we should go in there and clean them out," he told Kennedy.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk protested that the President could not order a "sneak attack" such as the Japanese made on Pearl Harbor.

RUSSELL replied heatedly that Kennedy had put Castro on notice in two speeches that the United States would act to prevent any aggressive buildup. He pointed to a resolution Kennedy had signed which gave the President Congress' backing for

lation. He is a key member of the Democratic Policy Committee which passes on all bills before they reach the Senate floor.

When he was the Senate majority leader, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson used to "check it with Dick" before final decisions were made. Democratic leader Mike Mansfield of Montana follows the same practice.

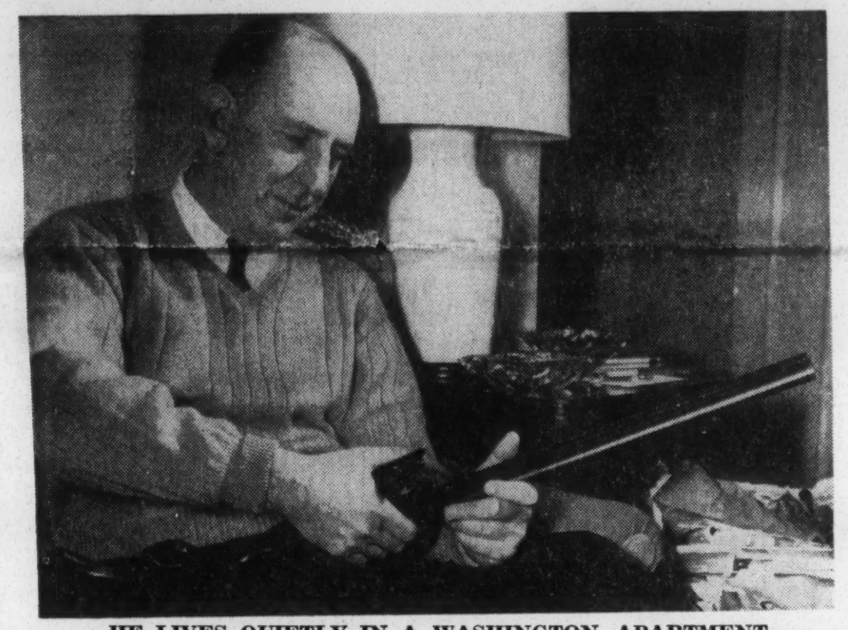
THIS IS because the Georgian represents, as clearly as any one man can, the brand of conservatism that has linked Southern Democrats with Republicans in a coalition that often controls Senate action on controversial measures.

1948 Democratic Convention for the presidential nomination that went to Harry S. Truman. Russell declined to join party bolters and stayed regular.

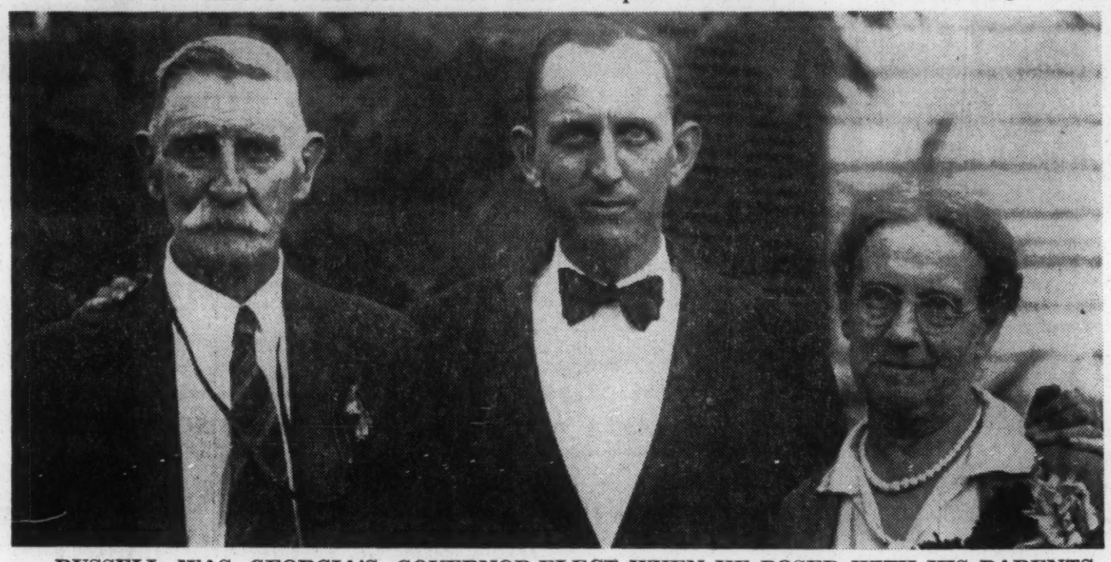
IN 1952 Russell went after the presidential nomination full tilt. His 292 convention votes out of about 1,200 merely served to point out that he was regarded as too sectional to be the nominee.

Except when Civil Rights is the issue, this feeling doesn't exist about Russell's legislative work.

Russell, a bachelor, lives quietly in a Washington apartment when he is not at home talking with the folks at Winder, Georgia.



HE LIVES QUIETLY IN A WASHINGTON APARTMENT
Here Sen. Russell Cleans One of His Guns in Spare Moment



RUSSELL WAS GEORGIA'S GOVERNOR-ELECT WHEN HE POSED WITH HIS PARENTS
Chief Justice Richard B. Russell Sr. of Georgia Supreme Court and Mrs. Russell

WITH PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Stove Dates Photo as Taken Years Ago

THESE WERE CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS PENDING IN CONGRESS
Sen. Russell in His Office After Making Speech on Senate Floor

FOUR SENATORS WHO PARTICIPATED IN TALKATHON ON POLL TAX
(L-R) John Stennis, Russell, Lister Hill and James Eastland

WASHINGTON OFFICE IS BUSY PLACE
Sen. Russell Receives Hundreds of Letters

Salt Spray
By SAM F. LUCCHESE
Atlanta Journal Amusements Editor
Salt spray is flying in the faces of audiences at Martin Cinerama Theater, where Louis de Roche-

ATLANTA PLAYBOY
CONTINUOUS ENTERTAINMENT
DAVID & A
MUSICAL COMEDY • VOCAL • DAN
• PLUS
Blue Angel — Myra Mason
EXOTIC — EXOTIC
Clermont Hote

"It has glamour, sop and sensuality!" —Bos
JOSEPH E. LEVINE presents
Boc
Three stories of the sex somewhat daring,
3rd Deligh

CURRENT AMUSEMENTS
Go Out to a Movie
Atlanta's City Code
Unsuitable for Young (UY)
At the Theaters
ART—Boccaccio 70, U.Y., Three Unusual Stories, color, at 3, 6, 9.
CAPRI — Barabbas, Anthony Quinn, Forest Borgnine, color, at 2, 4:30, 7, 9:30.
FINE ART—Waltz of the Toreadors, Peter Sellers, color, at 3:20, 5:25, 7:30, 9:35.
FOX—Gypsy, Rosalind Russell, Natalie Wood, U.Y., color, at 1:10, 4:06, 6:46, 9:26.
LOEW'S—Jumbo, Doris Day, Jimmy Durante, color, at 11, 1:10, 3:20, 5:30, 7:40, 9:50.
MARTIN CINERAMA—Windjammer, color, Sea Adventure, tonight at 8 p.m.
RHODES—Tarzan Bulba, Tony Curtis, Yul Brynner, 2, 4:30, 7:05, 9:35; Jacques Tati's Mr. Hulot's Holiday, Alain Jour-
ney

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7/9/63

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The report was agreed to.

Pol. Sci.

REMARKS OF SENATOR RUSSELL AT FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION AT JASPER, GA., 1963

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD some remarks I made in the beautiful little city of Jasper, Ga., in the mountains of north Georgia, to a group of people who had gathered to commemorate the Fourth of July, Independence Day.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR RICHARD B. RUSSELL AT FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION, JASPER, GA., 1963

We are gathered here today to commemorate one of the most significant incidents of all human history. This is American Independence Day, the birthday of the greatest, the richest, the most powerful Nation of the earth.

I sometimes feel that we do not take this day and the event it commemorates as seriously as we should. Many seemingly consider it only as a paid holiday. Millions of fine Americans have no roots that run back to July 4, 1776, and must muster their enthusiasm solely from the history book. I am sure that in this audience there are many who have had handed down by word of mouth many of the legends of that thrilling period and can remember many stories that they heard in childhood from the old folks about the experiences and achievements of those of their blood.

Sir Winston Churchill, the world's greatest living statesman, said of the event we celebrate that "The great principles of freedom and the rights of man which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, habeas corpus, trial by jury and the English common law find their most famous expression in the Declaration of Independence."

The Declaration was followed by the adoption of that written charter of our liberties, the Constitution of the United States. Another outstanding Englishman, one of Churchill's predecessors, Sir William Gladstone, said of our Constitution that it was the most remarkable document produced by the human intellect at a single stroke.

We take great pride in these two documents, but let us never forget that the eloquent words of the writers only found vitality when fertilized by the blood of the fighters.

It is appropriate that we meet on July Fourth in the city of Jasper and in the county of Pickens, for these were the names of two of the notable heroes of our successful Revolution.

William Jasper enlisted in a regiment of the Continental line and was assigned to the defense of Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor. During the fierce bombardment by the British Fleet in June 1776, the flag was shot from its staff. Jasper, in the face of deadly fire, attached the flag to a cannon sponge staff and finally remounted it upon the ramparts of the fort.

For this act of outstanding bravery, he was presented with a sword and offered a commission. He declined the commission to accept a dangerous assignment as a scout.

He died a hero's death while planting the colors of his regiment upon Spring Hill redoubt in the ill-fated assault on Savannah by French and American forces under D'Estaing and Lincoln in 1779.

Andrew Pickens was one of the great partisan leaders of the Revolution, who so inspired the confidence of the people that he was always able to raise considerable forces. His greatest victory occurred when the patriots under his command and that of Col. John Clark destroyed the British and Tory Army under Colonel Boyd at Kettle Creek in Wilkes County, Ga.

It is unnecessary to go into greater detail of the 7-year night of sacrifice and suffering which gave force and effect to American freedom. No two soldiers more truly symbolize the spirit of the Revolution than Sgt. William Jasper and Gen. Andrew Pickens.

Our Nation is less than 200 years old and two centuries are but a breath in the story of the human family. In that relatively short period of time, 13 weak and struggling colonies scattered along the Atlantic seaboard have crossed the continent to the Pacific, accepted Hawaii and Alaska into the sisterhood of States and developed into a greater and more powerful Nation than pictured in the wildest dreams of the most optimistic of the Founding Fathers.

The United States withstood the shock of the greatest and most destructive fratricidal strife of history, a war that left one-fourth of the Nation in ashes and desolation with the finest of its human seed corn buried on a hundred fields of battle. We have emerged triumphant from a number of other wars, including two great world conflicts. As the predominant factor in bringing victory we have been inescapably cast in the role of world leadership. We have survived and made progress despite the truth in Will Rogers' homespun statement that the United States "Has never lost a war nor won a conference."

We have withstood the effects of our own folly in scattering our national wealth and resources recklessly about the earth, though this largess has placed us at the mercy of our beneficiaries who hold enough dollar credits to deplete Fort Knox of gold and to deprive our paper currency of the support of any precious metal.

Providence has indeed been good to us. By adhering to our Constitution and the principles of morality and honesty of our Founders, we have created on earth a new way of life. Call it what you please—the free enterprise system, the capitalistic system, or the American way of life—it has generated a dynamic force that has moved life on this earth forward further in the 180 years of our existence than it had ever moved in any other 2,000 years.

It has given us a civilization which has all but abolished poverty and enables 6 percent of the people of the earth to own more automobiles, television sets, washing machines, and other laborsaving and pleasure devices than are owned by the other 94 percent of those who inhabit this planet.

Our system holds out to all of our people the incentive of the right to own and control private property. This has been one of the great instruments of our stability. Another inalienable right of the American people has been the right to choose one's associates and to me this is one of the most important of all of our inalienable rights.

THE DANGER FROM WITHOUT

The only external threat to our peace, prosperity and security is the consuming ambition of international communism to achieve world domination and thereby to bring the Iron Curtain down around the last single inhabitant of this globe.

It is unnecessary for me to discuss with you the difference between the American and the Communist philosophies of government. The difference between spirituality and atheism, between freedom and slavery, between the right to own property and of free movement as against being chained to the wheel of the state is too clear to require elaboration. Our cold war adversary has no regard for the principles of honor, decency and justice that we have been taught to respect. They teach that the lie is noble if spoken to promote world communism.

By sacrificing the desires of their people to participate in the blessings of modern-day civilization, the men in the Kremlin have devoted the great resources of the part of the world that they control to building military might. They have forgone all else in order to arm themselves to the teeth with destructive nuclear weapons and powerful engines to deliver them through space.

The only language that world communism understands is the language of strength, of power, of might. In order to avoid either slavery or the terrors of a nuclear war, we have sought to maintain an American striking force so destructive as to deter aggression against the free world.

Despite the admitted achievements of the Soviet in launching both men, women and vehicles into space, there is little doubt in my mind that today we have the military strength to completely destroy the Iron Curtain countries even if they were to strike us.

The maintenance of this military might is most expensive, as all of you taxpayers well know. I believe, however, that the American people are willing to make any necessary contributions to maintain military superiority to defend our priceless freedoms and the way of life that is the envy of the world.

INTERNAL DANGERS

A British political scientist, Lord McCauley, after studying our form of government said, in 1854, that the American Republic would be as fearfully plundered and laid waste in the 20th century as the Roman Empire was in the 5th and 6th centuries, but the Huns and vandals would be generated within our own institutions.

We undoubtedly are confronted with the danger of so riveting our attention to threats from abroad that we will neglect to maintain the internal bulwarks necessary to our existence as a free people.

This Nation achieved its greatness by adhering to the political philosophy of Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson taught that the best governed people were the least governed and that if man would protect his freedoms, the powers of government, particularly the control of the police power, should be locally maintained. Out of this grew the doctrines of States rights and local self-government which were accepted without question during the years we were achieving our greatness.

Today, we are faced with a concentrated attack upon the philosophy of local self-government. An insatiable Central Government places the hand of Federal power on nearly every activity of man and would concentrate all control over the daily lives, actions, movements and property rights of our people in a gigantic, impersonal, monolithic, centralized government on the banks of the Potomac.

In my opinion, the greatest danger which confronts the freedoms won by the sword and safeguarded by the Constitution is in the acceptance by the American people of the constantly reiterated suggestion that they can get something for nothing if they will only place all of their liberties and all that they have in one pair of hands.

On this day above all others, let us review the lessons of the past. The shores of history are littered with the wreckage of states that achieved greatness but were destroyed when the people listened to the siren song of those—often well intentioned—who told them they were better custodians of the

rights, liberties and property of the people than the people themselves.

BILL TO DESTROY RIGHTS

We have today pending in Washington a bill masquerading under the false title of civil rights which, if enacted, would destroy innumerable rights that we enjoy only because heroes of the past were willing to shed their blood to secure them.

Time will not permit me to deal with this bill in detail, but I will discuss one or two of its most evil features.

One provision of the bill levels an all but mortal blow at the right of a man who owns property to decide how that property shall be used. Under the definition of civil rights in the bill proposed by the President, no person operating a business, whether large or small, would have any right to select those that he will invite to do business with him. In the name of equality, this bill would give to one person the right to compel another to do business with him against his will. I challenge anyone to find any equality in such a situation.

To break it down into simple terms, the President's bill defines civil rights as requiring the owner of a small cafe to take down his sign, "we reserve the right to refuse service to anyone," and accept all comers unless he is to be subjected to the harsh penalties of Federal power.

This distorted concept of equality means that, if you are a barber or operate a beauty shop, you have no right to invite those you wish to receive as customers but, while you are denied that right, any person may present himself and demand that you cut his hair or administer a beauty treatment.

Under the President's bill, the operator of a motion picture show, a motel, a hotel or a swimming pool must completely integrate on the desire of any person who presents himself despite the policies of the business that has been built through the efforts of an individual and has succeeded through his ingenuity.

Under this misnamed bill everyone operating a business would live in constant fear of the Attorney General, the FBI, the hundreds of U.S. marshals under his command and, indeed, the Armed Forces of the United States, if necessary, who might descend upon your premises to compel you to receive unwanted customers without regard to the effect upon property rights or your livelihood.

Instead of this being a civil rights program, it is a threatened crime against the whole philosophy of liberty for which our Government stands. In the dark days of the Reconstruction, such a bill was passed to punish the South, but the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in 1873.

Also mind that in July 1959, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit held that a person "operating a private restaurant was at liberty to deal with such persons as he might select and that the commerce clause and the 13th and 14th amendments of the Federal Constitution did not operate to prevent proprietors from excluding Negroes."

But law and justice seem to mean nothing when votes are scented.

All of us understand how even those in high position feel called upon to play politics at times, but I assert that the administration in this case has gone beyond any reasonable bounds.

When white citizens protest against the Supreme Court decision in the school cases, they are immediately told that those decisions are "the law of the land" and that, if they protest too vigorously or violently, the armed might of the United States will be summoned to subdue them. Our Negro citizens, who are conducting daily demonstrations against the "law of the land" as established by the Supreme Court in the civil rights cases in 1883, are encouraged to increase the number and violence of their demonstrations by the belief that the Attorney General, the FBI, the hundreds of U.S. marshals, and the Armed Forces of the United States will protect them in their actions. The President of the United States cites these demonstrations as reasons for a legislative stampede to change this "law of the land." He solemnly presents that all this is done in the name of American equality and justice.

THE GENOCIDE PROVISION

The genocide clause of the bill which would permit the President or one of his appointees, if they decided that there was any discrimination in one case, to withhold the payment of veterans benefits, social security payments, aid to dependent children, to the blind, to the old and helpless within an entire State is the most inhuman suggestion that has been made in legislation in the history of this Republic.

For studied cruelty, this genocide clause goes beyond the plans devised by Charles Sumner and Thad Stevens in the days of Reconstruction. They only proposed to shoot the able-bodied men who had borne arms or had participated in the Government of the Confederate States. The genocide provision of the administration's bill could make certain the starvation of the old, the sick, the blind, dependent children, the war veteran with the scars on his body received in defending his country and could even deny social security benefits to those who had contributed to the fund for a long period of time.

Lest I am charged with extreme statements, I would point out that this construction was placed upon this provision by the President himself when the sadistic group called the Civil Rights Commission recommended that he withhold all Federal programs from the State of Mississippi. I quote from the President's letter to the chairman of this group under date of April 19 of this year:

"Another difficulty is that in many instances the withholding of funds would serve to further disadvantage those that I know the Commission would want to aid. For example, hundreds of thousands of Negroes in Mississippi receive social security, veterans, welfare, school lunch and other benefits from Federal programs—any elimination or reduction of such programs obviously would fall alike on all within the State and in some programs perhaps even more heavily upon Negroes."

The President inferred in this letter that he might withhold these funds but for the adverse effect it might have on the Negroes in Mississippi. However, in a press conference on the same day, in answer to a question asked on his appearance before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, he made this statement:

"I don't have the power to cut off the aid in the way proposed by the Civil Rights Commission and I would think that it would probably be unwise to give the President of the United States that kind of power."

What caused him to change his mind between his constitutionally correct position of April 19 and his abominable civil rights message of June 19?

Let us throw the mantle of charity around the President's about-face by assuming that this is the part of the Presidents' message that Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL claims to have written and that the President, in his frantic haste to pass the bill, did not realize the inconsistency of his position.

EXCESS POWER VESTED IN ATTORNEY GENERAL

Time will not permit me to discus in detail other vicious provisions of the President's bill. I will say in passing that it proposes to vest in the President's brother, the Attorney General of the United States, an appointive officer, greater powers over the lives of our people than have ever been possessed by any President heretofore. It would empower him to assemble a veritable army of lawyers to bring suits at his discretion in any school case.

The President said jokingly that he appointed his brother to be Attorney General in order that he might get on-the-job-training. It must not be overlooked that the President's brother is his political right arm and considers every problem under the magnifying glass of raw political power and its use.

I have never known any elective official, much less an appointed bureaucrat that I would trust with such power and the Attorney General to date has certainly not demonstrated any unusual qualities that would entitle him to be the first appointed official to be vested with powers over our people that are more far-reaching than any that history has known since the suppression of the doctrine of divine right of kings.

This bill is ten times a greater provocation than that offered the South before our forebears undertook to separate from the rest of the Nation in the 1860's.

We will not repeat the mistake of our Fathers by undertaking to secede for two reasons—one practical, the other sentimental. As for the practical reason, the rest of the Nation still outnumbers us about 5 to 1 and we found out through bitter experience that one Southerner could not whip five Yankees. In addition, this time the Feds have the atomic bomb.

The best reason is that Southerners have contributed to the majestic growth of this country by our toil and genius and to its preservation by shedding our blood whenever called upon to defend this land. It is our country in more ways than one and we will strive to preserve it.

So let us pray that we may face these internal attacks upon our system with the resolution and courage that inspired William Jasper and Andrew Pickens.

As one of your representatives in Washington, I propose to fight these outrageous measures with all of the power of my being. If we are overwhelmed, you will find me in the last ditch.

Let us invoke the assistance of the Supreme Guardian that has looked after us thus far along the road with the prayer that He will see us through this danger as in times past when our fathers sought guidance on bended knees.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I should like the RECORD to show that I have just returned from Atlanta, Ga., where I attended some meetings yesterday. There I found the people of the great State of Georgia, which the Senator represents in part in the Senate, completely together in the sentiment which he expressed in the speech he delivered there. If I were he I would feel that the State was standing completely undivided with respect to the position he took. I congratulate him upon that fact.

Mr. RUSSELL. I thank my distinguished friend from Florida. However, I believe I can point to a number of places where his generous statements would not completely apply within the State.

CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE OF HON. ROBERT F. SIKES, A REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, today, the Florida delegation in Congress pays honor to one of its Members who has served the people of our State and the

Memo from **BARBARA PATTERSON**

10/18/63

Negroes on Democratic Executive Comt.

Richmond Co. (Augusta)

Rev. C. S. Hamilton

Dr. R. S. Weston, Sr. (M.D.)

B. L. Dent

Mrs. Helen Harris

Chatham Co. (Savannah)

E. H. Gadsden

Fulton Co.

A. T. Walden

St. Sen. Leroy Johnson

Dr ___? Amos

~~Start a File~~
Pol. Iss.

Congressman Charles Longstreet Weltner

Reports from Washington

5th DISTRICT -- GEORGIA

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

VOL. I NO. 2 August 22, 1963

WASHINGTON TO GEORGIA

A recent television discussion between Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz and myself concerning the railroad crisis was broadcast by WAGA-TV. This was another in a series which began with an interview of Under Secretary of State Averell Harriman, which appeared on WSB-TV. The next in the series will be an interview with Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps.

A BID FOR AERO-SPACE INDUSTRY

A group representing the Forward Atlanta Program of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, will visit Washington on August 27 to meet with the Georgia delegation. The purpose is to formulate an aggressive and co-ordinated program to obtain space-oriented industry for Atlanta.

I am vitally interested in the effort, for this type of industry means good jobs and good salaries for the people of the Fifth District. All of us here are anxious to offer whatever services we can from Washington.

TAX BILL TO BE CONSIDERED SOON

The Ways and Means Committee has finally hammered out a tax measure which should come to the House for consideration in the next few weeks.

The bill will come to the Floor under what is known as a "closed rule." This means that the bill cannot be amended and must be accepted in whole, rejected in whole, or returned to Committee.

I am in the process now of reviewing the Committee reports. The decision which must be reached is two-fold: First, in regard to the revisions, the good measures must be weighed against some of the questionable changes. Second, all Members must be concerned about a larger deficit as a result of rate cuts. Obviously, a cut will stimulate our economy. On the other hand, any increased deficit must be guaged against the possible adverse effect upon the soundness of our economy.

WHAT'S NEXT FOR RAPID TRANSIT?

There is little hope for the passage of a mass transit bill in this Session of Congress. Although several days of hearings have been held by the Rules Committee, H.R. 3881 will probably remain before it until after action on taxes, civil rights and other proposals.

It's probably just as well, for I am afraid it would face hard going in the House. As you recall, the Senate has passed a Mass Transit Bill, with both of Georgia's senators voting for it.

Perhaps the next Session will prove a better time for this much needed program for Atlanta's future.

NEW HOME ADDRESS

Do you have my new home address? Our family now lives in Montgomery County, Maryland. The address and phone number are:

9712 Rutley Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20034
EMpire 5-2922

HOW ARE WE DOING?

This cheery greeting came in the mail last week:

"Congressman Weltner: Wouldn't it be ghastly if the electorate were literate and could understand what the quacks, charlatans and shysters that compose Congress were doing with their money? Be of good cheer, however, this is not and will not be the case. Next to the Presidency, Congress is our most egregious disgrace."

THE NEWSLETTER AND THE FUTURE

This Newsletter will be published monthly. We have added 1,000 names to the mailing list since the first issue. Will you please send me, as soon as possible, the names and addresses of anyone you feel might be interested in receiving the Newsletter?

I would also appreciate comments and suggestions from you concerning the content.

Sincerely,

Charles L. Weltner

Charles Longstreet Weltner
Member of Congress

Politics-Ga.

Congressman Charles Longstreet Weltner

Reports from Washington

5th DISTRICT -- GEORGIA (NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

VOL. I, NO. 3 October 1, 1963

HOUSE VOTES TAX REDUCTION

The "tax cut", H.R. 8363, passed the House on September 25 by a vote of 271 to 155. I voted for the bill. The cut will release over $11 billion to the private sector of our economy. These billions can put the nation's industrial complex to work at full capacity. They can finance a frontal attack on the problem of unemployment through economic expansion.

They can stimulate the growth of the Gross National Product.

I have a few copies of a report which explains the major provisions of the tax bill. If you would like a copy, please write me.

Now, our bill goes to the Senate for consideration. It looks as if it will be December before it comes out of the Senate Finance Committee. Let's hope it will be passed before New Year's Day.

EXPANSION OF ATLANTA OFFICE SERVICES

Sara V. Craig, who has served in the Washington Office, will return to Atlanta and assume primary responsibility for our District Office. Mike Burns, Legislative Aide in the District Office, will continue in that capacity.

The "casework" will be one of Sara's primary duties. I also plan for her to act as an additional direct contact from me to the people of the District. The District Office will be fully aware of everything going on in the Washington Office. Consequently, it will serve as a readily available source of information to everyone at home.

The District Office is located in Room 327 in the Old Post Office Building. Phone 523-5041. Sara and Mike are ready to serve you.

TELEVISION PROGRAMS

The first television programs from Washington were two-minute news reports. In mid-summer, it seemed that longer programs, featuring prominent men in Government, would allow depth presentations of subjects of interest.

Since taking this new tack, we have presented interviews with W. Averill Harriman, W. Willard Wirtz, Hale Boggs, and R. Sargent Shriver. Co-operation has been heartening, and broadcasters at home (WETV, WAII, WSB-TV, and WAGA-TV) have given freely of time to what is, I hope, a useful public service.

The next program is scheduled for WSB-TV (Channel 2) on Saturday, October 5, immediately after the World Series Game at approximately 5:30 p.m. Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges will be my guest. The discussion will be one of vital interest ... Atlanta and international trade.

I would like your suggestions for programs and people for the future.

MAJOR LEGISLATION SINCE THE LAST NEWSLETTER

A reader suggested that the Newsletter include a resume of completed legislative action. Such a recap will become a regular part of our report.

8/23 - Foreign Assistance Act of 1963 (H.R. 7885)

I voted to recommit this bill to the Committee on Foreign Affairs (Roll No. 132) with direction to reduce the authorization. This was, in effect, a cut of approximately one half billion dollars from the Committee's bill of $4.08 billion. The motion to recommit (the "cut") passed by a vote of 222 to 188.

When the time came to either pass or defeat the Foreign Assistance Act of 1963, I voted for it (Roll No. 133).

9/10 - The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 (S. 1576)

The bill provides for $70 million in matching funds over a three-year period for the construction of research centers and facilities for the mentally retarded; $115 million in matching funds for the construction of community mental health centers for a two-year period beginning in July, 1965; and $53 million for a three-year period for the training of teachers of mentally retarded and other handicapped children. I voted for the bill. It passed 335 to 19.

9/11 - To create a select committee of the House to investigate research programs conducted by or sponsored by the departments and agencies of the Federal Government (H. Res. 504)

I voted yea in the hopes of bringing order to what might become chaos (Roll No. 146). The resolution passed 336 to 0.

9/17 - The Fallout Shelter Construction Act (H.R. 8200)

This is a bill to amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to provide shelters in Federal structures, and to authorize payment toward the construction or modification of approved shelters in schools and other non-profit institutions. The bill passed the House by a voice vote. I voted aye.

A FALLOW LEGISLATIVE FALL

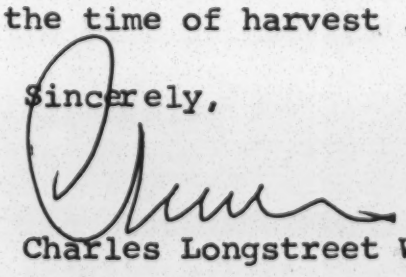
October is the month when "the frost is on the punkin and the fodder's in the shock". Harvest is in, and Indian summer comes with days of rest before winter's ordeals.

In Washington, there will be days of rest -- but hardly because the "harvest" is in. The Area Redevelopment Act, the Rapid Transit Bill, the Cotton Bill, the Quality Stabilization Act, the Youth Employment Bill, and others are all languishing in the Rules Committee with no sign of reaching the Floor for weeks.

The Civil Rights Bill is still before a subcommittee of Judiciary, and yet to face the Rules Committee before it reaches the Floor. Much of the original Omnibus Education Bill (H.R. 3000) is awaiting action of the Education and Labor Committee. The federal pay bills have a long row to hoe in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

October in Washington is not the time of harvest ... it is a fallow fall.

Sincerely,



Charles Longstreet Weltner

Pol. Ga.

Congressman Charles Longstreet Weltner

Reports from Washington

5th DISTRICT -- GEORGIA (NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

VOL. I, NO. 5 December 10, 1963

"CONTINUITY WITHOUT CONFUSION" -- PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

In the tragedy of President Kennedy's death the greatness of our system of government perhaps has been overlooked. Yet, in viewing the unrest and violence that attends changes of power throughout most of the world, I have a feeling of deep pride in the manner in which the affairs of this Nation achieved "continuity without confusion". Democracy and orderly process are instilled in the fiber of our Nation. And, notwithstanding the assassination and the deplorable incidents that followed in its wake, there was never one instant when the world had occasion to doubt the continuity of America's programs at home and abroad.

Orderly succession of power is a hallmark of greatness for any nation. That it exists so firmly and surely today is cause for comfort to every American during this period of national mourning.

MORE ABOUT COTTON

The Cooley Cotton Bill passed the House last week, December 4th. At one time, I had considered supporting this bill as the best means that might be presented for ending two price cotton. However, as more facts were disclosed concerning the actual operation of this quarter billion dollar package, I became convinced that it is simply unsound. True, it might furnish the basis for a substitution in the Senate of the Talmadge Bill -- which I wholeheartedly support. Yet, that decision must rest with the Senate, not with the House. Accordingly, I voted against the bill.

Two price cotton is an evil which threatens an important industry employing hundreds of thousands of people. It must be ended. But its demise must come from a sound program. Let us hope that the lengthy and heated debate in the House prior to passage of the Cooley Bill will disclose the necessity of adopting the Talmadge Bill. Its sound principles can redeem the agricultural programs from the quagmires of existing legislation.

THE JANUARY NEWSLETTER

This is the last Newsletter of 1963 and of this Session of Congress. The first Newsletter of next year, which will be published shortly after the first of January, will review the activity (and lack of activity!) of the first Session of the 88th Congress.

If you know of anyone who would be interested in receiving this review and the monthly Newsletters for next year, please send names and addresses.

A BID FOR A $56 MILLION NASA CENTER

Congressman John W. Davis and I have invited a team of Georgia businessmen, scientists, educators, and industrial developers to appear before a select NASA Committee in a bid to locate a $56 million electronic research center in Georgia.

Representatives of Georgia Tech, the Forward Atlanta Program, and the electronics industry will present Metropolitan Atlanta's case before a NASA fact-finding committee on December 16.

The Fifth District has the potential of becoming an important center of aerospace and electronics industry. Economic development of this kind means more jobs and better paychecks.

LEGISLATION DURING NOVEMBER

11/14/63 A Bill to implement the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, H.R. 8864. This bill would provide, in effect, for a coffee cartel to stabilize South American production. This means, I believe, higher coffee prices for American consumers. The measure passed the House 182 - 144. I voted "nay".

11/18/63 Appropriation for military construction for 1964, H.R. 9139. Provides $1,562,964,000, which is $403,436,000 less than the budget request. The bill passed 332-5. I voted "aye".

11/19/63 Public Works Appropriation, H.R. 9140. The bill passed without amendment, 358 to 27. I voted "aye". This bill did not include the Chattahoochee River planning funds or the Peachtree Creek Flood Control planning funds.

I was, of course, disappointed that neither of these important projects were included in the House bill.

However, Senator Russell was able to include both projects in the Senate version. If they are retained in Conference, both projects can be under way in 1964. Senator Russell deserves great credit for his effective work.

11/20/63 S-777, to extend the life of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. I voted "nay". It passed the House 252 to 133. It is necessary and advisable to carry on study and research in the field of arms control. However, I have not been impressed with the work of this agency since its creation in 1961. Further, I see no need for a separate agency to handle a subject which is properly the responsibility of the Defense and State Departments.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITY

On December 2, Dr. Ernest Ogram of Georgia State College and Dale Henson of the Atlanta World Trade Council attended a presentation in Hartford, Connecticut, and Worcester, Massachusetts, of a new international trade expansion program. The program will bring together business, labor, and university people in a continuing effort of work shops and research to assist the small businessman in international trade matters. We hope a seminar similar to the program in New England can be held in Atlanta early in 1964.

Also, in the international field, we have sent to the Ambassadors of Mexico, Switzerland, Japan, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands, Canada, and Venezuela, invitations to examine potentials for professional consulates and commercial attaches in the Fifth District. Accompanying our letter was a presentation prepared by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce pointing out Atlanta's advantages as a location for professional foreign representation. Letters from Mayor Ivan Allen, the Atlanta World Trade Council, The Foreign Trade Association, and other interested groups were included.

HOME AT LAST!

December 20th is still our scheduled adjournment date. I expect to be home until New Year's Day. Call me if I can be of service.

Sincerely,

Charles Longstreet Weltner
Member of Congress

Atl. Con. 1/4/63

RALPH Pal. Miss.

McGILL

A Falsehood To Be Exposed---

Gov. Ross Barnett's picture, slightly smudged, peered from page six of the paper. The camera had caught him with his head thrown slightly back and a restrained, almost shy smile on his face.

There was a story beneath the picture. It quoted the governor of Mississippi as saying citizens should be allowed to determine "whether or not they want their schools under the control of the federal government and the federal courts."

This was a surprising statement coming from a man who is governor of a state where a great many citizens have been, and are, denied the right to vote. The hopeful, however, will be encouraged by it. That the governor of Mississippi is asking for citizens to vote is news. (A smaller percentage of people vote in Mississippi than in any state in the union.) The picture was just a head and shoulders view. It was not possible to see whether the governor had his fingers crossed.

Shy Smile

Gov. Barnett's shy little smile was in keeping with the story. His suggestion that the people be allowed to vote whether or not they want the federal government to control their schools was, as he must have known, a fraud. It was said either out of ignorance or with a wish to deceive and further inflame a people desperately in need of truth. There are people in Mississippi who know, and serve, the truth. There are thousands more willing to know it. That a governor should issue such a statement lacking in any shred of truth is a sad commentary on him and his state. The federal government is not now controlling the University of Mississippi. Nor is it controlling any school, college, or university, anywhere in the nation. The Eisenhower government did not control education in Little Rock. Neither the present administration, nor any of the future, will wish or seek to control

had his fingers crossed.

Shy Smile

Gov. Barnett's shy little smile was in keeping with the story. His suggestion that the people be allowed to vote whether or not they want the federal government to control their schools was, as he must have known, a fraud. It was said either out of ignorance or with a wish to deceive and further inflame a people desperately in need of truth. There are people in Mississippi who know, and serve, the truth. There are thousands more willing to know it. That a governor should issue such a statement lacking in any shred of truth is a sad commentary on him and his state. The federal government is not now controlling the University of Mississippi. Nor is it controlling any school, college, or university, anywhere in the nation. The Eisenhower government did not control education in Little Rock. Neither the present administration, nor any of the future, will wish or seek to control education.

The government of the United States is not interfering in the slightest in the administration of educational processes of the University of Mississippi—or any other school. The university may hire and dismiss faculty members. It may set levels of admission. (Those of the University of Mississippi, because of legislative enactments, are the lowest in the nation.) The university may order its teachers to teach that the world is round, flat or square. It can set any salary limit it wishes. It is in full control.

Citizens' Rights

There is just one thing it may not do—it may not deny the right of entry to any qualified citizen of the state because of race, color, or religion. The Constitution of the United States imposes this on the State of Mississippi—not the federal government. There is no interference with control of educational processes. The federal government does not in any sense control the university.

It so happens that defiance of law and courts, as agitated by the governor, the newspapers, and the White Citizens Councils, made it necessary to have federal marshals there to protect the life and constitutional rights of a citizen. The government certainly would like to withdraw the marshals. The nation pretty well understands this. Millions of people, through the medium of television, have seen and heard the governor, public officials, and students of the school and know that this protection is necessary. They saw and heard, for example, the students say that if James Meredith remained there someone "would get him." The students discussed this possible murder as casually as if they were talking about a football game. "Don't get me wrong," said one. "It won't be my buddy or me, but someone will get him." That this could be said at a state university, in the 20th century, in a nation which boasts of its democracy and its equal rights of all citizens, is a commentary on Gov. Barnett, his associates, and the power structure of his state.

It is a shameful thing for Gov. Barnett to add to anger, to multiply tensions, when his state, its economy, and its future are in desperate need of truth so that it may proceed to subtract from violence and live up to the Constitution and the pledge to the flag —"One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Pol. Miss.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Wednesday, Feb. 20, 1963 13 ★★

First GOP Is Elected To Mississippi's Assembly

MERIDIAN, Miss. (AP)—Lewis L. McAllister became the first Republican elected to the Mississippi General Assembly since Reconstruction days Tuesday.

McAllister, 30, an accountant, polled 3,086 votes in a runoff to 2,298 for his Democratic opponent, Dennis Goldman, 26, an attorney, in a race for the House of Representatives from Lauderdale County.

McAllister and Goldman, one of three Democrats seeking the post, ran first and second in the Feb. 5 election. The election was called to choose a successor to former Rep. Natie Caraway who resigned when he moved to Jackson to join a law firm.

"This is an indication of a trend toward a two-party state and a two-party South," said McAllister, who described himself as a Goldwater Republican.

Atl. Jour. 2/20/63

GOP Wins Mississippi House Seat

Pol. Miss.

MERIDIAN, Miss., Feb. 20 (UPI) — L. L. (Mack) McAllister, chairman of the state Young Republicans Club, Tuesday became the first Republican in almost 40 years to be elected to the Misisippi legislature.

McAllister, on the basis of unofficial returns, defeated Democrat Dennis Goldman, 3,066 votes to 2,298, in a special election for a seat in the House of Representatives.

Running as "an individual," McAllister led a five-man field by 1,400 votes in an earlier election. The other three Democrats threw their suport to Goldman in the two-man runoff.

Barnett Yields, Aids Sheriffs

Pol. Miss. Atl. Jr. 2-24-63

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau Chief
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 23—The fifth special legislative session of Gov. Ross Barnett's four-year administration, which ends in January, convenes Monday to implement Mississippi's first reapportionment since 1890. There have been two regular biennial assemblies since the governor took office in January of 1960.

Although the upcoming session is primarily for enactment of legislation setting up "posts" in counties with more than one representative, Gov. Barnett has included another subject, legislation to permit county sheriffs, who double as tax collectors, to seek immediate re-election and be placed on a salary.

Under the present statute, the dual officeholders must "lay out" four years before becoming eligible for another term to the office now operated on fees.

However, by the time the lawmakers settle down, Gov. Barnett is expected to add other subjects for consideration. At the moment, he is considering throwing in the controversial issue of increasing truck load limits from 64,650 pounds to 73,250 pounds.

THE TRUCK WEIGHT proposal was offered at a special session in November, but killed in committee. Added incentive for its enactment is the fact that the Arkansas legislature, now in session, has okayed the higher load limit.

In placing the sheriffs' succession proposal in the call, Gov. Barnett yielded to pressure from the State Sheriffs Association. He is also expected to "give in" on many of an estimated 30 subjects proposed by various groups.

Only those subjects, other than resolutions, submitted by the governor may be considered at special sessions.

Adding to the prospect of a longer than earlier anticipated session is that about 36 of the 140 House members cannot return since their counties were stripped of representation under the first reapportionment in 73 years. The new House will be 122 instead of 140, with the more populous urban counties getting increased seats in a shift from the smaller rural counties which have long dominated the legislative scene.

Against the pressure of the lame ducks, however, will be that of those eligible for re-election in the campaign scheduled to open around June 7. That is the deadline for qualifying in the Aug. 6 Democratic primary.

MAJOR VOTER reaction to be faced by legislators seeking re-election is the high cost of the present assembly. It has cost the taxpayers $2,924,580, and by the time the current session adjourns, it will have exceeded $3 million. That compares with the $1,200,596 spent by the preceding administration of former Gov. J. P. Coleman.

Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, president of the Senate, and House speaker Walter Sillers foresee a long, drawn-out session on the controversial sheriffs proposal. That's due to major differences of opinion on the proposal and the fact that two previous special sessions sidestepped the issue.

Speaker Sillers is pessimistic on the ability of the upcoming session to reconcile differences on the sheriff succession bill. That is agitated by opposition from candidates who already have announced in anticipation of the incumbents not being in the race.

Jubilant Republicans Eye Race for Governorship

atl J-C 3-3-63

Pol

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau Chief, Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to the Journal-Constitution

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss., March 2—Mississippi Republicans, jubilant over the election of their second state legislator since Reconstruction, have girded for an all-out effort to win the governorship in this year's election. The undertaking is more than herculean.

L. L. McAllister Jr., young certified public accountant of Meridian, won a Lauderdale County house seat over a field of Democrats. He was elected to a vacancy created by the resignation of Democrat Natie Caraway.

The young Republican's victory was the springboard for chairman Wirt Yerger's announcement that the state headquarters in the Lamar Life Insurance building was being enlarged from two to eight offices, and that the one-man organizing staff was being increased to five—all full time.

IN ADDITION to a headquarters organization director, Mr. Yerger added three field men in as many congressional districts and employed a public relations director.

The political effort at the moment is directed toward the setting up of local committees to handle the campaign of the GOP governorship aspirant, Rubel Phillips of Jackson, a one-time Democratic state officeholder turned Republican. Mr. Phillips formerly served as circuit clerk in Alcorn County (Corinth), and later as chairman of the State Public Service Commission.

Although his Democratic opponent won't be selected until the August primary of that party, Mr. Phillips is active statewide in speaking before civic clubs and other groups.

Like two of the candidates seeking the Democratic nomination in the November general election, Mr. Phillips is centering his preliminary campaigning on President John F. Kennedy and the administration's actions in desegregating the University of Mississippi with the backing of a federal court order, 30,000 United States troops and 500 federal marshals.

Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson and Charles Sullivan, former Clarksdale district prosecuting attorney, are both expected to aim their attack on the Kennedy brothers.

A third "potential" Democratic governorship aspirant, former Gov. J. P. Coleman, takes a different approach. He said there are major state problems for solution which should be given attention and something a governor can do something about. He said the Kennedy issue should be left to the next presidential election and for whatever efforts that can be done by the state's congressional delegation in lessening the threat to states' rights.

INCIDENTALLY, the lone Republican in the House of Representatives is in that category only in party name. The speaker of the House and other leaders haven't voted for Democratic presidents since 1932. They have supported the Republican ticket when there were no States Rights or Unpledged Electors on the ballot.

Rep. McAllister, who campaigned on the Kennedy "issue," likewise finds himself among "friends" in a legislative branch which has resoluted consistently against the national Democratic party leadership.

Three Mississippi newspaper editors braved the threat of being tagged "anti-Mississippian" by stating that "cussing the Kennedys is not enough to win the governorship.'" They pointed to major problems facing the state which should be given top billing in the upcoming campaign.

Making the statements in their editorial columns were Oliver Emmerich of the McComb Enterprise-Journal; Sid Harris of the Times-Post at Houston, and Phil Mullen of the Madison County Herald at Canton.

Mississippi

A special legislative session which convened Monday primarily to consider implementing two voter-approved constitutional amendments, has been turned into a full scale General Assembly by Gov. Ross Barnett. . . . He has added 16 items to those for setting up posts under the new reapportionment and legislation relative to immediate succession in office by county sheriffs who also serve as tax collectors. . . . And the governor indicated "there's more coming." . . . A lengthy session will threaten the reelection efforts of the legislators as they are losing time from their campaigns while their opponents back home are active on the stumps. . . . The deadline for qualifying is June 7. . . . And the legislators find themselves in the seventh session since Gov. Barnett took office, the six previous ones having cost the taxpayers in excess of $2.9 million. . . . As one legislator lamented, "We need to be home patching up our fences—if we have any left."

States Rights Democrats Sow Seeds of Revolt in '66

atl J-C 3-10-63. Pol Misc

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau Chief
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss., March 9—A statute designed to tighten the grip of states rights Democrats on Mississippi's presidential electors has been signed into law by Gov. Ross Barnett, sponsor of a 1960 winning unpledged slate.

Enacted at a recent special legislative session, the law calls for a preferential primary to select electors from two slates — one pledged to the national party candidates and the other independent free agents. The winning group would carry the party label in the November general election.

Should the independents win —as was the case in 1960— then the national party pledged electors would be forced to petition for placement on the ballot, minus party designation.

ELECTORS are now named in state party convention. Except for name, Mississippi Democrats have little in common with the parent national party. They attend the national convention, but in recent years have returned home and turned on its standard-bearers.

Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, a candidate for governor in the August Democratic primary, said the objective is to win support of other southern states in an ambitious effort to throw the presidential election in the national house of representatives. He said with Mississippi independent electors tagged as Democrats that Democratic electors in other states would not be as hesitant to form an anti-Kennedy bloc as they would if the former were dubbed independents.

The lieutenant governor takes the position that the Democrats "can't win without the South if it sticks together and the best way to insure President John F. Kennedy's reelection is for the south to do nothing."

There is another apparent motive in the new law. It is to reduce the Republican vote by giving "dissatisfied Democrats" an opportunity to elect independent electors as Democrats pledged to withhold their votes from President Kennedy in 1964. It was an organization of "Democrats for Eisenhower" which gained the largest Republican vote in Mississippi since Reconstruction in 1952.

Sen. Flavous Lambert of Belmont, who opposed the proposal, said the "reason behind this is that the unpledged electors in 1960 failed to get the overwhelming vote they had expected and they are afraid that without the party label next year they will lose."

In the 1960 presidential election, Unpledged Electors of the Democratic Party of Mississippi tallied 116,248 votes, while the loyalist slate designated nominees of the Mississippi Democratic Party Pledged to

Ross Barnett

President Kennedy

vote for John Kennedy, rolled up 108,362. The Republican electors came in third with 73,561.

State Republican leaders are wary of the statute which requires a party primary in order to designate electors. The Republicans have never held a primary and if they are required to do so they will have to foot the bill—around $250,000 —for one in the 82 counties since they failed to poll 33 per cent of the total vote in order for state payment of the primary.

HOWEVER, sponsors said if there is only one slate of Republican electors they can go on the ballot as such without a primary. There is some question, however, that they may be forced to petition for a place on the general election ballot.

The statute is somewhat confusing to say the least. Under it, a political party would hold a state convention at which 10 per cent of the delegates — there's a total of 244 — could field a slate of pledged elec-

High Pay Government Job Has But 9 Months to Live

Pol. Thru

By JAN ARLIN
North American Newspaper Alliance

JACKSON, Miss., March 23—The second highest paying job in any governmental unit in the United States has only nine months to live.

The job, which pays between $65,000 and $80,000 a year, will die next January when the current term of the incumbent, William Winter, expires.

Winter is Mississippi's state tax collector. His pay, second only to the salary of the U. S. President, is realized from the collection of a black market assessment on liquor sold in violation of Mississippi's hard-liquor prohibition law.

HOLDER of the office since March, 1956, Winter strongly advocated its abolishment when the matter was before the legislature last year.

"I believe I have held the office as long as a reasonable man should want to hold such a high paying position," Winter declared.

Winter also believes the handling of the work by the State Tax Commission will put more money in the state treasury.

As tax collector, Winter has collected about $15,000,000 annually in black market liquor taxes. The tax commission also collects a special sales tax on illegal liquor sales in about the same amount as Winter's.

MISSISSIPPI, under a 1944 law, has given the tax collector authority to collect a tax of 10 per cent on liquor sold in neighboring states and brought into Mississippi.

The collector pockets 10 per cent of what his office collects and turns the remaining 90 per cent over to the state treasury. The collector must pay his expenses out of the 10 per cent he pockets.

Most of Mississippi's liquor is brought into the state from neighboring Louisiana. Winter has a working agreement with Louisiana, whereby tax officials there supply him with invoices on sales for Mississippi consumption. This makes Winter's job easier.

Winter frankly admits the remuneration for the tax collector's job has gotten out of proportion to its duties. The tax commission, which will take over the job in January, is operated by state appropriation and not a fee basis.

Winter was a member of the state House of Representatives when he was appointed tax collector in 1956 by the governor to succeed Mrs. Thomas Baley, widow of a former governor. Mrs. Baley died two months after taking office. In 1959, Winter was elected to a four-year term ending next January.

While his earnings from the state job have brought Winter, according to estimates, more than $600,000 since 1956, he doesn't plan to retire. He expects to remain in politics, his favorite work.

$20,000 FOR 4 TIRES

MIAMI, Fla., March 23 (AP) — A federal jury has awarded $20,000 damages to a man who contended he was shorn of privacy and humiliated when a dealer stripped all four tires off his car in 1960.

Jose Santiesteban, a country club waiter, said coworkers joshed him about the incident and the club asked him to move the car—left standing on its rims—because it was a source of embarrassment. He did so after borrowing some tires.

The defense admitted Santiesteban was not behind in his installment payments for the tires. It said the tire-stripping resulted from a mixup.

Mississippi Democrat Turns GOP

Atl. Con. 3/28/63

Pol. Miss.

GULFPORT, Miss. (AP)—Democratic State Sen. Stanford E. Morse Jr., 36, turned Republican and announced as a candidate for lieutenant governor Wednesday.

In a hotel news conference, the Gulfport lawyer said the Republican Party offers the only logical way for dissatisfied Southern Democrats to oppose the Democratic Party.

"We must be practical enough to recognize that the independent or third party movement is doomed to failure," he said.

The announcement made Morse the GOP candidate unless some other Republican also announces for the post. A state GOP primary would be necessary if that happened, Morse said.

He emphasized that he would not run on the same ticket with the GOP candidate for governor, Rubel Phillips, a Jackson lawyer. They will conduct separate campaigns.

"Rubel and I agree in principle on what we are trying to do," said Morse. "But if any Mississippi voters feel they cannot vote for Phillips for any reason, I hope they vote for me."

GOP Cashing In On Demo Schism

Atl. J-C 3-31-63

Pol. Thru

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau Chief
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., March 30—A younger and solidified Republican leadership is out to "cash in" on the schism in Mississippi's old - line Democratic ranks in this year's state elections.

It is a far more aggressive organization than the one that fielded the last Republican candidates for governor and lieutenant governor in 1947.

Encouraged by the wide split in the Democratic forces—the anti-Kennedy state party group on the one hand and the so-called "loyalists" on the other—the Republicans this week trotted out a running mate for their earlier entry for the governorship.

State Sen. Stanford Morse Jr., Democrat of Gulfport, announced his candidacy for lieutenant governor as a Republican in the November general election. He will be the runningmate of his University of Mississippi law school classmate, Rubel Phillips, 38-year-old former Democratic elected public service commissioner and Alcorn County circuit court clerk who earlier announced for governor on the Republican ticket.

The 36-year-old Mr. Morse is serving his second four - year term from the senatorial district composed of Harrison and Stone counties in deep south Mississippi. He was a leader in the recent successful legislative reapportionment movement, as well as the unsuccessful effort to gain local option legalization of liquor.

MR. MORSE, his father and a brother are members of the same law firm at Gulfport. Like Mr. Phillips, who hails from deep northeast Mississippi, Mr. Morse is a veteran of World War II.

At the same time that Sen. Morse announced his Republican candidacy for lieutenant governor, Miss Evelyn Gandy, the state treasurer, formally entered her name for the same office, except on the Democratic ticket in that party's Aug. 6 primary.

Miss Gandy, a former member of the late Sen. T. G. Bilbo's Washington staff and one-time Forrest County (Hattiesburg) legislator, brought the list of Democratic aspirants to four. The others are former Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin of Laurel; Ex-Mayor Troy Watkins of Natchez and Jackson chiropractor Dave Perkins.

Miss Gandy's greatest obstacle is that the office she seeks is just a "heartbeat" away from the governorship.

Although the Democratic slate for the governorship is expected to contain three names, only one has formally announced. The formal entry is Charles Sullivan, former Clarksdale district attorney who made a record-shattering third-place show in 1959 in his first statewide campaign.

Yet to announce are Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson and former Gov. J. P. Coleman. They were opponents in 1955 when Mr. Coleman emerged winner.

MR. SULLIVAN was a 1960 unpledged state Democratic presidential elector. Former Gov. Coleman spearheaded the Kennedy-Johnson campaign, while Lt. Gov. Johnson remained "silent" without public disclosure of his position.

Republican Party Leader Wirt Yerger Jr., young Jackson insurance company executive, said his group will offer candidates for the legislature in several counties. That office "try" was spurred by last December's win of a house seat by Republican L. L. McAllister of Meridian, in a special election to fill a Democratic vacancy in Lauderdale County.

Thus far two Republicans have announced for the legislature. They are Hugh Arant of Minter City, in Leflore County (Greenwood), and George Persons of Jackson, in Hinds County (Jackson). Mr. Persons is a nephew of former Gov. Gordon Persons of Alabama, and Wilston Persons, one-time aide to former President Eisenhower.

Mr. McAllister is expected to seek reelection in Lauderdale County.

A DETERMINED effort to bolster a two-party system in Mississippi is under way by the Republicans. Unlike the Democrats, they have a full-time fully staffed headquarters in Jackson, with organizers in most of the five congressional districts.

Indicative of the Democratic party split was a recent statement o fGov. Ross Barnett, who sponsored the unpledged presidential electors who carried Mississippi in 1960. He said:

"There are two kinds of Democrats in Mississippi. There are the so-called loyalists or Kennedy Democrats who want to support the nominees of the national party and then there are the tried and true Mississippi Democrats who positively can not and will not support the nominees of the national party in 1964."

The governor also recalled a recent statement of Bidwell Adam of Gulfport, the chairman of the Democratic State executive Committee who served as lieutenant governor under the late Gov. T. G. Bilbo. He said:

"The chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic party of Mississippi, who openly supported the national party nominees in 1960 and spoke openly against our unpledged elector, has publicly stated that he can no longer stomach the national party and the Kennedys."

It is on those breakaways the Republicans hope to "cash in" on in November.

Mississippi Race Political Die Cast

Atl. J-C 4-7-63

By KENNETH TOLER
Memphis Commercial Appeal Bureau
Special to The Journal-Constitution

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss., April 6 — The political die is cast and readied for a test run at the polls in this year's Mississippi election for offices ranging from governor to constables in the 82 counties.

A definite announcement, scheduled April 15, by former Gov. J. P. Coleman will round out a list of three aspirants for the Democratic nomination in the party primary Aug. 6. The other contenders will be Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, making his third bid for the office, and Charles Sullivan, former Clarksdale district attorney who ran a close third in 1959 in his first statewide campaign.

In preparing for the formal entry, Mr. Coleman said he recognizes he will be the target of his opposition because he spearheaded the 1960 national party presidential campaign in Missisippi.

LT. GOV. JOHNSON, who stood side-by-side with Gov. Ross Barnett in defying the Kennedy-sponsored desegregation of the University of Mississippi, and Mr. Sullivan, a 1960 unpledged elector, have served notice that national issues will be paramount.

The facts that former Gov. Coleman left his successor administration a $34 million surplus and no integration are not as emotionally packed as ones centering around the Kennedys and their efforts at desegregation and elimination of discriminations against Negroes seekig voter status.

THE WINNER in the Democratic affair will face Republican Rubel Phillips, a former Democratic office-holder, in the November general election. Mr. Phillips has also said he will make the national issue—meaning the Kennedys—paramount in his efforts to be the first Republican governor since Reconstruction.

Also all set is the slate of candidates for the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. Asking for a third term in that office, after a four-year layout after losing the governorship in 1959, is former Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin.

Contesting with Mr. Gartin will be a woman aspirant, Miss Evelyn Gandy, who cannot immediately seek re-election as state treasurer; Ex-Mayor Troy Watkins of Natchez, a former president of the Mississippi Municipal Association, and Jackson chiropractor David Perkins.

THE WINNER in that round also must continue his campaigning until the general election as the Republicans have fielded State Sen. Stanford Morse of Gulfport.

The Republicans are planning to run a candidate for attorney general. If they do, their nominee will face the winner in a two-man Democratic race between Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson and State Sen. John McLaurin of Brandon.

The "key" in the Republican effort to field candidates for governor and attorney general is to gain control of the State Election Commission. It names election commissioners which more or less control the elections.

NO OTHER state offices are scheduled to be in the Republican roster this year.

However, a play for representation in the legislature is to be made after a victory late last year of a House member from Lauderdale County to fill a Democratic vacancy. The Republican winner, L. L. McAllister of Meridian, will seek reelection.

atl J-C 4-14-63 Mississippi Pol. Miss.

Taking cognizance of tensions resulting from voter registration and school desegregation activities, the Mississippi Economic Council in recent annual meeting called on participants in this year's state elections to soft-pedal the race issue. . . . It said "in the interest of developing Mississippi, maintaining the existing friendship between the races and maintaining law and order, we urge candidates and political organizations to refrain from belaboring the race issue in political campaigns." . . . New president of the statewide organization of civic and professional leadership is Jack Reed, merchant of Tupelo who during the midst of the Negro James Meredith-Ole Miss desegregation crisis said Mississippi would suffer economic catastrophe if schools were closed in the face of desegregation efforts. . . . The council also urged resistance to "political interference with the college board or the administration of any institution," an obvious reference to board action in the Ole Miss desegregation in appointing Gov. Ross Barnett as "special registrar" in the Meredith enrollment controversy. . . . The governor is not a member of the constitutional board. . . . A Democratic legislative aspirant in Hinds County is Mrs. Guy T. Gillespie Jr., wife of a physician and daughter-in-law of the late president of Belhaven College. . . . Mrs. Gillespie, the former Miss Tay Anderson of Pontotec, is a former director of religious education in a Columbus, Ga., Presbyterian church. . . . She is the fourth woman candidate in Hinds County. . . . State Sen. Flavous Lambert of Belmont has announced for northern district public service commissioner to succeed Commissioner Hal Phillips who is not seeking reelection. . . . John C. Dowling Jr. of Gaffney, S.C., will lecture before the Mississippi Flower Show Judges' council in Jackson April 24.

Atl. Con. 4/18/63

Mississippi's No. 2 to Run

Pol. Miss

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson Jr., who lost in three earlier tries, announced Wednesday he would again seek the governorship of Mississippi.

Johnson, 47, a native of Hattiesburg, pledged efforts "to secure the enactment of laws" which would support and protect "those principles by which we live."

Atl Jour. 4/19/63

Lt. Gov. Johnson Seeks No. 1 Post In Mississippi

Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss., April 18 (AP)—Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., 47, formally announced Wednesday he will seek the governorship of Mississippi—a post which he tried to win in three earlier elections.

Johnson personally blocked the entrance of James H. Meredith, a Negro, into the University of Mississippi one time last fall. Later Meredith was enrolled following a night of rioting which took two lives and injured scores.

Gov. Ross Barnett cannot succeed himself.

atl J-C 4-28-63

Drys Have Their Laws-- While Wets Have Liquor

Pol. Miss

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau Chief
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss., April 27—State Tax Commission records bear out the oft-repeated assertion that the "drys have their prohibition laws" and the "wets their liquor" in this lone remaining legal oasis among the 50 states.

Liquor is a multimillion-dollar trade in this state with a statewide prohibition law.

Tax commission records show that the retail and wholesale liquor business in Mississippi last year amounted to $30,965,323. Those records list the names of the taxpayers and are available to law enforcement officers should they have the urge to prosecute.

The state's take in the way of taxes totaled $3,177,202. Of that amount, a special sales tax of 6 per cent at the wholesale level and 9 per cent on retailers, netted $1,686,839, while another levy, a 10 per cent so-called 'black market tax' levied in 1944, brought in $1,490,363.

NEITHER TAX collecting agency claims taxes were paid on all liquor brought into the state for resale. There are some sections where lack of "cooperation" between local officials and those at the state level permits liquor to escape taxes.

Broken down by sales, the tax collecting agencies show that $17,685,062 in retail liquor sales were involved in collections, and $13,280,261 in wholesale transactions.

Taxes were collected on liquor sales in 42 of the state's 82 counties.

Harrison County (Gulfport) on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, where open sales are permitted without interference from law enforcement officers, did the land-office business, reporting

publican Rubel Phillips, favor county-option legalization, while Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson is against it.

Yet to be heard from is former Gov. J. P. Coleman, both as to his position on county-option legalization and definite announcement that he will seek a second term. He said his decision will be revealed in ten days — and his friends insist it will be "yes" insofar as running for the governorship in the Democratic primary is concerned.

Meanwhile, sensing a changed sentiment due to the new legislative line-up, the dry forces have organized for retention of the prohibition laws. They are looking at it from a "moral" standpoint and not the increased revenue the state will need to balance the next biennial budget, now about $40,000,000 shy of that effort.

without interference from law enforcement officers, did the land-office business, reporting the sale of $7,007,646 in liquor.

Warren County (Vicksburg) another "open sales area," was second with a trade volume of $5,319,437. Likewise, Leflore County (Greenwood) where large wholesalers operate without molestation, was high on the list, reporting a volume of $4,-665,189.

Rankin County (Brandon) across Pearl River from the capital city of Jackson, recorded $4,131,213 in retail and wholesale business. In a recent court hearing, a Rankin County bootlegger boasted a $2,000,000 a year business, much of it being fashionable clubs — key and country—in Jackson.

However, the tax collection report disclosed that all the Jackson liquor does not come from across the Pearl River. Hinds County, the capital city's location, did a $2,770,630 volume in liquor trade during the 1962 period.

LAUDERDALE County (Meridian) in former years one of the top-runners registered only $90,960.

Big volumes shown in counties where liquor sales are not discouraged by those in authority, included:

Adams County (Natchez), $1,-431,650; Bolivar County (Rosedale and Cleveland), $752,194; Hancock County (Bay St. Louis), $837,752; Jackson County (Pascagoula), $995,325; Sunflower County (Indianola), $989,-141; Washington County (Greenville), $847,710. They are coast and Mississippi River counties, the "wet" liberal areas.

Covington County (Collins), considered a "dry" county in south central Mississippi, reported $67,330 in retail liquor sold last year.

Some observers feel that with the new legislative reapportionment which shifted representation from the smaller populated "dry" hill counties to the populous urban "wet-sentiment" political subdivisions, the 1964 legislature may legalize liquor on a county-option basis.

HOWEVER, the "key" may rest in the man elected governor in this year's election.

Two of the candidates, Democrat Charles Sullivan and Re-

Atl. Jour. 5/10/63

Coleman Runs Again in Mississippi

Pal. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss. (UPI) — Former Gov. J. P. Coleman, who says Mississippi can quietly preserve segregation without inflammatory statements from its leaders, is seeking another term as chief executive.

Coleman, 49, announced his candidacy Thursday at a news conference in his law office here.

He referred to his segregation policy by standing on his 1956-60 administration's "complete preservation of our domestic institutions without doubt, without strife and without daily uproar."

"I want to let the people know I will not play politics with their troubles for the benefit of myself," said Coleman, who has been called a "moderate" by Gov. Ross Barnett.

Coleman, already under attack from other candidates for supporting John F. Kennedy for president, said President Kennedy should not be a campaign issue because he "could not carry Mississippi in 1964 regardless of who the governor is."

"I'm sure the President realizes that himself," said Coleman of the man who sent troops into Mississippi during the University of Mississippi integration crisis.

Industry Beats Labor To Punch on Right-to-Work

Atl. J-C 5-12-63

Pal.

MISSISSIPPI

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau Chief
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., May 11 — Management has gotten the "jump" on organized labor in the upcoming Mississippi political campaign by putting the governorship candidates "on the line" on issues in the labor-management area.

Both groups are more active than in the past in their advocacy of certain measures and are conducting statewide campaigns in advance of balloting in the August Democratic primary.

Management, represented by the Mississippi Manufacturers Association, is opposed to many of the 18 points in the AFL-CIO legislative program sponsored by the Mississippi Labor Council, and vice versa. It was first in calling the candidates before its representatives, beating labor to the jump in that regard.

MANAGEMENT'S representatives also got the answers they wanted from the candidates on four major issues on which they differ with labor.

Major issue backed by management and on which the candidates agreed is continuance of the state's right-to-work law. The candidates said they will oppose any effort to repeal the statute, which incidentally, is now in the state constitution. Organized labor is opposed to the law and was successful in Louisiana several years ago in electing an administration which gained its repeal.

Because of labor's success in Louisiana, is seeking to "hold the line" in Mississippi.

Management also gained assurances from the candidates that they will oppose labor-sponsored - and - management - opposed enactment of a state minimum wage law similar to the federal fair labor standards act.

Also siding with the manufacturer's position against a state version of the Davis-Bacon federal prevailing wage law, the candidates agreed to oppose its application to state government contracts. Under the federal statute, locally prevailing wages are paid on federal work projects.

THE CANDIDATES also said they will oppose creation of a State Department of Labor, long sought by organized labor in Mississippi.

Labor apparently is not discouraged as a result of the positions expressed by the governorship aspirants. It is contacting legislators by mail on its program, seeking to gain support from the group that passes the laws. However, the "key" is the governor in view of his veto power.

The only significant disagreement among the candidates was over creation of a lay state board of education in place of the present ex-officio board composed of the attorney general, secretary of state and state superintendent of education. The manufacturers favor a lay board on the grounds that two of the elected officials have functions of their own offices which prevent them from giving full consideration to educational matters.

An amendment to create a nine-member lay board of education was rejected by the voters last November, although backed by Gov. Ross Barnett and the manufacturer's association. Sponsors contend it would improve the administration of the public school program and permit increased efforts in inaugurating a program for training skilled and technical workers for new industries locating in Mississippi.

THE CANDIDATES favoring the manufacturers - advocated lay board were Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson and Charles Sullivan, Democrats and Rubel Phillips, the Republican aspirant.

Former Gov. J. P. Coleman prefers the present board setup, but would "look with a great deal more favor" if the new board would be elected and limited to three members.

Labor favors the present ex-officio board.

Improvement in the workmen's compensation laws to get a more favorable rate for coverage in Mississippi was one of the questions which the manufacturers asked each candidate.

Coleman said he would sign "any bill that would give industry a better break, so long as it is fair to the man who has to sustain the injuries."

Lt. Gov. Johnson is willing to have a legislative study committee make recommendations on changes which should be made, while Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Phillips believe the problem is in defining compensable injuries in order to prevent many claims from going to the courts.

MR. SULLIVAN gained a major breakthrough. He conditioned his appearance on the meeting being open to the press. He won out on it.

In the 1959 campaign, Mr. Sullivan, who ran fourth, refused to appear before organized labor's representatives when they declined to open the session to the press.

Both groups are aware of one thing—campaign promises are not always fulfilled after an election.

5-20-63 Pol - Mi 25
file before

Greenwood Commonwealth

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Lines Are Drawn

The appearance of four candidates for governor before a meeting of the Citizens Council in Jackson has produced the campaign's first real bit of acrimony — and hardened some of the lines the summer will follow.

Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson Jr. revealed part of his pitch when he tore into former Governor J. P. Coleman, charging that Coleman recommended passively admitting James H. Meredith to the University of Mississippi then "getting him out later."

At the time of the Meredith crisis, such a suggestion might have seemed heresy. However, it was a strategy seriously discussed behind closed doors and there are many people who believed at the time, and still believe, that may have been the shrewdest approach.

However, Coleman has denied that he made the suggestion, at least indirectly, by issuing a statement that Johnson has "fallen into a gross mistake."

So there undoubtedly will be sequels to the Johnson-Coleman exchange over the weekend.

Meanwhile, all four candidates have claimed they can guarantee the con -tinued segregation of Mississippi educational institutions.

While all four, we feel, will certainly do their utmost to fullfill that promise, nobody can predict what course national politics and Negro agitation will take. There are cartain things which can be done, certain actions and reactions can be mapped in advance. But since no candidate is going to spell out his hypothetical course, the segregation issue will probably be characterized throughout the campaign by "his word against mine" claims of "I can do it better."

Coleman, meanwhile, would do well not to dwell too long on his four-year

reactions can be mapped in advance. But since no candidate is going to spell out his hypothetical course, the segregation issue will probably be characterized throughout the campaign by "his word against mine" claims of "I can do it better."

Coleman, meanwhile, would do well not to dwell too long on his four-year record in this field.

There were too attempts to integrate institutions of higher learnings during his administration. But neither was in any way comparable to the Meredith situation.

One, at Ole Miss, was the bumbling effort of a tragic unstable figure to regain something he thought he had lost by attacking the NAACP.

The other, at Southern ,was carried out by another Negro, almost equally alone.

Meridith, of course, had powerful backing.

Coleman, however, was on hand when Clennon King rode his bus from the Mississippi Gulf Coast to Oxford. The black Cadillac bearing license Number One was parked at a tree-shaded command post less than a mile from the highway Patrol ringed Lyceum Building and all orders that day emanted from the Tall Man from Choctaw.

The crisis was handled well. But it was not the same kind that James Meredith generated some years later.

(T. W.)

Governor Barnett's Smear

Not since the days the nation was being asked to believe that President Eisenhower was a conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy have we had anything quite comparable to Gov. Ross Barnett's testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee. To the Mississippi Governor, the whole civil rights movement now sweeping this land is a simple phenomenon. It's all a Communist plot in which sinister roles are played by President Kennedy, his brother Robert, the Attorney General, Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and others.

Such tactics may be good politics in Mississippi, but the Governor was testifying in Washington before sophisticated Senators who have heard the Communist smear used before and seen through it. By the time the Senators' questioning was over, the gaping holes in Governor Barnett's case were clearly visible for all to see.

At the risk of belaboring the obvious, the facts about Communism and the Negroes in this country are worth recapitulating so that the full fantasy of these charges may be evident. The Communist party here has long seen a potential field for influence in the legitimate grievances of American Negroes and has often tried to exploit those grievances. The remarkable fact, however, has been the abysmal failure of these Communist efforts and the party has never occupied more than a most marginal position among American Negroes. The men who lead American Communism would dearly love to be at the head of the present civil rights movement, but they are not. The American Negro community has instead produced a series of remarkable leaders, many of them clergymen like Dr. King, who have directed and are directing the drive for full equality, using techniques whose inspiration goes back to Thoreau and Gandhi, not Marx and Lenin.

The great danger, of course, is that if the diehard segregationists like Governor Barnett are successful in frustrating the Negroes' legitimate aspirations for full equality then the American Negro community may, out of frustration, abandon the present moderate leadership and enroll under the banner of the waiting extremists. Governor Barnett clearly does not realize it, but the extremists—whether Communists or Black Muslims or others—are counting upon him and others like him to give them leadership among American Negroes.

'64 ELECTORS PLAN PUSHED BY BARNETT

July 18, 1963 NYT

ATLANTA, July 17 (AP)—Gov. Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi said last night that a compact of Southern states could prevent the election of a liberal President and would receive help from other sections in electing a conservative.

He said that people throughout the nation "are fed up with the concentration of power in Washington" and are waiting for leadership toward "a return of constitutional government."

The South can provide that leadership, Mr. Barnett said at a rally sponsored by the Atlanta Citizens Council, if its states will adopt the unpledged electors plan and withhold their support from both the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Pol - Miss

If Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Virginia, Louisiana, Arkansas and South Carolina withhold their 65 electoral votes from both major Presidential candidates, he said, the 1964 election could be thrown into the House of Representatives.

Then, Mr. Barnett continued, conservatives throughout the nation would have a strong chance of deciding who the next President would be. Each state would have only one vote should the election be forced into the House.

Mr. Barnett spoke to about 3,000 persons in a downtown hotel. He received three standing ovations. Outside the hotel, pickets of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People marched to protest his appearance.

SBV

Pol. Miss. 1963

Mississippi:

Best Bet In Governor's Race: There's Sure To Be A Run-off

About one week ago SOUTH *staffer Carl Goggins went to Mississippi, made an on-the-ground survey of what people are saying about the torrid governor's race. This is his report.*

WITH VOTING DAY just a fortnight away only one thing's certain in the hammer-and-tongs race for the Mississippi Democratic gubernatorial nomination. There'll be a run-off Aug. 27 as soon as the Aug. 6 count is completed for (listed alphabetically) former-Governor J. P. Coleman, Lt. Governor Paul B. Johnson, and former district attorney Charles L. Sullivan of Clarksdale.

There's a fourth candidate—McGee's ebullient Robert F. (Blowtorch) Mason—who has taken time off from operating a welding business to take a second flyer at the state's top office. Mason figures to finish fourth in a four-way race, same as he did in 1959, but he's having himself a fine time along the way and providing some comic relief from the dead seriousness of the top contenders. Taking it down the line, this is what a broad cross-section of Mississippi "guess-perts" are saying at SOUTH's presstime. It's entirely possible last moment developments could knock their observations into a political cocked hat.

Prematurely graying, War II fighter pilot Charlie Sullivan was a late entry in the governor's race in 1959, attracted broad interest for his whirlwind campaign methods and stump challenges, finished a respectable third behind Governor Ross Barnett and then Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin. Sullivan never stopped running, but took time to be the presidential nominee on the Constitution Party ticket in 1960. Lots of people figured Sullivan would be the man to catch in 1963. Whether he is or not won't be known until the night of Aug. 6.

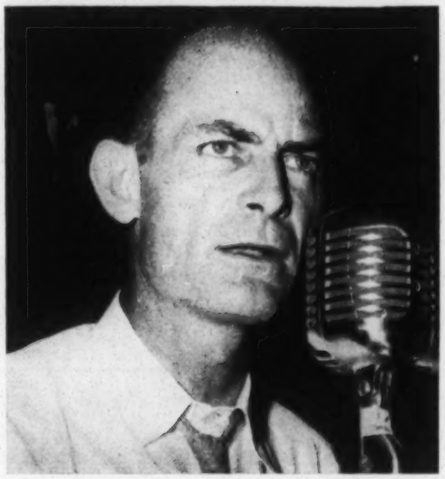
There are reports that recent attacks on the Constitution Party platform on which Sullivan ran three years ago by both Johnson and Coleman are hurting the youngish attorney. One reason, folks are saying, is that one platform plank called for abolishing both TVA and REA. The TVA territory in Northeast Mississippi isn't likely to take kindly to criticism of TVA's tax-subsidized power supply. On the other hand that portion of the state wasn't considered a Sullivan stronghold to begin with, his major strength believed to be in his home Delta area and in portions of South Mississippi. REA-fed co-ops are scattered.

COLEMAN . . . will JFK hurt?

Sullivan has taken a flat-footed stand for local option liquor control as a substitute for "dry" Mississippi's peculiar arrangement whereby liquor sellers operate in areas of the state where no local objection is enforced but are required to pay a so-called "black market" tax on alcoholic potables. This position, a repeat of Sullivan's stand in 1959, may cut both ways. Ardent drys—and their number are considerable in the state where liquor is available but illegal—don't like Sullivan's approach to the issue. This is likely to hurt him most in the so-called "hill" counties. Voter disaffection in that area may be somewhat offset by support for his local option position in the Gulf Coast area. Oddly enough, Sullivan carried one of the state's driest counties when he ran four years ago.

Johnson, who has made the run-off twice in the course of his three previous bids to become governor, is a well-liked, able public figure who has been closely tied to state government for many years. He has continually remarked that he'd spent much time in previous campaigns criticizing opponents mainly because he had no elective office experience of his own to claim. Now, Johnson hammers away at the advances made during his term as No. 2 state official and that of the Barnett administration. On the touchy liquor issue, Johnson simply says he's willing to have it submitted to popular vote if the legislature so ordains.

Johnson strategists purposely delayed organizing their forces this time because it was felt that the Hattiesburg figure had always kicked off too soon in previous races. One of his strongest stumping points has been to emphasize his stand beside Gov. Barnett during last year's emotion-packed Ole Miss incident. Last week, hustings-wise Johnson came up with a vote-attracter neither of his major opponents can match. His campaign headquarters made it known that their man might have to curtail a portion of his rigorous speech-making. Reason: "A severe sore throat caused by gassing at Oxford last Fall."



JOHNSON . . . veteran campaigner.

Ex.-Gov. Coleman, a mostly unobtrusive, behind-the-scenes operator as a member of the state House for the past three-and-a-half years, has three stout vote-getting items going for him. He has kept an effective political organization well oiled, he will gather by far the larger portion of the potentially 30,000 negro votes and he has the support of labor. Also working in his favor is the fact that he left office after his first term in 1960, leaving behind a state treasury cushion of $34 million. Plus that, he has repeatedly stated that no schools were integrated and no federal troops marched into the state during his term.

Coleman, however, has been the target of a steady drumfire from both Johnson and Sullivan that he not only boosted President Kennedy for the vice presidential spot in 1956 but also is on record as an outspoken backer of the Kennedy-Lyndon Johnson ticket three years ago. Coleman claims he is "bitterly disappointed" in Kennedy administration tactics, only followed the lead of Senators James Eastland and John Stennis in backing the 1960 national Demo ticket. He adds that he also was attempting to help protect Sen. Eastland's chairmanship of the potent Senate Judiciary committee by going along with the party. Several weeks ago Sullivan appeared on television and without comments of his own showed a playback of Coleman touting the JFK-LBJ ticket in rather glowing terms during the 1960 contest. This soft spot in Coleman's record is the prime source of concern to his backers. Just how much damage it has caused is something that only Aug. 6 can answer. There are some competent observers who feel that Johnson-Sullivan attacks on Coleman's Kennedy affiliations came too soon, may lose their full sting before election. Coleman has vehemently denounced rumors that he has received "outside" backing for his campaign.

Gov. Barnett, who undoubtedly could swing much weight should he choose to declare himself outright for a candidate, has followed a strictly hands-off policy thus far. Only possible saddle burr that might bring him into the campaign picture would be excessive criticism of his administration.

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W. Lee Wood, Industrial
Development Department

MISSISSIPPI POWER COMPANY
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Sullivan has tossed a few barbs Barnett's way of late but apparently hasn't irritated the Governor enough to bring him out where it might have political impact.

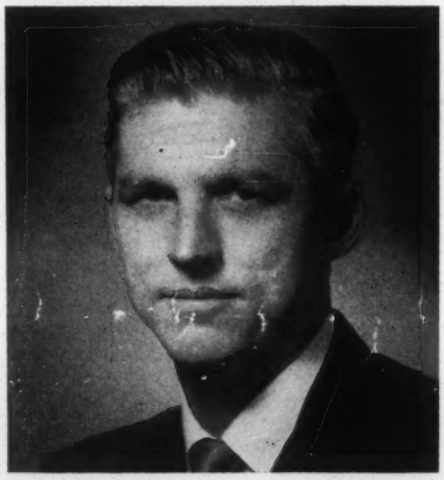
Prime supporters of Sen. Eastland have put heavy backing behind Johnson but the Senator himself has taken no public stand. Citizens' Council groups did not solidify in their support. Jackson's group is behind Johnson while Sullivan has attracted active help from Greenwood's Council and elsewhere. Coleman has no such support.

The heaviest business community help appears to be split between Johnson and Coleman, with the latter probably having the edge there. There have been late campaign rumors that the state's growing Republican organization is sending out word for their people to vote for Coleman on the theory they can make a stouter race against him in the Fall on an out-and-out anti-Kennedy position.

Sullivan should run well in the northern Delta area. In the Southern Delta present predictions are for a close race between the top three. Coleman is heavily favored in the Northeast TVA section with Johnson not too far behind. Johnson and Sullivan appear to have the edge in midstate. Johnson looms strong in South Mississippi and on the coast. There, however, Coleman has strong family ties. Sullivan also, as mentioned earlier, gains favor for his liquor stand plus the fact he was born in that area.

Possible clue to how the race is really shaping up was noted recently by some wind-samplers. It is this: When the campaign got underway Sullivan and Johnson directed the major portion of their fire at Coleman with the naturally drawn conclusion they believed they'd have to knock him out of the race and fight it out between themselves in the run-off. Of late they've been turning considerable fire at each other. This has led some political filberts to surmise that Coleman's backing can't be shaken loose, that Johnson and Sullivan may now feel they're facing the task of fighting their way into a run-off spot.

All of this, of course, brings up the added question of whether Coleman, even if he should lead in the first go-round, will poll his top vote then. Eight years ago he ran second in the first primary, won easily in the run-off. This year it appears that finding the winning combination isn't going to be easy for anybody. If campaign fever rises into August, a 400,000-vote turnout is possible.



SULLIVAN . . . strong second try.

When all the Demo primary shouting is done, the winner still has to face a stern test from widely-known, capable Rubel Phillips, the GOP candidate, in November. A former Democrat, Phillips was once chairman of the state Public Service Commission, is well regarded throughout the state. Thus far he's shied from dealing in personalities in laying groundwork for his later push, has effectively extolled the advantages of a two-party system in his state.

Alabama:

Southern Salvo

THE Governor of Alabama took a plane load of ammunition to federal Washington last week and opened up with both barrels upon arriving. Drawing a bead on pending "civil rights" legislation and all its sponsors, he dared the Kennedy administration and Congress to submit "this abominable program to a nationwide referendum and get the shock of your lives when the people overwhelmingly reject it."

Before a Senate Commerce subcommittee and a packed gallery, George C. Wallace raked the administration proposals fore and aft for three hours, called them a product saturated with "gross hypocrisy" and declared the President's continued appeasement of negro minority bloc leaders for "selfish political reasons" has brought the country to "the brink of civil warfare."

Lashing the entire "rights" package and bearing down particularly at sections aimed at government control of private business and property, Wallace looked a group of hostile senators in the eye and thundered: "The President, the Attorney-General and every member of Congress who has sponsored this legislation stand indicted before the American people. A President who sponsors such legislation as this should be retired from public office, and this goes for any governor or other public officials who have joined in this mad scramble for the minority bloc vote."

Negro leaders, the Governor vociferated, "have now pressured the President into the ridiculous position of placing his stamp of approval on mob violence and rioting in the streets of this country. People who write me thousands of letters from all over this country want their elected representatives to start representing them and not the minority bloc voting mobsters."

He told the subcommittee he doubted he would change their votes (South Carolina's Sen. Strom Thurmond was the lone southerner on the panel), but he asserted the people of America were being alerted and he felt certain they are ready to halt "the continued usurpation of power by the federal government and the failure to adhere to the Constitution of the United States."

Barnett Flays Dixie Use as Whipping Boy

Atl. Jour. 7/29/63

Pol. Miss.

BAXLEY, July 29 (UPI)—Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett used a brief address at a beauty pageant here Sunday to blast the federal government for "overstepping its constitutional powers and constantly making a whipping boy out of the Southern states."

Barnett, a member of the top echelon of segregation forces in the South, said the federal government is "assuming to exercise powers that it does not have under the Constitution" in recent integration moves.

The outspoken critic of the Kennedy administration appeared at a privately-sponsored beauty and talent pageant before an audience of about 2,500 South Georgians.

He urged the 50 states to stand up and come to their own defense, led by a "common front" of Southern states, and obtain "a restoration of constitutional government."

Barnett told the crowd to "hang on" and that "things will turn our way." He said that he warned the Senate Commerce Committee that if Congress gives "Bobby Kennedy the right to control every restaurant, hotel, motel and drugstore in America," instead of having "500,000 Negroes invading Washington in August, there may be 100 million white people" making a march.

2 Kennedys Assailed As 'Vindictive'

7/31/63 W-Post

Mississippi's Law Chief Raps Power Use, Draws Rebuke

JOL - Miss.

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

The Attorney General of Mississippi, Joe T. Patterson, yesterday bitterly accused President Kennedy and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, of "vindictive" use of power and of stirring up racial unrest.

Patterson's attack, voiced at a Senate Commerce Committee hearing, brought a sharp rebuke from Sen. A. S. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) and from two other Democrats present.

Monroney, who was presiding, told Patterson he disagreed and felt that the witness had damaged his case

Chairman Celler of House Judiciary Committee agrees to try to add FEPC section to omnibus rights bill. *Page A4.*

Pickets protesting alleged job discrimination in New York use children to block dump trucks. *Page A4.*

Rights leader warns of possible violence in Danville. *Page B2.*

"in condemning these two young men who are doing their best" in the face of "tremendous crises."

Patterson's running fire criticism of the President and his brother came in contrast to the softspoken but firm opposition to the public accommodations features of the Administration's Civil Rights bill voiced by another Southern witness, Georgia's moderate young Governor, Carl Sanders.

Appeals to Committee

Sanders said the public accommodations bill would imperil the civil rights "progress" he said is being made in his State. He appealed to the Committee to leave the matter "to the men and women of good will who have worked together to achieve voluntary solutions to our manifold problems."

Attorney General Kennedy was undergoing his fourth day of questioning on the civil rights program before another Senate committee, the Southern-controlled Senate Judiciary unit, while Patterson and Sanders testified before the Commerce Committee.

A Senate Labor subcommittee headed by Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.), dealing with other segments of the civil rights program, meanwhile favorably reported two bills expanding manpower retraining programs to help Negroes improve their educational standards and get better jobs.

The two bills would:

- Eliminate the present re-

See RIGHTS, A4, Col. 4

RIGHTS—From A1

2 Kennedys Assailed As 'Vindictive'

quirement that states match Federal grants for job retraining programs starting next year. This amendment would result in an increase of $161 million in the Federal authorization for the program starting in 1964.

- Provide literacy training for 52 weeks, with emphasis on reading, writing and arithmetic. This bill would lower the age limits of trainees from 19 to 16 and increase the percentage of trainees in the youth group from 5 to 15 per cent, to cover dropouts.

Mississippi's Attorney General Patterson, in his attack on the Kennedys, told the Commerce Committee:

"I firmly believe that the present U. S. Attorney General, with the approval of the President of the United States is far more responsible for the unfortunate racial violence and troubles we are having through this Nation than the ruthless leaders who are sponsoring and promoting racial unrest.

"I make this charge because I know as a matter of fact that down in my State, agents and representatives of the Department of Justice are ever present where there is racial trouble, and instead of working with the duly elected and responsible officials in an effort to prevent violence and disorder, these agents of the U. S. Attorney General actually aid, abet and encourage violation of State laws and municipal ordinances, assuring the agitators that if and when arrested the Department of Justice will come to their rescue."

Charges Abuse

He charged "vindictive use and abuse of power" vested in the President. He said the U. S. Attorney General "has demonstrated . . . his immaturity, irresponsibility and fiendish delight in bringing to bear upon any and all who would dare oppose him the crushing power of teh overwhelming might of the U. S. Government."

Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) told Patterson this type of attack on the President and the Attorney General "shocks me" and he thought it would shock a majority of the committee.

Hart said "the flow of history" not the President and his brother, have brought the issue to a head.

But Patterson repeated: "I say again without apology that these two individuals have have taken their powerful offices and used them to bring about racial situations."

Statement "Intemperate"

Sen. Howard W. Cannon (D-Nev.), like Monroney and Hart, told the witness he wished to disassociate himself from his criticism of the President. Monroney called Patterson's statements "intemperate."

"I think the President has very grave problems and he is trying to resolve them," said Cannon.

'Cuss Kennedys' Top Election Topic in Mississippi

By James Saggus

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) "Cuss the Kennedy" campaigning is expected to draw a record 450,000 votors to the polls next Tuesday in Mississippi's Democratic primary election for Governor.

All four candidates—three of them veteran politicans—have stumped the state announcing opposition to the National Administration and its policies.

The big issue is which man can save Mississippi from a National Administration usually presented as an ogre gobbling up state and individual rights and stirring up racial discord.

Candidates are:

Former Gov. J. P. Coleman, 49, an Ackerman lawyer who headed the state government from 1956-60.

Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson Jr., 47, a Hattiesburg lawyer and son of a late Governor, now making a fourth effort to follow in his father's footsteps.

Robert Mason, 65, a Magee welder nicknamed "Blowtorch," who polled 2704 votes in his 1959 gubernatorial bid.

And Charles Sullivan, 38, a Clarksdale lawyer who ran a surprisingly strong third for Governor as an unknown four year ago.

Most political observers predict Coleman will face either Johnson or Sullivan in a runoff three weeks after the first primary.

The "Kennedy issue" has overshadowed such traditional vote-getting planks as old age pension, teacher pay, legalized liquor and the like in this year's campaigning.

Because there is little difference in the basic stand of the four on the "Kennedy issue," the campaign has seemed largely a matter of each candidate claiming he opposes Washington more strongly or can fight Washington more effectively than his opponents.

The general election comes up Nov. 5. It will pit the Democratic winner against the Republican candidate, Rubel Phillips.

For the first time in modern politics, the GOP is being regarded as a political force in the state, largely due to the anti-Kennedy sentiment being stressed by the Democrats.

Miss. Pol-South

7/31/63 W-Post

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, AUGUST 4, 1963.

MISSISSIPPI FOES ASSAIL KENNEDYS

3 Primary Candidates for Governor Vie in Attacks

Pol. Miss.

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, Miss., Aug. 3—"If Khrushchev was running against Kennedy here, Khrushchev would beat him," muttered a local student of the current turmoil known as the Democratic primary.

"And," he added, "if Bob Kennedy was the candidate, Khrushchev would beat him worse."

Though the man's words were not meant to be analyzed literally, they illustrate the mood and the central issue in this first round of the Mississippi campaign for governor.

The central issue is the Kennedys, a synonym here for hated desegregation and the trouble at the University of Mississippi last fall when troops and marshals were required to carry out a court order to install James H. Meredith, a Negro, as a university student.

Three candidates, vying for Tuesday's votes, churned the already super-heated air, each avowing in turn that he is best qualified to deal with the Kennedys.

Politics is a favorite spectator sport of Mississippians. Here on the Neshoba County fairgrounds in the red north-central hills, 1,600 men and women crowd into the timbered shed to applaud the hiss and roar of anti-Kennedy invective and to chuckle at anti-Negro obscenities. The candidates speak of Washington as if it were a foreign power.

Officially the temperature is 97 degrees, probably hotter in the shed though it is open on three sides. The women, wielding improvised fans, beat the air to get their breath, but will not leave till the meeting is over.

Tradition is strong. This is political jamboree week. Every year, for nearly three-quarters of a century, folks have come to the fairgrounds, "camping out" for a week in hundreds of identical cottages. There are harness races, band concerts, trapeze acts and as many as 14 political speeches in a day.

Associated Press

KENNEDY IS AN ISSUE: Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi, who is running for Governor on a platform that he is more anti-Kennedy than his foes.

Twelve candidates for other offices had already spoken when Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson set out to prove that he was more anti-Kennedy than anybody. At 47 he is making his fourth run for governor. The Citizens Council and Senator James O. Eastland are reputed to be silent backers. He reminded the audience that he had stood up to Chief Marshal James McShane at Oxford last fall, though the confrontation was a brief, unrecorded conversation.

"Either I was right or John Kennedy was right and Bob Kennedy and all the left-wingers were right," he shouted. "Either you believe in state's rights, home rule, or you believe in turning over this state to a black minority."

The Johnson fans applauded.

He purported to quote an old Mississippi Negro: "Mr. Paul, all N.A.A.C.P. means to me is niggers, alligators, apes, coons, and possums." The crowd laughed.

He turned his attack on a rival, former Governor James P. Coleman, who is not anti-Kennedy enough to suit him.

"I don's blame anybody for trying to get the Kennedy albatross off his neck. He bucks and squirms like a house cat with a can on his head trying to get it off. But he can't. He wined and dined Kennedy in 1956."

Then it was Charles L. Sullivan's turn. Mr. Sullivan, 38 and lean, is a lawyer from the Delta town of Clarksdale. Politically, he stands far to the right. He was the Presidential candidate of the Texas Constition party in 1960 and seems to have an ample campaign budget this year.

His most emphatic claim is that he was anti-Kennedy ahead of anybody. When he was running against the President in 1960, he said, Mr. Coleman was voting for Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Johnson "stayed home in Hattiesburg."

Mr. Sullivan proposed as Governor to cut off welfare subsidies to illegitimate Negro babies and "see that Mr. Kennedy is defeated and never elected to the Presidency again."

Mr. Coleman had spoken to the fairgrounds crowd the day before. He was down the road at Forest doing a repetition. He is 49 years old, a successful lawyer in northeast Mississippi. Besides having served a term as Governor he has been Attorney General and is now a member of the State House of Representatives.

He voted for Mr. Kennedy in 1960 and was offered the post of Secretary of the Army. These points seem to be liabilities now and Mr. Coleman is on the defensive. His other liabilities are Northern publications that have commented favorably on his ability, experience, intelligence and recognition of a world outside Mississippi. These comments have been bludgeons in the hands of rivals, who interpret them to mean that he is not truly a segregationist.

So Mr. Coleman promises to maintain segregation of the races and throws in a couple of references to "niggers." It is clear that as a candidate he cannot afford to be tagged even as "moderate."

Robert Mason, a blacksmith who is a perennial candidate, is also entered in the Democratic primary for governor but is not expected to be a serious factor.

A fledgling Republican Party, represented by Rubel Phillips is threatening a stiff contest in the fall.

Gov. Wallace 'Has a Rage' To Run Against Kennedy

Atl. Jnl 8/4/63

Pol. Miss.

By GROVER C. HALL JR.
Editor, The Montgomery Advertiser
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

ALABAMA

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 3. There was speculation in Maryland, Ohio and Indiana newspapers whether Gov. George C. Wallace would enter their Democratic presidential primaries to bedevil President Kennedy.

The speculation, particularly that in The Baltimore Sun, was solidly based on statements by officials of the Wallace administration and by the governor's own statements at the National Governors Conference in Miami.

There is no question whatever that Wallace, to whom any campaign is an ecstasy, has a rage to run in one or more presidential primaries outside the South.

WALLACE has his fantasies, but no delusions that he could win a primary against the President. Simply, he is persuaded that he has become a conspicuous national protest symbol and that he would get a significant vote from Northern whites who are dismayed over the Kennedy civil rights crusade.

Wallace asserted bluntly at Miami that he was "against Kennedy." He believes it possible that by entering some primaries he could hector and injure Kennedy.

Contrarily, some believe that if Wallace bearded Kennedy in the primaries it actually would benefit Kennedy.

In any event, the novelty and daring of a Confederate governor's excursion into a northern presidential primary and the belief in considerable modification of northern white sentiment make the enterprise interesting to newspapermen in these areas.

FOR EXAMPLE, Wallace told one Cincinnati editor in Miami that he had 100,000 letters from over the country, many accompanied by cash. The editor flew to Montgomery and inspected the stacks by states.

Should Wallace go over this Niagara in a barrel, his position will be remarkable. He would offer as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. But in May the chances are that Alabama, under his leadership, will have elected 10 presidential electors pledged to withhold the state's vote from Kennedy.

Thus, in a subsequent presidential primary Wallace would be unable to say that he would support the presidential ticket of his party. He and his state would already have taken a walk.

In fact, at this point nobody knows just why Alabama should send a delegation to the Democratic Convention since Alabama will already have voted against Kennedy.

Wallace acknowledges the eccentricity of these circumstances, but argues that the normal rules do not apply in tumultous times. Meanwhile, he is accepting speaking engagements in places such as Boston, Chicago and the law school of the University of Pennsylvania.

Pol - Miss

'Illegal' Negro Voting Try Expected in Mississippi

Jackson, Miss., Aug. 5 (AP).—About 450,000 Mississippians will choose among four Democratic candidates for governor tomorrow. There were reports that unregistered Negroes might try to invade the polls.

The campaign was based largely on appeals to the apparently widespread anti-Kennedy feelings.

The candidates in the Democratic primaryare Former Governor J. P. Coleman, Lieutenant Governor Paul Johnson, attorney Charles Sullivan of Clarksdale and Robert Mason of Magee, a welder.

Governor Ross R. Barnett, who cannot succeed himself, took no public part in the campaign. His backers have split between Johnson and Sullivan.

The polls will open at 7 a. m. (CST) and close at 6 p. m. Observers have predicted that it probably will be late Wednesday before the outcome is known because the ballots are hand-counted in all but one of the state's 82 counties.

Most observers expected Coleman and either Johnson or Sullivan to get in the runoff August 27.

Both Johnson, 47, a Hattiesburg attorney making his fourth try for governor, and Sullivan, 38, a former district attorney making his second, concentrated on Coleman's backing John F. Kennedy for president in 1960.

Coleman, 49, an Ackerman lawyer who was governor from 1956-60, said he did so only after the state's United States senators appealed for support of the national ticket to help them keep their Senate committee posts.

Johnson, who also was a Democratic Party loyalist in 1960 although he took no active part, said during the campaign that he had voted for the unpledged Democratic electors.

Those electors later cast their votes for Senator Harry Byrd, the conservative Virginia Democrat.

Unsigned circulars advising Negroes to try to vote by affidavit have been circulated. Sources close to the Negro community indicated that the project may have some strong backing.

Other sources said efforts would be made at Jackson, Greenwood, Clarksdale and other delta areas.

State Attorney General Joe Patterson said any such efforts would be illegal. He said the law permitting a person wrongly denied registration to file an affidavit listing his preferences applied to those whose names were erroeously left off poll books.

Public
Miss. Reg.

Miss. - Reg. data

Tense Mississippi Picks a Governor

Atl. Con. 8/6/63

Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—An estimated 450,000 Mississippi voters will choose among four Democratic candidates for governor Tuesday.

After a slow campaign based largely upon widespread anti-Kennedy feelings, interest surged higher with rumors that Negroes may invade the polls.

The racial overtone came too late in the campaign to determine whether it would have any effect on the voters choosing among former Gov. J. P. Coleman, Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, attorney Charles Sullivan of Clarksdale and Welder Robert Mason of Magee.

NO PUBLIC PART

Gov. Ross Barnett, who cannot succeed himself, took no public part in the campaign. His key backers who did participate split between Johnson and Sullivan.

The polls will open at 8 a.m. (Atlanta time) and close at 7 p.m. Most observers predicted it probably would be late Wednesday before the outcome is known because ballots are hand-counted in all but one of the state's 82 counties.

They expected Coleman to win a place in the runoff three weeks from Tuesday against either Sullivan or Johnson.

FOURTH TRY

Both Johnson, 47-yead-old Hattiesburg attorney making his fourth try for governor, and Sullivan, 38-year-old ex-district attorney making his second, concentrated on Coleman's connection with the 1960 presidential election, when he backed John Kennedy.

Coleman, 49-year-old Ackerman lawyer who was governor from 1956-60, said he did so only after the state's U.S. senators appealed in behalf of the national ticket to maintain their committee posts in the Senate.

Johnson, who also had been regarded as a party loyalist in 1960 although he took no active part, said during the campaign he had voted for the unpledged Democratic electors.

They later cast the state's electoral vote for Sen. Harry Byrd, the conservative Virginia Democrat.

WP 8/6/63

Mississippians to Make Governor Choice Today

Pol. Miss.

Jackson, Miss., Aug. 5, (AP) President Kennedy is very much in the Mississippi Democratic primary even though his name is not on the ballot for theh election Tuesday.

What one candidate calls a "cuss the Kennedys" campaign has overshadowed the traditional State issues in the heated campaign to pick the probable successor of 65-yeear-old Gov. Ross R. Barnett.

Barnett, who attracted world-wide prominence last fall by defying the Federal Government in the court-ordered admissions of James H. Meredith, a Negro, to thhe University of Mississippi, cannot succeed himself.

The four Democratic candidates are:

• J. P. (for James Plennon) Coleman, 49, of Ackerman, who served as Governor in 1956-60. A lawyer, he has been in the State House of Representatives for the last four years. Before winning the Governorship, he was a district attorney, circuit judge, State Supreme Court Justice and attorney general. He has never lost a Statewide election.

• Paul B. Johnson, 47, of Hattiesburg, now the Lieutenant Governor. A World War II Marine captain and son of a former Governor, Johnson—like Barnett—faces criminal contempt proceedings in the 5th U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals stemming from the Meredith case. Johnson has made four previous attempts for the Governorship; he was defeated the last time in 1955 by Coleman. He won the Lieutenant Governorship four years ago by a lopsided margin.

• Robert Mason, 60, of Magee, a welder who earned the nickname "Blowtorch" for his colorful stump speeches during the 1959 gubernatorial campaign. He finished last in a four-man field with about 20,000 votes. Mason says he saves his money and either goes on vacation or runs for public office.

• Charles Sullivan, 38, of Clarksdale, the third major candidate. Sullivan, a prematurely gray-haired former district attorney, finished a surprisingly strong third in the 1959 gubernatorial campaign. He is a states-rights advocate who says he will bolt the Democratic Party rather than vote for President Kennedy. In 1960, Sullivan supported Gov. Barnett's winning slate of unpledged Presidential electors and was himself the presidential candidate of the Constitution Party in Texas.

TWO FACE RUNOVER AT JACKSON

Atl. Jour. 8/7/63

Pd. Miss.

Johnson Leads; Coleman Well Over Sullivan

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 7 (UPI). Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson and former Gov. J. P. Coleman, both committed to resist integration at every level, Wednesday built up leads that would apparently put them in an Aug. 27 runoff for the Democratic nomination for governor.

Johnson, 47, who lost three previous tries to win the office once held by his father, was virtually assured of a place in the runoff to pick a successor to Gov. Ross Barnett, prohibited by law from succeeding himself.

Coleman, who defeated Johnson in a runoff for governor eight years ago, maintained a lead of more than 11,000 votes over attorney Charles Sullivan as the slow tabulation of votes from Tuesday's primary continued.

With 1,484 of the state's 1,888 precincts complete and reports coming in from scattered incomplete precincts, Johnson led with 128,181 votes. Coleman had 107,384 and Sullivan 92,462.

Retired welder Robert (Blowtorch) Mason, who said he entered the race because he liked to make speeches, was a distant fourth with less than 2,000 votes.

Democratic nomination usually is tantamount to election in Mississippi but the runoff winner this

Turn to Page 18, Column 5

RUNOFF

Continued From Page 1

year faces the first Republican candidate for governor since Reconstruction, and political observers predict a tough campaign by the GOP's Rubel Phillips, a former Democrat.

A runoff also appeared certain in the race for lieutenant governor. Carroll Gartin, a former lieutenant governor under Coleman, held a slim lead over former Natchez Mayor Troy B. Watkins and state Treasurer Evelyn Gandy in a five-man contest. Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson, who contended he had Dixie's best record in fighting civil rights cases, apparently won a new term in a bitter battle with state Sen. John McLaurin.

Johnson pegged this campaign on his physical resistance to court-ordered integration at the University of Mississippi last fall. He boasted in campaign posters that he "stood up for Mississippi" when he and state police engaged in a pushing and shoving match which temporarily kept federal marshals from getting Negro James Meredith into the university.

Johnson later was cited for contempt by the U. S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals, which had ordered him and Barnett to refrain from interfering with Meredith's enrollment. The U. S. Supreme Court has been asked to decide whether the two will get jury trials on the contempt charges.

Johnson, who publicly describes the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People as "niggers, apes, alligators, coons and possums," has asserted the federal government would never imprison a governor. He asked voter support to keep himself out of jail and to let the nation know that Mississippians support the defiant stand.

Coleman and Sullivan both said the university crisis made one thing clear: that physical resistance was not an effective means of preserving segregation. Each tried to convince the voters he could do a better job of keeping the races separated.

Coleman often reminded voters that there was total segregation in Mississippi when he was governor, immediately before Barnett took office. He liked to tell of the time a Negro tried to enter a college and state police, acting under his orders, put him in the mental hospital.

Mississippi Runoff Rivals Map Race-Issue Campaign Strategy

Pol-Miss
W-Post 8/8/63

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 7 (AP)—Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson and former Gov. J. P. Coleman planned segregation-centered strategy today for a Democratic primary runoff for Governor—their second in eight years.

Steadily mounting returns from yesterday's first primary voting kept the two political veterans well ahead in the four-man race. Sources close to both men predicted the runoff campaign would make the uneasy racial situation the prime topic.

With 1622 of the State's 1890 precincts reporting, Johnson had 134,017 votes to 114,168 for Coleman. Charles Sullivan trailed with 96,680, while run-for-fun candidate Robert Mason had 2263.

In the 1959 first primary, Coleman trailed Johnson by 18,000 votes, but won the runoff by 48,000.

All four candidates campaigned as opponents of the Kennedy Administration. Each pledged an all-out effort to thwart Administration desegregation and civil rights plans.

Continued emphasis on race, heightened by the personal clash of the two long-time foes, will bring new heat to the runoff between men who blocked efforts of Negroes to enter the University of Mississippi.

Johnson, a 47-year-old Hattiesburg attorney and son of the late Gov. Paul Johnson Sr., turned away James H. Meredith on one of the Negro student's unsuccessful bids to enter the campus last fall.

Coleman a 49-year-old Ackerman lawyer who served as Governor in 1956-60, turned away Negro Clennon King during his term of office and had him whisked to a mental hospital for observation. King was declared sane and later left the State.

Another issue that will remain before the voters is the part the two candidates played in the 1960 presidential race.

Coleman backed the national ticket. Johnson took no part, but said last month that he voted for the unpledged Democratic electors who carried the State.

The unpledged forces sought to withhold enough electoral votes from both major candidates to block the election of either, hoping to bargain for civil rights concessions in return for votes.

you'll win her with

NYT 8/8/63
Pol. Miss.

Citadel of Segregation

Mississippi, there she stands, the last great citadel of segregation in this country. Progress is being made in other Southern states, however slowly, toward a sane and decent balance in racial relations. If any progress is being made in Mississippi it is almost indiscernible.

In Tuesday's Democratic primary, the loudest, most violent segregationist of them all, Paul Buchanan Johnson Jr., led the four other aspirants for the gubernatorial nomination. Political observers have little doubt that he will win the runoff primary with former Gov. J. P. Coleman Aug. 27, and thus assure himself of the Governor's chair.

Mr. Coleman was the best qualified on the record and normally would have had no trouble winning. But he is what passes for a moderate in Mississippi, that is, one who believes in obeying the law, even if it be a "Washington law." And that is anathema to the Paul Johnsons and Ross Barnetts and the white citizens of the back country, if the law cuts across their prejudices.

So Mississippi again has spoken and it appears Mr. Johnson's name will be added to that long and undistinguished list of Mississippi political leaders that includes Governor Barnett, the late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo and the present Senator James O. Eastland.

It was, of course, only white Mississippi that spoke. Although almost half of the state's population of 2,200,000 is Negro, only 5 per cent of its registered voters belong to that race.

Eventually, Mississippi will have to get in step with the other 49 states. But that date seems at least a generation in the future. The philosophy of apartheid still rules in Mississippi.

Johnson, Coleman Face Runoff

Atl. Jour. 8/8/63
Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 8 (AP)—Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson and former Gov. J. P. Coleman, facing a return of their 1955 duel for the governor's office, Thursday sought support from backers of Charles Sullivan in the Aug. 27 Democratic runoff primary.

The winner will meet Rubel Phillips, a Jackson lawyer who switched his party allegiance from Democratic to Republican, in the Nov. 5 general election.

Johnson, 47, who has lost his three previous races for governor, led Coleman, 49-year-old state representative who has never lost an election in 28 years of public life, in Tuesday's first primary. Sullivan, a 38-year-old Clarksdale attorney, repeated his performance of four years ago by finishing third.

IN THAT ELECTION, Gov. Ross Barnett succeeded Coleman as governor and Johnson won his first elective spot, the lieutenant governorship.

With 1,777 of the state's 1,800 precincts reporting Tuesday's results, Johnson had 156,359 votes to 135,491 for Coleman. Sullivan had 113,825 while Robert (Blowtorch) Mason, a 65-year-old Magee welder, had 2,707.

Johnson led the first primary in 1955 by 18,000 votes but Coleman won the runoff by more than 48,000 votes.

Johnson, continuing his anti-Kennedy campaign theme, said he invited "all of the Sullivan supporters into our ranks . . . to join with us in our common cause —which is to save Mississippi from the Kennedys. . . ."

"THE JOHNSON and the Sullivan supporters have, by their votes, given overwhelming endorsement to Mississippi's official position for local self-government and individual freedom."

Coleman issued a call for all persons, regardless of "who they may have supported in the first primary," to join in his runoff campaign and attend a state organizational meeting here Friday.

Gov. Ross Barnett, who succeeded Coleman in 1960, took no part in the first primary, in keeping with state campaigning tradition.

The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans has declared both Barnett and Johnson guilty of civil contempt and has brought criminal contempt charges against them for defying federal court orders to admit James H. Meredith, Kosciusko Negro, to the University of Mississippi.

NYT 8/8/63
Pol. Miss.

THE

Associated Press

TO COMPETE IN MISSISSIPPI VOTE: Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, left, and former Gov. J. P. Coleman are to be opponents in Aug. 27 vote for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Mississippi. Mr. Johnson placed first and Mr. Coleman second in four-man first lap of primary race. They are shown at a meeting held early in the campaign.

Racial Extremist Tops Field In Mississippi Primary Voting

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 7 — A spokesman for extreme segregationists who is a strident antagonist of President Kennedy emerged today as top man in the first lap of the Democratic primary for Governor.

He is Lieut Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., who campaigned largely on his role of resistance to Federal troops and to marshals when they forced the desegregation of the University of Mississippi last fall.

The second man in the primary, who will be Mr. Johnson's opponent in the run-off Aug. 27, was former Gov. J. P. Coleman.

Mr. Coleman paid his respects to segregation in the campaign but offered four years of "peace and tranquility." Mr. Johnson scoffed repeatedly at that slogan. "A mockingbird in the magnolia trees," he called it.

Although a rightist, and an anti-party and anti-Kennedy man, Mr. Coleman spoke of "colored people" rather than of "niggers," which is the common pejorative in this state.

Eliminated in the voting was Charles L. Sullivan, a District Attorney from northwest Mississippi.

Coleman an Underdog

A fourth candidate, Robert Mason, did not take himself seriously and has returned to his welding shop with a consolation prize of 2,000 votes.

With 1,622 of the 1,890 precincts counted, Mr. Johnson had 134,017 votes. Mr. Coleman 114,168 and Mr. Sullivan 96,680.

Mr. Coleman is rated an underdog in the second primary, for which campaigning is expected to begin immediately.

Eight years ago, he finished second to Mr. Johnson in a five-way primary contest. Then Mr. Coleman swept the finals. In those days, however, John F. Kennedy was still in the Senate and segregation was not quite the acute issue that it is today.

Mr. Coleman supported the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960 and for that he was put on the defensive in the campaign. His record as Governor, Attorney General, member of the state Supreme Court and State representative was never questioned.

The old rivalry between the Red Hills of the northeast and the river delta was presumably not vital, either. Mr. Sullivan, a delta man, lost. Mr. Coleman, a hill man, came out second best.

Supported by Eastland

Some of the businessmen who backed Mr. Sullivan undoubtedly will prefer Mr. Coleman to Mr. Johnson because of their interest in "peace and tranquility" that the former Governor holds out. However, the general political thrust of Mr. Sullivan's campaign was more closely attuned to the beliefs of the Johnson extremists.

Mr. Johnson, who is 47 years old and the son of a former Governor, had the silent but probably effective support of the White Citizens Council, Senator James O. Eastland and Gov. Ross R. Barnett, who was not eligible to succeed himself.

A slim chance for moderation emerged in the contest for Attorney General. Joe T. Patterson, the incumbent, won renomination without a run-off by defeating John C. McLaurin. Although both are segregationists, Mr. McLaurin demanded more militancy.

Mississippi will see a vigorous campaign by Republicans for the first time since Reconstruction. Rubel Phillips, a former Democratic officeholder, will run for Governor as "the only true conservative." He hopes to bring Senator Barry Goldwater into the state to capitalize on the Arizona Republican's popularity here.

Greenwood Commonwealth

Pol - Miss

Shaken Sullivan Backs Down On JP Support

Seasoned Politicians Calling Shots

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Seasoned politicians will be heading the Mississippi Legislature despite the shakeup in Tuesday's Democratic primary.

With House Speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar back for another term and two veterans — former Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin and state treasurer Evelyn Gandy — running it off for lieutenant governor and Senate presiding officer, veterans will be in command in both houses.

In the Tishomingo - Itawamba Senate race, Clovis Frane of Iuka will face R. C. McCarver of Fulton in a runoff.

In Jones County, Sen. E. K. Collins of Laurel apparently won re-nomination over two opponents. In Jackson County, Rep. Merle Palmer of Pascagoula won a 2-man race. In Leflore, C. L. Patridge of Schlater will face Hugh Sutherland in a runoff.

In the Jefferson-Claiborne Senate race, Sen. P. M. Watkins of Port Gibson won a 2-man race. Frank Leftwich defeated two opponents for the Monroe Senate seat. State Civil Defense director Robert Cook won the Sunflower nomination for senator, but will face a Republican. Sen. R. D. Anderson of Buena Vista won renomination from Clay-Chickasaw.

Former State Tax Commissioner Noel Monaghan of Tupelo won the Lee County Senate seat.

In Hinds County House races, Reps. Russell Davis, Sutton Marks and Joe Moss won renomination. Rep. Jim Neal was unopposed. Five new seats were at stake and James Arden Barnett and Billy Thompson, son of Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson, were first primary winners. Runoffs will match Charles Henley-W. C. Hughery, Horace Lester-Minor Sumners, and Henry Thomas-W. E. McKinley.

In the Madison race, Rep. Milton Case won re-nomination. Jerry Wilburn won the Itawamba seat.

Dana Moore won one Bolivar County House seat, while Walter Merritt and J. A. Thigpen will meet for the other.

Rep. John Neill will face T. G. Nixon for one Jones County seat. Charles Blackwell led James Clarke for the second. Estus Graham took the third.

Rep. Thompson McClellan won in Clay County. Roy Black defeated former Lt. Gov. Sam Lumpkin for one Lee County seat. Rep. Odie Trenor will face Ed Demeville for the Chicasaw seat.

In Lauderdale, Mrs. Gordon White will face R. H. Runn for one seat, while Rep. Betty Long took a second. Jim Collier was unopposed for a third, but faces Republican opposition from Rep. L. L. McAllister.

Rep. Joe Bailey won re-election in Yalobusha. Rep. Gladys Slayden won re-election in Marshall.

Mississippi Should Choose J. P. Coleman

Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson has asked for the support of all Sullivan voters.

Former Gov. J. P. Coleman has asked for the support of the people of Mississippi.

Therein lies an indication of the essential difference between the two remaining candidates for the highest political office in Mississippi.

The Commonwealth supported in the first primary the candidacy of Charles L. Sullivan, believing that he would have made Mississippi one of its greatest governors. We are still of that opinion and we certainly hope that Mississippi hasn't lost the example of his forthright approach to state problems.

In the meantime a choice must be made between Johnson and Coleman.

Our choice is Coleman.

We have no quarrel at all with those Sullivan supporters who now wish to switch to Johnson, nor those Johnson people who voted their convictions on Tuesday. A man's secret ballot is his most precious right in this America we all love.

But it is also a right, in this case a duty, for citizens to express their choice and the reasons for it.

First, as the Commonwealth pointed out repeatedly even while supporting Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Coleman made Mississippi one of its finest governors from 1956-60.

Second, Mr. Coleman has admitted that he made a mistake in supporting the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960. Over 108,000 Mississippians made the same mistake that year.

But Coleman did take a stand. Like Sullivan he made a choice and let that choice be known at a time when the direction the political winds might blow later was unknown.

Before the Ole Miss-Meredith crisis, we remember remarking that Sullivan and Coleman could beat Mr. Johnson to death in the first primary campaign just ended.

"I was here," Sullivan could have said.

"I was there," Coleman could have said.

"But where in the world was little Paul,," both might have chorused.

Of course, the Meredith crisis changed that. It was an event that couldn't have been foreseen by any politician in 1960. We have since, editorially done our small part to lay that American tragedy at the doorsteps on which it belongs, that of John F. and Robert F. Kennedy.

We remember expressing our admiration for Governor Ross Barnett's stand, and we still think it was magnificent right up to the point where he failed to go to Ole Miss himself to keep things under control while dramatizing, as he did so well, the position of Mississippi's people.

But we have always maintained that any credit accruing to Barnett out of those tragic events, shouldn't mistakenly be deposited to the political account of Paul Johnson.

Johnson danced his jig with Meredith and McShane at a time when he couldn't possibly have done anything else. As Charles Sullivan and Coleman both pointed out during the first primary campaign, a second Negro entered the University of Mississippi law school recently and Paul Johnson was nowhere in sight.

Mr. Coleman's bald promise that he can insure continued racial peace and segregation in Mississippi we felt in the first primary campaign was ill advised and we still believe it to be so. But we also believe that he will be more capable or fullfilling that promise than Paul Johnson.

There are other reasons J. P. Coleman should be sent back to the governor's office. His skill as an administrator, his ability as a champion for Mississippi causes while he held that office, his reputation for making hard decisions unflinchingly are some of them.

Meanwhile, it is beginning to appear that if the entire story of why Mr. Sullivan withdrew at the last moment his support of Coleman ever comes out it will make Johnson's previous campaign tactics look like Boy Scout pranks.

And there have been some underhanded developments coming from Johnson's side of the aisle.

Mr. Johnson beat himself in 1955 by calling Mr. Coleman a draft dodger. He's hinted at even more malicious tactics in this campaign.

Can a man who resorts to such tactics in a campaign change after he reaches the governor's office and conduct the people's affair's the way they want them conducted?

The answer should be simple.

(T. W.)

Candidate Hints Threats To Family

JACKSON, Miss. (AP) — Mystery hung over the position of defeated gubernatorial candidate Charles Sullivan today as two political veterans fired opening guns in the second Democratic primary battle.

Sullivan, expected earlier to throw support to former Gov. J. P. Coleman, told a news conference Thursday with tears in his eyes he would make no statement because "something happened.'

Moments afterward a top Sullivan campaign manager, Ed Jenkins of Hattiesburg, announced he would actively support Coleman against Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson.

Sullivan did not have a specifically named state campaign manager. A Sullivan worker told The Associated Press that Jenkins and O. U. Sullivan, a brother of Charles, managed the Sullivan campaign.

Sullivan, visibly shaken, declined to reveal developments.

One of his workers said later he could not reveal it either "but it makes you sick to your stomach."

With 1,867 of 1,890 precincts counted, Johnson held a lead of 176,495 votes. Coleman had 151,930 and Sullivan 126,946. Run-for-fun candidate Robert Mason of Magee had 3,445.

Johnson, the first to claim Sullivan votes, said at a leadership rally Thursday, "Sullivan's defeat has not changed the issue, but clarifies it."

At the rally, Rex Armistead of Lulu, a close friend of Sullivan and one of his campaign pilots, came out in support of Johnson.

Coleman appeared on television Thursday night and took on one of the biggest issues of the campaign—the Kennedy administration and his support of it in 1960.

'I made a mistake,' Coleman said in reference to the support He said he did what he thought was best, and attacked Johnson for remaining silent at the time.

Jenkins appeared with Coleman, urging Sullivan voters to join in support of the 49-year-old Coleman and predicted they would.

Coleman told Sullivan, Jenkins said, "four days ago he would not support the Kennedys in 1964. This satisfied Mr. Sullivan and it satisfied me."

In 1952 and 1956, Coleman said, he battled on behalf of the Southern position at National Democratic Conventions and the South won. Johnson, he said, did nothing.

Johnson told his rally he and Sullivan fought for many of the same things and "we have a lot to fight for. I want to thank those Sullivan supporters who have called from all over the state—we have a common cause."

"If there is any mud-slinging or accusations we're going to meet it head-on at the crossroads," Johnson said, implying such might come from Coleman.

Armistead said, "There's a rumor going around that some of our people have gone over to Coleman. I don't know the percentage, but I can tell you its damn few."

Thursday night Johnson told a television audience Sullivan supporters were coming to him. The

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Armistead said, "There's a rumor going around that some of our people have gone over to Coleman. I don't know the percentage, but I can tell you its damn few."

Thursday night Johnson told a television audience Sullivan supporters were coming to him. The 47-year-old Hattiesburg attorney, trying a fourth time for governor, said constitutional government would be a big issue leading up to the Aug. 27 second primary.

He again said "the Kennedy albatross" hung about Colemans neck and praised the industrial record of the administration of Gov. Ross Barnett and himself.

Coleman told his audience later the state was solid for constitutional government, therefore it was not an issue. He said the industry and Balance Agriculture with Industry bond issue program of his 1956-60 administration matched that of Barnett.

Sullivan told his press conference he may schedule another conference by Saturday to announce his plans.

Sullivan said, "Some things were done in this campaign that were a discredit to this state." He said threats had been directed toward him and his family.

The threats, he said, came from people who believe in "any thing to get elected . . . not my kind of politics."

Sullivan workers indicated later the "something that caused Sullivan to withhold a statement of support was not connected with anything directed personally at him or his family."

As Sullivan was finishing his press conference, Jenkins whispered to him. He said Jenkins had something to say and left as Jenkins began talking.

"I am supporting J. P. Coleman in the second primary," Jenkins said. "I am speaking for myself. I will be working in his behalf."

Sullivan said he had no plans for any political future after the second primary.

WP 8/10/63

Mississippi Primary Loser Sullivan Tearfully Tells of Threats to Family

Pol. Miss.

By John Hall

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 9 (AP) — Mystery hung over the position of defeated gubernatorial candidate Charles Sullivan today as two political veterans fired opening guns in the second Democratic primary battle.

Sullivan, expected earlier to throw support to former Gov. J. P. Coleman, told a news conference yesterday with tears in his eyes he would make no statement because "something happened."

Moments afterward a top Sullivan campaign manager, Ed Jenkins of Hattiesburg, announced he would actively support Coleman against Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson.

To Announce Plans

Sullivan said he may schedule another conference soon to announce his plans.

Sullivan said that "some things were done in this campaign that were a discredit to this State. He said threats had been directed toward him and his family.

The threats, he said, came from people who believe in "anything to get elected. . .not my kind of politics."

Sullivan, visibly shaken, declined to reveal developments.

One of his workers said later he could not reveal it "but it makes you sick to your stomach."

With 1867 of 1890 precincts counted, Johnson led with 176,495 votes. Coleman had 151,930 and Sullivan 126,946. Run-for-fun candidate Robert Mason of Magee had 3445.

Johnson, the first to claim Sullivan votes, said at a leadership rally yesterday, "Mr. Sullivan's defeat has not changed the issue, but clarified it."

At the rally, Rex Armistead of Lulu, a close friend of Sullivan and one of his campaign pilots, came out in support of Johnson.

"If there is any mud-slinging or accusations we're going to meet it head-on at the crossroads," Johnson said, implying such might come from Coleman.

Admits "Mistake"

Coleman, appearing on television last night, took on one of the biggest issues of the campaign—the Kennedy Administration and his support of it in 1960.

"I made a mistake," Coleman said in reference to the support. He said he did what he thought was best, and attacked Johnson for remaining silent at the time.

Jenkins appeared with Coleman, urging Sullivan voters to join in support of the 49-year-old Coleman and predicted they would.

Coleman told Sullivan, Jenkins said, "four days ago he would not support the Kennedys in 1964. This satisfied Mr. Sullivan and it satisfied me."

LOSER IN MISSISSIPPI SUPPORTS COLEMAN

NYT 8/13/63

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 12 (UPI)—A defeated candidate in Mississippi's Governors' primary last Tuesday gave his support tonight to former Gov. J. P. Coleman. He said he had extracted a promise from Mr. Coleman to "oppose President Kennedy's policies and re-election."

Pol - Miss

Charles L. Sullivan, a lawyer, ran third in the Democratic primary and was eliminated. He said he would support Mr. Coleman over Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnhson Jr. in the run-off election on Aug. 27. Mr. Sullivan poled about 130,000 votes in the primary.

The endorsement considerably strengthened Mr. Coleman's position in the run-off for the Democrat nomination, which usually assures victory in Mississippi's general election.

Mr. Coleman trailed Johnson in the first primary by about 20,000 votes. Mr. Johnson polled more than 180,000 and Mr. Coleman nearly 160,000.

Mr. Sullivan, who attacked Mr. Coleman throughout the primary campaign as a "Kennedy man," said on a statewide television program:

"I do not approve of all his past political practices, but it must be recognized that we have but one of two choices."

Mr. Sullivan said he received Mr. Coleman's "solemn oath, his solid word" to oppose the Kennedy Administration.

Atl. Jour. 8/16/63

A Judge for Mississippi

Pol. Miss.

IN THESE days when Ross Barnett stands as the foremost spokesman of the people of Mississippi and that state seems to draw the line nowhere on racial demagoguery, we are inclined to forget there are better men there.

Gov. Barnett's latest appointment to the Mississsippi Supreme Court is, however, a negative reminder of them. The appointee, Circuit Judge Tom P. Brady, stands in stark contrast against a Mississippi judicial history that sometimes has been a source of light in days of darkness.

Judge Brady is a kind of patron saint of white supremacy. Possessing the mien of a gentleman and an education that would suggest erudition, he nevertheless has preached ignorance and defiance of the law. He replied to the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision by vilification of the justices, advocacy of racial repression, and assertions that Negroes, like lizards, are inferior beings that do not advance. He was the father of the Citizens Councils.

We have heard most of his line from others, as well. But somehow the selection of Judge Brady for the Mississippi Supreme Court is especially ironic. While politicians have played demagogue, the justices of that bench often have shown wisdom reflecting great credit upon their state.

As tempers and tempests raged without, the court thundered some time ago that "whatever the governor does in the execution of the laws . . . must be . . . in strict subordination to the general law of the land." In another decision this court of respected Mississippians, to the chagrin of the extremists, affirmed that the United States "is not merely a league of sovereign states . . . but a supreme federal government." The judges said federal laws bind "the judges in every state . . . anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

There has been courage and simple dignity in the past pronouncements of Mississippi's highest court.

This appointment must be analyzed as political, and perhaps the atmosphere of the court will enable the new justice to grow up to his job.

Politics - Miss.

MISSISSIPPIANS GO TO POLLS TUESDAY

Democrats Vie in Runoff for Gubernatorial Post

NYT 8/25/63

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 24—Mississippi voters, in effect, will elect their next Governor Tuesday in a Democratic primary runoff. Their choice is between Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., who promises four more years of defiance of Washington, and former Gov. J. P. Coleman, who says he can prevent further racial integration without an open clash between the state and Federal governments.

The race involves a power struggle between Mississippi political factions and could determine the future of Senator John Stennis, an ally of Mr. Coleman.

Mr. Johnson, who has the behind-the-scenes support of Gov. Ross R. Barnett and Senator James O. Eastland, led the ticket in the first primary Aug. 6 by 26,000 votes. He is still running strong despite the fact that the third man in the race, Charles L. Sullivan, came out in support of Mr. Coleman after being eliminated.

G.O.P. Chances Slim

The winner will face a young Republican opponent, Rubel Phillips, in the November general election. Despite the strong Republican currents running through the Deep South, it is considered highly unlikely that Mr. Phillips could defeat either Democrat. He has never made a statewide race.

The runoff campaign, like that of the initial primary, has been devoted almost entirely to two issues—"Kennedyism" and the admission of James H. Meredith, a Negro, to the University of Mississippi last year.

Mr. Johnson, making his fourth race for the Governor's office, has based his campaign chiefly on the fact that he turned back Mr. Meredith from the gates of the school last Sept. 26, three days before Mr. Meredith was finally admitted.

Mr. Johnson has displayed throughout the state a picture purportedly showing his fist raised as he confronted Mr. Meredith and chief U. S. Marshal James P. McShane.

Mr. Coleman contends the picture was doctored. He has produced a photograph showing Mr. Johnson and Mr. McShane shaking hands in front of the university.

"The fist went down and Meredith went in," leading to riots that killed two and injured scores, Mr. Coleman says.

Mr. Coleman also points out that Mr. Johnson has been charged with criminal contempt for his defiance of a Federal Court order. He said the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals could hold this over his head for the next four years.

It is doubtful, however, how effective this type of documentation will be. The Mississippi electorate appears today to be divided into two major cate-

produced a photograph showing Mr. Johnson and Mr. McShane shaking hands in front of the university.

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2 Factions Are Cited

The first, which includes the entire White Citizens' Councils, favors open defiance of the Federal Government as the best means of turning back what is viewed as rapidly growing Federal authority and diminishing power of the states.

The second category favors maintaining "the Southern way of life" as much as possible through established political and legal channels without disrupting the domestic peace.

Neither Negro voters nor whites who would like to see Mississippi move into the mainstream of American political and social thought are sufficient in number to win the favor of the candidates.

The Negro vote is estimated to be about 25,000, little more than it was a decade ago. The total vote in the first primary was 475,000.

Mr. Johnson has taken the militant line. He told a citizens' council meeting he was willing to throw his body between the white people of Mississippi and "the forces of Federal tyranny."

Traditional issues, such as state services and fiscal policies, as well as the factional fight involved have been largely obscured by the race problem.

The Governor of Mississippi traditionally has a large voice in determining who will represent the state in Washington and the course the state will follow in national politics.

It is reported that if Mr. Johnson wins he will be under pressure from many who helped him gain office to put up an opponent to Senator Stennis, who faces re-election next year.

If Mr. Coleman wins, however, Mr. Stennis is virtually assured another term without serious opposition.

Senator Eastland has been aligned politically with Mr. Johnson, largely because Mr. Johnson's father, the late Gov. Paul B. Johnson Sr., appointed him to his first term in the Senate. Mr. Eastland has not openly supported Mr. Johnson in this race but it is known that he has made personal contacts on his behalf.

Mr. Stennis's part in the campaign, if any, has not been disclosed. Mr. Johnson carried the Senator's home county, Kemper, in the first primary.

It is customary for members of Congress to take no active part in the Governor's race, but there are reports that some House members from Mississippi, as well as Mr. Eastland, have given their support to Mr. Johnson.

Mr. Coleman has the support of a large part of the business community, which desires to see domestic peace during the next four years.

There is also concern on the part of some business people that Mr. Johnson would have so many political debts to repay if elected that the state's fiscal policy, traditionally conservative, would be disrupted.

Atl. Con. 8/27/63
Pol. Miss.

J. P. Coleman

Paul Johnson

Mississippi Votes Today In Runoff

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—An estimated 445,000 Mississippi voters will wade through a maze of conflicting anti-Kennedy claims Tuesday to choose between former Gov. J. P. Coleman and Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson for governor in a second Democratic Primary.

Coleman and Johnson, both pledge all-out opposition to the Kennedy administration and its civil rights programs, campaigned as staunch segregationists.

Polls in the state's 1,890 precincts will open at 8 a.m. (Atlanta time) and close at 7 p.m. ballots will be counted by hand in all precincts except the 17 in Adams County (Natchez).

The winner of the Democratic nomination will face Republican Rubel Phillips and Independent Ed Bishop in the Nov. 5 general election for the right to succeed Gov. Ross Barnett next January.

Barnett, prohibited by state law from succeeding himself, took no public part in the race, but was known to back Johnson, who led in the first primary balloting Aug. 6 by 26,000 votes.

NYT 8/27/63
Pol. Miss.

Mississippi Votes Today in Governor Primary

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 26—J. P. Coleman appealed to Mississippi voters today to end "rancor and hate" and follow a new course in race relations by nominating him tomorrow for Governor.

The former Governor's appeal for moderation marked the end of an emotionally charged Democratic primary campaign. The Administration's actions and the integration of the University of Mississippi last year obscured all other issues.

About 450,000 persons are expected to vote in the primary run-off between Mr. Coleman, 49 years old, and Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., 47.

Mr. Johnson has pledged to continue the militant racist policies of Gov. Ross R. Barnett, who, by law, cannot succeed himself.

Whirl of Activity

The candidates wound up their campaigns with television appearances, stump talks and full-page newspaper ads.

Mr. Johnson, making his fourth bid for the office, led the ticket by 26,000 votes in the first primary Aug. 6. He says he will win by a landslide.

Mr. Coleman, however, is not to be discounted. He defeated Mr. Johnson by 50,000 votes in a 1955 run-off for Governor.

Coleman Urges End of Racial Hatred—Johnson Assails Him as a Moderate

Mr. Coleman warned that the racial issue "is going to destroy our state and everything we hold dear if we don't control it."

"Malice, distrust, rancor and hate create dangerous divisions among our people," he said. "The state that sired L. Q. C. Lamar, Jefferson Davis and John Quitman can rise again from the ashes of delusion and doubt."

If Mr. Johnson is elected, Mr. Coleman said, the state will continue to have "trouble, danger and uproar."

"More and more, Mississippi is being painted as a terrible, dirty place where people love violence and bloodshed," he declared. "I want you to stop and ask yourselves how many industries have come to Mississippi since this terrible thing at Oxford [site of the university]."

Mr. Johnson based his campaign chiefly on the point that he and Governor Barnett turned back James H. Meredith, a Negro, from the university last fall. Mr. Meredith later was admitted under Federal guard. He graduated this month as the first Negro to earn a degree from the institution.

Referring to his rival, Mr. Johnson said: "There are some weak sisters in the state who are trying to find a middle ground, but there is none. Either you are for segregation or integration."

He called Mr. Coleman President Kennedy's "satellite," even though Mr. Coleman had told voters that the President would not receive Mississippi's support next year. Mr. Johnson stressed that Mr. Coleman actively supported the President in 1960.

Mr. Coleman has said he can prevent further integration by diplomacy, without open conflict between the state and Federal governments. He has noted that Mississippi had no integration when he was Governor from 1956 to 1960.

The victor will face a Republican in the general election for the first time since Reconstruction days. Rubel Phillips, a young attorney, is the opposition candidate.

Names in the News

Race, Kennedys Mississippi Issues In Governor Vote

Pol. Miss. Atl. Jour. 8/27/63

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 27 (AP)—An estimated 445,000 Mississippi Democrats went to the polls Tuesday to choose between Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson and former Gov. J. P. Coleman for governor.

Conflicting victory claims added to the confusion of last-minute charges and countercharges, pleas for votes and reports of possible Negro vote-ins to write a hectic finish to a torrid race based largely on racial matters.

The Kennedy administration and its civil rights program and the University of Mississippi desegregation crisis last fall provided most of the election fodder. Both candidates pledged opposition to the Kennedys and efforts to preserve segregation.

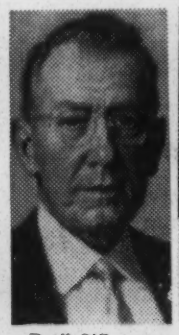
The winner will run in the Nov. 5 general election against Republican **Rubel Phillips** and independent **Ed Bishop**, who has announced but not qualified.

The winner will succeed **Gov. Ross Barnett**, who is not eligible for a second term himself, on Jan. 21.

Johnson had the tacit backing of Barnett although Barnett took

J. P. Coleman

Gov. Rockefeller


Basil O'Connor

Paul Johnson

no public part in the race. Coleman had the support of former **Gov. Hugh White** and **Charles L. Sullivan**, the No. 3 man in the first primary.

Johnson led Coleman by 26,000 votes in the first round of voting Aug. 6. Johnson had 182,340 votes, Coleman 156,296, Sullivan 132,3[illegible]

Atl. Con. 8/28/63

Johnson Swept In by Mississippi

Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson scored a landslide victory Tuesday night in the Mississippi Democratic Primary for governor—an overwhelming endorsement of his staunch segregationist stand.

The 47-year-old Hattiesburg attorney, who failed in three earlier bids for the office, led from the start and held a 50,000-vote margin over former Gov. J. P. Coleman at midnight.

Johnson, who slept quietly through the first hours of tabulating, swamped Coleman after campaigning as an ardent foe of President John F. Kennedy and as an unyielding segregationist.

He frequently reminded voters that he had once blocked federal government efforts to enter James Meredith, a Negro, in the University of Mississippi.

Coleman, at his home in Ackerman, said: "It looks like the election is going against us. I'm looking ahead to the future and private life if the returns continue as they are."

With 1,593 of the state's 1,885 precincts reporting, Johnson had 217,906 votes and Coleman 162,040.

Politics - Miss.

Avid Segregationist Wins in Mississippi

8/28/1963

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 27—Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., who is pledged to continue Gov. Ross R. Barnett's militant racial policies, won the Democratic nomination for Governor tonight by a decisive margin.

Mr. Johnson defeated J. P. Coleman, a scholarly former Governor who had pleaded for a more moderate course in opposing Federal integration orders, in a bitter primary run-off.

Unofficial results from 1,198 of the states 1,874 precincts gave Mr. Johnson 127,526 votes to 91, 256 for Mr. Coleman. Mr. Johnson was leading in virtually every area of the state.

So strong was the anti-Kennedy feeling in Mississippi that former Lieut. Gov. Carroll Gartin, who had won two

Continued on Page 20, Column 6

MISSISSIPPI VOTE IS WON BY RACIST

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

terms by wide margins, was in trouble in his bid for a third term as lieutenant governor.

Mr. Gartin, who supported President Kennedy in 1960 along with Mr. Coleman, was running just about even with State Treasurer Evelyn Gandy, who is aligned politically with Mr. Johnson.

The 47-year-old Lieutenant Governor had four times been rejected by the voters in his bid for high office, once for United States Senator and three times for Governor. But his political stock soared when he and Governor Barnett physically turned back James H. Meredith from the University of Mississippi last year and was charged with criminal contempt of court for blocking a Federal Court order.

Mr. Johnson based his campaign almost solely on the University of Mississippi incident, despite the fact that Mr. Meredith was enrolled as an undergraduate and was graduated earlier this month as the first Negro to earn a degree from the state institution.

He also won votes by charging that Mr. Coleman, who is 49, was the "Kennedy candidate." Mr. Coleman, who campaigned for President Kennedy in 1960, told voters he had made a mistake and pledged he would not support President Kennedy in 1964 because of the Administration's civil rights policies.

Mr. Coleman denied Mr. Johnson's charges that the President and his brother, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, were helping finance his campaign.

Mr. Johnson faces opposition in the November general election in Rubel Phillips, a young Jackson lawyer who is the first strong Republican candidate for Governor since Reconstruction days. Phillips's chances are considered slim, however, against the tightly organized state Democratic organization.

Mr. Johnson's victory reflects the strength of the White Citizens Council, a prosegregation organization of the far right that has exercised a strong influence in Governor Barnett's administration.

If Mr. Johnson wins,. as expected, in November, Mississippi will have at least another four years of leadership like Mr. Barnett's.

A Johnson victory could also have repercussions in Washington. The Citizens Councils and other strong supporters of Mr. Johnson are reported ready to put up an opponent next year to Senator John Stennis, who is politcally aligned with Mr. Coleman.

A Coleman victory would have assured another term for Senator Stennis.

Senator Jomes O. Eastland and Governor Barnett worked behind the scenes for a Johnson victory. Mr. Eastland was first appointed to the Senate by Mr. Johnson's father, the late Gov. Paul B. Johnson Sr.

Mr. Coleman received support on the eve of the election when Charles Sullivan, who was eliminated in the first primary, appealed to his supporters to vote for the former Governor. Mr. Sullivan, who polled 132,000 votes in the first primary, Mr. Coleman was not the "Kennedy candidate,' as Mr. Johnson had charged.

Mr. Sullivan is not a moderate on the racial issue. He based his support on the belief that Mr. Coleman would run a cleaner administration than Mr. Johnson.

Were it not for the "Kennedy issue," Mr. Sullivan said, Mr. Coleman could be expected to win by a landslide on the basis of his first administration.

MISSISSIPPI GIVEN VOW BY NOMINEE

Politics - Miss.

Johnson Promises to Fight 'Federal Regimentation'

NYT 8/29/63

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 28—Paul B. Johnson Jr., who won the Democratic nomination for Governor yesterday, promised Mississippians today that he would work for defeat of "the dark forces" of "Federal control and regimentation" in the next four years.

Mr. Johnson, the state's Lieutenant Governor, soundly defeated former Gov. J. P. Coleman, who is more moderate on the racial issue, in yesterday's primary runoff.

He was swept to victory on a wave of anti-Kennedy sentiment that has gripped this state since the riots at the University of Mississippi last year.

With only a few precincts still to report, the unofficial tabulation of votes stood at about 260,000 for Mr. Johnson to about 196,000 for Mr. Coleman.

"The next four years will be decisive insofar as the future of Mississippi and our sister states are concerned," Mr. Johnson said in a victory statement. "We have to defeat the dark forces of economic maladjustment, Federal control and regimentation."

Must Defeat Republican

The 47-year-old nominee must first defeat a strong Republican candidate in the November general election. Rubel Phillips, a 38-year-old Jackson attorney, is the first serious Republican contender for the Governor's office since Reconstruction. He expect to begin campaigning full-time next month.

Mr. Phillips is expected to tell voters that the best way to defeat President Kennedy in 1964 is to elect a Republican Governor who would help bring about the nomination of Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona for President.

Mr. Johnson's primary campaign was based chiefly on the fact that he physically barred James H. Meredith from the University of Mississippi last year and was later charged with criminal contempt of court for defying an order of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit.

The Negro student was later enrolled. He graduated this month.

Mr. Johnson could be convicted of contempt while is is serving as Governor. The case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court, which will decide whether he will be tried by jury.

White Mississippians blame President Kennedy and his brother Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy for forced integration of the university. Mr. Johnson tagged Mr. Coleman the "Kennedy candiate" because Mr. Coleman had supported Mr. Kennedy in the 1960 election.

Two members of the Coleman faction, however, did squeak by in yesterday's voting despite their support of Mr. Kennedy in 1960. Carroll Gartin was nominated Lieutenant Governor over State Treasurer Evelyn Gandy and J. M. Tubb was renominated Superintendent of Education over former State Auditor Boyd Golding.

NYT 8/28/63

Meredith Discounts Politics Bid

DETROIT, Aug. 27 (AP)—James H. Meredith, first Negro to be graduated from the University of Mississippi, last night dismissed reports that he would be drafted as a candidate for Congress. Mr. Meredith said "there is nothing" to the announcement of the National Civil Rights party of New York. The group said Sunday it would draft Mr. Meredith to run for Congress in Mississippi.

Politics - Miss.

Atl. Jour. 8/28/63

Pol. Miss.

Mississippi's Course

THE DUTY of a politician in a time of emergency is to somehow reconcile reason and popular sentiment. At polling places Tuesday, Mississippi voters showed that these two cannot be joined in their state in the summer of 1963.

The man who tried to bring about the reconciliation was J. P. Coleman, a former governor whose record in office would be a credit to any state. Mr. Coleman is a poor farmer's son who worked his way through college. He also is a smalltown lawyer, close to grassroots sentiment, and he knew as well as anyone that violent winds were blowing against him.

Mr. Coleman lost to Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, who had the support of Gov. Ross Barnett and the Citizens Councils. Two years ago most Mississippians took for granted that Coleman would be the next governor. He was a popular man.

But Mr. Johnson, who had run unsuccessfully for governor on three occasions and whose only claim to distinction is that his father once was governor, has won by a landslide, and for unmistakable reasons: He persuaded the voters he was more extreme on the race issue, and that he was unrelentingly anti-Kennedy.

In his efforts to reconcile reason and popular beliefs, Mr. Coleman made occasional bows to demagoguery during the campaign. But he rose to the issue many times, and especially on the day before the election, when he said this:

"Malice, distrust, rancor and hate create dangerous divisions among our people. The state that sired L. Q. C. Lamar, Jefferson Davis and John Quitman can rise again from the ashes of delusion and doubt."

The next day the voters replied that they were not ready to rise from delusion. The delusion is that the Barnett-Johnson approach can prevail against the full weight of the United States. The fact is that Johnson's election is likely to assure a much greater federal presence in Mississippi during the next four years than Coleman's moderation would have.

Atl. Jour.

Pol. Miss.

Wednesday, August 28, 1963

Mississippi Picks JFK Foe Johnson

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 28 (AP)—Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson Jr., militant anti-Kennedy segregationist, ended 16 years of political frustration Wednesday, winning the Democratic nomination for governor of Mississippi by a record vote.

Johnson overwhelmed former Gov. J. P. Coleman after a bitter campaign which centered on white voters' deep-rooted opposition to President Kennedy and his civil rights program.

Paul Johnson

Johnson reminded voters he still faces federal contempt of court charges for his part in temporarily blocking Negro James H. Meredith from enrolling in the University of Mississippi last September.

He also called Coleman the "Kennedy satellite candidate." Coleman supported the President in the 1960 race.

Coleman argued that he was anti-Kennedy, too, saying he erred in 1960.

With 1,866 of the state's 1,877 precincts reported, the unofficial count gave 259,481 votes for Johnson to 193,827 for Coleman. It was the highest ballot ever for a gubernatorial candidate.

The previous high for a winning candiate was 233,237 votes for Coleman in his 1955 runoff victory over Johnson.

Johnson faces Republican Rubel Phillips in the Nov. 5 general election. A newly expanded Republican state headquarters staff promised Phillips would be more than the usual token GOP candidates in this overwhelmingly Democratic state and there were indications many anti-Johnson Democrats might vote for Phillips.

An independent has also announced for the general election.

JOHNSON, son of a former governor, lost three previous races for the nomination, including one to Coleman in the 1955 runoff. He also was beaten in a race for the U.S. Senate before being elected lieutenant governor four years ago.

Gov. Ross Barnett, barred by law from succeeding himself, joined the crowd of cheering Johnson fans at an election party. He said he voted for Johnson.

Johnson slept from 5:30 p.m., half an hour before the polls closed, until 9 p.m., when aides told him he had a 25,000-vote lead. Then he and his wife went to the election party that already had become a victory celebration. He issued a brief statement thanking supporters, then went back to bed.

At Coleman's headquarters in Ackerman, the ex-governor told newsmen with a smile, "I'm looking ahead to the future and private life if the returns continue as they are."

COLEMAN drew the support of Charles Sullivan of Clarksdale, who finished third in the first primary. Returns made clear that the Sullivan vote split in Johnson's favor in the runoff. Johnson had a 26,000-vote margin over Coleman in the first primary.

Johnson backers felt his victory was a mandate for continued opposition to federal civil rights programs.

There was no indication of how the state's estimated 30,000 Negro votes went.

Mississippi Stands Firm

Politics - Miss.

The nomination of the loudest segregationist of them all, among the Democrats running for Governor of Mississippi, was not unexpected but is not the less regrettable.

Had Paul B. Johnson Jr. defeated former Gov. J. P. Coleman by only a small margin in the runoff primary, some hope might be held for a start toward a rule of reason in Mississippi on racial matters. Mr. Coleman is what is known as a moderate in those parts. But Mr. Johnson won with the largest vote ever cast for a gubernatorial candidate and with an impressive margin over Mr. Coleman. Mississippi's racists spoke Tuesday with an emphatic voice.

Nowhere else in the South are the white Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan so strong. Most of the more substantial citizens belong to one or the other, or to both, of the two Negro-hating and Negro-baiting organizations. With only one or two notable exceptions, its newspapers sing daily a hymn of hate against President Kennedy, all Northerners, the Fourteenth Amendment and any attempt to give the state's 915,000 Negroes (42 per cent of the population) either vote or voice in management of their state's affairs. Some day Mississippi will have to rejoin the union. Tuesday's election, however, seems to have postponed the date.

NYT 8/29/63

Mississippi Victor Hails State Rights

Atl. Con. 8/29/63

Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson Wednesday called his record-shattering victory in the Mississippi Democratic governor's race a defeat for "the dark forces of federal control."

The 47-year-old Hattiesburg lawyer, who carried 69 of the state's 82 counties in Tuesday's runoff primary, won by more than 65,000 votes over former Gov. J. P. Coleman.

Johnson still faces the Nov. 5 general election but his victory statement ignored Republican and possibly independent opposition and assumed he would take office Jan. 21.

However, most observers predict Republican Rubel Phillips will be the first serious GOP contender since Reconstruction days after the Civil War.

Although both Johnson and Coleman campaigned as anti-Kennedy segregationists, Johnson hammered away at Coleman's support of President John F. Kennedy in the 1960 national election.

And Johnson repeatedly told the state he "stood up for Mississippi" when he blocked an effort by Negro James H. Meredith to enter the University of Mississippi last fall. The lieutenant governor faces federal contempt of court prosecution as a result.

Returns from all but two of the state's 1,877 precincts gave Johnson 261,424 votes to 195,094 for Coleman.

Politics - Miss.

Mississippi Newspaper Endorses a Republican

NY TIMES 8/31/63

ACKERMAN, Miss., Aug. 30 (AP)—The Choctaw Plaindealer, hometown newspaper of J. P. Coleman, unsuccessful Democratic gubernatorial candidate, has endorsed the Republican candidate for Governor, Rubel Phillips.

Former Governor Coleman, an Ackerman lawyer, lost by 65,000 votes to Lieut. Gov. Paul Johnson in the Democratic primary runoff Tuesday.

"We think the only hope for the people of Mississippi to beat Kennedy now is to vote for a Republican Governor in November, and for a Republican President in 1964," the newspaper said.

Another Stand-in-the-Door Man

Atl. Con. 8/30/63

Pol. Miss.

The votes have been counted and another stand-in-the-door man has been elected in Mississippi.

Making much of his defiance of desegregation at the University of Mississippi, Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson has defeated J. P. Coleman for governor by more than 65,000 votes.

Gov. Ross Barnett, the incumbent, is limited by Mississippi law to one term of door-standing, and that term now nears its end.

Mississippi needs another stand-in-the-door man about like the bayou needs more mud. Schoolhouse doors have been blocked both in Mississippi and Alabama, but those schools eventually wound up just as desegregated as schools with unstood-in doors.

Johnson, however, apparently thinks the answer is more door-standing. He urges Mississippi to "fight harder next time school integration is threatened."

The lessons of Barnett and Oxford evidently have not yet caught hold in Mississippi. We only can wish for the people of Mississippi that they will not be led by their elected officials into more futile and tragic acts of defiance in the years ahead.

Atl. J+C 9/22/63

Gov. Barnett's Supporters Face Test Now in Capital

Pol. Miss

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau Chief
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 21—Legislators who put across Gov. Ross Barnett's industrial bill of rights and backed him in his resistance to federal actions in the areas of education and voting rights will be in the new administration taking office in January.

Gov. Barnett

Big question of the moment is whether they will continue their roles in shaping policy in the new administration.

With only a few exceptions, the legislative leaders went down the line for Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson in his successful campaign for the democratic governorship nomination over former Gov. J. P. Coleman. They are now supporting him in his contest with Republican

The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION 5-B
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1963
NEWS OF THE SOUTHEAST Empire

MISSISSIPPI

candidate Rubel Phillips in the November general election.

And like Gov. Barnett, who backed his second-in-command and is looking to him to retain those he placed in major state appointive jobs, the legislative leaders expect to continue to be recognized in their present policy-shaping roles.

MEANWHILE, and for all practical purposes, the new and first reapportioned legislature since 1890 is almost all set to begin work. It convenes Jan. 7, but will mark time until the new governor takes office Jan. 21.

As for organization of the House of Representatives, that has been settled. Veteran House speaker Walter Sillers of Bolivar County, holder of that office since 1944, has enough advance pledges to return as presiding officer. He did such a good organization job he hasn't even stirred up rumored opposition.

Also, chairmen of 23 of the 54 committees, named four years ago by Speaker Sillers, have been re-elected and obviously will be renamed to their present assignments. Chairmen of all major committees were re-elected, headed by veteran Rep. John Junkin of Adams County, chairman of the important appropriations group.

Although Mr. Sillers lost his chairman of the revenue-raising ways and means committee, he gained the former occupant of that post in the election of Hilton Waits of Washington County, who held it for many years before he was defeated four years ago.

Mr. Waits is assured appointment to the post Rep. Charles Jacobs of Bolivar County, a relative of Speaker Sillers, relinquished in not offering for reelection to the legislature. Mr. Waits, who has served continuously since 1931, won out over Rep. Joe Wroten.

"Back in harness" are Rep. succeed Lieutenant Governor Johnson as he expectedly takes over from Governor Barnett on Jan. 21.

Former Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, the Democratic nominee, will name the committees. He is faced with the return of chairman of 18 of the 42 committees in that branch.

MR. GARTIN, who faces GOP nominee State Sen. Stanford Morse Jr., of Gulfport, announced he will rename Sen. Ellis Bodron of Vicksburg, to chairmanship of the powerful finance committee, which not only is responsible for revenue to run the government, but approves appropriations.

Mr. Gartin will reappoint Sen. Bodron, a blind legislator, even through Will G. Burgin Jr. of Columbus, who served in that post during the former lieutenant governor's second term, 1956-60, has returned to the legislature after a four-year absence.

Sen. George Yarbrough of Red Banks, the president pro tem, named by the senators, has been re-elected. He was Gov. Barnett's floor-leader and was Lt. Gov. Johnson's choice for the No. 3 state post in the 1960 senate organization.

Sen. Yarbrough also was Gov. Barnett's personal representative at the University of Mississippi the night of the Sept. 30 rioting.

Sen. Yarbrough has announced for reelection as president pro tem. He is opposed by Sen. Gillespie Montgomery of Meridian, and Hayden Campbell of Jackson.

Mr. Gartin has said he will keep "hands-off" in that contest, although he would like for the members to "consider" him in that relation. He still yields a big hand in naming the senate committees.

Some of Mr. Gartin's friends feel that the present administration is interested in naming the president pro tem since he opposed Gov. Barnett in the 1959 gubernatorial campaign. They also have a "feeling" that the present administration may

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"Back in harness" are Rep. Walter Hester of Adams County, and C. B. 'Buddie' Newman of Issaquena County, Gov. Barnett's floor leaders. They were likewise on Mr. Johnson's campaign executive committee which mapped strategy.

Also returning is Rep. Russell Fox of Claiborne County, chairman of the powerful General Legislative Investigating Committee which condemned President John F. Kennedy and other federal officials for forcing desegregation of the University of Mississippi with the support of 30,000 troops and 500 marshals. Mr. Hester is on that committee and accompanied Gov. Barnett on his trips to Oxford seeking to block desegregation of the university.

Rep. George Payne Cossar of Tallahatchie County, chairman of the controlling rules committee, and Rep. Thomas McClellan of Clay County, who drafted Mississippi's integration resisting laws, have been reelected.

The situation in the senate is somewhat different.

A new presiding officer will [illegible] Mississippi the night of the Sept. 30 rioting.

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Some of Mr. Gartin's friends feel that the present administration is interested in naming the president pro tem since he opposed Gov. Barnett in the 1959 gubernatorial campaign. They also have a "feeling" that the present administration may be "why" Miss Evelyn Gandy, who retires as state treasurer in January, almost beat him for the democratic nomination as lieutenant governor.

FIFTY-EIGHT of the present 140-member house were reelected—that means 82 were either defeated or did not seek reelection. The new house will have 122 representatives, 64 of them new.

Twenty-four of the present 49-member senate were reelected, leaving 25 defeated or retired voluntarily. The new senate will have 52 members, 28 newcomers.

A few changes could be made in the November general election in which the Republicans have fielded 15 candidates for the house and seven for the senate. That also goes for governor and lieutenant governor.

However, the legislature will still be predominately democratic — Mississippi democratic that is since the state party is independent of the parent national organization.

PRINCETON STUDENTS WILL HEAR BARNETT

NY Times 9/25/63

Special to The New York Times

PRINCETON, N. J., Sept. 24 —Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi has agreed to address students on Princeton University's campus here next Tuesday night.

The announcement today by the Student Whig-Cliosophic Society, a campus political and debating group, that the Mississippi segregationist had accepted its offer to speak brought a quick comment from Dr. Robert F. Goheen, president of the university, that the timing of the invitation was "deplorable."

Dr. Goheen added, however, that he believed in the right of students to "hear men with strong convictions speak on issues of public moment however distasteful on occasion the views of such speakers may be to many of us."

The Daily Princetonian, the campus newspaper, will carry an editorial tomorrow calling the visit "indiscreet" but declaring that Mr. Barnett's appearance might offer "valuable experience" for the student body.

Dr. Goheen said that he had conferred with borough, township and state police to insure that an "orderly" meeting would be held.

Politics - Miss.

KALAMAZOO, Mich., Sept. 24 (UPI) — Governor Barnett, speaking at Western Michigan University despite opposition from integrationists, urged students tonight to oppose actively President Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation.

Mr. Barnett said the law would result in "dictatorial control" by the Federal Government.

WP 9/29/63

"Democracy" in Mississippi

The nomination of Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson as the Democratic candidate for Governor of Mississippi is an obvious victory for Gov. Ross Barnett and the segregationists. It comes as no surprise to those acquainted with the dominant political sentiment in that state. Although it is said that Mr. Johnson will face the strongest Republican challenge in a century from Rubel Phillips, talk of a GOP victory in Mississippi is still in the realm of the fantastic. Pol. Miss.

Mississippi has a right, of course, to elect the Governor of its choice without regard to opinion in other parts of the Nation. What concerns a vast number of American citizens outside of that state is that an intrenched faction dedicated to flouting constitutional rights and national policy perpetuates itself in power by denying political rights to a large percentage of the people.

It has been estimated from Census Bureau figures that Mississippi has 386,000 nonwhite citizens of voting age and that about 25,000 of them are registered to vote. The potential voters who have been denied the right to register their preference, and most of whom could have been expected to vote against Mr. Johnson if they had had a chance, substantially outnumber the total vote cast for him, to say nothing of the votes actually cast for his competitor, former Governor Coleman.

It is painfully clear that the extreme segregationists in Mississippi are perpetuating their power by undemocratic means that are an affront to the remainder of the country. Mississippi has thus given Congress another pointed reminder of the necessity for Federal action if equal rights and opportunities are to be respected.

MISSISSIPPI

Next Governor Already Faces Money Problems

A+C. J+C. 10/6/63

Pol. Miss.

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau, Memphis Commercial-Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 5—The next state administration faces a money "gap" of $15.8 million even before it takes office in January.

That means new or increased taxes or drastic cuts in present biennial expenditures. The latter is definitely "out."

The financial dilemma now before the State Budget Commission, which must come up with a balanced budget by Dec. 1 for presentation in advance to the new legislature convening Jan. 7, is this:

Actual minimum needs for the new biennium total $315.8 million. That compares with the present two-year authorizations, ending next June 30, of $298 million. Built-in increases in present programs total $17.8 million and do not provide for any of the additional $50 million being requested by the various departments and institutions in keeping with the increased economic trend and "must" expansions.

TO MEET THOSE MINIMUM needs the Budget Commission foresees $300 million in revenue. Although that's $12 million more than collections in the current biennial period, $17 million of it is in stop-gap tax increases voted at the 1962 legislative session with an automatic repeal next June 30.

Re-enactment of the emergency taxes is considered a "must" by fiscal officials. Even then, on the basis of the minimum requirements for the government in the period June 30, 1964-June 30, 1966, an additional $15.8 million must be forthcoming.

Each biennial session of the legislature, meeting in January in even years, must approve a budget for the two-year period commencing the following July 1. It must also anticipate revenue collections that far in advance.

AN ANTICIPATED CASH BALANCE of at least $5 million when Gov. Ross Barnett steps from office will help the situation, but it will be far short of the minimum needs. Incidentally, the far-reaching Bill of Rights for Industry, enacted in 1960 under sponsorship of Governor Barnett, accounts for some of the projected $12 million dollars in the next biennial period.

Since the governor's program has resulted in 485 new and expanded industries, many of which will not be in full operation until the new administration takes over, it is likely that the Budget Commission will raise its $12 million figure.

That will help, but not enough since it is certain that common schools will get increased allocations, along with the institutions of higher learning.

Common schools are asking for $30 million for teacher salary increases, additional to the $14.6 million built-in to care for normal salary boosts for teachers who upgrade their degree-status for automatic stepped-up pay.

COMMON SCHOOLS now get $134.750 million. The built-in, plus the $30 million additional, would give it a two-year allocation of $179.350 million.

The colleges and universities, now getting $22 million, are asking an additional $18 million for a two-year budget of $40 million.

Unofficial discussions in official fiscal circles as to new money sources center around legalization of liquor and its sale in state-owned stores and a one-half cent increase in the state's 3 per cent sales tax. The state store operation would bring in an estimated $18 million in the two-year period—the added sales tax about the same amount.

There's no talk about repealing any of the $10 million a year in exemptions to various groups, including farmers and some businesses.

WP 10/8/63

A GOP Opera Rips JFK in "Ole Miss"

Pol. Miss.

By Marquis Childs

McCOMB, Miss. — There is something new under the political sun—a Republican candidate for governor running in the fall election in Mississippi with every outward determination to win.

Rubel Phillips and the candidate for lieutenant governor, State Senator Stanford Morse, are carrying their campaign to the farthest boondocks. Nothing like it has been seen since Reconstruction days and then Republican governors were imposed under the rule of Yankee bayonets and not lawfully elected.

The clique that has dominated Mississippi for so long under a one-party system doesn't like it at all. As Phillips tells every audience, if he had not become a Republican and issued the challenge it would have all been over on Aug. 27. That was the date of the Democratic primary, one of the bitterest in Mississippi's history, with Lieutenant Governor Paul B. Johnson Jr. winning over former Governor J. P. Coleman by a landslide majority.

Phillips, an attractive-appearing corporation lawyer, links himself with Sen. Barry Goldwater. As at his evening meeting here in the football stadium before a crowd of perhaps 600, including many teen-agers, the loudest applause comes when he says Goldwater will be the Republican nominee.

HIS CONTENTION is that the plan of the Mississippi Democrats to put up a slate of unpledged electors will simply be throwing away the state's electoral votes. In the unlikely event that the presidential election a year from now is so close as to be thrown into the House of Representatives, President Kennedy would win in a walk since 65 per cent of the Democratic state delegations in the House are pro-Kennedy.

This may be a subtlety over the heads of his listeners, but they are left in no doubt that he is against the Kennedys and all their works. Warming up the crowd before the candidate arrives are singing stars of the Grand Ol' Opry who play from a lighted stage that lets down from the van in which they travel. Their most rousing song is "Knock Out the Kennedys."

The Phillips-Morse billboards generously sprinkled along the highways carry the caption in big letters "K.O. the Ken-

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The Phillips-Morse billboards generously sprinkled along the highways carry the caption in big letters "K.O. the Kennedys." The most devastating Phillips charge is that Johnson and Gov. Ross Barnett made a deal with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at the time James Meredith was admitted to the University of Mississippi. So the picture Johnson used in his primary campaign showing him defying the United States Marshals was, in Phillips words, "just rooster fighting."

To prove his case he has been quoting from the partial transcript published by *Newsweek* of the Kennedy-Barnett-Johnson long-distance conversation on the eve of the Ole Miss showdown. Along with transcripts of other conversations published later this has had an echo in the remotest villages. If Phillips has a chance to defeat the long-entrenched Democratic powers, and the odds are long against him, it will be because the great Johnson-Barnett defy of the Federal tyrant is now seen to have been a piece of prearranged stage play.

GOVERNOR BARNETT in his homespun fashion likes to say that *Look* is a magazine for people who can't read, *The Saturday Evening Post* a magazine for people who can't write and *Newsweek* for people who can't either read or write. But neither Barnett nor Johnson has denied the authenticity of the transcripts.

Perhaps the blow that rocked Phillips hardest is the charge in full-page advertisements that he was a "moderate." The ad carries quotations of earlier years counseling moderation on race questions and accusing him of voting for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956. Yes, Phillips says, making a clean breast of it, I did vote for Adlai Stevenson. What is worse, in 1948 I voted for Harry Truman. And so, he adds, did Paul Johnson, but he will not have the courage to tell you.

The slogan of the opposition is "Bury the Scalawags." You have to be born a Southerner to understand how sinister is the word scalawag—a term applied to the quisiings who cooperated with the Yankee invaders in the Reconstruction Era. But Phillips turns the knife by charging his opponents with borrowing the slogan from Khrushchev.

He assails the one-party system. He says this is why Mississippi is No. 12 among the 12 Southern states in per capita income and in almost every other measurement. The crowd sitting under the stadium floodlights is not overly responsive. They file out as the Grand Ol' Opry gives out again with "Knock Out the Kennedys." And this unique Republican show is on the road for another set of appearances.

Atl. Jour. 10/11/63

Barnett and RFK

Pol. Miss.

THE EMBARRASSMENTS of Ross Barnett are turning into the embarrassments of his apparent successor as governor of Mississippi, Paul Johnson.

Some time ago a national magazine reported that Barnett had secretly agreed to the surrender at the Oxford schoolhouse door, with the request that the federals help him make his struggle look convincing.

Now Newsweek, in its Oct. 14 edition, reports this again and adds what it says is the transcript of telephone calls between Gov. Barnett and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy. Lt. Gov. Johnson, now the Democratic nominee for governor facing Republican opposition, was in on the act.

One conversation, according to Newsweek, went this way:

"Barnett: 'Oh, yes, general, I was under the impression that they were all going to pull their guns. This could be very embarrassing. We got a big crowd here and if one pulls his gun and we all turn it would be very embarrassing. Isn't it possible to have them all pull their guns?'

"Kennedy, 'I hate to have them all draw their guns, as I think it could create harsh feelings.'

"Barnett: 'They must all draw their guns. Then they should point their guns at us and then we could step aside.'

"Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson: 'It is absolutely necessary that they all draw their guns.' "

In another conversation, Newsweek says, Barnett told the attorney general: "General, I'm worried. I'm nervous, I tell you. You don't realize what's going on. . . . A lot of people are going to get killed. It would be embarrassing to me."

This, says Newsweek, is the record.

We cannot judge it, so we let it speak for itself.

NYT 10/15/63

Write-In Drive Started

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 14—A Negro civil rights leader, Aaron Henry, began his campaign today as a write-in candidate for Governor in the Nov. 5 general election although Mississippi does not count write-in votes.

He said that the Rev. Edwin King Jr., a white Methodist minister at Tougaloo Southern Christian College, would be a write-in candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

Pol. Miss.

Mr. Henry is the state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Atl. Jour. 10/16/63

Mississippi Pledges to 'Bury GOP'

Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 16 (AP). In a rare postprimary rally, more than 3,000 Democrats met Tuesday night with a call to "bury Republicanism in Mississippi for the next 100 years."

The party's nominees for governor and lieutenant governor, Paul B. Johnson and Carroll Gartin, addressed the rally, along with Gov. Ross Barnett and U.S. Sens. James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis.

The big guns of the Democrats assembled for the $25-a-plate function because Republicans are making a serious threat for the governorship in the Nov. 5 general election.

GOP standardbearer Rubel Phillips and the lieutenant governor candidate, State Sen. Stanford Morse, are waging a fierce campaign.

IN THE PAST, Republicans have put up only token opposition against the Democrats, who usually stop campaigning once they've picked nominees.

Johnson, who is lieutenant governor, told the rally that the general election is "a critical junction in history when we must point the direction for the next 25 years or more."

He said the "birth of a two-party sysem in the state will divide the conservative white vote. Then Mississippi would have to reap the whirlwind harvest of racial discord, more socialism, more taxes, more Negro participation in government and more integration.

"With the densest Negro population in the nation, Mississippi would, under these circumstances, scarcely be a desirable place in which to live and raise a family."

"The only benefactors to the two-party system in this state," he said, "would be the 920,000 Negroes who live in it."

Cox Sees Danger In Barnett Appeal

WP 10/22/63

Pol. Mis.

Solicitor General Archibald Cox told the Supreme Court yesterday that if Federal courts must give a jury trial to every person charged with criminal contempt the enforcement of unpopular court orders will be greatly handicapped.

Cox was arguing that the Court should not change the law and hold that Gov. Ross R. Barnett and Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson are entitled by the Constitution to a jury trial on charges they violated court orders during the desegregation of the University of Mississippi a year ago.

The Solicitor General said the "only available process for preventing nullification" of court orders in unpopular causes is the ready availability of punishment through criminal contempt. In situations like that in Mississippi last fall, he said, one juror who disagreed with the basic court orders could block punishment for violations of them and frustrate the rule of law.

Says Courts Must Rule

The law and the courts, Cox said, must have power to protect the weak and unpopular and to see that court orders are not frustrated by one member of a jury.

Cox said Barnett's actions when James H. Meredith was attempting to enroll at Ole Miss "threatened the supremacy of the Constitution, if not the whole rule of law."

The case of Barnett and Johnson is before the Supreme Court because the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals divided 4 to 4 on whether they should be tried by a jury. After the Supreme Court decides that question, the contempt charges will go back to the lower court for trial.

Cox said the position of the Federal Government is that the Court should not reconsider its decision of 1958 that there is no constitutional right to jury trial in contempt cases. He said that decision is part of an "unbroken line of precedents" just as the denial of a jury trial in most contempt cases is "part of the fabric of the law throughout the life of our Nation."

Defense Seeks Reversal

Attorneys for Barnett and Johnson, who barely had begun their argument before Court recessed yesterday, want the Justices to overrule the 1958 decision and to hold for the first time that there is a constitutional right to a jury trial in all contempt cases.

If they lose on their constitutional argument, Barnett and Johnson claim they are entitled to a jury trial under an Act of Congress.

Cox argued that the Act did not apply because it was written in terms of jury trials for contempt of Federal District Courts while this contempt charge is based on an order of a Court of Appeals. He also contended that this case was covered by an exception to the jury trial provision applying to all cases instituted by the United States.

White Questions

Under questioning by Justice Byron R. White, Cox said there could have been no claim of a jury trial under the Act of Congress if the situation had arisen three years earlier. The Civil Rights Act of 1960, he said, made the alleged obstruction of court orders by Barnett and Johnson a crime and thus made possible the claim that the Act of Congress applies to their case.

Justice Arthur L. Goldberg questioned Cox about why civil contempt proceedings were not adequate to enforce compliance with court orders.

The Court of Appeals first held Barnett in civil contempt, an order that was intended to insure that he would do what the Court told him. Later, it added the charges of criminal contempt to punish Barnett and Johnson.

Cox said the civil proceedings could suffice in many instances. In most contempt cases, he said, a court could hold a man in jail until he complied with the court orders. But in a situation like Mississippi, Cox said, the courts needed more powers because Barnett was not only failing to comply but was invoking the entire power of the state and its citizens to defy the courts.

LWD, RJ, PA, JTV

Pol. Miss.

The Nation

Race Horse Riders Vie for Poll Position In Magnolia Classic

By Laurence Stern
Staff Reporter

JACKSON, Miss.—The emotional cyclone of racism has swept all other issues from the political arena in Mississippi's Democratic gubernatorial primary which will be decided at the polls on Tuesday.

Appeals to racial emotions, to be sure, are firmly embedded in the ritualism of Mississippi politics and have been for three quarters of a century.

But seldom has the rallying cry of segregation found such a welcome climate in an embittered and alienated white electorate.

The experience of Ole Miss, with its specter of Federal troops, still rankles fresh in the memory of white Mississippians. Therefore in this campaign, more than ever before, President Kennedy has become an object of universal anathema in the Magnolia State.

IN THIS SETTING, Mississippi Democrats will choose Tuesday between former Gov. J. P. Coleman, who held the state's highest office from 1956 to 1960, and Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, this year making his fourth try for the governorship.

To an outsider, there seems little difference, on the surface, between the two candidates.

Both avow themselves to be champions of Mississippi's white supremacist traditions. Both have pledged to stand firm against court-ordered desegregation, whether at the college campus or elementary school level.

But within what seems to be a monolith of segregationist politics, there is a broad and subtle range of difference between the two men.

The most obvious one was Coleman's support in 1960 of President Kennedy, a position he recently has been forced to repudiate under the fire of his opposition, and his efforts to keep Mississippi inside the framework of the Democratic Party.

DURING THE YEARS of his governorship, Coleman sought to keep race relations in Mississippi on an even keel by not stirring the segregation cauldron. He was cool to the race-baiting tactics of the Citizens Council, which has its national headquarters in this capital city.

Johnson, on the other hand, is campaigning as heir apparent to the strident segregationist policies of incumbent Gov. Ross R. Barnett. He is openly seeking to cash in on his role in the Ole Miss crisis when he acted out the state's mood of defiance to Federal authority at the doorway of the university.

It is no coincidence that the most widely circulated pieces of campaign literature in the primary depict the confrontation on the Ole Miss campus. One of the posters, distributed by Johnson forces, is a drawing showing the Lieutenant Governor with upraised hand confronting Chief U. S. Marshal James J. P. McShane and James Meredith. The second, which was promptly issued by Coleman headquarters, is a photograph showing Johnson and McShane shaking hands.

THE TALL, WIRY Lieutenant Governor with a circuit rider delivery has been stumping the state reminding voters that he "stood up" for Mississippi before an array of Federal might in Oxford, home of the university. He is asking that his listeners, in turn, "stand up" for his candidacy on Tuesday.

The 47-year-old Johnson, son of the late Gov. Paul B. Johnson, has been hammering away aggressively at the theme that Coleman, in league with the "dictatorial Kennedys," sought to dissuade Barnett from taking a hard stand at Ole Miss.

In a television speech Wednesday night, Johnson recalled that when his opponent was Governor, Coleman invited then-Sen. John F. Kennedy to Mississippi and "wined him and dined him at the Governor's Mansion, then tucked him away in Sen. Bilbo's bed."

And in a retort to a New York Times editorial, Johnson proclaimed in the same speech that he was proud to be placed alongside what the newspaper described as "such undistinguished Mississippians as Sen. James O. Eastland, Theodore G. Bilbo and Ross Barnett."

JOHNSON FORCES have also cranked out throughout the state a circular entitled "The Real Issue." And, as defined by Johnson, "the real issue is for the people to decide whether or not Gov. Barnett, Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson and the Mississippi Legislature were right in their stand against the invasion of this state by Federal troops and U. S. marshals under orders of the Kennedys . . . "

It concludes: "The Kennedys, the NAACP, CORE and all the left-wingers in America would have a celebration to end all celebrations if Paul Johnson should go down in defeat."

On a folksier basis, Johnson is selling his message with the help of a group called the Magnolia State Quartet. They sing, to the tune of "Reuben, Reuben," an endless round of verses such as these to Johnson's campaign audiences:

"Gather round me, all you voters.
Listen to my earnest plea.
'Cause a vote for Mr. Coleman
Means a vote for Kennedy.

Let's list a few of his supporters:
There's John F. and Adlai, too;
Walter Reuther, Thurgood Marshall;
Not to mention Tougaloo."

Paul Johnson in a bitter showdown at Oxford last September. Here Lieutenant Governor Paul Johnson is shown blocking the way of U. S. Marshal McShane and James Meredith.

PAUL JOHNSON STOOD UP FOR YOU AND MISSISSIPPI

NOW YOU CAN STAND UP WITH HIM FOR YOUR STATE

When the going was tough and bitter, Paul Johnson, as your Lieutenant Governor, went to Oxford and personally blocked the entry of a negro into the University of Mississippi. Because of this, he has been cited for civil and criminal contempt by the Federal Courts and is today waiting for the Supreme Court to determine whether he will have a jury trial. PAUL JOHNSON had the courage, conviction and the determination to stand up for you and for Mississippi. As your Governor, you can be sure that he will stand firm against those who would change our way of life and our customs that are best for both races—now and forever.

REMEMBER THESE THINGS: J. P. Coleman endorsed, spoke and voted for Kennedy for President of the United States . . . J. P. Coleman told Governor Ross Barnett to "let Meredith register" as a student at Ole Miss without a fight—Newsweek Magazine (April 29, 1963) says . . . "J. P. Coleman, a Kennedy man and a far less strident segregationist than incumbent Ross Barnett" — Yes, remember, J. P. Coleman would turn Mississippi over to the Kennedys—lock, stock and barrel.

PAUL B. JOHNSON HAS THE EXPERIENCE NEEDED TO BE GOVERNOR. HE HAS DEMONSTRATED WHERE HE STANDS ON THE CRUCIAL ISSUES FACING OUR STATE. IF YOU, TOO, FAVOR STATES' RIGHTS, CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT AND MISSISSIPPI'S CONTINUED ECONOMIC PROGRESS, HELP ELECT PAUL B. JOHNSON GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

VOTE AUGUST 6TH FOR PAUL B. JOHNSON

Submitted to and approved by Gene Triggs, campaign manager

This Johnson campaign poster shows the Lieutenant Governor (left) apparently defying U. S. Marshal James McShane (center) at Oxford last September in Johnson's attempt to bar James Meredith (right) from the University of Mississippi campus.

(The last reference is to Tougaloo Southern Christian College in Jackson, which has furnished much of the leadership for civil rights protest demonstrations throughout the state.)

BY KEEPING this aggressive stance, Johnson catapulted himself into the lead position in the state's first primary heat last Aug. 6. Coleman trailed by 20,000 votes. No one got the needed majority because 38-year-old Clarksdale lawyer Charles Sullivan, a states' righter who since then has thrown his support to Coleman, ran a strong third.

Coleman has been forced to fight his battle on Johnson's terms: the Kennedy issue, softness on segregation, loyalty to the national Democratic Party. His posture in the campaign has thus been more defensive. On Tuesday night he took more than 20 minutes out of a half-hour of prime TV time to reply to charges on a preceding Johnson telecast.

Coleman forces were stunned when Johnson rang up his lead in the first primary. Soon afterward the former Governor publicly recanted for his previous support of President Kennedy. "I made a mistake," he acknowledged.

On the Ole Miss issue, however, Coleman accused his opponent of playing the demagogue.

Johnson, he said, "is trying to use Negro James Meredith to elect a governor for the white people to live under for four years. If he and his supporters can do this in 1963, they can do it again with another Negro in 1967 . . .

"JOHNSON HAD to have Meredith in his politics in Mississippi and Kennedy had to have Meredith in his politics in Washington and all of the people of Mississippi were caught in the middle," Coleman charged during an appearance Monday in the delta town of Greenwood.

Coleman might have added that his own election prospects were seriously damaged in the great emotional spasm that followed Ole Miss.

Mississippi's Negroes look on with ambivalent emotions.

"With Coleman in office, some Negroes might be persuaded to defect from the civil rights movement in the hope of achieving progress," commented Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi State NAACP Conference.

"If Johnson is elected, no Negro could afford to defect. We could make more progress that way."

A MISSISSIPPI EDITOR summed up the stakes in Tuesday's primary this way:

"There are really three layers to this election: the first is the Kennedy issue; under that is the segregation issue. But when you peel through to the final layer, you get down to the question of political control.

"Fundamentally, this is a battle for control between the faction controlled by Barnett, the Citizens Council and Sen. Eastland, on one hand, and the forward-looking wing headed by Coleman and Sen. John Stennis, on the other."

Hoping to profit from the fratricidal strife among Mississippi Democrats this year is an energetic, 38-year-old Goldwater Republican, Rubel Phillips, who is regarded as the Magnolia State's first serious GOP gubernatorial challenger since Reconstruction.

LET'S TELL THE WHOLE TRUTH, PAUL

(This actual photograph shows what really happened between Paul Johnson and U.S. Marshall James McShane at Ole Miss.)

WHEN THE FIST CAME DOWN, THE HAND WENT OUT, AND MEREDITH WENT IN.

ELECT A MAN YOU CAN TRUST

J. P. COLEMAN

THE MAN FOR MISSISSIPPI

SUBMITTED TO AND APPROVED BY A. V. BUSHEE, STATE CAMPAIGN MANAGER

Johnson's opponent, former Gov. J. P. Coleman, countered with this photograph of the Lieutenant Governor and the Marshal shaking hands at the height of the Ole Miss crisis.

Johnson Margin Put at 64,414

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 30 (UPI)—Complete but unofficial returns today showed that Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr. defeated former Gov. J. P. Coleman by 64,414 votes in Tuesday's Democratic primary runoff for Governor of Mississippi. Mr. Johnson received 261,065 votes to 196,651 for Mr. Coleman.

Politics - Miss
8/31/63

NYT 10/26/63

Mississippi Candidates Ignore Party Labels and Philosophies

Pol. Miss.

By CLAUDE SITTON

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 25 — This state's first serious gubernatorial campaign between a Democrat and a Republican since Reconstruction days is nearing the finish in an atmosphere of fantasy and paradox.

Party labels, in the usual sense, mean little in the conest to be decided Nov. 5 between Paul B. Johnson, the 47-year-old Lieutenant Governor, and Rubel L. Phillips, his 38-year-old opponent.

Mr. Johnson is running under the slogan, "Bury G.O.P. Scalawags," a post-Civil War term used to describe Southerners who cooperated with Federal forces in the Reconstruction.

But he is a self-proclaimed "Mississippi Democrat," a faction whose philosophy is more akin to that of the Republican party's conservative wing than to anything else.

His supporters, most of whom are bitter foes of President Kennedy and the national party, include the administration of Gov. Ross R. Barnett, followers of Senator James O. Eastland, and the militantly segregationist Citizens Councils.

Opponent Backs Goldwater

Mr. Phillips, a Jackson lawyer who is a former chairman of the State Public Service Commission, is a recent Democratic party loyalist turned Goldwater Republican. The national Republican party can expect the full support of such Mississippians in next year's Presidential race only if its nominee is Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

Mr. Phillips's strength lies in an unlikely coalition of Goldwater Republicans and Democrats, who range in viewpoint from middle-of-the-road to liberal. Among the liberal Democrats are labor union members and national party loyalists, many of whom voted for former Gov. J. P. Coleman in his unsuccessful race against Mr. Johnson in the Democratic primary and a subsequent runoff.

These liberals oppose Mr. Johnson because of what they regard as the antilabor and militantly racist policies of the Barnett administration, on whose record Mr. Johnson is running.

Even the most optimistic Phillips supporters concede that he as no more than an outside chance. Their chief hope is that he will profit from the traditional apathy toward general elections in Mississippi, where Democratic nomination has long been equivalent to election.

Nevertheless, Democrats have been forced to wage an extraordinarily active campaign. And a strong Republican showing undoubtedly would encourage the realighment of political forces in this state and speed its shift toward a two-party system.

The campaign debate centers on the issue of which candidate and which faction can maintain rigid racial segregation in Mississippi and help to elect a conservative President sympathetic to that goal.

Mr. Johnson and the Barnett Democrats lay claim to this power by virtue of the defiant refusal of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor to admit a Negro last fall to the University of Mississippi.

Both men face Federal court trials on charges of criminal contempt as a result of their unsuccessful efforts to deny the admission of James H. Meredith.

"Paul stood tall last fall," chorus Johnson supporters in reference to a confrontation in which the Lieutenant Governor physically barred the entry of James P. McShane, the Chief United States Marshal, and Mr. Meredith.

The Republicans counter that this is not so. They accuse the two state officials of scheming with Robert F. Kennedy, the Attorney General, to make a show of resistance and then permit the court-ordered desegregation to take place.

Mr. Johnson denies this.

Mr. Phillips, whose slogan is "K.O. the Kennedys," contends that his election would aid Senator Goldwater in the latter's unannounced efforts to win the Republican nomination and the Presidency. Hillbilly singers entertain Mr. Phillips's crowds with a song sung to the tune of "Reuben, Reuben," one verse of which says:

Rubel, Rubel, we're all rebels
Fighting for our native land
Against the Kennedy carpetbaggers,
Bobby, Jack and all the clan.

The campaign headquarters of the handsome but somewhat colorless Republican candidate are plastered with Goldwater photographs. But neither he nor Stanford Morse, the Democratic State Representative running for Lieutenant Governor as a Republican, display the party label on their campaign posters.

However, Mr. Phillips argues that a one-party system is responsible for Mississippi's troubles—the "occupation" of the university by Federal troops, the state's ranking at the botton of the ladder in income and wealth, and the alleged corruption, inefficiency and wastefulness in state government.

Mr. Johnson contends that a victory for Mr. Phillips would actually hurt Senator Goldwater's chances to obtain the Presidential nomination by underscoring the Senator's support among conservative segregationists.

Last night in Natchez, Mr. Johnson expressed irritation over "having to contend with this sort of situation"—a serious two-party gubernatorial race—"that I assure you will never happen again."

He then indicated that the Legislature would take steps next January to relieve Mississippi voters of the inconvenience presented by the general election, but he did not say how this would be accomplished.

WP 10/26/63
Pol. Miss.

Miss. Negroes Plan 'Private' Election

By Robert E. Baker
Staff Reporter

IF BUMPER STICKERS were votes, the winner of the Nov. 5 balloting for governor of Mississippi would be Rubel Phillips, first serious Republican contender since Reconstruction.

All over the state, stickers proclaim: "Rubel in '63, Barry in '64."

Those stickers identify a new breed of white conservative voters in Mississippi whose hero is Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) on the national scene and who have switched parties inside Mississippi.

Another frequently seen sticker adorns the cars of both the new Republicans and the old Mississippi Democrats and shows scorn for the Kennedy Administration. It proclaims:

"Flush the White House John With Goldwater."

Democrats who like the idea of Goldwater for President but naturally dislike the idea of a Republican governor, have resurrected Reconstruction with this sticker aimed at Phillips: "Bury the Scalawags."

RAREST OF ALL stickers, seldom seen anywhere in the Magnolia State, is this one: "Go JFK in 1964." Indeed, some Negroes driving through Kosciusko last week with such a sticker on their car were stopped by city police and warned:

"You'd better not stop with that sticker in Mississippi."

The story of the stickers sums up the gubernatorial battle between Republican Phillips and Democrat Paul B. Johnson Jr., now Lieutenant Governor. Their common targets are the Kennedy Administration and racial desegregation. Little else seems to matter.

But the Johnson-Phillips donnybrook is not the full story of this election. There is another ticket running—the unofficial "Freedom Ballot."

Heading the ticket is Aaron Henry, 42-year-old Negro pharmacist from Clarksdale and president of the Mississippi NAACP. It was Henry who once told Gov. Ross R. Barnett to stop trying to scare Negroes because scary Negroes have left the state and only tough, hard Negroes remain.

Henry's running mate for lieutenant governor is the Rev. Edwin King, 27-year-old native white Mississippian who is dean of students at Tougaloo College near Jackson.

"Johnson boasts about how bad he has been to Negroes and Phillips boasts how bad he will be," said Henry when he was nominated by the Council of Federated Organizations representing civil rights groups.

The idea of the Freedom Ballot is to bring out a record number of Negro votes in an unofficial balloting to show they would vote in official elections in Mississippi if they were allowed to.

THE FREEDOM BALLOT platform notes that Mississippi politicians "have been able to maintain their power by burying the state's problems under a blanket of race hatred."

It calls for an end to segregation, including in public accommodations; replacement of the present State Sovereignty Commission with a State Commission on Equality; fair employment; a $1.25 minimum wage; better schools; a guaranteed right to vote; academic freedom, and an end to the hypocrisy of dry Mississippi's tax on illegal whisky.

Leaders hope that 150,000 Negroes will cast ballots in boxes set up in churches in 50 communities on Nov. 2 and 3. Results will be announced after the ballots in the official campaign between Phillips and Johnson are counted on Nov. 5.

Negro workers are carrying the protest campaign throughout the state. Greenville city officials permitted a Freedom Ballot rally on the Court House lawn. But even Negro ballots that don't count began to rankle some sections of the state last week.

Groups of Negroes and whites, including Yale University students, were arrested in Clarksdale and Indianola for distributing Freedom Ballot information without a permit. Robert Moses, Henry's campaign manager, was arrested for violating Clarksdale's midnight curfew.

In fact, the whole Mississippi political scene last week smacked of events of the last century.

NEGROES HAD no sooner gained the right to vote in Mississippi after the Civil War than powerful conservative "white men's clubs" began to wrest it away.

The clubs formed the basis for the Democratic Party, which intimidated Negroes and whites in the Republican Party with physical and economic punishment until it made a clean sweep in 1875.

Gov. Adelbert Ames, a Republican, was forced to resign in 1876 and he was the last Republican governor.

Ballot stuffing and fraud became so rampant in the state that a constitutional convention was called in 1890 to provide a system of honest elections. As Judge S. S. Calhoon, convention president, put it, Mississippi had to find a way to preserve white supremacy that was fair to both races.

The poll tax and literacy tests became part of the constitution, with the desired effect. In 1890, Mississippi had 190,000 registered Negro voters. Two years later, it had 8600. In 1954, there were 22,000 Negro voters, the same as there are today—less than 5 per cent of the registered electorate.

The threat of Negro votes was always uppermost in the minds of the whites. In 1912, Mississippian W. H. Leavell warned there were enough literate Negroes in the state then to hold the balance of power if the whites were divided.

A few days ago, Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) told a Democratic rally in Jackson that white voters must not divide into two parties or the Negroes could hold the balance of power.

White supremacy, he said, is the "noblest cause that can bring us together."

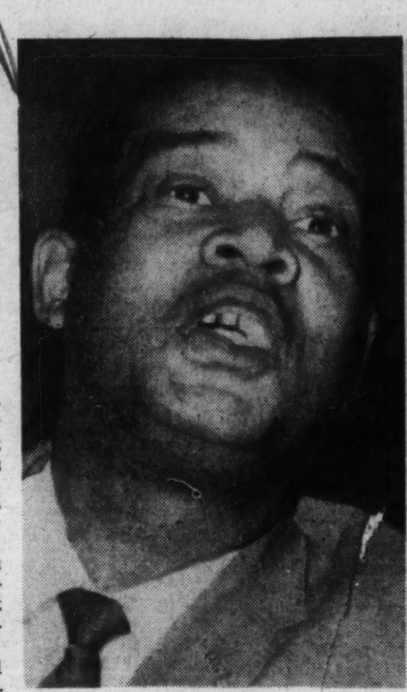
AND THAT HAS been the big pitch of the Democrats against the Republican threat: that the Negroes might hold the balance of power in a two-party system.

Republican Phillips, a Democrat until he decided to run for governor, retorts that Mississippi lost its segregation under a one-party system.

Last week, Mississippi Republicans came up with their biggest salvo to date. Widely distributed throughout the state was an alleged transcript of the Sept. 27, 1962, telephone agreement for the admittance of James H. Meredith to the University of Mississippi.

Gov. Barnett and Lt. Gov. Johnson agreed with Attorney General Robert E. Kennedy to let the Negro enter after a force of United States marshals drew their guns. Johnson was quoted as telling Kennedy: "We've got to have time to discreetly move the sheriffs out of here."

Republican Phillips said the agreement was a cynical deal among Democratic officials that ended three days later after two deaths and many injuries.



AARON E. HENRY
. . . only tough Negroes remain

RUBEL PHILLIPS
. . . bumper sticker candidate

"Kennedy and Barnett and Johnson were willing to sit down and play cowboy and nigger with the University," said Phillips.

Johnson said he cannot comment on the transcript since he currently faces Federal contempt charges for the Ole Miss affair.

IRONICALLY, JOHNSON'S biggest trouble now seems to be in sustaining the interest of an electorate that in the past has been able to ignore the general election because the one-party system settled things in the Democratic primary. Only 58,000 persons voted in the last general election.

He also fears that supporters of former Gov. J. P. Coleman, whom he defeated in the August primary by exploiting Coleman's past support of President Kennedy, may turn in anger to a Republican ballot in November.

Political observers in Mississippi predict that Republican Phillips will get a substantial vote, enough to reconstruct a Mississippi Republican Party, but that Democrat Johnson will emerge the victor. They also view with interest the size of the unofficial Freedom Ballot.

Judge Calhoon at the 1890 constitutional convention summed up Mississippi's politics then and now when he said: "There is no politics . . . . save the race question."

30, 1963. NYT 10/30/63

50 YALE MEN AID MISSISSIPPI NEGRO

Back Gubernatorial Drive—Several Are Arrested

Pol. Miss.

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 29—About 50 Yale University students have been in Mississippi for the last 10 days working in behalf of a Negro candidate for Governor. Several have been arrested.

They have joined members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee throughout the state to promote the candidacy of Aaron Henry, a Clarksdale druggist who is a write-in candidate in the Nov. 5 general election.

In addition, about 30 Stanford University students are scheduled to arrive later this week to help in the campaign.

The Yale students have also been promoting a mock election that will be held p[illegible] official election. This is designed to give unregistered Negroes of voting age a chance to mark a ballot. Mr. Henry's name will appear on the "Freedom Ballot" along with [illegible] of the two white candidates, Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, Democrat, and Rubel Phillips, Republican. Both are segregationists.

Two students were arrested in Indianola last week for distributing leaflets without a permit. The students, Peter [illegible]blum of Brooklyn, and Franklin Bosler of Chicago, paid fines of $25 each and left the state.

In Clarksdale, two others were arrested for breaking a city curfew law—Stephen Bingham of Salem, Conn., and John [illegible] of Long Island. They were released after posting bond. Richard Van Wagenen of Washington was charged with violating an anti-littering ordinance for handing out copies of The Mississippi Free Press, a weekly newspaper.

A divinity student, John Ell[illegible] was fined $20 in Hattiesburg for improper parking and interfering with an officer. Fo[illegible] were questioned for two hours and released.

In Yazoo City several students, along with two workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, were escorted out of town by the police.

Mr. Henry has no hope of winning the election. He is running to dramatize Negro protests against discrimination and to give voters a choice.

WP 10/31/63

The Dark Mind Of Mississippi

Pol. Miss.

By Marquis Childs

NATCHEZ, Miss.—In this old town that venerates its ante-bellum shrines the sense of fierce resistance of the tide of change is perhaps stronger than anywhere else in beleaguered Mississippi. The outsider, the Northerner, who comes to the state, however briefly, cannot mistake the emotion that is running so strong. The riot at the University of Mississippi over the admission of a Negro student that resulted in two deaths and many injured may have seemed to the world outside the South as a tragedy, a disgrace, a shame. But it has an entirely different look here.

That drama of a year ago was for Mississippians a deliberate provocation by the Kennedy Administration. It was an act designed to subjugate a sovereign state and by military force alter its ancient ways. The blood passions of a hundred years ago are boiling.

The hatred of the Kennedys is a pervasive force. This reporter was told by one who has stood up to the ruling passion that in his opinion the safety of the President and his brother, the Attorney General, could not be guaranteed if they came into the state. This would not be due to any laxity or indifference on the part of the authorities but because fanatical hatred is so deeply rooted. And, moreover, you hear disquieting reports of how widespread is the distribution of arms that can be readily purchased.

THE EMOTIONS of this troubled moment are expressed with native vigor by Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, the Democratic candidate for Governor, as he makes an impassioned attack on the Republican opposition. In contrast to his Republican opponent, Rubel Phillips, who has a citified look although he comes off a small cotton farm, Johnson, whose father was a Governor of the state, has a Mississippi back-country stamp. He is thin, intense, his words come out with a sharp, rural twang. When he accuses Phillips of having pledged to support Nelson Rockefeller, if Rockefeller is the Republican nominee next year, he says Rocky-feller, drawling the syllables out in full contempt.

As he speaks from an improvised

quieting reports of new [illegible] the distribution of arms that can be readily purchased.

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As he speaks from an improvised stand at home plate in the Natchez ball park to a crowd of perhaps 800 the reasons for the violent opposition to the first Republican bid in nearly a century are clear. This, says Johnson, means divide and rule by the Negro minority.

His political arithmetic is: Mississippi is 58 per cent white, 42 per cent Negro. If you divide the 58 then the minority will swing the balance. And he cites the consequences of this in Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington and Richmond, Va.

So the scalawags must be buried and the one-party system preserved. When the legislature meets in January, he promises, we will see that this never happens again. He explained later that laws would be passed requiring fixed party registration so that those choosing to be Republicans would not be permitted to vote in the Democratic primary and would, therefore, have little influence in the state.

Trying to put over the Republican case in Mississippi, says Johnson, are these slick writers brought in from Texas. They are the same slick writers dealing in mass psychology who put Sen. John Tower and Rep. Bruce Alger over on innocent Democrats in Texas. And what is more, the four-color Phillips posters—on 1800 billboards—came from Fort Worth.

THUS THE conspiracy against Mississippi and its sovereign way of life is complete. The Republicans are the sworn enemy of the South. Johnson quotes from a speech in the House by Rep. Fred Schwengel of Iowa boasting of GOP civil rights achievements and citing Rockefeller as a member of the NAACP and Senator Goldwater as a member of the Urban League.

To the charge that he is dividing the whites and thereby preparing the way for rule by the Negro minority, Phillips replies that this same division was exploited by the Democrats in the first primary and in the run-off. Johnson compared his run-off opponent, J. P. Coleman, to Martin Luther King Jr. In Mississippi there could hardly be a greater insult unless it was to be compared to Bobby Kennedy. The lacerating bitterness of the primaries may produce an anti-Johnson vote benefiting the Republicans.

If the Negro can be kept an isolated minority, in large part disfranchised and in any event politically impotent, he cannot expect to begin to achieve equality of economic opportunity. In a state seeking to attract Northern industry with the inducement of low wages this may be a vital factor. But the struggle has deeper roots in ancient habits that confirm the white man's belief in his innate superiority.

G.O.P. IS MAKING MISSISSIPPI RACE

NYT 11/3/63

Barnett Aide Challenged by a Goldwater Supporter

Pol. Miss.

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 2—Mississippi voters will elect a Governor Tuesday to succeed Ross R. Barnett. The choice is between a Barnett Democrat and a Goldwater Republican, both of whom promise the strongest opposition to the Kennedy Administration.

More than 300,000 are expected to cast ballots in the general election, the first since reconstruction in which there was a serious Republican challenger for the Governor's office.

The candidates are Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., who was nominated over former Gov. J. P. Coleman in the Democratic primary on an anti-Kennedy platform, and Rubel Phillips, a 38-year-old lawyer making his first statewide race.

A Negro druggist from Clarksdale, Aaron Henry, is unning for Governor as a write-in candidate to give Negroes and liberal whites someone to vote for. The Rev. Edwin King, white chaplain at Tougaloo Christian College, is running with Mr. Henry for Lieutenant Governor.

With no hope of winning, they are dramatizing the Negro's position by conducting prior to the official election a mock election for thousands of Negroes of voting age who are not registered.

Forty Yale and Stanford students are assisting in the exercise.

Robert Moses, Mr. Henry's campaign manager, said he hoped to receive up to 200,000 ballots. Fewer than 30,000 Negroes are registered to vote in the state, according to unofficial estimates.

Allard Lowenstein, a teacher at North Carolina State University and leader of a student group, said 100 students and field workers for civil rights groups had been arrested since the campaign began two weeks ago and others had been questioned and released. He said three students had been assaulted by whites.

Mr. Johnson, 47, who is a career politician, is favored to win. He has the support of virtually all elected officials in the state in the entire Mississippi Congressional delegation.

But Mr. Phillips has conducted an aggressive, well-financed campaign that has strengthened the Republican party in Mississippi.

Mr. Johnson has promised to support the unpledged elector movement in next year's Presidential race. Mr. Phillips has said only that he will support Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

Mississippi

WP 11/6/63

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 5 (AP)—An unprecedented Democrat versus Republican fight for the Governorship reached its hour of decision today.

Voters chose between Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., 47, the Democratic candidate, and Rubel Phillips, 38, the GOP candidate. Polls opened at 7, closed at 6. Pol. Miss.

For the first time in Mississippi history, a general election—normally a mere formality in this traditionally Democratic state — had an air of tension and uncertainty.

Some estimates of the total vote expected soared as high as 300,000. Normally, general elections draw about 50,000 voters.

In sharp contrast to earlier general election contests, the campaigning was all out, replete with hillbilly bands, fiery oratory and television and radio shows.

Phillips, a converted Democrat, forced the pace by producing the sensation of the campaign—an alleged transcript of some long-distance telephone talks.

The secret talks involved Johnson and U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy during the desegregation crisis at the University of Mississippi, Phillips said.

The transcript, he added, proved that Johnson and Gov. Ross Barnett tried to find a face-saving compromise while pretending fierce opposition to a Federal court order that Ole Miss admit a Negro student.

Johnson called the transcript—the exact source of which was not disclosed—"a contemptible falsehood."

Democrats clubbed the GOP with the racial issue, contending that a two-party system in the State would give Negro voters a balance of power. The GOP called this ridiculous.

Both candidates pledged to fight desegregation and the Kennedy Administration.

In an odd sidelight, the State president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People got into the campaign.

Aaron Henry, a Negro druggist at Clarksdale, asked the State's few Negro voters to give him write-in votes as governor.

Write-in votes are illegal in Mississippi, barring the death of a nominee, and cannot be counted. However, Henry said they would serve as a protest to limits on Negro voting.

There also was a "mock election" in which Henry ran for governor with a white minister, the Rev. Edwin King of Jackson, as candidate for lieutenant governor.

Negro churches and other centers were polling places in the Statewide demonstration with leaders claiming at least 100,000 votes cast. Results were withheld, pending the real election tally.

Johnson has now been through three consecutive, wearying campaigns—the first Democratic primary, the Democartic runoff and the general election.

It was Johnson's fourth bid for the governor's seat.

Phillips is a former State Public Service Commissioner. The party chose him as its candidate; he didn't have to campaign for nomination.

The winner succeeds Barnett Jan. 21. State law bars a governor from serving consecutive terms.

GOPs Forcing Governor Race Down to the Wire

Atl. J&C 11/3/63

Pol. Miss.

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau,
Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 2—Mississippi Democrats, divorced from their national party parentage, face the first serious Republican threat to their long-dominance of state offices in Tuesday's general election.

That they have taken the challenge seriously is shown in the all-out maneuver of all state forces—from the congressional delegation in Washington to the beats in the 82 counties—to "get out the vote" in the effort to "stamp out Republicanism in the state for another hundred years."

It is the first general election in which the Republicans have fielded strong candidates for governor and lieutenant governor since the Reconstruction era.

MAJOR TASK of the Democrats, lined up behind Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, their nominee for governor, and his lieutenant governor running mate, Caroll Gartin, is to overcome general election apathy. Four years ago, with no Republican threat, only 58,000 voted in the general election in contrast to 414,000 participants in the party primary which has been considered tantamount to election.

Two former Democrats are the Republican nominees for governor and lieutenant governor. They are Rubel Phillips, onetime Democratic chairman of the State Public Service, for governor, and State Sen. Stanford Morse Jr., who is serving his second term as a Democrat from two coastal counties, for lieutenant governor.

Also, the Republicans have 22 candidates for state legislative posts, along with nominees for lesser county offices, such as sheriff, supervisor and superintendent of education.

Although both gubernatorial aspirants are segregationists, the racial issue has played a part in the stump speeches—something new to Mississippi in a general election.

MR. JOHNSON CONTENDS that the establishment of a two-party system in the state would lead to Negro participation in government in view of the 58-42 population ratio in favor of the whites. Mr. Johnson contends that instead of becoming the balance of power, the Negro would become the arbiter of power.

The Democratic nominee, whose admitted "prime objective" is to "get the Kennedys out of the White House," is backing a free elector plan sponsored by Gov. Ross Barnett.

The Republican nominee brands the free elector plan "ridiculous," in asserting that either a Democrat or a Republican will be elected and the way for anti-Kennedy Mississippians to "beat the Kennedys" is by electing a Republican governor who supports Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona for the presidential nomination.

Backing the Democratic slate are all elected officials, all Mississippi Democrats, supervisors, circuit clerks and chancery clerks in the 82 counties and a majority of the municipal officials. Sen. James O. Eastland and Sen. John C. Stennis have spoken for the Democratic ticket.

Bidwell Adam, chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee, contends that those who participated in the August party primaries are legally bound to back the nominees next Tuesday.

However, Wirt Yerger Jr., Republican party chairman, states that a 1960 State Supreme Court decision gives a voter the legal right to change candidates between primaries and the general election. He estimated that 100,000 Republicans voted in the Democratic primary, and now will return to their own party next Tuesday.

THUS FAR, the Democratic forces have been unable to get other than a telegraphic assurance from former Gov. J. P. Coleman, who was defeated for the nomination by Lt. Gov. Johnson, that he will vote Democratic next Tuesday. Charles Sullivan, former Clarksdale district attorney who lost his second bid for the governorship to Mr. Johnson, has said nothing.

A queer quirk is the recent endorsement of the Mississippi AFL-CIO labor council of Mr. Phillips for governor, and Mr. Gartin for lieutenant governor. Labor leaders in an official communication to members said Mr. Johnson's election "would have tragic consequences for the people of Mississippi."

NYT 11/6/63

Johnson Is Mississippi's Choice—Two-Party System a Reality

Pol. Miss.

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 5—Lieut. Gov. Paul B. Johnson Jr., pledged to continue Gov. Ross R. Barnett's massive resistance to racial integration, was elected Governor of Mississippi tonight over a strong conservative Republican.

Mr. Johnson led Rubel Phillips, a 38-year-old attorney, by a wide margin.

Returns from 1,318 of 1,877 precincts showed:

Johnson	125,739
Phillips	71,514

Mr. Phillips won a moral victory, however, by establishing a two-party system in the state.

Mr. Johnson, a 47-year-old career politician, will succeed Governor Barnett in January for a four-year term. Under

Continued on Page 51, Column 7

MISSISSIPPI PICKS BARNETT'S DEPUTY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Mississippi law, a Governor is ineligible to succeed himself.

The Governor-elect will take office facing trial for criminal contempt of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Both Mr. Johnson and Governor Barnett were cited for defying a court order to admit James H. Meredith, a Negro, to the University of Mississippi last year. The case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court to decide whether the two officials should receive a jury trial.

Mr. Phillips conceded at 9:45 P.M., Central standard time, when he was trailing Mr. Johnson by 48,000 votes.

"We have succeeded in establishing a two-party system in the state," Mr. Phillips told campaign workers. "As soon as I have rested a few days I'm going back to practicing law and working for the Republican party."

Mr. Johnson's running mate, former Lieut. Gov. Carroll Gartin, defeated Republican Stanford Morse, a former state Senator, in the race for Lieutenant Governor.

Mississippi has turned in a sizable vote for Republican Presidential candidates in recent years. But it was the first time since Gov. Adelbert Ames was deposed in 1876 that a Democratic nominee for Governor has been seriously challenged by the Republicans.

Mr. Phillips, who charged that state politics had become corrupt under one-party rule, had to fight virtually every elected official from Senator James O. Eastland to county constables, all Democrats. They charged that a two-party system would "split white conservatives" and give Negroes and white moderates the balance of power.

Mr. Phillips also documented the positions of Governor Barnett and Lieutenant Governor Johnson in the integration crisis at the University of Mississippi last year. He used a telephone transcript and a filmed interview with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to show that the two officials agreed to the admission of Mr. Meredith after several days of defiance, on a promise from the Attorney General that they be allowed to feign resistance.

Mr. Johnson defeated former Gov. J. P. Coleman in the August primary, largely on his assertion of standing against Federal pressure at the university. Winding up his campaign yesterday, Mr. Johnson said the issue was "whether we will continue our fight for constitutional government, states' rights and racial integrity or bow to the left-wingers of the Kennedy-Rockefeller stripe."

Mr. Phillips has promised to work for the nomination and election of Senator Barry Goldwater as President. He has said he will not support Governor Rockefeller.

Mr. Johnson is supporting the unpledged-elector movement, and is not certain at this time whether the national Democratic candidates will be placed on the Mississippi ballot.

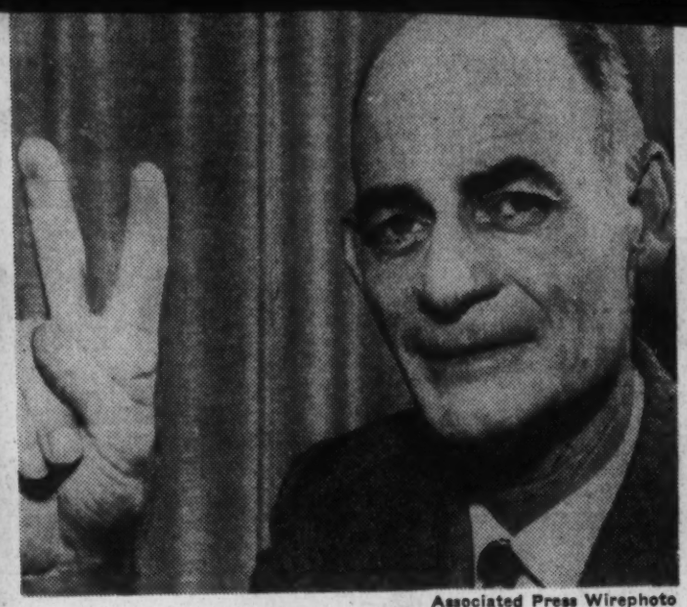
Aaron Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, ran as a write-in candidate for Governor, but votes for him were not tabulated. Attorney General Joe Patterson ruled that Mississippi law did not provide for a write-in candidate unless one of the official candidates died before the election.

Guard Called Out

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 5 (UPI)—The Mississippi National Guard was called out in Lincoln County today to prevent "violence and bloodshed."

Governor Barnett said he had been told that two county supervisors' races, contested by independents, might provoke violence.

However, the Lincoln County campaign headquarters for Mr. Phillips and Mr. Morse said the 114-man Guard force had been called to thwart the Republican challenge in the county.



Associated Press Wirephoto

Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson, Mississippi Winner

Atl. Const. 11/7/63

Negroes May Test Mississippi's Vote

Politics - Miss.

By JAMES SAGGUS

JACKSON, Miss. (AP)—Democratic Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson faced threats Wednesday of Negro court action seeking to wipe out his record-smashing general election victory for governor over a bold Republican challenge.

With Johnson's lead over Republican Rubel Phillips approaching a margin of 2 to 1, Negro leaders announced they would go into federal court under a Reconstruction Era law permitting contests on grounds that persons were unlawfully denied voting rights because of race.

NO GROUNDS?

Johnson, resisting after the bitter campaign, was not available for comment. However, the Capitol indicated there were no grounds for such a suit "because the law reserves to defeated candidates the right to sue and they didn't have a candidate."

Robert Moses, campaign manager for unofficial gubernatorial candidate Aaron Henry, a Clarksdale Negro druggist, said a mock election staged in connection with the general election showed at least 80,000 persons would have voted for Henry if they "had not been disfranchised."

NO EFFORT TO QUALIFY

Henry made no effort to qualify as a candidate in the general election.

Returns from 1,765 of the state's 1,886 precincts gave Johnson 202,858 votes to 122,769 for Phillips, the first GOP gubernatorial candidate since 1947 and the first serious Republican contender in this century. Both campaigned as staunch segregationists and outspoken foes of the Kennedy Administration.

The Phillips vote was the largest ever given a Republican in this Deep South state, which gave Dwight Eisenhower 112,000 in his 1952 presidential bid. Phillips said the vote showed Mississippi had developed a two-party system and the GOP had become a real political factor.

OLE MISS CRISIS

The threatened election challenge on racial grounds came after a campaign based largely on civil rights and segregation matters.

A major issue was the 1962 desegregation crisis at the University of Mississippi. Johnson and Gov. Ross Barnett turned back James Meredith, a Negro, and his federal escort from the campus several times before he succeeded in registering under a federal court order. Johnson, as a result, campaigned under the slogan "Stand tall with Paul."

At the Johnson victory rally Tuesday night, Barnett told a cheering crowd:

"When Paul Johnson stood in the face of bayonets and guns, I said in my heart and mind there is a man I'm going to help."

WP 11/7/63

Victor in Mississippi Facing Court Attack

Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 6 (AP) — Democratic Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson faced threats today of Negro court action seeking to wipe out his general election victory for governor over a bold Republican challenge.

With Johnson's lead over Republican Rubel Phillips approaching a 2-1 margin, Negro leaders announced they would go into Federal court under a Reconstruction Era law permitting contests on grounds persons were unlawfully denied voting rights because of race.

Johnson, resting after the bitter campaign, was not available for comment. However, capitol sources said there were no grounds for a suit "because the law reserves to defeated candidates the right to sue and they didn't have a candidate."

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MISSISSIPPI

Atl. J+C 11/10/63

Democrat Strife Bolsters GOP

Pol. Miss.

By KENNETH TOLER

Jackson Bureau, Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 9—"We have lost a battle but we have not lost the war."

That sums up Republican Rubel Phillips' reaction to losing the governorship in Tuesday's general election to 47-year-old Democrat Lt. Gov. Paul B. Johnson, the first son of a former governor to follow his father in that office.

The fact that Mr. Phillips' candidacy, first GOP threat to the long-entrenched one party system since the Civil War reconstruction era, drew an estimated 120,000 votes to his opponent's 200,000, gives weight to his statement that:

"We now know that we have a strong two-party system in the state."

On that premise, 38-year-old Mr. Phillips, a former Democratic office-holder who quit the party last year to head up the two-party movement, said: "As soon as I rest a few days I am going back to practicing law and working for the Republican party."

Mr. Phillips vote compares to the 73,561 cast for Republican Richard Nixon in the 1960 presidential election.

It is not entirely unlikely that Mr. Johnson, as titular head of the Mississippi Democratic party, and Mr. Phillips, new leader of the GOP in Mississippi, may be together in the 1964 presidential election. The Mississippi GOP is all-out for Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona for the party's presidential nomination.

Mr. Johnson who pointed out in the recent election that the Mississippi Democratic party has "absolutely no connection" with the "national party of John Kennedy," is backing a free-elector movement designed to "get the Kennedys out of the White House." Leaders of that movement plan to use the state's electoral vote to gain concessions for the "Mississippi way of life." They would not be adverse to trading with Sen. Goldwater whom they feel has their "conservatism and states rights philosophy."

When Mr. Phillips's group begins to fashion the party organization they are likely to find that the big vote was not "pro" but somewhat "anti." That is shown by the fact that the counties of the two Democrats Mr. Johnson defeated in the party's August primaries went Republican.

Indicative of the carry-over factional bitterness from the primaries is the failure of former Gov. J. P. Coleman and Charles Sullivan, the defeated Democrats, to take an active part in behalf of party nominee Mr. Johnson. Their counties — Choctaw and Coahoma—voted Republican.

Also pointing to the big Republican vote being bolstered by disgruntled Democratic primary losers is the GOP victory in the home Jones county (Laurel) of Carroll Gartin, who won for lieutenant governor as Mr. Johnson's running mate.

Mr. Gartin, who drew the then Gov. Coleman's support four years ago in the gubernatorial race he lost to Gov. Ross Barnett, was not a victim of the "anti" vote of the Coleman - Sullivan supporters who voted Republican largely to "get even" with Mr. Johnson for the bitter campaign he waged against their primary preferences.

The future political alignments are likely not to show the "unity" that prevailed in Democratic ranks in the recent general election.

WP 11/17/63

300 Democrats at Rally Propose To Bury the GOP in Mississippi

Pol. Miss.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 16 (AP)—In a rare post-primary rally, more than 3000 Democrats met last night with a call to "bury Republicanism in Mississippi for the next 100 years."

The Party's nominees for governor and lieutenant governor, Paul B. Johnson and Carroll Gartin, addressed the rally, along with Gov. Ross Barnett and U.S. Senators James O. Eastland and John C. Stennis.

The big guns of the Democrats assembled for the $25-a-plate function because Republicans are making a serious threat for the governorship in the Nov. 5 general election.

GOP standardbearer Rubel Phillips and the lieutenant governor candidate, State Sen. Stanford Morse, are waging a fierce campaign.

In the past, Republicans have put up only token opposition against the Democrats, who usually stop campaigning once they've picked nominees.

Johnson, who is currently Lieutenant Governor, told the rally that the general election is "a critical junction in history when we must point the direction for the next 25 years or more."

He said the "birth of a two-party system in the state will divide the conservative white vote. Then Mississippi would have to reap the whirlwind harvest of racial discord, more socialism, more taxes, more Negro participation in government and more integration."

ergy in interstate com- nal voltages in excess of . A similar bill has been in- today also by my good friend, stinguished Senator from Cali- ia, Hon. CLAIR ENGLE.

The new bill, similar to one offered in the 2d session, 87th Congress, would amend the Federal Power Act so as to require Federal Power Commission authority for the construction, extension, or operation of certain facilities for electrical energy transmission in interstate commerce.

The old bill, H.R. 12181, was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, but was not taken up before the end of the session.

In recent years, there have been great advances in the techniques of transmitting electric power. Until recently, the longest economical transmission distance ranged from 200 to 400 miles at maximum voltages of 230,000. For several years, there have been lines operating in Europe and Russia at greater distances and higher voltages. An Interior Department task force which recently studied the posibility of an intertie between the Pacific Northwest, where power can be produced economically in hydroelectric plants, and the Pacific Southwest, where the need for more electric energy at low cost is acute. The Interior Department study points out that electricity now can be transmitted for more than 1,000 miles at 750,000 volts.

Construction of such lines would have a tremendous impact upon the power utilization and economic growth of our country. Experiments have been conducted in the United States on transmission of extra-high-voltage power. Recently it was announced that such a line will be built in northern California and southern Oregon to interconnect the systems of Pacific Power & Light Co. and Pacific Gas & Electric Co. The Federal Power Commission has ruled by split vote that the terms of the Federal Power Act do not authorize the Commission to determine whether such extra-high-voltage lines are compatible with the public interest, convenience, and necessity.

The tremendous effect of such extra-high-voltage lines demands regulation by the Federal Power Commission. The bill provides that a certificate of convenience and necessity must be obtained from the Federal Power Comission before any person or company may construct, extend, operate or maintain any facilities for transmission of electricity at normal voltages in excess of 230,000 volts. Anyone who, at the time this bill is enacted, is already then engaged in the transmission of electricity at a normal voltage in excess of 230,000 volts will automatically receive such a certificate if he files for it within 90 days. Our proposal will require all applicants, except those who already have existing extra-high-voltage lines in operation at the time this bill is enacted, to show that their operations are required by present or future public convenience and necessity, and to observe such reasonable terms and conditions as the Federal Power Commission requires for the public convenience and necessity. In addition, no public utility would be permitted to abandon or curtail such extra-high-voltage transmission lines unless the Commission finds that such abandonment or curtailment would be consistent with the public interest and then grants permission for such abandonment or curtailment. The abandonment provision in our bill is identical with the provision in S. 1607 which was approved by the Senate August 14, 1961.

This bill also provides that any such extra-high-voltage transmission facilities authorized, but not required for the applicant's own use in power transmission, shall be made available on a common carrier basis for other electric energy. The Federal Power Commission will have authority to attach other reasonable conditions to granting permission for extra-high-voltage transmission facilities.

Governor Hollings' Farewell Address

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT W. WATSON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 17, 1963

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, the great Palmetto State has just inaugurated as Governor an intelligent, articulate, and extremely capable gentleman, Donald S. Russell. Under his leadership, South Carolina will continue to ascend the ladder of State superiority.

Today it is my privilege to present for the RECORD the outstanding farewell address of our esteemed former Governor, Ernest F. Hollings, which in itself exemplifies a man mature, intelligent, and progressive thinking. Although only 37 years of age when he assumed the governorship we are proud of his 4-year record as our chief executive.

As he so eloquently pointed out, 100 years ago our State lay bleeding under the heel of a punitive Reconstruction era but today South Carolina is America's No. 1 opportunity State.

Mr. Speaker, it is a long, hard, and expensive road from poverty to prosperity, from ruin to recovery, but the Palmetto State has both the people and the will to travel that road successfully. Governor Hollings' complete address follows:

GOVERNOR HOLLINGS' FAREWELL ADDRESS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the complete text of the farewell address of Gov. Ernest F. Hollings, delivered to the general assembly on Wednesday, January 9.)

I'm very much at home here—and regret leaving you. This ends 16 years in these halls as page, house member, speaker pro tempore, Lieutenant Governor, and Governor. The friendships, the experiences make me an oldtimer. The wonderful advice, cooperation, and assistance you have given me will again and again give me new inspiration. Pat and I are genuinely grateful.

I wish the best for Governor Russell. In short time, he will make important decisions for our State. I have tried to prepare our people for these times. The State's institutions and all law enforcement agencies have been charged with their responsibilities. I know you will give Governor Russell the same fine cooperation you gave me. I gladly offer him my support.

CONTROVERSY

The general assembly, unfortunately, leads a life similar to a football referee. You are seldom noticed until you make a controversial decision. I have never served with men of more courage and resolve. You took a $23 million deficit, and in 4 years turned it into a $19 million surplus. Meanwhile, the counties have received $18 million added assistance. For the first time in decades the incoming Governor begins operating in the black.

You took an insurance mess and created a strong department. A penitentiary with inadequate provisions is now being turned into a modern penal system. We have a securities law. The Attorney General of the United States says there is no organized crime in South Carolina. The law-enforcement officers now have a reliable retirement fund. Long needed State office building facilities are being built. We lead the Nation in TV education. A nuclear space commission points forward.

A commission on higher education tells how. A magnificent technical training program prepares the people for jobs. And the country's best development program brings jobs for our people. Thousands, tens of thousands of jobs. Over a billion dollars in new and expanded industry in 4 years. This is at the rate of over a half million dollars a day each and every day for 4 years.

The Advisory Council for Agriculture is working. The "50 to first" education program has been launched. Teachers' pay is up 34 percent, and personal income is up 25 percent. Tax seminars, insurance seminars, safety conferences, conferences on business, industry agriculture and education—people from the different sections of our State have joined hands for the common good. We are working together. You have every reason to be proud.

TRAVEL

I am honored to have worked with you on these projects. But there must be more than a rollcall of accomplishments. You have given me more. You have traveled me over 200,000 miles—to four countries in Latin America, seven countries in Europe, to Hawaii, Canada, Puerto Rico, and up and down, crisscrossing this Nation. I've met with the industrial giants, the labor leaders, talked with the university presidents, served in Washington at the appointment of President Eisenhower and President Kennedy, headed up the nuclear-space effort of our Governors' conference, talked constantly to fellow Governors and public leaders, both Republican and Democratic. And today, you who have supported me so loyally, you who have given me this vast experience, want to know about South Carolina. Have we a chance? Where are we headed?

As I visited in these foreign lands and talked with their people; as I traveled over this great country of ours, I began to realize that South Carolina really has a chance—an opportunity to succeed, to pull away from the hangover of 100 years of poverty, to climb to the top of the ladder of States.

This is my valedictory. In short time, South Carolina can reach the top and stay there.

Some foreign languages have no words for English words. Some have words with plural or different meanings. The Chinese language has the word "chuangi-chi" which possesses the plural meaning of "crisis," or "opportunity," depending on its use.

South Carolina, this year, has much the same characteristic. We are in chuangi-chi, crisis and opportunity. We need, must have, a time machine to compress 100 years into

1 year to speed with precision South Carolina into the age of space.

AT BOTTOM

This region, nearing 100 years ago, lay bleeding under the heel of a punitive Reconstruction era. Seventy-five years later the South was still the Nation's No. 1 economic problem. Even now, we have not recovered. This very day, any ranking of regions or States, for any purpose, finds the South and her States wearily clinging to the bottom rungs.

Why? Because the Northeast section of the Nation experienced an industrial revolution, prospered from it, and went on to enjoy its riches, while we struggled to feed our hungry children, and broke the spirit of our men and women who grew the fields of cotton that suddenly no one wanted.

Why? Because the Nation pushed West. The manifest destiny of exploitation drew the daring and the brave to draw from the land in the West the gold and the oil, the wheat and the corn, and to raise the great cattle herds that filled their wallets with money and their people with plenty.

And of us? We built our textile mills and gave our people jobs and hope. But again we were 50 years too late. International considerations had risen in America's mind and the textile industry is now expendable—and the jobs of our people with it.

Always too late with too little—that was the demon that plagued the South. Well, my friends, we still have too little, but this time we don't have to be too late. History has given us one more chance.

Just as the frontier's marksman with his single-shot muzzle loader had to hit the target with his first shot because he couldn't reload in time if he missed, we have to be accurate now. We have one shot. We must not miss.

LIMITED

With limited ammunition, we should understand and appreciate the forest in which we're hunting. This is the space age forest. It's deceiving. Many think this is just Buck Rogers fantasy. But this is real. This is not reaching to the moon or some particular planet. What creates the forest are the things we learn on the way. The study of extreme temperatures has given the housewife a coffee pot she can take out of an icebox and put on an open flame. The telemetry system of satellites is now being used in surgery to track blood temperature and blood flow, cutting a 90-minute operation down to 10 minutes. From a rocket propellant, we have developed a drug to treat mental illness. The satellite itself has brought international TV. And on and on it goes. With this age's dynamic technology, we wander into a wonderland of near magic. Science fiction is now scientific fact. Devices scoffed at 10 years ago, even 5 years ago, are exciting the research men of America today.

Scientifically, then, the space age means the reaching for outer space, and all the new scientific knowledge that is gained therefrom. Militarily, the space age means the determination of who shall control the space above us. But for the 95th general assembly, the space age means turning this crisis into opportunity. It means equipping our people for this new era. It means preparing our State so that she can compete with other States for space-age facilities. It means taking a tremendous leap forward now to prevent forever being relegated to the 50th of States.

YEAR 1970 TOO LATE

To prepare, some will think of a 3-year program, a 5-year program, or a goal to be attained by 1970—1970 will be too late. Knowledge of man recently has been calibrated to determine its rapidity of growth. From 4000 B.C. to the 16th century, man's knowledge was constant. With the invention of the printing press, the communication curtain was broken and by the 18th century the knowledge of man was doubling every 50 years. In the 20th century the doubling time dropped to every 20 years, with the space age now man's knowledge doubles every 10 years. In the next 10 years then, there will be twice as much to be taught in our universities than there is today. Veritably, we are in the midst of an education explosion.

This space-age forest is growing like wildfire and this general assembly must understand this problem; it must appreciate this problem; and it must legislate for it—now.

The question before South Carolina is not whether this explosion is good or bad, necessary or not. The question is simply, can we equip ourselves to utilize it before the rest of the Nation leaves us behind. The current of history is more swift than ever. Those who float will shortly be left in the eddies of the stream.

HOW TO AIM

In an age where bullets to shoot down bullets are being designed, how do we aim so that the target is not out of date when we hit it? This sounds impossible—but is it? Space's dynamic technology allows us to accomplish something never before possible by a State or area. We can catch up. We can condense time and leap from today all the way over to the day after tomorrow, without pausing, even for an instant—in tomorrow. This is no pipedream or wild theory.

Nor will it be for a first time in history. For it has just been done by another people in another land. In 1917, Russia was distraught. There was no industry, no education, no science, no arts or culture. There were only 47,000 Communists, and as a nation the Soviet was only to be found in the geography book. But they took good aim. They didn't frustrate over trivia—over what was nice and who had to be kept happy. They were determined to pack 100 years into a few short years. And while we disagree with the bullet they used, they hit the target.

They skipped the 100 years of the industrial age and went from oxcart to space vehicle. They caught up and passed the United States, Britain, and other great powers. Instead of 47,000—today there are over a billion people in the world now controlled by Communists—the fastest growing political development in the history of man. With no culture and arts—the Bolshoi ballet. Of many sports they never knew, but they have just won the olympics. With no power, today a world power. Russia and the United States are the only ones in space, and admittedly, today, the Soviet is 2 years ahead. And 5 years ahead in oceanography.

The Soviet saw the way the world was headed and they took a shortcut. They saw what day after tomorrow would be and they went straight for it. They ignored the middle ground—they avoided trivia. The Russian science, culture, and technology hurdled from American Civil War levels to the level of the day after tomorrow. They didn't have much to work with, but they used it all for one purpose. And it worked. This is the type aim South Carolina must take. We must unflinchingly avoid the temptation to restrict our goal—to aim merely at catching up. Our ultimate goal has to be nothing less than to forge ahead—and stay ahead.

NOISES

In taking aim let's become accustomed to the noises of the forest. We must not be distracted. These noises are trivia. The problem of South Carolina—the problem of this general assembly, is trivia. Trivia means cussing and knocking each other out all year long about two parties, when the choice is Kennedy or R[illegible] means holding alerts all ove[illegible] there are by last count two [illegible] the State. We all know that [illegible] should be increased, but trivia [illegible] long palavering each year in this hall [illegible] to give the teachers 10, 12, or 15 pe[illegible] when any one would be inadequate, and [illegible] together would not give us quality educa[illegible]tion. Trivia means trying to legislate loyalty—or trying to regulate politics by law. These noises of the legislative forest must be recognized and given their position of unimportance if our one shot is to score.

Now we are set. We know the forest. We know the noises of the forest. We know how to aim. We know the target. But what is this one shot we are to use? A college professor. You say we have lots of those, and we do have many good ones. But we don't have one with a National Aeronautics Space Agency grant. We don't have one with a space science grant. We don't have one internationally famous who will attract leading scholars and professors. You say that's Harvard thinking. South Carolina can't afford it. Any money available should go to the teachers, and not these ivory tower professors. But I disagree. We can't afford not to do it.

Let's talk money. Suppose we had a faculty budget of $60,000 for 5 professors. The ordinary way, the South Carolina way, is to hire 5 good professors at $12,000 each. But the space age approach is to retain an outstanding one at $20,000 and hire the other 4 at $10,000 apiece.

ATTRACTION

The $10,000 ones are just as good, perhaps better than the original $12,000 professors, for this type will sacrifice to associate with the outstanding. And you haven't spent any more money. In fact, you've made money. For the grants and contracts that the outstanding professor can attract will bring a fortune to the campus. You see, the national effort in space has released from the Ivy League campuses the brains of the country. For those that can qualify, money for research is available anywhere—on every campus. Last year our country devoted $18 billion to various research and development projects. In this one year, we spent more for research than was expended by this country for research from the Revolution up to and including World War II.

In 1957, internationally famous Prof. John Gibson came to Purdue, a State university. After a year, he finally secured $300 to start on a program with a few German scientists and students. Today, his research team consists of 7 other professors and 60 graduate students—all involved in teaching of research. Funded by grants and contracts John Gibson works on a budget of $300,000 a year. None of this money comes from Purdue.

Recently, his team's work on computers has received national fame—and further grants. Purdue and Indiana have taken a position of leadership because of the seed corn planted by John Gibson. This one shot—the outstanding professor—has a snowballing effect. First, you have the professor, then his associates, then talented students, then contracts, then grants, then quality education, then leadership. Multiply this by 5 or 10 professors and it's easy to see the effect.

PALO ALTO

And it's not all Government money. The great percentage by far is private capital under the free enterprise system. Recently, I saw this in Palo Alto, Calif., on the campus of Stanford University. Over 35 great names in American industry, with million dollar research centers. Think of the investment, the brains, the talent, the leadership—and new industry. In 1955, Lockheed had its 1 division of space in Palo Alto with 450 em-

his same division has over s. And the talented become . Lookheed has a program that rcent of the cost of a course at for any of their employees—and ly, there are more employees in at- nce at Stanford than we have students rolled at the University of South Carolina.

This division has 279 doctorates on its staff. You begin to see—and feel the impact of the space age. Similar endeavors are underway in Alabama, Texas, Florida, Virginia, and Georgia. And the place to start is with that one nationally prominent professor.

It also gives us the quality we've been looking for. Raising the pay of the incompetent teacher will not make him competent. But raising the level of higher education elevates all levels of education. The professor will be more talented, his associates brighter, the students more challenged, the graduating teacher better trained and more inspired. And your children and mine, when they graduate from high school can get into college and compete in society.

STIMULATE

When you bring in the best men from outside—when you encourage and free the best men we have now on our faculties—when you do these things, you stimulate our students, you stimulate our society. Nothing is more urgent than for our State's now splendid array of brainpower and leadership, across the board, to be supplemented, infused and even cross-pollinated and inspired by an inflow of genius, spirited enterprise, and topmost talent.

This assembly must look at South Carolina's role in the Nation if it is to do its job well. Whether it realizes it or not, it is a part of the space age. And if we are to compete—if our people are to have a chance at good jobs—if the communities are to continue to attract new industry—if our children are to be educated and skilled, and if we are to retain these children as useful leaders for the State—then it will be because this assembly had courage. A call on this courage is imminent.

FACT OF LAND

We have all argued that the Supreme Court decision of May 1954 is not the law of the land. But everyone must agree that it is the fact of the land. Interposition, sovereignty, legal motions, personal defiance have all been applied to constitutionalize the law of the land. And all attempts have failed. As we meet, South Carolina is running out of courts. If and when every legal remedy has been exhausted, this general assembly must make clear South Carolina's choice, a government of laws rather than a government of men. As determined as we are, we of today must realize the lesson of 100 years ago, and move on for the good of South Carolina and our United States. This should be done with dignity. It must be done with law and order. It is a hurdle that brings little progress to either side. But the failure to clear it will do us irreparable harm.

THE ANSWER?

In the intriguing swirl of supernewness—with limitless mother lodes of progress, advancement and betterment in many forms becoming ripe for exploitation by the wise and the pioneering of this age—South Carolina should be, and I believe is, America's No. 1 opportunity State. Our ability to turn the crises into opportunities is beyond question. The real question is our willingness.

My serving with so many of you over the years confirms my confidence in your courage. But, years of public service have proved to me that we have to prove ourselves again and again. The space age is on us—the only question is—does it smother us or save us? This general assembly will give South Carolina's answer.

Business Leader Supports President's Tax Proposal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 17, 1963

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. James F. Oates, Jr., president of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, has just sent to Members of the House a copy of a letter addressed to the President, strongly supporting the President's recommendation for a cut in personal and corporate income taxes. In a message to Members of the House which accompanied his letter to the President, Mr. Oates states that he believes the tax reduction is "the main issue," and "contrary to earlier views I now strongly believe that we should not insist on concurrent enactment of tax reforms."

Significantly, the insurance company executive expresses the opinion that—

We should hold off on demands for concurrent expenditure reductions as an offset to tax reduction.

Controversy over these matters, however meritorious, will only serve to delay or defeat achievement of the essential goal.

We should instead join together to support vigorously the proposal for an across-the-board substantial tax reduction now. Here is a rare opportunity for all Americans to reaffirm their faith in free enterprise and to demonstrate once again its mighty capabilities.

Because of the high priority which this issue has been given by President Kennedy in his state of the Union message, and because of Mr. Oates' prominence in the business world, I believe the Oates letter to President Kennedy is one which will interest many people. On the assumption that this letter has already been made available to many by its author, and further publication should serve a similar constructive purpose, the text of the letter is made a part of these remarks at this point:

THE EQUITABLE LIFE
ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE UNITED STATES,
New York, N.Y., December 20, 1962.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: The tax program outlined in general terms in your speech to the Economic Club of New York on December 14 deserves the support of the Nation. In addressing yourself, as you made clear, not to the possibility of recession in the near future, but to the basic necessity of growth and employment during the longer term, you went to the heart of the matter. Your solution, an across-the-board cut in individual and corporate tax levels to increase demand for production and investment and thereby release the private sector of the economy to go to work, seems to be the right one. It should appeal alike to business, labor, and the consuming public.

On reading the full text of your remarks, it was a gratifying experience, if you will permit me to say so, to note the similarity in principle between your views and the position presented in a speech delivered by me before the New Jersey Association of Real Estate Boards on December 6 last, a copy of which is attached.

You have offered the choice before us in these words: "Our practical choice is not between a tax cut deficit and a budgetary surplus. It is between two kinds of deficits; a chronic deficit of inertia, as the unwanted result of inadequate revenues and a restricted economy, or a temporary deficit of transition, resulting from a tax cut designed to boost the economy, increase tax revenue and achieve * * * a future budget surplus."

Business, in my opinion, should endorse wholeheartedly your statement that "the Federal Government's most useful role is not to rush into a program of excessive increases in public expenditures, but to expand the incentives and opportunities for private expenditures."

Business should also welcome your decision, in line with the suggestion of Chairman MILLS, of the House Ways and Means Committee, to accompany tax reduction by "increased control of the rises in expenditures." Although one would prefer to have nondefense and nonspace expenditures cut back so as to hold total governmental expenditures constant in fiscal year 1964 at the fiscal year 1963 level, the main issue of prompt tax reduction should not be jeopardized by the inevitable controversy over the extent and incidence of budget reductions. In my judgment, therefore, the public—in furtherance of the long-term objective—should accept your statement that "defense and space expenditures will necessarily rise * * * but * * * that * * * all other expenditures combined will be held approximately at its current level."

Similar considerations should apply to proposed tax reforms other than the structural reform needed to change the level and degree of progression of our tax rates. Other reforms, such as so-called loophole reforms, the elimination of special privileges and tax simplifications, whatever their merits, are highly controversial and, as you have so well indicated, difficult to enact into law. There is every reason to believe that insistence on the enactment of such loophole reforms at this time would frustrate the achievement of the basic structural reform of tax reduction, with its far greater potential for furthering material growth. The detailed controversial issues should be left to the Congress for later debate and resolution. As you stated in answer to an Economic Club question: "Well, the purpose of reform really is directed to the encouraging of growth, and employment. I quite agree that to launch into a full-scale battle on general reform for academic reasons would be unwise."

It is my intention to support the broad principles of your tax reduction program. The views expressed in the attached December 6 remarks and in this letter will be given circulation among my friends within and without the business community and made known to the Members of the Congress. I hope that these steps will take place in what I confidently believe will be a broad-based and enthusiastic response to your tax program.

Respectfully yours,

JAMES F. OATES, Jr.

Records Show Most Crime by Repeaters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 17, 1963

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit for

PAGE(S) PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Atl. Co. 1/24/63

Dixie's GOPs Line Up for Goldwater

Pol South

By REG MURPHY

Constitution Political Editor

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Sen. Barry Goldwater is an almost solid choice across the South for the Republican presidential nomination—and some 250 delegate votes are his more than a year ahead of convention time.

Those votes are close to half enough to give him the nomination. And the people who hold the votes say they could carry every Southern state for him if he is nominated.

These are among the major findings of a survey Tuesday by The Constitution which revealed that some Southern Republicans might split with their national party if the conservative Arizonan is denied the presidential banner.

Another strong argument advanced by the state chairmen is that Goldwater's heading the ticket would help them elect more congressmen in the region which has sent few Republicans to Washington.

Fund-raising in the South for the Republicans would be a relatively easy matter if Goldwater is the choice, the Republicans said.

The survey showed that of 305 delegate votes in the South, Rockefeller would get only a few and that Sen. Thruston Morton of Kentucky would get around 30 if the voting were held this week.

Georgia's delegation is one that would give a few votes to Morton, but would be predominantly for Goldwater.

MAN IN THE MIDDLE HAS COMMANDING LEAD

L-R: Thruston Morton, Barry Goldwater, Nelson Rockefeller

Chairman James Dorsey estimated that about 18 of the 24 Georgia delegate votes would go to Goldwater "as their first choice." Later ballots, if needed, might change the count, he added.

"Yes," he answered, "I think Sen. Goldwater could carry Georgia (in the presidential election). But I think there are others who could, too."

It was the first time Dorsey had spoken publicly about the inclinations of the Georgia Republicans and indicated that Rockefeller has little standing in the Georgia party.

The survey indicated that both Morton and Gov. George Romney of Michigan generally are regarded as being stronger candidates in the South than Rockefeller among Republicans.

Mississippi Chairman Wirt A. Yerger, who heads the Southern Association of Republican State Chairmen, mentioned the possibility of a split if Goldwater is denied the leadership.

Rockefeller's nomination "would probably throw the South—or a good portion of it—into some sort of a third party," Yerger said. "Or it might mean that some states would split and go for Kennedy. But that is not going to happen: Rockefeller won't get the nomination."

"I don't think Goldwater would lose a Southern state," insisted

Continued on Page 10, Column 1

CONSTITUTION SURVEY

Dixie GOP Choice: Goldwater in 1964

Continued From Page 1

Alabama Chairman John Grenier. "Goldwater would be way out front if the primary were held today," Florida Chairman Tom Fairfield Brown added. His is one of the states where primaries will be held next spring to pick delegates.

North Carolina is another where there will be district primaries next January and February, but Chairman Robert L. Gavin said, "At this time the sentiment seems to be with Goldwater."

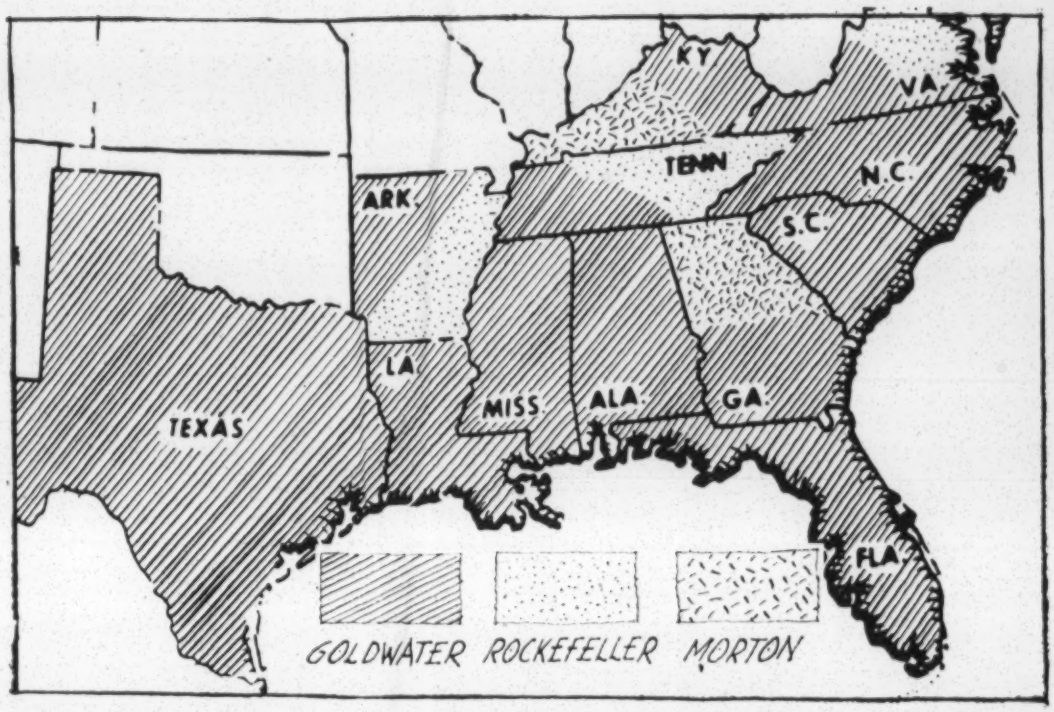
Arkansas is an exception, partially because Gov. Rockefeller's brother Winthrop is chairman of the State Industrial Development Commission and would get a split with Goldwater forces.

Kentucky is somewhat undecided at the moment. It would like, if possible, to run favorite son Thruston Morton.

But for the others, it's almost monolithically Goldwater. State-by-state, here is the picture:

ALABAMA—Grenier said his delegation (20 votes) will be "100 per cent for Goldwater," and added "His pluralities in the South will shock even the most professional politicians. The important point is that with Goldwater on the ticket the Republicans will knock off liberal Democratic congressmen like ten pins. The South is the only hope for the Republican Party ever to regain control of the Congress."

ARKANSAS—Chairman William L. Spicer said the 12 votes might be split. "The people in Arkansas are very appreciative of the efforts of Winthrop Rockefeller. . . . The thinking Democrats, independents and Republicans are commenting more and more about Sen. Goldwater. . . . (On Rockefeller) "He can't be as liberal as we have heard because of his fiscal policies in New York."



Map Shows How Republicans Will Vote in 12 Southern States

FLORIDA—Brown said, "There is great enthusiasm for Goldwater among young people, and this is the most encouraging thing to me on the American political horizon. . . . Governors Romney and Rockefeller do have a following." Of the 32 votes, almost all would be for Goldwater now.

GEORGIA — Chairman Dorsey estimated 18 of the 24 votes would go to Goldwater. National Executive Committeeman Robert Snodgrass has said kind things about Morton at open meetings, and most of the delegation is working for the Goldwater camp now.

KENTUCKY—Mrs. W. C. Cruse, temporary chairman, said, "If our native son (Morton) figures anywhere in this—either as president or vice president—we would be wholeheartedly behind him." Speaking privately, she added, "There is more sentiment for Goldwater" than Rockefeller in dividing the 24 votes.

LOUISIANA—Chairman Thomas C. Hall said, "If it isn't unanimous, it almost is" for Goldwater. "The chances are practically nil" of carrying the state for Rockefeller, who is "too much of a liberal" and would make America "too much of a welfare state."

MISSISSIPPI — The 13 votes (could go to 19 if the Republicans were to win the governor's office this fall) "will be as solid as they possibly can be behind the only man we feel can beat Kennedy," Yerger said. Rockefeller is "too much of what we would call an accidental Republican." The Goldwater boom "is the fastest moving political development in the country at this time," Yerger added.

NORTH CAROLINA—Gavin said "there is a tremendous amount of sentiment" for Goldwater, who would "have a stronger appeal for the conservatives in the Democratic Party, too." He added, "It would help all of us" if Miami Beach or Dallas were the convention site.

SOUTH CARGLINA — "It was the South Carolina delegation to the 1960 Republican national convention that spearheaded Sen. Goldwater's nomination," said Chairman J. Drake Edens Jr. The 16 votes will all go to him and "Gov. Rockefeller is certainly not looked on with favor by any South Carolina Republicans that I know of . . . We don't look on (Goldwater) as a Southern candidate. This guy is a great national candidate from any conservative viewpoint."

TENNESSEE—Chairman Erby L. Jenkins said there could be some Rockefeller support, but the 28 votes would be primarily for Goldwater. "In view of the ultra-liberal government of the Kennedy administration, people are beginning to take a new look toward Goldwater's philosophy. In my opinion, he is much stronger today than he was six months ago."

TEXAS — Chairman Peter O'Donnell Jr. is organizer of the Draft Goldwater movement. Although he could not be reached for comment Tuesday he has said he believes all 54 votes would go to Goldwater and that the South also would be solid for the senator from a nearby state.

VIRGINIA — Chairman Horace E. Henderson said, "Without any question the majority of Virginia Republicans would appear to favor Sen. Goldwater." But the 30 votes also would consider "electing a Republican president, not with just carrying the South. . . . We here in Virginia believe any Republican is preferable to four more years of the Kennedy administration," he added.

Faubus Backs Wallace In Defying U.S. Court

N.Y.T. June

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., June 11 (AP)—Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas said today that white persons in the South "now have little more chance for equity and justice in the Federal courts than did the unfortunate Jews of Germany in the Nazi courts of Hitler."

Pol. South

Mr. Faubus was commenting at a news conference on President Kennedy's telegram yesterday to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. The telegram asked Mr. Wallace not to block the doors of the University of Alabama to two Negro students.

Governor Faubus, who used National Guardsmen to block the integration of Central High School in Little Rock in 1957, said the President's telegram showed "almost complete lack of understanding of the situation."

He said Mr. Wallace was "taking the only course open to him to prevent disorder and violence."

Atl. Const. 6/20/63

Max Freedman

Pol. South

South's Senators In a Crucial Spot

WASHINGTON—Before the debate begins, it may be well for those of us who want the House and Senate to endorse President Kennedy's civil rights program to ask ourselves very searchingly what we expect the clash in Congress to accomplish.

On reflection most of us will agree that mere passage of the bill does not in itself amount to a far-reaching victory for civil liberty and human decency. The bill may be endorsed only after a controversy that has strained national unity and left a painful legacy of bitterness and suspicion. In such an atmosphere it will be hard, if not impossible, for the principles of the new legislation to have a fair chance of acceptance in the South.

By this time it is apparent to everyone that the debate in Congress, particularly in the Senate, will be long and angry.

Amid these converging risks the position of the Southern senators may well be crucial. It is easy to denounce them. But it is far more important to understand them.

Ralph McGill, a brave Southerner and gallant American, has asked us to think of these Southern senators as they confront the racial crisis. Except for Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough of Texas, not one of them has spoken a single healing word that might soften the conflict.

It is a sad record. Mr. McGill is right in seeing all this as a tragedy in self-mutilation. Yet deeper questions await our answer.

These senators are not blundering fanatics caught in a web of ancient prejudices. Many of them would bring honor and distinction to any legislative assembly.

If Northern spokesmen (with whose principles I happen to agree) are self-righteous and are quick to smell out a folly in the South while remaining blind to racial tragedies in other parts of the country, they will kindle a flame of anger in the Southern senators that will never be put out until many precious things have been consumed.

Of course, the North cannot allow itself to be frightened out of its principles or scared into a compromise by a cruel and wearing filibuster. The first few speeches for the North will be decisive in setting the tone for the whole debate. If these speeches assert the essential principles of American freedom, without pronouncing angry moral judgment against the South, then the blame will rest directly on the Southern senators if they forget their greatness and strike random blows of prejudice and fear at their critics.

Talmadge Leaves The Voting to Us

Atl. Jour. 6/21/63

Pol. South

By MARGARET SHANNON

Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, June 20—Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, who thinks President Kennedy cannot count on carrying Georgia or any Southern state in 1964, said Friday he is out of the business of telling Georgia what to do in presidenital politics.

The Georgia junior senator was asked whether, in light of what he had to say a few days ago about the Kennedy chances, he thinks Georgia ought to offer a favorite son candidate for the presidential nomination at the Democratic national convention next year.

Sen. Talmadge

"I left the reins of state government eight and a half years ago, and the determination of policy is a matter to be decided on the state level by the governor and the State Democratic Executive Committee," Mr. Talmadge said.

In 1952, when Mr. Talmadge was governor, the Georgia delegation, which he headed, supported Sen. Richard B. Russell for the nomination.

SEN. RUSSELL'S candidacy was more than a favorite son movement, however. He actively sought support in other states.

The Georgia delegation stayed with him throughout the balloting, and never made the gesture of switching to the nominee, Adlai Stevenson. Sen. Russell's peak vote at the convention was 294.

The favorite son device is often used at national party conventions as a means of registering protest and, more frequently, as a way to give a state bargaining power in the nomination of presidential and vice presidential candidates, in shaping the platform, or in other political matters.

SEN. TALMADGE'S appraisal of the extent of President Kennedy's political trouble in the south was first voiced publicly after the President's June 11 television speech on civil rights and racial unrest.

The senator said in an interview Friday that the President's civil rights message to congress this week "won't help him any in the South."

The Georgia Democrat said it is too early to predict how Georgia or other Southern states will vote 17 months hence. He said, however, that if New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller is the Republican nominee, "most Georgians will vote for Kennedy."

Sen. Talmadge said Southerners in the past often have voted Republican as a way of showing their dissatisfaction with the Democratic candidate.

HE SAID HE bases his estimate of the poor Kennedy standing in Georgia now on "mail, visitors, and conversations with many people in Georgia."

The senator said the President's civil rights stand will not help the rest of the Kennedy legislative program in congress.

He said, however, that it will not affect his voting on other issues and he will "continue to view each piece of legislation as a separate entity" and judge it on its own merit.

Sen. Talmadge said the country will become "a police state" if the major Kennedy civil right proposals are enacted.

"IF THE FULL import of these proposed laws ever gets to the grass roots, it will have a shocking effect throughout the country," he said.

The Georgian said widest opposition in the Senate will be to three key Kennedy proposals, which he described as:

—Telling owners of privately owned public accommodations, such as restaurants, stores, hotels and theaters, that they have "no freedom to select their own customers."

—Giving some federal bureaucrat authority to withhold federal funds in any federal program in any state in the nation.

—Setting up the attorney general as "the arbiter or guardian of the civil rights of every citizen in America with the power to file a suit at taxpayers' expense for action without a jury trial before a federal judge appointed for life.

Sen. Talmadge said he favors President Kennedy's request for stepping up vocational training as an aid to combating unemployment among both whites and Negroes.

"Many of these are young people, teen-agers, and it is necessary to take some action to teach them something useful."

6/28/63

factors seem to make this inevitable. The high birth rate of the mid-1940's will result in a sharp increase in the college-age population beginning next year or so. Furthermore, a higher percentage of high school graduates are going on to college and graduate schools.

If the country is going to meet the essential needs in these and other areas, we shall have to avoid inefficiency and deny ourselves the luxury of unwise and unnecessary expenditures in all areas. For instance, we must see that people do not occupy expensive hospital beds in acute general hospitals merely because they have hospital insurance. We must see that less expensive care is available through extended care units, nursing homes, organized home care, and outpatient services when these are sufficie natnd, indeed, better suited for the patient.

No longer can we afford the haphazard construction of hospital and other health facilities resulting from inadequate community planning and organization. Nor can we afford the luxury of administrators putting the interests of their own hospitals above the interests of the community as a whole. The wise use of our resources must be a concern of government at all levels and of the private volunteer agencies and the individual citizen as well.

Pol. South

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, at this time I wish to speak in regard to a situation which is developing in the Republican Party, my party, which I think is of the utmost consequence for our Nation. In this connection, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for an additional 3 minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I am very deeply disturbed, and I think the country has every right to be very deeply disturbed, about a debate which seems to be pending at this time as to what the intentions of the Republican Party are in regard to civil-rights legislation, and especially, about the bandying about of the term "lily white" with respect to the destiny and the policy of my party.

I was deeply concerned to read in the New York Times of today a statement by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in which he said:

> It is the Republicans, not the Dixiecrats, who are the conversation pieces around the Nation.

I believe this is a mortal threat to my party. It would be a very serious threat to the country if the Republican Party went lily white. I refuse to believe at all that it will. I shall fight it with every element of my being as a grave disservice to the party of Lincoln and a grave disservice to our Nation, especially at this time when it is very clear that the votes of Republicans will make or break civil rights legislation. At long last the moral note with respect to civil rights has been sounded by the President. But the vote will be a moral vote, and the President does not have the necessary votes in his own party to support his program. We all know it. We all know that civil rights legislation has not a prayer and cloture—which we will have to have at some stage of these proceedings—has not a prayer, unless we have Republican votes.

In the course of the discussion, which looks almost like a onesided political counteroffensive—though I do not believe it is so—the President and the Democratic leaders in respect of civil rights are as sincere as we are on this side. What is being overlooked is that Republicans have given support. For example, I have previously referred to the 18 out of 33 Republican votes for cloture last February on the effort to amend rule XXII. I have referred to the overwhelming Republican vote for the so-called part III in the 1957 civil rights bill, which we lost, but we certainly did not lose it because of the failure of Republican support.

I am not making any apologies for the party. I am pointing out only that the general impression which is now being created, that the party is fighting some sort of struggle about whether or not to be lily-white, is solely attributable to the fact that more than a majority for civil rights is expected of the Republican Party. I am sure we will furnish a majority, but what is asked for is more than that. I think there is the greatest likelihood that we will meet that test, too. But I think it will call for Republicans throughout the country—and that is my reason for speaking out—to speak out upon this subject and to make clear that the Republican rank and file knows that we are the party of Lincoln and that we fully intend to support effective civil rights, legislation, to demand of their legislators that they do the same, and ask the public not to be confused by the debate which now seems to be taking place in the newspapers, or by the doubts which some people entertain.

Mr. President, second and very importantly, the point about the bipartisan character of the effort, if it is to succeed at all, must be fully recognized and understood. It cannot be glossed over or fuzzed over. There is no hope for it unless the Democrats as well as Republicans support it, and unless it will be the considered, express, and articulate intention of the Democrats and their leaders to cooperate fully to respect and give dignity to Republicans who themselves are cooperating in relation to civil rights, so that the issue will not be merely a question of the President's program, but a matter of supporting the country's program and the basic needs of our Nation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask for 2 additional minutes.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New York? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. I pointed out—and I am not given to glossing over things—that even as to the attitude of the minority leader, it is a fact that although he opposes the public accommodations section—which I think is very important and I shall fight very hard for it—as the minority leader on the Republican side, the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN] has supported a number of the issues, one being the very important part III of the 1957 bill to desegregate the public school system, an issue which has not had affirmative support on the floor of the Senate, and to which his weight gives great affirmative support. I am still hopeful that we might even persuade him to be for some version of a public accommodations section. All I am pointing out is that we on the Republican side, first, do not deserve these speculative fears, but they exist. Therefore they must be recognized by two groups in our country: First, Republicans themselves, who must be more articulate on the subject, and, second, Democrats, who must recognize that the effort is a bipartisan program. It is not merely a question of supporting the President. It is a program in support of basic constitutional law, public order, and public morality.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I commend the Senator from New York for his remarks today. As one of the Senators on the Democratic side of the aisle, serving today as the acting majority leader, I wish to make crystal clear that there is absolutely no room for partisan bickering and partisan advantage on the question of civil rights legislation, if we wish to pass the measure. It is the desire of the Senator from Minnesota, as it is the desire of my colleague and friend from New York [Mr. JAVITS], my able compatriot, the good Senator from California [Mr. KUCHEL], and others, to pass an effective and meaningful civil rights program that would embody the suggestions and proposals that were sent to Congress by the President in his message and in the bills that have been introduced. Some of those bills may be modified, because they will go through the legislative process. But the principles and substance of those bills represent what we feel is an essential program.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may use the 3 minutes allocated to me in the morning hour.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HUMPHREY. To make false accusations against political leaders or political parties is a disservice to the cause of civil rights legislation and to the program that our country needs.

I know that if we are to be able to close off the debate in case there is filibuster, we shall need 22 or 23—perhaps more—votes from our Republican friends. If we are to pass civil rights legislation we shall have to have help from our Republican friends.

So I should like to make it crystal clear that if the President's program is to be more than a message, if it is to be a program of action, we must have bipartisan cooperation. When I joined as a consponsor with my colleagues on this side and on the Republican side, I took that pledge, and I will fulfill that pledge, commitment, and promise. I thank the Senator from New York for speaking today as he did. He had every right to do so. I assure him and his colleagues that the Senator from Minnesota will do everything that he can to preserve the unity, cooperation, and spirit of understanding that now exists on this very vital important subject of national policy. The problem is like fighting a war against discrimination and bigotry. This is a great national effort. We ought to have the same kind of unity and sense of purpose to overcome the bitter problems of discrimination, prejudice, and bigotry as we have in our struggle against Communist tyranny. Unless we can have that kind of unity, we shall be defeated.

So I say again to Senators on the Republican side that we need to march together. We need to learn how to work together. We need to learn how to work together on this issue if we desire victory; and the Nation needs a victory on this question.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 1 additional minute.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. I wish to make myself understood. First, I am not accusing the press of fomenting something that is not so. Reporters at the Republican National Committee meeting got certain impressions. Reporters at the Young Republicans meeting in San Francisco got certain impressions. One of our leading candidates for the presidency is stating certain views about civil rights. I do not maintain that there is no foundation for what those reporters have said. What I am appealing for is that the Republicans express themselves, and that Democrats who believe in bipartisanship will state that the effort will not be a political approach. I point out that we can escalate the civil rights bill to include the FEPC program which the President sent us. He said also that he would favor discretionary authority to cut off aid to States if Federal money is used to build segregated projects. We might decide to make that requirement mandatory, though it may not be part of his program. The point is that we need a meaningful program. For that we must unite.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time of the Senator from New York has expired.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President——

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from California seek recognition?

Mr. KUCHEL. I do.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair recognizes the Senator from California.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, with fellow Republicans and my friends across the aisle on the Democratic side I placed my name on proposed legislation in the field of civil rights, which came here a few days ago from the White House. Beyond that, with a group of my colleagues on the Republican side, I introduced substantially the same group of proposals many months ago. We did the same thing in the last Congress. We have done so, generally, for many, many years. In doing so we acted as Americans. I should like to speak for a moment simply as a Republican, proud of the heritage of his own political party.

The only place I know of to find out what the Republican Party of the United States of America stands for in 1963 is to read and study the compact it made at the city of Chicago with the American people in the last presidential campaign. The 1960 Republican national platform is a progressive document. It solemnly promised that the Republican Party would work to eliminate the evil, miserable, contemptible filibuster from the rules of the U.S. Senate. I have tried to carry out that compact on more than one occasion. The Republican platform in 1960 promised to move forward in the field of civil rights—it dealt specifically with the cause of equal treatment under law for all Americans.

There is not an individual on the Democratic side of the aisle who for one moment would deny any of us over here the great pride we take in the memory of the first President of our party, Abraham Lincoln. I have followed the Lincoln philosophy. So did our great leader Dwight Eisenhower, under whose leadership we made progress, legislatively, in 1957.

There is no way that any one Member of the U.S. Senate or any one citizen can direct or order another citizen to make up his mind in any fashion. One can reason. One can attempt to persuade. In the last analysis, I suppose we should all be thankful that every American citizen can make up his mind on any public question simply as he sees the light.

So far as I am concerned, what the Republican Party pledged to the American people in 1960 I intend—as best I can—to see carried out in the U.S. Senate; and I am glad, in a bipartisan fashion, to move forward hopefully toward success legislatively so that we will not view as a sham the American theory of equal treatment under law for all Americans.

THE NEW "MARINE HIGHWAY" TO ALASKA

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, a new approach to Alaska is now available. It has unique aspects. In Alaska it is known as a "marine highway." It consists of an impressive ferry system composed of three mammoth vessels operated by the State of Alaska which ply daily betwen Prince Rupert, British Columbia, and all principal southeastern Alaska point, and thence to the interior of Alaska over highways.

The marine highway became a necessity when, 9 years ago, the only U.S. carrier abolished its passenger service between the lower 48 States and Alaska. This left as the only means of passenger transportation between the older States and Alaska the commercial air services and by automobile over the long, unpaved Alaska highway through Canada.

As long as Alaska was a territory, remedying this situation was impossible. The restrictive Organic Act fastened on the territory in 1912, by which Alaska was shackled up to the time statehood was achieved, forbade the territory to incur any debt.

But statehood once achieved, Governor Egan proposed a $23 million bond issue to establish two ferry systems in Alaska. the legislature approved; the people of Alaska ratified the proposal; and the construction of three ferries—in U.S. shipyards, of course—ordered. The first of these, the S.S. *Malaspina*, has been operating since late last winter. The prospective visitor drives through the beautiful Canadian Rockies to Prince Rupert or he can connect with the Alaska ferries through a Canadian ferry service from Vancouver, British Columbia.

These ferries, luxuriously appointed, make possible the viewing of one of the most beautiful, and yet not too well-known trips up the "Inside Passage"—a scenic waterway protected from the ocean swells by an archipelago of forested islands.

The new highway is described in the current issue of U.S. News & World Report. It is illustrated profusely and I regret that the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD does not allow the use of photographs. But I ask unanimous consent that the text of the article: "Now a New 'Highway' To Alaska By Sea" be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOW A NEW "HIGHWAY" TO ALASKA BY SEA

You can now take a short cut to Alaska, where the 1963 tourist season is just beginning.

Motorists heading for the 49th State can save 600 miles of driving and a day's time by using the new route.

This short cut is not a road but a recently established ferry line, in which the State of Alaska has invested $15 million.

If everything works out as planned, the State will get its money back—and more.

For Alaskans, the ferry opens up a regular line of communication with the southeastern tip of their State, relatively isolated up to now. It also promises cheaper transportation of people and goods in an area where the cost of living has been high.

For visitors, the State-owned ferry line provides not only an alternate route to reach the interior of Alaska, but also some of the most magnificent scenery in the world. It is expected to give a big lift to the tourist business.

Two automobile routes now lead to Alaska.

One is the famous Alaska Highway, stretching for 1,523 miles across the northwestern corner of Canada and continuing to Fairbanks and Anchorage.

The other is the new, 450-mile marine highway through the fiords of the Alaskan Panhandle.

Many visitors to Alaska this year, it is reported, plan to go by one route, return by the other.

STOP, SEE, CONTINUE

The southern terminus of the ferry line is at Prince Rupert, in British Columbia, about 600 miles north of Seattle.

Atl. Jour. 7/1/63

South Likes Barry, Russell Declares

Pol. South

By MARGARET SHANNON

Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, July 1 — Sen. Richard B. Russell, D-Ga., leader of Southern senators opposing civil rights legislation, says Republican Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona could carry a large part of the South for president if the election were this fall.

He said on a television program Sunday (Washington Report, CBS) that it is difficult to tell what the situation will be next year when the election actually takes place.

But he said that if Sen. Goldwater is the Republican candidate and if the Arizonan maintains his present views on states' rights, he would be hard to beat in the South in 1964.

Sen. Russell

Sen. Goldwater

SEN. RUSSELL thus agreed, in effect, with Georgia's junior senator, Herman E. Talmadge, who has said that as of now President Kennedy cannot be sure of carrying Georgia or any other Southern state in 1964. Two months ago, Sen. Russell told a group of visiting Georgia Jaycees that the Republican nomination "isn't going to be worth much in 1964."

He said then that Sen. Gold-

Turn to Page 6, Column 3

RUSSELL

Continued From Page 1

water and New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller could "kill each other off" in a fight for the nomination and if the two "go to the wire, Goldwater will go the way of Taft."

SINCE THAT TIME, Gov. Rockefeller's remarriage has hurt his chances and the racial situation has deepened the Kennedy unpopularity in the South and helped the Goldwater popularity.

Sen. Russell said on the television program that the public accommodations section of the President's civil rights bill is not the most objectionable feature, though he opposes it completely. He denied that removing that section would end Southern opposition.

He said the worst feature is what he called the "genocide provision"—a proposal to permit withholding of federal funds from programs and projects when racial discrimination exists in them.

The Georgia senator called it the "most vicious and un-Christian" proposal he has heard of in his 30 years in the Senate.

He said that in the South the principal victims would be Negroes, such as dependent children, the aged and the blind who receive welfare funds.

SEN. RUSSELL was asked if he had any legislative alternatives to offer to the Kennedy proposals. And he said he does not.

He said the present civil rights drive is hurting the cause of race relations by undertaking to get it all done overnight.

The senator repeated his concern about the attitude of President Kennedy and Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy toward Negro demonstrations and what he called a "general disparagement of law and order."

He said he has not threatened a filibuster against civil rights legislation. He said it will take "time and energy" to "educate the country" on the issues.

7/14/63

E NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JUL

2 SENATORS VOW RIGHTS FILIBUSTER

Russell Long and Smathers Attack President's Bill

Pol-South

WASHINGTON, July 13 (UPI)—Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana vowed today to oppose vigorously one of President Kennedy's civil rights proposals.

"I expect to fight that proposition until hell freezes over. Then I propose to start fighting on the ice," he said.

A Democratic colleague, Senator George A. Smathers of Florida also announced opposition to features of the President's program. He said he would filibuster against the over-all legislation.

Mr. Long objected to the President's request that the Government be empowered to cut off Federal funds in areas where racial segr practiced.

In a transcribed i view for Louisiana s said:

"President Kenned said, he was oppose power being given t Executive when the C Commission recomm but now he flip-flops out with a complete to minority pressur

Mr. Smathers said accept the President' that involve voting voluntary efforts to civil rights issue. H is unalterably oppo public accommodati mendation and the p ing with school inte said.

Mr. Smathers also that it would be be Kennedy pressed for of his tax legislation the civil rights bill."

He said the tax would be "far more to Negroes." The tax stimulate the econom vide more jobs, part Negroes, he declared

The Senate Comm

Atl. Jour. 7/18/63

Pol. South

MOST DIXIE STATES SAY 'NO'

Unpledged Elector Idea Withering

By JACK BELL

WASHINGTON, July 18 (AP) — An unpledged elector movement aimed at forcing the choice of the next president by the House of Representatives appears to be withering on the political vine in Dixie.

An Asociated Press survey of 11 Southern states indicates that in only three — Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina — does there appear to be any significant possibility that major party nominees might be denied electorial votes.

Even if the sum total of 25 electorial votes of the three states were withheld — which doesn't seem likely — the action would be effective only if the next election provided the closest electorial vote outcome since the Wilson-Hughes contest of 1916. Woodrow Wilson won the presidency by a margin of 23 electorial votes.

UNDER the Constitution, the House selects the president only if none of the candidates receives a majority of the electorial votes. If the House renders the verdict, each state delegation casts a single vote, regardless of the state's size.

Despite the closeness of the popular vote results in 1960, President Kennedy still would have been elected if the three states' votes had been lopped off this 303 electorial vote total. Election in 1964 will require a minimum of 270 electorial votes.

Govs. Ross Barnett of Mississippi and George Wallace of Alabama have been promoting the independent elector scheme as a means of defeating Kennedy's bid for re-election.

But Democratic politicians outside their states — and some within Wallace's — are wary of bolting. Republicans, hopeful of collecting some Southern electorial votes for their party's nominee, don't like the move.

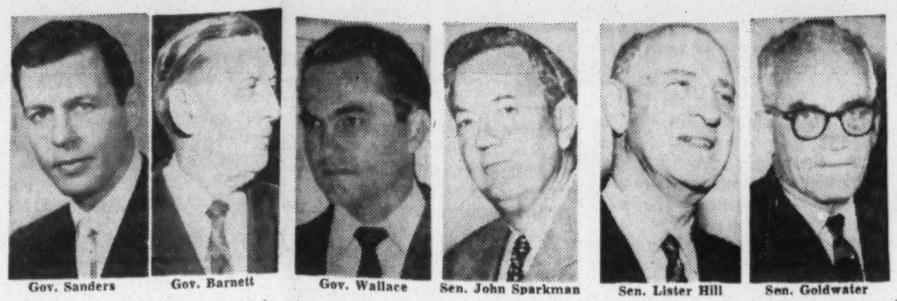
Here is how the situation shapes up on a state by state basis:

GEORGIA — Gov. Sanders, a moderate on the racial issue, controls the state party machinery and the legislature. He said he will have no part of any independent elector or third party movement.

Segregationists are trying to promote an independent elector ticket, but Democratic State Chairman J. B. Fuqua of Augusta says, "I don't think it has a chance."

Agreeing, Republican State Chairman James W. Dorsey of Atlanta said: "I think the voters of Georgia will make a clear cut choice between the Republican and Democratic nominees."

Georgia Democrats have never bolted their party ticket. The state's House members would be expected to support the Democratic nominee if the presidential election were thrown into the House.



Gov. Sanders Gov. Barnett Gov. Wallace Sen. John Sparkman Sen. Lister Hill Sen. Goldwater

MISSISSIPPI — The unpledged elector movement, supported by Barnett, appears likely to be successful if the Republicans choose a liberal candidate.

Under state law, party conventions could put both loyalist and uninstructed delegations on the ballot of a primary to be held after the national conventions nominate their presidential candidates. The delegation which lost would be dropped from the general election ballot. It could petition its way onto that ballot, but could not use the party emblem.

Lt. Gov. Paul Johnson says the system "means the party label will be denied to those who don't represent the thinking of a majority of Mississipplans."

Rubel Phillips, Republican candidate for governor, said the plan "may be useful."

Mississippi gave its nine electoral votes to the States Rights ticket headed by Strom Thurmond in 1948. Its eight unpledged electors voted for Sen. Harry F. Byrd, D-Va., in 1960.

ALABAMA—Wallae has urged Dixie Democrats to join in a movement he says can keep either major party candidate from getting a majority of electoral votes. He said this would "create compounded confusions from which we can gain some meaningful concessions."

Despite Wallace's stand, Sens. John Sparkman and Lister Hill are expected to support the national Democratic ticket, as are several House members.

Alabama gave its 11 electoral votes to the 1948 States Rights ticket. It split its 1960 vote, giving Kennedey 5 and Sen. Harry F. Byrd, D-Va., 6.

SOUTH CAROLINA — E. P. (Ted) Riley, Democratic state chairman, thinks it's too early to predict whether there will be an unpledged elector movement in the state.

"It is no good to have independent electors unless they do some good," he said.

J. Drake Edens, Republican state chairman, said history has proved that unpledged electors may "offer some attraction in theory" but never work out. He said the way for voters to express their opposition to Kennedy administration policies is to back Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz.

When Thurmond was governor and headed the States Rights ticket in 1948, he got 39 electoral votes, including South Carolina's eight. The state went to Kennedy in 1960.

NORTH CAROLINA—Bert Bennett, Democratic state chairman, says the unpledged elector movement "is against North Carolina's way of doing things."

Robert Gavin, who recently resigned as Republican state chairman, observed: "I think the fight in 1964 is going to be between the regular Republican and the regular Democratic party."

North Carolina always has voted with either the Democratic or Republican parties and has not given significant support to third party efforts.

VIRGINIA—A bill for unpledged electors which died in the state legislature in 1962 may be offered again next year. But State Sen. Thomas H. Blanton, Democratic party chairman, said "It won't amount to much — it never amounted to anything in the past."

Walter R. Gambill, vice chairman of the State Republican party commented: "The next president of the United States will be elected by the Democrats or by the Republican party. We can't afford to be playing games with any unpledged elector movement. It's a lot of waste motion."

Virginia has not gone Democratic in a presidential election since 1948. In 1952 the presence on the ballot of a States Rights' candidate, T. Coleman Andrews, had no effect on the result.

TENNESSEE — Having voted Republican in the last three elections, Tennessee no longer is considered part of the once solid South. Any movement for unpledged electors would have to come at next spring's party convention but there are no signs of any campaign for it.

H. S. Walters, Democratic state chairman, says he doesn't think there will be any such movement.

"There are a few people who are upset about the civil rights problem but by next year there won't be any feeling about it by the time the election comes around," he said.

A Dixiecrat movement failed in the state in 1948, although one elector cast his ballot for Thurmond.

ARKANSAS—Any successful independent elector movement would have to have the support of Gov. Orval E. Faubus, who gave reluctant backing to Kennedy in 1960.

Tom Harper, Democratic state chairman, and William Spicer, Republican chairman, say nobody has expressed an interest in such a movement.

Arkansas stayed with President Harry S. Truman against the Dixiecrat movement in 1948. A States Rights ticket of electors got only about 10 per cent of the vote then.

LOUISIANA—The state Senate killed a bill passed by the House to provide for unpledged electors. Sen. Russell B. Long, D-La., and Rep. Gillis Long, D-La., were outspokenly against the measure.

Segregationists now are taking their fight to the state Democratic Central Committee. Members of the new committee will be chosen in a Dec. 7 primary.

In 1948, Louisiana gave its 10 electoral votes to Thurmond. The central committee beat down 51 to 49 a move to put unpledged electors on the ballot in 1960.

FLORIDA—An unpledged electors bill died in the 1963 state legislative session. Leaders do not expect it to be revived.

Warren Goodrich, chairman of the state Democratic Executive Committee, said he opposed the bill because if pledged electors were chosen in a spring primary they would be committed to an unknown candidate. If unpledged electors were chosen, he said the voters would be virtually disenfranchised.

State Rep. Charles Holley of St. Petersburg, a republican with gubernatorial aspirations, said the proposal would have hurt GOP chances since the Republican presidential candidate's name would not be on the ballot.

TEXAS—No indication anywhere in the state of any movement aimed at choosing unpledged electors.

Pol. Southern

From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.) SB

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1963

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS

It is most astonishing to read of the action by the Governors' Conference in Miami Beach in voting yesterday to prevent the Governors from taking a formal stand on any issue, including civil rights. There is no question that civil rights is the major domestic issue before the nation today. From the moment the President decided to request urgent civil rights legislation, this Administration has wisely attempted to summon the nation's leaders behind this great moral and constitutional issue. I believe the President deserves great credit for that initiative; he has met with mayors, Negro leaders, union leaders, business leaders, civic leaders, and others to seek their support and to urge them to exert their influence on behalf of this great cause. In the face of this need for every public official to stand up and be counted, it is incredible that the Democratic delegation to the Governor's Conference should almost unanimously (with one distinguished exception, Governor Egan of Alaska) vote to gag the conference on civil rights. It is an ignoble display of timidity; a shocking abdication of responsibility by the top officials of our state governments. It is no answer for those who were guilty of this feeble leadership to claim that the Republicans -- who were unanimous on this issue -- were "playing politics." The nation cannot accept that lame excuse for the pitiable reluctance of the Democratic Governors to face the No. 1 domestic issue facing the people of our country. It confounds all who want to strengthen the Federal system by strengthening the role of the States when Governors reject their responsibility as did the Democratic Governors. Politics is the science and art of government, and the Democratic Governors have sadly demonstrated at Miami a new low in statesmanship on civil rights.

* * * * *

RALPH

McGILL

A+L. Con. 8/3/65

. . . So Long As

There is a Nation

Pol. South

Nothing has more profoundly and painfully revealed the farce of states rights claims than the

flight from state responsibility by most of the nation's governors in their recent convention at Miami Beach. Alabama's Governor Wallace and Mississippi's Barnett provided a small side show of comic relief, but they did not themselves appear to be quite convinced by what they were saying. Arkansas' Faubus knew when to be quiet. He was too far away from home to cut any states rights hay.

The truth about states rights, Southern style, is very much like the facts about Southern style cooking. A great deal depends on the cook. And like most regional cooking, it has about disappeared.

Thomas Bragg, one-time attorney general of the Confederate States and a crony of Jefferson Davis, once said of the states rights provision in the Constitution of the Confederacy that it was a hellish covenant.

Federal Excursions

Early in 1862 Federal excursions along the exposed Atlantic coast had so alarmed the governors of coastal states, they were demanding of President Davis that weapons and men sent to the Virginia theater of war be immediately returned to the several states. Davis said to Bragg that this was a certain recipe for disaster. Bragg wrote in his diary: "The President was much irritated and declared that if such was to be the course of the states toward the government, the carrying on of the war was an impossibility . . ."

There is nothing in the history of the South to recommend the old theory of state sovereignty. Every historian of repute who has written of the Civil War has emphasized the immense harm done by the sovereignty of the states

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Federal Excursions

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There is nothing in the history of the South to recommend the old theory of state sovereignty. Every historian of repute who has written of the Civil War has emphasized the immense harm done by the sovereignty of the states in the Confederacy. Robert Henry, a Tennessean and a Southern partisan, wrote in his first-rate "Story of the Confederacy": "From the beginning, in the theory of the sovereignty of the states, the new government had carried within itself the seeds of destruction and now (1864), with disasters crowding, disintegration began. . . ."

Increasing Liability

From the first year of the Civil War the clash between the government at Richmond and the states was an increasing liability. With Sherman in and about Atlanta, Hood was 30 miles south of the city. He besought President Davis for reserves. Davis could not provide them because the states refused.

At that moment of despair, Georgia's Governor Brown, exercising his state sovereignty, actually withdrew the Georgia state troops from Hood's command and granted blanket furloughs for them to return to their homes. The Confederate government was never able to recall those state troops.

Earlier in the war the central government was obliged to pass a draft law to create an army. State governors attacked this as "subversive of state sovereignty." All through the war the Davis government was opposed by state exemption laws, by often frenzied resistance to the passage by Congress of acts declaring a public emergency, and by many petty, vicious and vindictive acts by the sovereign states.

This stain of pettiness has marked the claims of states rights ever since the Civil War settled the issue. From time to time state governors have cried states rights in attempting to deny necessary central authority invoked on behalf of the general welfare.

The 55 men who met at Philadelphia in the spring of 1787 and drafted the federal Constitution were, in literal fact, giving birth to a single commonwealth or nation. This nation replaced the old Confederation of the 13 former colonies, which was founded on a system of state sovereignty. Historial vestigial remains of state sovereignty are to be seen in the states today. But the states are not sovereign — and there could be no United States if they were. So long as there is a nation, the central authority must protect the rights of all citizens and must uphold the Constitution.

Governors Resist Wallace Demands

Atl. Con. 8/19/63

Pol. South

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va.—The Southern Governors Conference showed surprising resistance Sunday night to Alabama Gov. George Wallace's demand that it attack President John F. Kennedy and to his call for an investigation of "Communists" in the civil rights movement.

Chairman Orval Faubus of Arkansas said "I'm not interested in" Wallace's resolution and immediately began sounding out other governors about a resolutions committee Faubus must appoint Monday.

Faubus labeled the Alabama anticivil rights resolution "secondary in importance." He said the conference should concern itself with other matters.

SHUNTING TALKED

Several other governors, obviously seeking anonymity in moving to block Wallace's resolution, talked informally about a committee which never would report it to the conference floor.

It was learned on high authority that some of them had been sounded out about the possibility of serving on a committee which would keep the issues out of the conference.

And Chairman Faubus said he believed the conference would be better off with a rule requiring unanimous approval for any resolution that passed. Resolutions now can be passed with a 3-4 vote.

Wallace remained undaunted, however. He made no move to withdraw his motion and counted on Deep South sentiment to bring his proposal to a full debate.

ADMITS HE SHIFTED

Wallace himself admitted his resolutions contrast with his vote at the National Governors Conference last month against any resolutions, but added:

"I'm consistent. I do what I want to do in Miami and I do what I want to do in West Virginia . . . I didn't want to see any civil rights resolutions passed in Miami . . .

"I do feel that any resolution that could disendorse that program (Kennedy's civil rights bills) would be good," Wallace said.

As he outlined the resolution it would ask the President and Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy to repudiate their statements calling the Negro march "in the great tradition."

CHARGES REDS LEAD

Wallace said they also should begin an investigation of Communists who, he said, are leading the march.

The fiery Alabaman specifically charged that Communists now "seek to lead the march on Washington" and that many of the Negro movement's leaders are Communists. He said the Rev. Martin Luther King "belongs to more Communist-front organizations than anyone else in America."

As he talked at a press conference, Wallace kept referring to an issue of the Augusta Courier, the red-headline weekly published by Roy V. Harris in Georgia.

Wallace and Faubus shared the spotlight as the governors gathered for their 29th annual regional conference. But they frequently took different courses.

GOLDWATER LEADING?

Faubus said, "polls I have access to" show that conservative Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) is "10 to 15 per cent" ahead of any other candidate for president in Arkansas.

But Wallace said Alabama will go neither Democratic nor

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

Governors Resist Wallace Demands

Continued From Page 1

Republican but, instead, will select independent electors. He allowed that Georgia also might have independents.

"There is a good chance they will have enough signatures to have unpledged electors," Wallace said of Georgia.

That would be the only way to keep Georgia presidential electors unpledged, since there is no provision for them in the existing law.

"I've never seen a state as against the administration as Alabama is against the present administration," Wallace said.

He admitted he might be a candidate for the presidential nomination in these states: "any of them that have primaries."

"A Southerner running in the primaries in some of the other states might shak. you up a little," Wallace told his questioners.

The governor said he has received "over a quarter of a million pieces of mail" from voters around the country since he said a month ago some Southerner might enter the primaries.

But Faubus expressed no interest in a third-party movement

Pol - South W-Post 8/19/63

Wallace Fires Civil Rights Blast As Southern Governors Assemble

By J. Richard Toren

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 18 (UPI)—Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace fired the first salvo today in his battle to get Southern Governors on record against civil rights demonstrations and legislation.

The Governor sharply criticized the civil rights march planned in Washington next week at a news conference on the opening day of the Southern Governors' Conference here today and added:

"I hope this Conference takes action to disapprove this kind of mob violence."

But Wallace apparently will receive little support from his colleagues, most of them facing civil rights problems in their home states. They have traditionally avoided the touchy subject in their fun-and-talk sessions together.

Civil rights is not on the agenda and probably would have remained the subject only of private discussions had Wallace not decided to submit resolutions on the subject.

Wallace plans to introduce four proposals condemning the Aug. 28 civil rights march, alleged Communist participation in racial demonstrations, the Kennedy Administration's civil rights proposals and the use of Federal troops to enforce school desegregation.

If his proposals are not acted on by the Governors, Wallace said he would then "take what action is needed to awaken the American people." He did not elaborate.

Fifteen Governors from Dixie and border states were on hand or near arrival for the 29th annual meeting at the Greenbrier resort here.

Wallace today criticized President Kennedy for endorsing the Washington protest march as being in "the American tradition" and said a person with this view is "either uninformed, misinformed or deliberately misleading the American people."

He said the march amounted to "mob violence" and has required alerting of "thousands of troops and policemen."

Conference Chairman Orval Faubus of Arkansas will appoint a resolutions committee to consider Wallace's proposals and any offered by other Governors.

Conference rules require a two-thirds vote of all Governors to force resolutions to the floor and a three-fourths vote is required to pass them.

The first work of the Conference begins Monday with reports on work of the Southern Regional Education Board and other regional organizations. The chairman's annual address also will be made Monday.

Associated Press Wirephoto

GOVERNORS OF GEORGIA, VIRGINIA HUDDLE

L-R: Carl Sanders, Albertis Harrison at Conference Table

Sanders Helps Stop Wallace on Rights

Atl. Con. 8/20/63

Pol. South

By REG MURPHY

Constitution Political Editor

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va.—Gov. Carl Sanders Monday helped block an Alabama move against civil rights at the Southern Governors' Conference.

Sanders threw his support against Gov. George Wallace's resolutions on civil rights by saying he voted against such resolutions at the National Governor's Conference and will follow the same course here.

"I will neither be a party to, nor participate in, any effort to override the chairman or the resolutions committee," Sanders said after Chairman Orval Faubus of Arkansas asked that the resolutions be dropped.

But Wallace said he still intends to present them to the resolutions committee when Faubus appoints it. The resolutions call for censure of the Kennedy administration for its handling of civil rights programs and for its "encouragement" of the proposed Negro march on Washington next week.

But Sanders was one of a group of governors who declared, "I did not come up here to politick."

The group appeared to have sufficient strength to beat back Wallace's effort to have the resolution brought to the floor. The Georgia governor also blazed away at Wallace's attempt to whip up independent elector sentiment at the conference of 15 Southern and border state governors.

"A vote for independent electors would be like taking a one-way trip to the moon with no way to get back," Sanders said. "It would serve no useful purpose, other than a protest and, contrary to what the governor of Alabama seems to think, I don't believe the people of Georgia have any intention of engaging in an exercise in futility with him or anyone else."

Wallace predicted Sunday that Georgia might have enough petitions from registered voters to join the independent electors movement.

Faubus moved for peace this time.

"It is my hope," he said as Wallace faced him across the conference table, "that controversial issues can be kept out of this conference."

Both Wallace and Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi said they will push for passage of the resolutions.

Meanwhile, a group of pickets marched on the posh old Greenbrier Hotel to denounce Wallace and demand more advanced civil-rights programs in the South.

...ence at White Sulphur Springs, and George Wallace of Alabama.

8/20/63 W-Post

Dixie Governors' Conference Hotel Picketed by 100 Rights Demonstrators

DCI-G South

By Herb Little

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 19 (AP)—About 100 civil rights demonstrators sang and marched today outside the luxury resort where 16 Southern governors are holding their 29th annual meeting.

They won a promise of an executive order banning racial discrimination from W. Virginia Gov. W. W. Barron, who told them at the gate that he supports the Kennedy Administration's civil rights bill.

The pickets, almost all Negroes, came to protest the segregation policies avowed by a majority of governors in the conference.

privately with demonstration leaders in his resort suite, said the only thing still to be decided in his order is how far it could go under West Virginia's constitution and laws.

The demonstrators arrived to parade shortly after Mississippi's Gov. Ross Barnett proposed at a news conference that the Nation's negro population be redistributed in a 90-10 per cent White-Negro ratio in all states.

The demonstrators did not know about this development.

They did know, however, of Alabama Gov. George Wallace's announced intention to try to get the confeernce to pass several pro-segregation resolutions, including one to condemn the Aug. 28 civil rights march in Washington.

The demonstrators drove here from the state capital, Charleston, about 120 miles away, picking up recruits along the way. They marched two by two, singing and carrying placards, to the entrance to the wooded grounds of the Greenbrier.

A hotel security guard told leaders the party could not march onto the grounds to demonstrate. Later, however, they were permitted in, but without singing and without singing and without placards.

Th demonstrators were orderly and well-dressed. They scruptulously obeyed orders to keep off th grass. Most were Negroes in their late teens and early 20s.

Barnett, whose Mississippi has a 42 per cent Negro population, told newsmen, "This race problem is a problem of numbers." He said relocation is a "workable plan."

Barnett said each state should voluntarily work out relocation of Negroes "to equalize the population."

His proposal, he said, could be implemented through the Department of Labor in much the same way that Cuban refugees are being relocated.

Barnett held his first nws conference only hours after Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas had appealed for the Southern Governors Conference to skirt controversial issues.

man, told the opening session, "We must not allow the conference to be divertd from its basic purpos . . . "If we engage in debate over controversial issues, we can cause division and possibly destroy the basic usefulness and purpose of the conference."

Kennedy at Parley

By WILLIAM O. SMITH
Atlanta Journal Staff Writer

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 21—Govs. George Wallace and Ross Barnett Wednesday lambasted President Kennedy again for his civil rights program just before the Southern Governors Conference ended, but the conference did not take any official stand.

Alabama's Gov. Wallace kept his promise and filed four resolutions—one condemning the civil rights bill of President Kennedy, and one asking the President to repudiate the Aug. 28 march on Washington by Negroes.

The Alabama governor waited until the last possible minute of the three-day meet before he presented the resolution and declared the people in his state are not going to tolerate "further illegal usurpation of power by the federal government . . ."

"In my judgement, people all over this country are fed up with a federal government which intrudes to the point of regulating their lives each and every day," he said.

Gov. Barnett, Mississippi segregationist, urged Americans not to sit by silently and let the central government establish a dictatorship."

THE RESOLUTIONS were not filed by Gov. Wallace for action by the conference and were simply made a part of the record.

Thus the conference of 15 governors ended without an explosive civil rights battle as Gov. Wallace had hoped would happen with his resolutions.

A possible conference battle over civil rights was stopped when the governors, with a surprise second by Gov. Wallace, adopted a rule Tuesday saying unanimous approval must be given all resolutions.

Gov. Farris Bryant of Florida was elected chairman to succeed Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus.

Delaware Gov. Elbert Carvel was elected vice chairman.

Gov. Barnett officially invited the conference to meet in Biloxi, Miss., next June, but a committee was appointed to make a decision.

Georgia Gov. Carl Sanders told newsmen he wants the conference at Sea Island in 1965, but would be receptive to a meeting there

Turn to Page 8, Column 4

official letter from us."

Why did Mr. Fu
Mr. McNamara's
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"Beats me," M
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The Atlanta Jour

GOVERNORS BLOCK

Continued From Page 1

next year if the conference desires. He did not make a formal bid.

THE ONLY RESOLUTION presented by Gov. Sanders sailed through unanimously and endorses U.S. action imposing retaliatory tariffs on the European Common Market countries for their levies and tariffs on poultry from this country.

Mr. Sanders said in his resolution export of poultry from the United States to the Common Market countries have decreased from $50 million to $15 million.

This has caused an adverse effect in the poultry industry and caused extensive damage to the entire economy of the Southern states, he said. Georgia is one of the nation's leading poultry producers.

Gov. Wallace Wednesday attacked President Kennedy for what he called "misuse" of the National Guard in federalizing to enforce integration efforts.

Pointing out federalization of the guard has occurred in Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi, he said: "I resent it. I don't like it. My people don't like it. And the morale in our guard is low."

He said the President acted without statutory authority and cautioned this continued flagrant disregard" of the Constitution "could lead to a military dictatorship . . ."

HIS STATEMENTS came after the president of the National Guard Association of the U.S. criticized the federal government for not supporting the guard so it can maintain its readiness peak.

Maj. Gen. William H. Harrison Jr. said this is a "paradox" because the federal government wants the guard at a high level of combat readiness.

Arizona Gov. Paul Fannin told the conference that federal intervention in the field of regulated highway traffic is not needed.

Such regulations, "even though modest in the beginning, could lead to the establishment of a federal police force and the subsequent threat of a police state."

He said two bills are now pending in Congress which "are potential stepping stones in this dangerous direction."

Earlier, a flurry of controversy struck the conference when word got out that Dr. Edward Teller, known as the "father of the hydrogen bomb" would address the conference Wednesday morning.

Not long afterwards, Gov. Faubus announced that he had sent Dr. Teller word that he could not speak after all.

Dr. Teller, who attacked the limited test ban treaty in Washington Tuesday, stirred quite a controversy among the governors before Chairman Orval Faubus of Arkansas ruled he couldn't speak.

West Virginia Gov. William Wallace Barron said he protested because he feels President Kennedy should have a spokesman here to defend the treaty if Dr. Teller is allowed to attack it.

North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford said he would demand rebuttal time.

Gov. Faubus told newsmen Wednesday he personally was not opposed to Dr. Teller addressing the governors, but felt that the schedule Wednesday was too tight to allow a mass of new speakers.

THE CONTROVERSY erupted during the state dinner here Tuesday night and it was after midnight when Gov. Faubus sent word to Dr. Teller in Washington that he would not be welcome.

The Arkansas governor told newsmen that insofar as he knows, Dr. Teller had not actually been invited to speak here by any of the 17 Southern governors.

He explained that spokesmen for the Southern Nuclear Energy Board, which is operated by the conference, approached him Monday about allowing Dr. Teller to speak and he told them that the conference would have to make the final decision.

But when the protests started rolling in after word got out during the state dinner that Dr. Teller would speak, Gov. Faubus ruled that the nuclear physicist would not be allowed to speak.

At the state dinner Tuesday night Secretary of the Army Cyrus R. Vance told the Southern governors that the United States is maintaining its lead in nuclear power and that the Soviets "could not hope for victory" even if "they struck first and without warning."

THIS LEAD is being maintained with the help of allies even though the Soviets "are moving steadily toward a more powerful strategic nuclear force . . ."

He said the Soviets could not win "even in the technical sense, and they would lay themselves open to vast devastation."

A nuclear war would produce great damage to U.S. and allied populations and economies and "it is a matter of the greatest importance that such a nuclear war be prevented," Mr. Vance said.

"Fortunately, the Russians seem to realize this and we have reason to believe that they will avoid actions that would bring on such a catastrophe," he added.

The Army secretary branded as a "myth" the belief that the Communists have an overwhelming superiority in ground forces.

HE POINTED OUT that NATO has more men under arms and greater over-all strength than the Russians, both worldwide and in Europe.

"Worldwide, NATO has 5.8 million men under arms to the Warsaw Pact total of 4.3 million," he said. "NATO ground forces, of which 2.2 million are in Europe, total 3.2 million, as against the Soviet army's active unit total of 2 million."

Atl. Con. 8/21/63

Governors Save Face, Skirt Rights

Pol. South

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va.—The Southern Governors Conference pushed aside the civil rights fight Tuesday after allowing all participants to save face.

It agreed to change the rules to require a unanimous vote on all resolutions, which meant the anti-civil rights motions of Gov. George Wallace will be sidetracked.

Governors seek study of reported waste in Vo-Ag training, Page 13. Political analysis, Page 17.

But in the process, the Alabama governor seconded the motion for the unanimity rule and began preparing a speech for the Wednesday business section to take the place of his resolutions.

And his colleague in pushing the resolutions committee along with four more moderate Southern governors.

They are Govs. Carl Sanders of Georgia, Elbert Carvel of Delaware, John Connally of Texas and Terry Sanford of North Carolina. Wallace's resolutions would have

Continued on Page 15, Column 3

Governors Ease Past Bias Issue

Continued From Page 1

attacked the Kennedy administration's civil rights program, the Negro march on Washington, al leged communism in the Negro movement and other things.

Barnett also was given the opportunity of presenting a Mississippi lawyer who told the conference the civil rights bills in Congress would destroy "every check against federal power."

The lawyer, former American Bar Association president John Satterfield of Yazoo City, said the bills are "10 per cent so-called civil rights and 90 per cent extension of federal power . . . They would extend into private lives full federal control."

Later, Sanford of North Carolina said he would "guarantee" no civil rights resolution will escape the resolutions committee of which Barnett is a member.

And Sanford added this comment to Barnett's plan to relocate Negroes all over the country by a federal agency: "My reaction was ho-hum. Leave off the exclamation mark."

Sanford in those words also summed up much of the other activity at the conference, where the governors took time out Tuesday afternoon for a golf tournament before gathering again to hear Secretary of the Army Cyrus Vance.

Teller's Midnight Ride Ended By Governors Wary of Speech

NYT 8/22/63

Opponent of Test Ban Treaty Believed Victim of Opposing Political Forces at Parley

Pol. Southern

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 21—Southern Governors almost heard an unscheduled speech today by Dr. Edward Teller, a foe of the treaty to limit nuclear testing.

However, when word of the invitation to the physicist got around last night, a backstage political uproar developed and Dr. Teller's midnight ride to alert the Governors was called off fast.

The physicist was presumably the innocent victim of opposing political forces here. His speech was scheduled and called off in a matter of hours, but there was a night of comic-opera confusion as his disappointed sponsors tried to find him and turn him back.

Dr. Teller was to take an overnight train from Washington, where he had testified against the treaty. He was to be flown back to Washington after an early morning speech so that he could address a National Press Club luncheon.

Dr. Teller never arrived. When a decision to ban his speech was reached about 11 P. M., intercepts for the physicist were ordered at Washington and at three or four rail stops along the way. One man drove 35 miles to cut him off at Clifton Forge. Dr. Teller was not aboard the train.

Somewhere during the night Dr. Teller left the train. Back

Continued on Page 24, Colu

United Press International Telephoto

Dr. Edward Teller at National Press Club luncheon.

GOVERNORS VETO SPEECH BY TELLER

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

in Washington, he pleaded fatigue and said he did not know when or where he got off "because it was dark." He would not discuss how he managed to get back to Washington.

The Teller speech sponsors pleaded not guilty to political intrigue, but Democratic party loyalists thought otherwise. They felt that the rules of the Southern Governors Conference had already been violated when Gov. Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi was allowed to present a Yazoo City constituent for an unscheduled speech yesterday.

The speaker, John Satterfield, past president of the American Bar Association, used the occasion to indict President Kennedy's civil rights program.

It was the Satterfield speech that gave two men the idea to import Dr. Teller. Frank Norton, chairman of the Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, and Dr. J. R. Maxfield Jr., the medical member of the board, both Texans, proposed the idea.

The nuclear board is a creation of the Southern Governors Conference, dedicated to regional development of peaceful nuclear forces. As explained by Robert H. Solomons, executive director of the board, after the uproar had subsided, Mr. Norton's purpose was to have Dr. Teller explain the technical aspects of the treaty so that the Governors could understand its possible economic effect on the South. Some Governors, however, saw an attempt to embarrass President Kennedy.

Mr. Norton and Dr. Maxfield went to Gov. Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, the only Republican in the 17 states' conference, for approval to invite Dr. Teller. Mr. Bellmon carried the proposition to Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas, the conference chairman.

Mr. Faubus, who has taken a relaxed view of his chairmanship duties, thought it would be all right to have Dr. Teller, especially in view of the Satterfield precedent.

Mr. Norton then invited Dr. Teller. As the news was circulated among the Governors, who were still attending dinner, Gov. John B. Connally of Texas, Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina and others protested. Mr. Faubus quickly exercised a veto. Then came the efforts to head off Dr. Teller.

The conference closed today with a few parting shots at the Kennedy civil rights policies by Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Mr. Barnett. Mr. Wallace did not introduce his four resolutions on civil rights in view of the unanimous consent rule for adoption. Instead, he offered for the record a statement condensing the substance of them.

The conference chose Gov. Farris Bryant of Florida its new chairman, and Gov. Elbert N. Carvel of Delaware vice chairman.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 21 (UPI) — Dr. Edward Teller jousted with television crews at the National Press Club today.

Dr. Teller stepped to the club podium to make a speech and demanded that the glaring spotlights used by the television camera crews be "completely turned off."

The cameramen did, but a few moments later they turned the lights on again, aiming them at the ceiling in the hope of getting enough reflected illumination for their cameras.

No sooner were they turned on than Dr. Teller stopped speaking and said:

"Turn off all the lights or I will not speak another word."

The television crews again bowed to the physicist's demand.

Asked why he objected to the lights, Dr. Teller said:

"I would rather see than be seen, and also they give me a headache, especially after a sleepless night."

The loss of sleep resulted from an incompleted trip to address the Southern Governors Conference at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va. After the invitation was canceled, he left the train and returned here.

WP 8/21/63

Rule Change By Governors Averts Rift

Pol.-Southern

By Herb Little

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., Aug. 20 (AP) Southern Governors squelched the threat of a blowup over civil rights at their annual conference by deciding today to require unanimous votes to pass resolutions.

This erased any chance—and there was little to begin with—that the conference would adopt four resolutions proposed by Alabama's civil rights policies of the Kennedy administration.

The action didn't mean that all the Dixie governors who went along with the rule change lack sympathy, in varying degrees, with Wallace's views.

What the move did show was determination by the conference not to be ripped apart in a civil rights brawl to the detriment of the 17-state group's established pattern of devoting itself to noncontroversial subjects on which the states can work together.

Twelve governors were present when approval was given without discussion or dissent to a motion by Gov. Donald S. Russell of South Carolina to require unanimity for resolutions. Rules previously required a three-fourths majority.

Wallace pulled a surprise by joining the harmony move.

"I think the suggestion of the Governor of South Carolina is excellent," Wallace said. Then he seconded Russell's motion.

Wallace still planned to go through the motion of offering his resolutions to the conference Wednesday and making a speech about them. But he said he would not make a fight for their adoption.

He conceded slim chance for the resolutions even before the rule change because of the presence of governors from such border states as Kentucky, Oklahoma, West Virginia and Delaware plus several comparatively moderate governors from farther south.

Some of the other Governors had done missionary work for Wallace to avert the threatened fight.

But Wallace said later he favored the unanimity rule. He said it would give any conference state a veto over objectionable resolutions.

House Roll-Call on Aid Cut

Politics-Southern

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23 (AP)—Following is the roll-call vote by which the House cut about $585,000,000 today from the Administration's foreign aid bill:

FOR THE CUT—222

Democrats—66

Abbit (Va.)
Abernethy (Miss.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Ashmore (S. C.)
Baring (Nev.)
Burleson (Tex.)
Cannon (Mo.)
Casey (Tex.)
Chelf (Ky.)
Colmer (Miss.)
Davis (Ga.)
Dorn (S. C.)
Dowdy (Tex.)
Downing (Va.)
Fisher (Tex.)
Forrester (Ga.)
Flynt (Ga.)
Fountain (N. C.)
Gathings (Ark.)
Hagan (Ga.)
Haley (Fla.)
Harris (Ark.)
Henderson (N. C.)
Herlong (Fla.)
Huddleston (Ala.)
Hull (Mo.)
Ichord (Mo.)
Jarman (Okla.)
Jennings (Va.)
Jones (Mo.)
Kilgore (Tex.)
Kornegay (N. C.)
Landrum (Ga.)
Lennon (N. C.)
McMillan (S. C.)
Mahon (Tex.)
Marsh (Va.)
Mills (Ark.)
Murray (Tenn.)
Natcher (Ky.)
Passman (La.)
Perkins (Ky.)
Poage (Tex.)
Pool (Tex.)
Rivers (S. C.)
Roberts (Tex.)
Rogers (Tex.)
Roush (Ind.)
Scott (N. C.)
Selden (Ala.)
Senner (Ariz.)
sikes (Fla.)
Smith (Va.)
Stephens (Ga.)
Stubblefield (Ky.)
Taylor (N. C.)
Tuck (Va.)
Tuten (Ga.)
Waggonner (La.)
Watts (S. C.)
Watts (Ky.)
Weltner (Ga.)
Whitener (N. C.)
Whitten (Miss.)
Williams (Miss.)
Winstead (Miss.)

Republicans—156

Abele (Ohio)
Adair (Ind.)
Alger (Tex.)
Anderson (Ill.)
Arends (Ill.)
Ashbrook (Ohio)
Auchincloss (N. J.)
Avery (Kan.)
Ayres (Ohio)
Baker (Tenn.)
Bates (Mass.)
Battin (Mont.)
Becker (N. Y.)
Beermann (Neb.)
Belcher (Okla.)
Bell (Calif.)
Bennett (Mich.)
Berry (S. D.)
Betts (Ohio)
Oliver Bolton (Ohio)
Bow (Ohio)
Bray (Ind.)
Brock (Tenn.)
Bromwell (Iowa)
Brotzman (Colo.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N. C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Bruce (Ind)
Burton (Utah)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cederberg (Mich.)
Chamberlain (Mich.)
Chenoweth (Colo.)
Clancy (Ohio)
Clausen (Calif.)
Clawson (Calif.)
Cleveland (N. H.)
Collier (Ill.)
Corbett (Pa.)
Cramer (Fla.)
Cunningham (Neb.)
Curtin (Pa.)
Curtis (Mo.)
Dague (Pa.)
Derounian (N. Y.)
Derwinski (Ill.)
Devine (Ohio)
Dole (Kan.)
Dwyer (N. J.)
Ellsworth (Kan.)
Findley (Ill.)
Ford (Mich.)
Foreman (Tex.)
Gavin (Pa.)
Glenn (N. J.)
Goodell (N. Y.)
Goodling (Pa.)
Griffin (Mich.)
Gross (Iowa)
Grover (N. Y.)
Gubser (Calif.)
Gurney (Fla.)
Hall (Mo.)
Halleck (Ind)
Harrison (Wyo.)
Harsha (Ohio)
Harvey (Ind)
Hoeven (Iowa)
Hoffman (Ill.)
Horan (Wash.)
Horton (N. Y.)
Hosmer (Calif.)
Hutchinson (Mich.)
Jensen (Iowa)
Johansen (Mich.)
Jonas (N. C.)
Kilburn (N. Y.)
Rich (Ohio)
Riehlman (N. Y.)
Robison (N. Y.)
Roudebush (Ind.)
Rumsfield (Ill.)
St. George (N. Y.)
Saylor (Pa.)
Schadeberg (Wis.)
Schenck (Ohio)
Schneebeli (Pa.)
Schweiker (Pa.)
Short (N. D.)
Shriver (Kan.)
Sibal (Conn.)
Siler (Ky)
Skubitz (Kan.)
Smith (Calif.)
Snyder (Ky.)
Springer (Ill.)
Strafford (Vt.)
King (N. Y.)
Knox (Mich.)
Kunkel (Pa.)
Kyl (Iowa)
Laird (Wis.)
Langen (Minn.)
Latta (Ohio)
Lipscomb (Calif.)
Lloyd (Utah)
McClory (Ill.)
McCulloch (Ohio)
Mcintire (Maine)
McLoskey (Ill.)
MacGregor (Minn.)
Martin (Calif.)
Martin (Neb.)
May (Wash.)
Meader (Mich.)
Michel (Ill.)
Miller (N. Y.)
Milliken (Pa.)
Minshall (Ohio)
Moore (W. Va.)
Morton (Md.)
Mosher (Ohio)
Nelsen (Minn.)
Norblad (Ore.)
O'Konski (Wis.)
Osterlag (N. Y.)
Pelly (Wash.)
Pillion (N. Y.)
Pirnie (N. Y.)
Poff (Va.)
Quie (Minn.)
Quillen (Tenn.)
Reid (Ill.)
Reifel (S. D.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Stinson (Wash.)
Taft (Ohio)
Talcott (Calif.)
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Tollefson (Wash.)
Tupper (Maine)
Utt (Calif.)
Van Pelt (Wis.)
Wallhauser (N. J.)
Weaver (Pa.)
Westland (Wash.)
Whalley (Pa.)
Wharton (N. Y.)
Windall (N. J.)
Bob Wilson (Calif)
Wilson (Ind.)
Wydler (N. Y.)
Wyman (N. H.)
Younger (Calif.)

AGAINST THE CUT—188

Democrats—172

Addabo (N. Y.)
Albert (Okla.)
Ashley (Ohio)
Aspinall (Colo.)
Barrett (Pa.)
Beckworth (Tex.)
Bennett (Fla.)
Blatnik (Minn.)
Boggs (La.)
Boland (Mass.)
Bolling (Mo.)
Bonner (N. C.)
Brademas (Ind.)
Brooks (Tex.)
Brown (Calif.)
Buckley (N. Y.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burkhalter (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cameron (Calif.)
Carey (N. Y.)
Celler (N. Y.)
Clark (Pa.)
Cohelan (Calif.)
Cooley (N. C.)
Corman (Calif.)
Daddario (Conn.)
Daniels (N. J.)
Dawson (Ill.)
Delaney (N. Y.)
Dent (Pa.)
Denton (Ind.)
Diggs (Mich.)
Donohue (Mass.)
Dingell (Mich.)
Duncan (Ore.)
Edmondson (Okla.)
Everett (Tenn.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Fallon (Md.)
Farbstein (N. Y.)
Fascell (Fla.)
Feighan (Ohio)
Finnegan (Ill.)
Flood (Pa.)
Fogarty (R. I.)
Fraser (Minn.)
Friedel (Md.)
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua (Fla.)
Gallagher (N. J.)
Garmatz (Md.)
Gary (Va.)
Giaimo (Conn.)
Gibbons (Fla.)
Gilbert (N. Y.)
Gill (Hawaii)
Gonzalez (Tex.)
Grabowski (Conn.)
Gray (Ill.)
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths (Mich.)
Hagen (Calif.)
Hansen (Wash.)
Harding (Idaho)
Hardy (Va.)
Hawkins (Calif.)
Hays (Ohio)
Healey (N. Y.)
Hebert (La.)
Hechler (W. Va.)
Hemphill (S. C.)
Holifield (Calif.)
Holland (Pa.)
Joelson (N. J.)
Johnson (Calif.)
Johnson (Wis.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten (Mo.)
Karth (Minn.)
Kastenmeier (Wis.)
Kee (W. Va.)
Kelly (N. Y.)
King (Calif.)
Kirwan (Ohio)
Kluczynski (Ill.)
Lankford (Md.)
Leggett (Calif.)
Lesinski (Mich.)
Libonati (Ill.)
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
McDowell (Del.)
McFall (Calif.)
MacDonald (Mass.)
Madden (Ind.)
Matsunaga (Hawaii)
Miller (Calif.)
Minish (N. J.)
Monagan (Conn.)
Montoya (N. M.)
Moorhead (Pa.)
Morgan (Pa.)
Morris (N. M.)
Morrison (La.)
Moss (Calif.)
Multer (N. Y.)
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N. Y.)
Nedzi (Mich.)
O'Brien (N. Y.)
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
Patman (Tex.)
Patten (N. J.)
Pepper (Fla.)
Philbin (Mass.)
Pike (N. Y.)
Powell (N. Y.)
Price (Ill.)
Pucinski (Ill.)
Purcell (Tex.)
Rains (Ala.)
Randall (Mo.)
Reuss (Wis.)
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Rodino (N. J.)
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Fla.)
Rooney (N. Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Roosevelt (Calif.)
Rosenthal (N. Y.)
Rostenkowski (Ill.)
Roybal (Calif.)
Ryan (Mich.)
Ryan (N. Y.)
St. German (R. I.)
St. Onge (Conn.)
Secrest (Ohio)
Sheppard (Calif.)
Shipley (Ill.)
Sickles (Ind.)
Sisk (Calif.)
Slack (W. Va.)
Smith (Iowa)
Staebler (Mich.)
Staggers (W. Va.)
Steed (Okla.)
Stratton (N. Y.)
Sullivan (Mo.)
Teague (Tex.)
Thomas (Tex.)
Thompson (N. J.)
Thompson (Tex.)
Thornberry (Tex.)
Toll (Pa.)
Trimble (Ark.)
Udall (Ariz.)
Ullman (Ore.)
Van Deerlin (Calif.)
Vanik (Ohio)
Vinson (Ga.)
White (Idaho)
Wickersham (Okla.)
Charles H. Wilson (Calif.)
Young (Tex.)
Zablocki (Wis.)

Republicans—16

Baldwin (Calif.)
Barry (N. Y.)
Frances Bolton (Ohio)
Broomfield (Mich.)
Cahill (N. J.)
Conte (Mass.)
Fino (N. Y.)
Frelinghuysen (N. J.)
Fulton (Pa.)
Halpern (N. Y.)
Lindsay (N. Y.)
Mailliard (Calif.)
Martin (Mass.)
Mathias (Md.)
Morse (Mass.)
Reid (N. Y.)

Recorded for but not voting: Willis of Lousiana, Grant of Alabama, Thompson of Louisiana and Pilcher of Georgia, all Democrats; Harvey of Michigan and Keith of Massachusetts, Republicans.

Recorded against but not voting: Keogh of New York, Hanna of California, Wright of Texas and Edwards of California, all Democrats; Osmers of New Jersey and McDade of Pennsylvania, Republicans.

NYT 8/24/63

2 NT
11/14/63 Pol. South

Rockefeller Says G.O.P. Choice Can Win in the South Next Year

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

BAL HARBOUR, Fla., Nov. 13—Governor Rockefeller said today that he could carry some Southern states against President Kennedy next year.

The Governor said, "Whoever is nominated by the Republican party on a platform dedicated to the realities of present American life will get a strong vote in the South."

Mr. Rockefeller, who was making his first political excursion into the South as an active Presidential candidate, made this assessment in a question period following a luncheon speech to the annual convention of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association at the Americana Hotel here.

Observers at a Southern Republican Conference in Charleston, S. C., last week concluded that Mr. Rockefeller enjoyed very little party support in the South, most of which appeared strong for Senator Barry Goldwater.

Mr. Rockefeller made no attempt today to moderate his civil rights position in recognition of his political visit to the South.

Asked About Rights

Asked if he believed that his advocacy of equal opportunity for all would alienate Southern voters, the Governor replied:

"No, I honestly don't. My position on civil rights is based on our traditional Judeo-Christian concepts, part of our American heritage, that everyone should have equal rights and equal opportunities for a share in the American dream.

"I think all of us know this is right in our hearts, although it may be difficult to achieve. I don't think that any citizen in the country disagrees in his heart that we as a nation have to achieve this goal of equality of opportunity ultimately.

"I stand for equal opportunity, as my family always has, and for taking the steps necessary to achieve it."

The luncheon audience of 500 editors and their wives applauded.

Greeted at Airport

Mr. Rockefeller was greeted at Miami International Airport by about 300 people, including a number of Florida Republican leaders and some college-age Goldwater supporters.

The Goldwater adherents had placards reading "Liberate New York and Cuba," "Majority Rights Before Civil Rights" and "More Brothers? John, Laurance, Winthrop, David?"

The protests outnumbered the pro-Rockefeller signs by about 2 to 1, and the Dade County deputy sheriff ruled no signs were allowed in the airport without a permit.

Among those greeting Mr. Rockefeller at the airport were Florida's Republican National Committeeman, Anthony Battaglia, and National Committeewoman, Mrs. Clair Williams, who is also assistant to the Republican national chairman, Representative William E. Miller of upstate New York.

Wife Not With Him

Mrs. Rockefeller did not accompany the Governor, an aide explained that she had not wanted to make the strenous trip. The Governor left New York City about 8:45 A.M. and returned in the evening.

In his speech to the editors, the Governor made a strong attack on the views of Senator Goldwater, his undeclared opponent for the nomination, without naming him.

"Can you imagine," Mr. Rockefeller asked, "the Republican party, with all its traditions presenting to the American people a candidate and a platform calling for United States withdrawal from the United Nations, granting military field commanders discretion to use nuclear weapons, cutting off all foreign aid, selling T.V.A., ending all farm price supports, leaving the protection of human rights to the states—including Alabama and Mississippi—and favoring enactment of a Federal "right to work" law and abolition of the personal income tax?

"Such a program is not either realistic in terms of our 20th-century problems, nor does it offer constructive alternatives to the failure of the Kennedy Administration at home and abroad."

Politics and People

A Mess? Virginia, Kentucky Suffice

Atl. Con. 11/22/63

Pol. South

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor

If you think the Georgia Legislature is a mess, look at Virginia and Kentucky for a minute.

Gov. Albertis S. Harrison is trying to save poll taxes for state and local elections in Virginia, even though they will be outlawed shortly for federal voting.

Reg Murphy

And Gov. Bert Combs in Kentucky is making his swan song in a special legislative session to raise the salaries of judges.

Even the Georgia Legislature has the good sense to raise pay in regular sessions, instead of putting the state to the extra expense of paying legislators, too.

Both the Virginia and Kentucky activities are instructive, however, on how it was in the Old South and how it can't be today.

Harrison is fighting the old fight to limit voter registration

Analysis and comment.

and thereby save the Byrd machine, the most dominant in the South.

State policy has been to keep registration low. That gives the machine fewer people to control. The outcome of elections is less uncertain.

But soon the 36th state will ratify the 24th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and make poll taxes illegal in federal elections. (Georgia outlawed poll taxes in 1946.)

So Harrison has asked the Virginia gentlemen in the House and Senate to pass a new law to require a $1.50 yearly fee to vote in state and local elections.

PAY RAISES

The legislators are expected to follow his wishes promptly. After all, they want to limit their own constituencies, too.

And the Kentucky colonels are being asked to raise the pay of high court justices from $12,000 to $22,000. Titles are grand in Blue Grass country, but green money is better.

Curiously, the Kentucky judges already have commissioners who write opinions but have no voice in deciding the cases. Combs wants to raise their pay from $11,500 to $20,000.

TARNISHED IMAGE?

The Georgia Legislature already has raised high court justices to $22,500—and in regular session.

Some moneyed Republicans suggested to Combs the pay matter was not urgent enough for a special session. But he shrugged them off as being too wealthy to know.

This, then, is what the Old Confederacy has come to—poll taxes for the voters and extra sessions to pay the judges. It almost tarnishes the image, doesn't it?

Atl. Con. 11/29/63

South Will Support Johnson In 1964, Sanders Forecasts

Pol. South

AUGUSTA (AP)—Gov. Carl E. Sanders said Thursday he believes the South will support President Lyndon B. Johnson if the Texan becomes the Democratic nominee next year.

"Since he is a Southerner, I feel his appeal would be strong in the South," said Sanders after returning from Washington, where he sat in the executive gallery of the House during Johnson's speech to Congress.

Sanders talked about his trip to Washington as he spent a quiet Thanksgiving at home with his family. He flew to Augusta Wednesday night. He will return to Atlanta Friday.

The governor reiterated that he accepted Johnson's invitation to the congressional speech as a gesture of friendship and moral support for the new President, who took over after the tragic death of John F. Kennedy.

"I thought it was an honor and that I did the right thing in accepting," Sanders said. "It was a very fine gesture on the part of the President."

Sanders was reluctant to talk politics and repeated that his Washington trip sprang from a personal relationship with Johnson.

"I've known Lyndon Johnson a long time," he said. "He apparently thinks highly of me and the feeling is mutual."

"I've maintained a consistent position in the Democratic Party and it is reasonable and logical that the President would ask me, as a Southerner, to come up to Washington."

Sanders said he wasn't fishing for a presidential appointment, that he is interested in being governor of Georgia. However, he left no doubt he would be working in Johnson's behalf if Johnson is the nominee.

At the 1960 Democratic convention, Georgia's delegation stayed with Johnson in his fight to win the presidential nomination.

Atl. Con. 12/16/63

South Would Go to Johnson In Vote Now, Talmadge Says

Pol. South

By TED LIPPMAN
Constitution Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON — President Lyndon B. Johnson would carry Georgia "by a very substantial majority" and would carry "the overwhelming majority of the Southern states" if the presidential election were held now, Sen. Herman Talmadge said Sunday.

He said Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., is not as strong in the South now as he was prior to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

The Georgia senator made those statements during an interview on a local television program.

On another matter, Sen. Talmadge said he thought race relations in the South are improving. He had been asked about the civil rights bill before Congress. He outlined his opposition to several features of the proposed bill. Then, in answer to a question about "what we can do to improve good will among men," he said:

Georgia Republicans see Goldwater slipping. Story on Page 6. Labor leaders say Johnson running. Story on Page 16.

"I think we're making tremendous strides in that field. The attitudes and mores of people are changing to a great degree throughout the country. They're beginning to recognize individuals now with reference to individual worth and not considering them as groups or classes and I think that is as it should be.

"If we'd leave the situation alone and promote more human relations on the local level, I think it would solve itself much sooner than many people think. But if we have conflicts and continued police-state laws, I think

Continued on Page 8, Column 1

Talmadge: Johnson Could Win

Continued From Page 1

it'll merely aggravate the situation rather than solve it."

A few seconds later, Sen. Talmadge seemed to be urging localities to settle their racial differences. In response to a question about the future of segregation in the South, he said:

". . . We know that regardless of what the attitude of the people may be in any area of our country, when the full power of and might of the federal government is brought to bear, the local people cannot withstand it.

"And that is the reason I think local people should get together and consider their relations with their fellowman and solve it on the local level, rather than have oppressive, coercive legislation that would destroy really the freedom of all of our people in the process."

Public Law 87-27
87th Congress, S. 1
May 1, 1961

AN ACT

To establish an effective program to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in certain economically distressed areas.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Area Redevelopment Act". Area Redevelopment Act.

DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. The Congress declares that the maintenance of the national economy at a high level is vital to the best interests of the United States, but that some of our communities are suffering substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment; that such unemployment and underemployment cause hardship to many individuals and their families and detract from the national welfare by wasting vital human resources; that to overcome this problem the Federal Government, in cooperation with the States, should help areas of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment to take effective steps in planning and financing their economic redevelopment; that Federal assistance to communities, industries, enterprises, and individuals in areas needing redevelopment should enable such areas to achieve lasting improvement and enhance the domestic prosperity by the establishment of stable and diversified local economies and improved local living conditions; and that under the provisions of this Act new employment opportunities should be created by developing and expanding new and existing facilities and resources rather than by merely transferring jobs from one area of the United States to another. 75 STAT. 47. / 75 STAT. 48.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATOR

SEC. 3. There shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an Area Redevelopment Administrator in the Department of Commerce who shall receive compensation at a rate equal to that received by Assistant Secretaries of Commerce. The Administrator shall perform such duties in the execution of this Act as the Secretary of Commerce (hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary") may assign.

ADVISORY POLICY BOARD

SEC. 4. (a) To advise the Secretary in the performance of functions authorized by this Act, there is created an Area Redevelopment Advisory Policy Board (hereinafter referred to as the "Board"), which shall consist of the following members, all ex officio: the Secretary as Chairman; the Secretaries of Agriculture; Health, Education, and Welfare; Interior; Labor; and Treasury; and the Administrators of the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Small Business Administration. The Chairman may from time to time invite the participation of officials of other agencies of the executive branch interested in the functions herein authorized. Each member of the Board may designate an officer of his agency to act for him as a member of the Board with respect to any matter there considered.

(b) The Secretary shall appoint a National Public Advisory Committee on Area Redevelopment which shall consist of twenty-five members and shall be composed of representatives of labor, management, agriculture, State and local governments, and the public in general. National Public Advisory Committee on Area Redevelopment.

From the members appointed to such Committee the Secretary shall designate a Chairman. Such Committee, or any duly established subcommittee thereof, shall from time to time make recommendations to the Secretary relative to the carrying out of his duties under this Act. Such Committee shall hold not less than two meetings during each calendar year.

(c) The Secretary is authorized from time to time to call together and confer with any persons, including representatives of labor, management, agriculture, and government, who can assist in meeting the problems of unemployment or underemployment in the several areas designated by the Secretary as redevelopment areas.

REDEVELOPMENT AREAS

Standards.

SEC. 5. (a) The Secretary shall designate as "redevelopment areas" those areas within the United States in which he determines, upon the basis of standards generally comparable with those set forth in paragraphs (1) and (2), that there has existed substantial and persistent unemployment for an extended period of time. There shall be included among the areas so designated any area—

75 STAT. 48.
75 STAT. 49.

(1) where the Secretary of Labor finds that the rate of unemployment, excluding unemployment due primarily to temporary or seasonal factors, is currently 6 per centum or more and has averaged at least 6 per centum for the qualifying time periods specified in paragraph (2); and

(2) where the Secretary of Labor finds that the annual average rate of unemployment has been at least—

(A) 50 per centum above the national average for three of the preceding four calendar years, or

(B) 75 per centum above the national average for two of the preceding three calendar years, or

(C) 100 per centum above the national average for one of the preceding two calendar years.

The Secretary of Labor shall find the facts and provide the data to be used by the Secretary in making the determinations required by this subsection.

(b) The Secretary shall also designate as "redevelopment areas" those areas (including Indian reservations) within the United States which do not meet the requirements set forth in subsection (a) but which he determines are among the highest in numbers and percentages of low-income families, and in which there exists a condition of substantial and persistent unemployment or underemployment. In making the designations under this subsection and before extending any financial assistance as the result of designations under this subsection, the Secretary shall, by regulation, prescribe detailed standards upon which the designations under this subsection shall be based. In the formulation of such standards the Secretary shall consider, among other relevant factors, the number of low-income farm families in the various rural areas of the United States, the proportion that such low-income families are of the total farm families of each of such areas, the relationship of the income levels of the families in each such area to the general levels of income in the United States, the extent to which "rural development" projects have previously been located in any such area under programs administered by the Department of Agriculture, the current and prospective employment opportunities in each such area, the availability of manpower in each such area for supplemental employment, the extent of migration out of the area, and the proportion of the population of each such area which has been receiving public assistance from the Federal Government or from the State or States in which such area is located or from any municipality

therein. In making the designations under this subsection, the Secretary shall endeavor to distribute the projects widely among the several States, so far as is feasible and proper, in order that actual experience with this program may be had in as many States and in as many areas and under as many different circumstances as possible. In making these determinations the Secretary shall be guided, but not conclusively governed, by pertinent studies made, and information and data collected or compiled, by (1) departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Federal Government, (2) State and local governments, (3) universities and land-grant colleges, and (4) private organizations. Studies.

(c) Upon the request of the Secretary, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, and such other heads of agencies as may be appropriate are authorized to conduct 75 STAT. 49. such special studies, obtain such information, and compile and furnish 75 STAT. 50. to the Secretary such data as the Secretary may deem necessary or proper to enable him to make the determinations provided for in subsection (b) of this section. The Secretary shall reimburse when appropriate, out of any funds appropriated to carry out the purposes of this Act, the foregoing officers for any expenditures incurred by them under this section.

(d) As used in this Act, the term "redevelopment area" refers to any area within the United States which has been designated by the Secretary as a redevelopment area. Definition.

LOANS AND PARTICIPATIONS

SEC. 6. (a) The Secretary is authorized to purchase evidences of indebtedness and to make loans (which for purposes of this section shall include participations in loans) to aid in financing any project within a redevelopment area for the purchase or development of land and facilities (including, in cases of demonstrated need, machinery and equipment) for industrial or commercial usage, including the construction of new buildings, the rehabilitation of abandoned or unoccupied buildings, and the alteration, conversion, or enlargement of existing buildings. Such financial assistance shall not be extended (1) for working capital, or (2) to assist establishments relocating from one area to another. The limitation set forth in clause (2) shall not be construed to prohibit assistance for the expansion of an existing business entity through the establishment of a new branch, affiliate, or subsidiary of such entity if the Secretary finds that the establishment of such branch, affiliate, or subsidiary will not result in an increase in unemployment in the area of original location or in any other area where such entity conducts business operations, unless the Secretary has reason to believe that such branch, affiliate, or subsidiary is being established with the intention of closing down the operations of the existing business entity in the area of its original location or in any other area where it conducts such operations. Limitations.

(b) Financial assistance under this section shall be on such terms and conditions as the Secretary determines, subject, however, to the following restrictions and limitations:

(1) The total amount of loans (including purchased evidences of indebtedness) outstanding at any one time under this section (A) with respect to projects in redevelopment areas designated under section 5(a) shall not exceed $100,000,000 and (B) with respect to projects in redevelopment areas designated under section 5(b) shall not exceed $100,000,000.

(2) Such assistance shall be extended only to applicants, both private and public (including Indian tribes), which have been

approved for such assistance by an agency or instrumentality of the State or political subdivision thereof in which the project to be financed is located, and which agency or instrumentality is directly concerned with problems of economic development in such State or subdivision.

(3) The project for which financial assistance is sought must be reasonably calculated to provide more than a temporary alleviation of unemployment or underemployment within the redevelopment area wherein it is, or will be, located.

75 STAT. 50.
75 STAT. 51.

(4) No such assistance shall be extended hereunder unless the financial assistance applied for is not otherwise available from private lenders or other Federal agencies on reasonable terms.

(5) The Secretary shall not make any loan without a participation unless he determines that the loan cannot be made on a participation basis.

(6) No evidences of indebtedness shall be purchased and no loans shall be made unless it is determined that there is a reasonable assurance of repayment.

Maximum loan period.

(7) Subject to section 12(5) of this Act, no loan, including renewals or extension thereof, may be made hereunder for a period exceeding twenty-five years and no evidences of indebtedness maturing more than twenty-five years from date of purchase may be purchased hereunder: *Provided*, That the foregoing restrictions on maturities shall not apply to securities or obligations received by the Secretary as a claimant in bankruptcy or equitable reorganization or as a creditor in other proceedings attendant upon insolvency of the obligor.

(8) Loans made and evidences of indebtedness purchased under this section shall bear interest at a rate equal to the rate of interest paid by the Secretary on funds obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury as provided in section 9(a) of this Act, plus one-half of 1 per centum per annum to cover administrative expenses and to provide for losses on loans made and evidences of indebtedness purchased under this section.

(9) Such assistance shall not exceed 65 per centum of the aggregate cost to the applicant (excluding all other Federal aid in connection with the undertaking) of acquiring or developing land and facilities (including, in cases of demonstrated need, machinery and equipment), and of constructing, altering, converting, rehabilitating, or enlarging the building or buildings of the particular project, and shall, among others, be on the condition that—

(A) other funds are available in an amount which, together with the assistance provided hereunder, shall be sufficient to pay such aggregate cost;

(B) not less than 10 per centum of such aggregate cost be supplied by the State or any agency, instrumentality, or political subdivision thereof, or by an Indian tribe or a community or area organization which is nongovernmental in character, as equity capital or as a loan repayable only after the Federal financial assistance extended under this section has been repaid in full according to the terms thereof and, if such a loan is secured, its security shall be subordinate and inferior to the lien or liens securing such Federal financial assistance;

(C) in extending financial assistance under this section with respect to a redevelopment area, the Secretary shall require that not less than 5 per centum of the aggregate cost

of the project for which such assistance is extended shall be supplied by nongovernmental sources as equity capital or as a loan repayable only after the Federal financial assistance extended under this section has been repaid in full according to the terms thereof and, if such a loan is secured, its security shall be subordinate and inferior to the lien or liens securing such Federal financial assistance; and

(D) to the extent the Secretary finds such action necessary to encourage financial participation in a particular project by other lenders and investors, and except as otherwise provided in subparagraphs (B) and (C), any Federal financial assistance extended under this section may be repayable only after other loans made in connection with such project have been repaid in full, and the security, if any, for such Federal financial assistance may be subordinate and inferior to the lien or liens securing other loans made in connection with the same project.

(10) No such assistance shall be extended unless there shall be submitted to and approved by the Secretary an overall program for the economic development of the area and a finding by the State, or any agency, instrumentality, or local political subdivision thereof, that the project for which financial assistance is sought is consistent with such program: *Provided*, That nothing in this Act shall authorize financial assistance for any project prohibited by laws of the State or local political subdivision in which the project would be located.

LOANS FOR PUBLIC FACILITIES

Conditions for loans.

SEC. 7. (a) Upon the application of any State, or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, or private or public nonprofit organization or association representing any redevelopment area or part thereof, the Secretary is authorized to make loans to assist in financing the purchase or development of land for public facility usage, and the construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of public facilities, within a redevelopment area, if he finds that—

(1) the project for which financial assistance is sought will tend to improve the opportunities, in the redevelopment area where such project is or will be located, for the successful establishment or expansion of industrial or commercial plants or facilities which will provide more than a temporary alleviation of unemployment or underemployment in such area;

(2) the funds requested for such project are not otherwise available on reasonable terms;

(3) the amount of the loan plus the amount of other available funds for such project are adequate to insure the completion thereof;

(4) there is a reasonable expectation of repayment; and

(5) such area has an approved economic development program as provided in section 6(b)(10) and the project for which financial assistance is sought is consistent with such program.

(b) Subject to section 12(5), the maturity date of any such loan shall be not later than forty years after the date such loan is made. Any such loan shall bear interest at a rate equal to the rate of interest paid by the Secretary on funds obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury as provided in section 9(a) of this Act, plus one-quarter of 1 per centum per annum.

Limitation.

(c) The total amount of loans outstanding at any one time under this section shall not exceed $100,000,000.

(d) No financial assistance shall be extended under this section with respect to any public facility which would compete with an existing privately owned public utility rendering a service to the public at rates or charges subject to regulation by a State regulatory body, unless the State regulatory body determines that in the area to be served by the public facility for which the financial assistance is to be extended there is a need for an increase in such service (taking into consideration reasonably foreseeable future needs) which the existing public utility is not able to meet through its existing facilities or through an expansion which it agrees to undertake.

GRANTS FOR PUBLIC FACILITIES

Conditions for grants.

SEC. 8. (a) Upon the application of any State, or political subdivision thereof, Indian tribe, or private or public nonprofit organization or association representing any redevelopment area or part thereof, the Secretary is authorized to make grants for land acquisition or development for public facility usage, and the construction, rehabilitation, alteration, expansion, or improvement of public facilities, within a redevelopment area, if he finds that—

(1) the project for which financial assistance is sought will tend to improve the opportunities, in the redevelopment area where such project is or will be located, for the successful establishment or expansion of industrial or commercial plants or facilities which will provide more than a temporary alleviation of unemployment or underemployment in such area;

(2) the entity requesting the grant proposes to contribute to the cost of the project for which such grant is requested in proportion to its ability so to contribute;

(3) the project for which a grant is requested will fulfill a pressing need of the area, or part thereof, in which it is, or will be, located, and there is little probability that such project can be undertaken without the assistance of a grant under this section; and

(4) the area for which a project is to be undertaken has an approved economic development program as provided in section 6(b)(10) and such project is consistent with such program.

The amount of any grant under this section for any such project shall not exceed the difference between the funds which can be practicably obtained from other sources (including a loan under section 7 of this Act) for such project, and the amount which is necessary to insure the completion thereof.

Supervision.

(b) The Secretary shall by regulation provide for the supervision of projects with respect to which grants are made under this section so as to insure that Federal funds are not wasted or dissipated.

(c) No financial assistance shall be extended under this section with respect to any public facility which would compete with an existing privately owned public utility rendering a service to the public at rates or charges subject to regulation by a State regulatory body, unless the State regulatory body determines that in the area to be served by the public facility for which the financial assistance is to be extended there is a need for an increase in such service (taking into consideration reasonably foreseeable future needs) which the existing public utility is not able to meet through its existing facilities or through an expansion which it agrees to undertake.

Appropriation.

(d) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated not to exceed $75,000,000 for the purpose of making grants under this section.

AREA REDEVELOPMENT FUND

SEC. 9. (a) To obtain funds for the purpose of extending financial assistance under sections 6 and 7, the Secretary may, with the approval of the President, issue and have outstanding at any one time notes and obligations for purchase by the Secretary of the Treasury in an amount not to exceed $300,000,000. Such notes or other obligations shall be in such forms and denominations, have such maturities, and be subject to such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury. Any such notes or other obligations which are issued by the Secretary to raise funds for financial assistance under section 6 shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, but such rate shall not be greater than the current average yields on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States of comparable maturities as of the last day of the month preceding the issuance of such notes or other obligations. Any such notes or other obligations which are issued by the Secretary to raise funds for financial assistance under section 7 shall bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury which shall be not more than the higher of (1) 2½ per centum per annum, or (2) the average annual interest rate on all interest-bearing obligations of the United States then forming a part of the public debt as computed at the end of the fiscal year next preceding the issuance by the Secretary and adjusted to the nearest one-eighth of 1 per centum. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized and directed to purchase any notes and other obligations issued under this section and for such purpose is authorized to use as a public debt transaction the proceeds from the sale of any securities issued under the Second Liberty Bond Act, as amended, and the purposes for which securities may be issued under such Act are extended to include any purchase of such notes and other obligations. The Secretary of the Treasury may at any time sell any of the notes or other obligations acquired by him under this section. All redemptions, purchases, and sales by the Secretary of the Treasury of such notes or other obligations shall be treated in every respect as public debt transactions of the United States.

Interest rates.

40 Stat. 288.
31 USC 774.

(b) Funds obtained by the Secretary under subsection (a) shall be deposited in an area redevelopment fund (hereinafter referred to as the "fund"), which is hereby established in the Treasury of the United States, and which shall be available to the Secretary for the purpose of extending financial assistance under sections 6 and 7 and for the payment of all obligations and expenditures arising therefrom. Receipts arising from the programs of assistance under sections 6 and 7 shall be credited to the fund. Any moneys in the fund determined by the Secretary to be in excess of current needs shall be paid into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

(c) The fund shall contribute to the civil service retirement and disability fund a sum as provided by section 4(a) of the Civil Service Retirement Act (5 U.S.C. 2254(a)), except that such sum shall be determined by applying to the total basic salaries (as defined in that Act) paid to employees performing activities authorized under sections 6 and 7 of this Act and covered by that Act the per centum rate determined annually by the Civil Service Commission to be the excess of the total normal cost per centum rate of the civil service retirement system over the employee deduction rate specified in such section 4(a). The fund shall also pay into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts that portion of the cost of administration of the civil service retirement and disability fund attributable to employees performing activi-

Civil Service retirement and disability fund.
70 Stat. 747.

ties authorized under sections 6 and 7 of this Act, as determined by the Civil Service Commission.

(d) In the performance of and with respect to the functions, powers, and duties vested in him by sections 6 and 7 of this Act, the Secretary shall—

(1) prepare annually and submit a budget program in accordance with the provisions of sections 102, 103, and 104 of the Government Corporation Control Act, as amended; and

59 Stat. 598.
31 USC 847-849.

(2) determine the character of and the necessity for obligations and expenditures and the manner in which they shall be incurred, allowed, and paid, subject to provisions of law specifically applicable to Government corporations.

INFORMATION

SEC. 10. The Secretary shall aid redevelopment areas and other areas by furnishing to interested individuals, communities, industries, and enterprises within such areas any assistance, technical information, market research, or other forms of assistance, information, or advice which are obtainable from the various departments, agencies, and instrumentalities of the Federal Government and which would be useful in alleviating or preventing conditions of excessive unemployment or underemployment within such areas. The Secretary shall furnish the procurement divisions of the various departments, agencies, and other instrumentalities of the Federal Government with a list containing the names and addresses of business firms which are located in redevelopment areas and which are desirous of obtaining Government contracts for the furnishing of supplies or services, and designating the supplies and services such firms are engaged in providing.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 11. In carrying out his duties under this Act the Secretary is authorized to provide technical assistance which would be useful in alleviating or preventing conditions of excessive unemployment or underemployment (1) to areas which he has designated as redevelopment areas under this Act, and (2) to other areas which he finds have substantial need for such assistance. Such assistance shall include studies evaluating the needs of, and developing potentialities for, economic growth of such areas. Such assistance may be provided by the Secretary through members of his staff or through the employment of private individuals, partnerships, firms, corporations, or suitable institutions, under contracts entered into for such purposes. Appropriations are hereby authorized for the purposes of this section in an amount not to exceed $4,500,000 annually.

Appropriations.

POWERS OF SECRETARY

SEC. 12. In performing his duties under this Act, the Secretary is authorized to—

(1) adopt, alter, and use a seal, which shall be judicially noticed;

(2) hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, and take such testimony, as he may deem advisable;

(3) request directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics needed to carry out the purposes of this Act; and each department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, establishment, or

instrumentality is authorized to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Secretary;

(4) under regulations prescribed by him, assign or sell at public or private sale, or otherwise dispose of for cash or credit, in his discretion and upon such terms and conditions and for such consideration as he shall determine to be reasonable, any evidence of debt, contract, claim, personal property, or security assigned to or held by him in connection with loans made or evidences of indebtedness purchased under this Act, and collect or compromise all obligations assigned to or held by him in connection with such loans or evidences of indebtedness until such time as such obligations may be referred to the Attorney General for suit or collection;

(5) further extend the maturity of or renew any loan made or evidence of indebtedness purchased under this Act, beyond the periods stated in such loan or evidence of indebtedness or in this Act, for additional periods not to exceed ten years, if such extension or renewal will aid in the orderly liquidation of such loan or evidence of indebtedness;

(6) deal with, complete, renovate, improve, modernize, insure, rent, or sell for cash or credit, upon such terms and conditions and for such consideration as he shall determine to be reasonable, any real or personal property conveyed to, or otherwise acquired by, him in connection with loans made or evidences of indebtedness purchased under this Act;

(7) pursue to final collection, by way of compromise or other administrative action, prior to reference to the Attorney General, all claims against third parties assigned to him in connection with loans made or evidences of indebtedness purchased under this Act. This shall include authority to obtain deficiency judgments or otherwise in the case of mortgages assigned to the Secretary. Section 3709 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (41 U.S.C. 5), shall not apply to any contract of hazard insurance or to any purchase or contract for services or supplies on account of property obtained by the Secretary as a result of loans made or evidences of indebtedness purchased under this Act if the premium therefor or the amount thereof does not exceed $1,000. The power to convey and to execute, in the name of the Secretary, deeds of conveyance, deeds of release, assignments and satisfactions of mortgages, and any other written instrument relating to real or personal property or any interest therein acquired by the Secretary pursuant to the provisions of this Act may be exercised by the Secretary or by any officer or agent appointed by him for that purpose without the execution of any express delegation of power or power of attorney;

(8) acquire, in any lawful manner, any property (real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible), whenever deemed necessary or appropriate to the conduct of the activities authorized in sections 6 and 7 of this Act;

(9) in addition to any powers, functions, privileges, and immunities otherwise vested in him, take any and all actions, including the procurement of the services of attorneys by contract, determined by him to be necessary or desirable in making, purchasing, servicing, compromising, modifying, liquidating, or otherwise administratively dealing with or realizing on loans made or evidences of indebtedness purchased under this Act.

(10) to such an extent as he finds necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, procure the temporary (not in excess of six months) service of experts or consultants or organizations

thereof, including stenographic reporting services, by contract or appointment, and in such cases such service shall be without regard to the civil service and classification laws, and, except in the case of stenographic reporting services by organizations, without regard to section 3709 of the Revised Statutes (41 U.S.C. 5); any individual so employed may be compensated at a rate not in excess of $75 per diem, and, while such individual is away from his home or regular place of business, he may be allowed transportation and not to exceed $15 per diem in lieu of subsistence and other expenses;

(11) sue and be sued in any court of record of a State having general jurisdiction or in any United States district court, and jurisdiction is conferred upon such district court to determine such controversies without regard to the amount in controversy; but no attachment, injunction, garnishment, or other similar process, mesne or final, shall be issued against the Secretary or his property. Nothing herein shall be construed to except the activities under this Act from the application of sections 507(b) and 2679 of title 28, United States Code, and of section 367 of the Revised Statutes (5 U.S.C. 316); and

62 Stat. 910, 984.

Rules, regulations, and procedures.

(12) establish such rules, regulations, and procedures as he may deem appropriate in carrying out the provisions of this Act.

TERMINATION OF ELIGIBILITY FOR FURTHER ASSISTANCE

SEC. 13. Whenever the Secretary shall determine that employment conditions within any area previously designated by him as a redevelopment area have changed to such an extent that such area is no longer eligible for such designation under section 5 of this Act, no further assistance shall be granted under this Act with respect to such area and, for the purposes of this Act, such area shall not be considered a redevelopment area: *Provided*, That nothing contained herein shall (1) prevent any such area from again being designated a redevelopment area under section 5 of this Act if the Secretary determines it to be eligible under such section, or (2) affect the validity of any contracts or undertakings with respect to such area which were entered into pursuant to this Act prior to a determination by the Secretary that such area no longer qualifies as a redevelopment area. The Secretary shall keep the departments and agencies of the Federal Government, and interested State or local agencies, advised at all times of any changes made hereunder with respect to the designation of any area.

URBAN RENEWAL

63 Stat. 413. 42 USC 1450-1463.

SEC. 14. Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"REDEVELOPMENT AREAS UNDER THE AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

"SEC. 113. (a) Whenever the Secretary of Commerce certifies to the Administrator (1) that any county, city, or other municipality (in this section referred to as a 'municipality') is situated in an area designated under section 5 of the Area Redevelopment Act as a redevelopment area, and (2) that there is a reasonable probability that with assistance provided under such Act and other undertakings the area will be able to achieve more than temporary improvement in its economy, the Administrator is authorized to provide financial assistance to a local public agency in any such municipality under this title and the provisions of this section.

"(b) Subject to the provisions of subsection (e) of this section, the Administrator may provide such financial assistance under this section without regard to the requirement or limitations of section 110(c) that the project area be predominantly residential in character or be redeveloped for predominantly residential uses under the urban renewal plan, and without regard to any of the limitations of that section on the undertaking of projects for predominantly nonresidential uses. 70 Stat. 1097. 42 USC 1460.

"(c) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, a contract for financial assistance under this section may include provisions permitting the disposition of any land in the project area designated under the urban renewal plan for industrial or commercial uses to any public agency or nonprofit corporation for subsequent disposition as promptly as practicable by such public agency or corporation for the redevelopment of the land in accordance with the urban renewal plan: *Provided*, That any disposition of such land to such public agency or corporation under this section shall be made at its fair value for uses in accordance with the urban renewal plan: *And provided further*, That only the purchaser from or lessees of such public agency or corporation, and their assignees, shall be required to assume the obligations relating to the commencement of improvements imposed under section 105(b) hereof. 63 Stat. 416.

"(d) Following the execution of any contract for financial assistance under this section with respect to any project, the Administrator may exercise the authority vested in him under this section as well as other provisions of this title for the completion of such projects, notwithstanding any determination made after the execution of such contract that the area in which the project is located is no longer a redevelopment area under the Area Redevelopment Act. 42 USC 1455.

"(e) Not more than 10 per centum of the funds authorized for capital grants under section 103 after the date of the enactment of the Area Redevelopment Act shall be used for the purpose of providing financial assistance under this section. Amounts used for such purpose shall not be taken into account for the purpose of the limitation contained in the second proviso of the fifth sentence of section 110(c)." 42 USC 1453.

URBAN PLANNING GRANTS

SEC. 15. (a) Paragraph (3) of section 701(a) of the Housing Act of 1954 is amended by inserting after "counties which" the following: "(A) are situated in areas designated by the Secretary of Commerce under section 5(a) of the Area Redevelopment Act as redevelopment areas or (B)". 73 Stat. 678. 40 USC 461.

(b) Section 701(b) of such Act is amended by adding before the period at the end of the first sentence a colon and the following: "*Provided*, That a grant may be made under this section to a city, municipality, or county described in clause (A) of subsection (a)(3), or to a State planning agency (as provided in clause (C) of subsection (a)(1)) for the provision of planning assistance to such a city, municipality, or county, for not more than 75 per centum of such estimated cost".

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING

SEC. 16. (a) The Secretary of Labor is authorized, upon request and whenever he determines such studies are needed, to undertake, or to provide assistance to others for, studies of the size, characteristics, skills, adaptability, occupational potentialities, and related aspects of the labor force of any redevelopment area.

(b) When a redevelopment area has an approved economic development program as provided in section 6(b)(10), the Secretary of Labor, in consultation with the Secretary and the Secretary of Agriculture, shall determine the occupational training or retraining needs of unemployed and underemployed individuals residing in the redevelopment area. The Secretary of Labor shall notify the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare of the occupational training or retraining requirements of the area, and shall provide for the orderly selection and referral of those unemployed or underemployed individuals residing in the area who can reasonably be expected to obtain employment as a result of the skill they will acquire in the training which is to be made available. The Secretary of Labor shall cooperate with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and with existing State and local agencies and officials in charge of existing programs relating to vocational training and retraining for the purpose of assuring that the facilities and services of such agencies are made fully available to such individuals.

(c) Whenever the Secretary of Labor finds that additional facilities or services are needed in the area to meet the occupational training or retraining needs of such individuals, he shall so advise the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall provide assistance, including financial assistance when necessary, to the appropriate State vocational educational agency in the provision of such additional facilities or services. If the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare finds that the State vocational educational agency is unable to provide the facilities and services needed, he may, after consultation with such agency, provide for the same by agreement or contract with public or private educational institutions.

(d) The Secretary of Labor shall arrange to provide any necessary assistance for setting up apprenticeships, and to promote journeyman and other on-the-job training.

Appropriation.

(e) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not in excess of $4,500,000 annually, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

(f) In providing assistance under this section with respect to unemployed and underemployed individuals residing in redevelopment areas, the Secretary of Labor and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall give consideration to the special needs of individuals who are agricultural workers or are engaged in other seasonal occupations and who require occupational training in order to qualify them to engage in supplementary employment during the off season and during other periods of reduced activity in the field of their regular or primary occupations.

RETRAINING SUBSISTENCE PAYMENTS

SEC. 17. (a) The Secretary of Labor in consultation with the Secretary and the Secretary of Agriculture may, on behalf of the United States, enter into agreements with States in which redevelopment areas are located, under which the Secretary of Labor shall make payments to such States either in advance or by way of reimbursement for the purpose of enabling such States, as agents of the United States, to make weekly retraining payments to unemployed or underemployed individuals residing within such redevelopment areas who are certified by the Secretary of Labor to be undergoing occupational training or retraining under section 16 of this Act. Such payments shall be made only for the period the individual is receiving occupational training or retraining under section 16 of this Act, but not in any event to exceed

sixteen weeks, and the amount of any such payment for any week shall be equal to the amount of the average weekly unemployment compensation payment (including allowances for dependents when appropriate) payable for a week of total unemployment in the State making such payments.

(b) No weekly retraining payment shall be made to any person otherwise eligible who, with respect to the week for which such payment would be made, has received or is seeking unemployment compensation under title XV of the Social Security Act or any other Federal or any State unemployment compensation law, but if the appropriate State or Federal agency finally determines that a person denied benefits for any week because of this subsection was not entitled to unemployment compensation under title XV of the Social Security Act or such Federal or State law with respect to such week, this subsection shall not apply with respect to such week.

68 Stat. 1130.
42 USC 1361-1371.

(c) Any agreement under this section may contain provisions (including, so far as may be appropriate, provisions authorized or made applicable with respect to agreements concluded by the Secretary of Labor pursuant to title XV of the Social Security Act) as will promote effective administration, protect the United States against loss, and insure the proper application of payments made to the State under such agreement. Except as may be provided in such agreements, or in the rules and regulations prescribed pursuant to subsection (d) of this section, determinations by any duly designated officer or agency as to the eligibility of individuals for weekly retraining payments under this section shall be final and conclusive for any purposes and not subject to review by any court or any other officer.

(d) The Secretary of Labor and the Secretary shall jointly prescribe such rules and regulations as they may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

Rules and regulations.

(e) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums, not in excess of $10,000,000 annually, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

Appropriation.

PENALTIES

SEC. 18. (a) Whoever makes any statement knowing it to be false, or whoever willfully overvalues any security, for the purpose of obtaining for himself or for any applicant any financial assistance under section 6, 7, or 8, or any extension thereof by renewal, deferment of action, or otherwise, or the acceptance, release, or substitution of security therefor, or for the purpose of influencing in any way the action of the Secretary, or for the purpose of obtaining money, property, or anything of value, under this Act, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever, being connected in any capacity with the Secretary, in the administration of this Act (1) embezzles, abstracts, purloins, or willfully misapplies any moneys, funds, securities, or other things of value, whether belonging to him or pledged or otherwise entrusted to him, or (2) with intent to defraud the Secretary or any other body politic or corporate, or any individual, or to deceive any officer, auditor, or examiner, makes any false entry in any book, report, or statement of or to the Secretary, or without being duly authorized draws any order or issues, puts forth, or assigns any note, debenture, bond, or other obligation, or draft, bill of exchange, mortgage, judgment, or decree thereof, or (3) with intent to defraud participates or shares in or receives directly or indirectly any money, profit, property, or benefit through any transaction, loan, grant, commission, contract, or any other act of the Secretary, or (4) gives any unauthorized information

concerning any future action or plan of the Secretary which might affect the value of securities, or having such knowledge invests or speculates, directly or indirectly, in the securities or property of any company or corporation receiving loans, grants, or other assistance from the Secretary, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than five years, or both.

EMPLOYMENT OF EXPEDITERS AND ADMINISTRATIVE EMPLOYEES

SEC. 19. No financial assistance shall be extended by the Secretary under section 6, 7, or 8 to any business enterprise unless the owners, partners, or officers of such business enterprise (1) certify to the Secretary the names of any attorneys, agents, and other persons engaged by or on behalf of such business enterprise for the purpose of expediting applications made to the Secretary for assistance of any sort, under this Act, and the fees paid or to be paid to any such person; and (2) execute an agreement binding such business enterprise, for a period of two years after such assistance is rendered by the Secretary to such business enterprise, to refrain from employing, tendering any office or employment to, or retaining for professional services, any person who, on the date such assistance or any part thereof was rendered, or within one year prior thereto, shall have served as an officer, attorney, agent, or employee, occupying a position or engaging in activities which the Secretary shall have determined involve discretion with respect to the granting of assistance under this Act.

RECORD OF APPLICATIONS

Public inspection.

SEC. 20. The Secretary shall maintain as a permanent part of the records of the Department of Commerce a list of applications approved for financial assistance under section 6, 7, or 8, which shall be kept available for public inspection during the regular business hours of the Department of Commerce. The following information shall be posted in such list as soon as each application is approved: (1) the name of the applicant and, in the case of corporate applications, the names of the officers and directors thereof, (2) the amount and duration of the loan or grant for which application is made, (3) the purposes for which the proceeds of the loan or grant are to be used, and (4) a general description of the security offered in the case of a loan.

PREVAILING RATE OF WAGE AND FORTY-HOUR WEEK

SEC. 21. All laborers and mechanics employed by contractors or subcontractors on projects assisted by the Secretary under this Act and undertaken by public applicants shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5), and every such employee shall receive compensation at a rate not less than one and one-half times his basic rate of pay for all hours worked in any workweek in excess of eight hours in any workday or forty hours in the workweek, as the case may be. The Secretary shall not extend any financial assistance under section 6, 7, or 8 for such a project without first obtaining adequate assurance that these labor standards will be maintained upon the construction work. The Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to the labor standards specified in this provision, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization

49 Stat. 1011.

Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 64 Stat. 1267; 5 U.S.C. 133z-15), and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c). 48 Stat. 948.

ANNUAL REPORT

SEC. 22. The Secretary shall make a comprehensive and detailed annual report to the Congress of his operations under this Act for each fiscal year beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1962. Such report shall be printed and shall be transmitted to the Congress not later than January 3 of the year following the fiscal year with respect to which such report is made. Such report shall show, among other things, (1) the number and size of Government contracts for the furnishing of supplies and services placed with business enterprises located in redevelopment areas, and (2) the amount and duration of employment resulting from such contracts. Upon the request of the Secretary, the various departments and agencies of the Government engaged in the procurement of supplies and services shall furnish to the Secretary such information as may be necessary for the purposes of this section. Report to Congress.

APPROPRIATION

SEC. 23. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

USE OF OTHER FACILITIES

SEC. 24. (a) To the fullest extent practicable in carrying out the provisions of this Act the Secretary shall use the available services and facilities of other agencies and instrumentalities of the Federal Government, but only with their consent and on a reimbursable basis. The foregoing requirement shall be implemented by the Secretary in such a manner as to avoid the duplication of existing staffs and facilities in any agency or instrumentality of the Federal Government. The Secretary is authorized to delegate to the heads of other departments and agencies of the Federal Government any of the Secretary's functions, powers, and duties under this Act as he may deem appropriate, and to authorize the redelegation of such functions, powers, and duties by the heads of such departments and agencies. Delegation of functions, etc.

(b) Departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall exercise their powers, duties, and functions in such manner as will assist in carrying out the objectives of this Act. This Act shall be supplemental to any existing authority, and nothing herein shall be deemed to be restrictive of any existing powers, duties, and functions of any other department or agency of the Federal Government.

(c) Funds authorized to be appropriated under this Act may be transferred, with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, between departments and agencies of the Government, if such funds are used for the purposes for which they are specifically authorized and appropriated. Transfer of funds.

(d) Subject to the standards and procedures prescribed by section 505 of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, the head of any agency, for the performance of functions under this Act, including functions delegated pursuant to subsection (a), may place positions in grades 16, 17, and 18 of the General Schedule established by such Act, and such positions shall be in addition to the number of such positions authorized by section 505 of the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, to be placed in such grades: *Provided*, That not to exceed a total of five such positions may be placed in such grades under this subsection, to be apportioned among the agencies by the Secretary, with the approval of the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. "Super-grade" positions. 69 Stat. 179. 5 USC 1105.

RECORDS AND AUDIT

SEC. 25. (a) Each recipient of assistance under section 6, 7, or 8 of this Act shall keep such records as the Secretary shall prescribe, including records which fully disclose the amount and the disposition by such recipient of the proceeds of such assistance, the total cost of the project or undertaking in connection with which such assistance is given or used, and the amount and nature of that portion of the cost of the project or undertaking supplied by other sources, and such other records as will facilitate an effective audit.

(b) The Secretary and the Comptroller General of the United States, or any of their duly authorized representatives, shall have access for the purpose of audit and examination to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipient that are pertinent to assistance received under section 6, 7, or 8 of this Act.

LOANS TO LOCAL DEVELOPMENT COMPANIES

72 Stat. 697.
15 USC 696.

SEC. 26. Section 502 of the Small Business Investment Act of 1958 is amended by striking out paragraph (6).

RESEARCH

SEC. 27. To assist in the long-range accomplishment of the purposes of this Act, the Secretary, in cooperation with other agencies having similar functions, shall establish and conduct a continuing program of study and research designed to assist in determining the causes of unemployment, underemployment, underdevelopment, and chronic depression in the various areas of the Nation and in the formulation and implementation of national, State, and local programs which will raise income levels and otherwise produce solutions of the problems resulting from these conditions. The Secretary shall include in his annual report under section 22 a detailed statement concerning the study and research conducted under this section together with his findings resulting therefrom and his recommendations for legislative and other action.

APPLICATION OF ACT

SEC. 28. As used in this Act, the terms "State", "States", and "United States" include the several States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa.

TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY

SEC. 29. (a) This Act and all authority conferred thereunder shall terminate at the close of June 30, 1965.

(b) Notwithstanding the foregoing, effective on July 1, 1965, those assets, funds, contracts, loans, liabilities, commitments, authorizations, allocations, and records of the Secretary under this Act which the Director of the Bureau of the Budget shall determine are necessary to the liquidation of the affairs and functions conducted under this Act, are transferred to the Secretary of the Treasury for purposes of liquidation.

75 STAT. 63.

(c) The termination of this Act shall not affect the disbursement of funds under, or the carrying out of, any contract, commitment, or other obligation entered into pursuant to this Act prior to the date of such termination, or the taking of any action necessary to preserve or protect the interests of the United States in any amounts advanced or paid out in carrying on operations under this Act.

Approved May 1, 1961.

☆ GPO : 1962 O - 656574

FINANCING AREA REDEVELOPMENT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Area Redevelopment Administration

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF

CONTRACT RESEARCH PROPOSALS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR: W. WILLARD WIRTZ, SECRETARY

OFFICE OF MANPOWER, AUTOMATION AND TRAINING: SEYMOUR L. WOLFBEIN, DIRECTOR

Out of date but indicative

MANPOWER AND AUTOMATION RESEARCH

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JULY 1, 1962 - JUNE 30, 1963

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

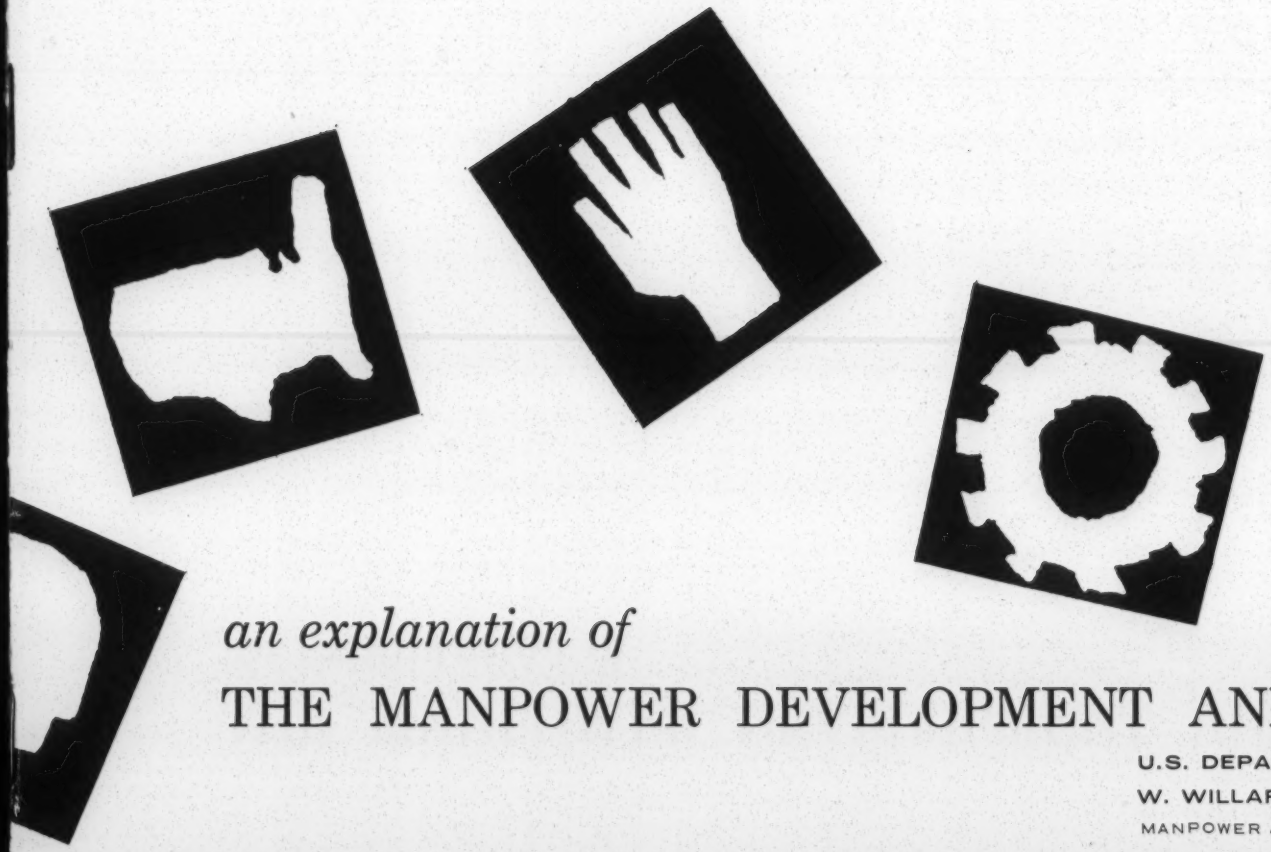
HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL AIDS TO COMMUNITIES

1963 Edition

THE AREA REDEVELOPMENT BOOKSHELF OF COMMUNITY AIDS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Area Redevelopment Administration



an explanation of

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. WILLARD WIRTZ, SECRETARY
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

88th Congress
2d Session

SENATE

DOCUMENT
No. 86

THE WAR ON POVERTY

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

A COMPILATION OF
MATERIALS RELEVANT TO S. 2642

PREPARED FOR THE

SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON POVERTY

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND
PUBLIC WELFARE
UNITED STATES SENATE

JULY 23, 1964.—Ordered to be printed

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

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S. Res. 322

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
July 23, 1964.

Resolved, That there be printed as a Senate document the committee print entitled "The War on Poverty, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, a Compilation of Materials Relevant to S. 2642," of the Eighty-eighth Congress, second session; and that there be printed nine thousand additional copies of such document for the use of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Attest:

FELTON M. JOHNSTON, *Secretary*.

FOREWORD

The selected documents included herein will be essential to the subcommittee in its deliberations on S. 2642. It will be helpful to have these materials compiled in a readily available form and in a single document for the use of the subcommittee and others.

"The War on Poverty," a congressional presentation, was prepared under the direction of Sargent Shriver, special assistant to President Lyndon B. Johnson. The section-by-section analysis of S. 2642 was prepared by the Office of the Legal Counsel, U.S. Department of Justice. "The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: A summary" is from "Legislative Notes," published by the Office of Education March 16, 1964.

PAT MCNAMARA,
Chairman, Select Subcommittee on Poverty,
Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

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PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S MESSAGE ON POVERTY

To the Congress of the United States:

We are citizens of the richest and most fortunate nation in the history of the world.

One hundred and eighty years ago we were a small country struggling for survival on the margin of a hostile land.

Today we have established a civilization of free men which spans an entire continent.

With the growth of our country has come opportunity for our people—opportunity to educate our children, to use our energies in productive work, to increase our leisure—opportunity for almost every American to hope that through work and talent he could create a better life for himself and his family.

The path forward has not been an easy one.

But we have never lost sight of our goal—an America in which every citizen shares all the opportunities of his society, in which every man has a chance to advance his welfare to the limit of his capacities.

We have come a long way toward this goal.

We still have a long way to go.

The distance which remains is the measure of the great unfinished work of our society.

To finish that work I have called for a national war on poverty. Our objective: total victory.

There are millions of Americans—one-fifth of our people—who have not shared in the abundance which has been granted to most of us, and on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed.

What does this poverty mean to those who endure it?

It means a daily struggle to secure the necessities for even a meager existence. It means that the abundance, the comforts, the opportunities they see all around them are beyond their grasp.

Worst of all, it means hopelessness for the young.

The young man or woman who grows up without a decent education, in a broken home, in a hostile and squalid environment, in ill health or in the face of racial injustice—that young man or woman is often trapped in a life of poverty.

He does not have the skills demanded by a complex society. He does not know how to acquire those skills. He faces a mounting sense of despair which drains initiative and ambition and energy.

Our tax cut will create millions of new jobs—new exits from poverty.

But we must also strike down all the barriers which keep many from using those exits.

The war on poverty is not a struggle simply to support people, to to make them dependent on the generosity of others.

It is a struggle to give people a chance.

It is an effort to allow them to develop and use their capacities, as we have been allowed to develop and use ours, so that they can share, as others share, in the promise of this Nation.

We do this, first of all, because it is right that we should.

From the establishment of public education and land-grant colleges through agricultural extension and encouragement to industry, we have pursued the goal of a nation with full and increasing opportunities for all its citizens.

The war on poverty is a further step in that pursuit.

We do it also because helping some will increase the prosperity of all.

Our fight against poverty will be an investment in the most valuable of our resources—the skills and strength of our people.

And in the future, as in the past, this investment will return its cost many fold to our entire economy.

If we can raise the annual earnings of 10 million among the poor by only $1,000 we will have added $14 billion a year to our national output. In addition we can make important reductions in public assistance payments which now cost us $4 billion a year, and in the large costs of fighting crime and delinquency, disease and hunger.

This is only part of the story.

Our history has proved that each time we broaden the base of abundance, giving more people the chance to produce and consume, we create new industry, higher production, increased earnings, and better income for all.

Giving new opportunity to those who have little will enrich the lives of all the rest.

Because it is right, because it is wise, and because, for the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty, I submit, for the consideration of the Congress and the country, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The act does not merely expand old programs or improve what is already being done.

It charts a new course.

It strikes at the causes, not just the consequences of poverty.

It can be a milestone in our 180-year search for a better life for our people.

This act provides five basic opportunities:

It will give almost half a million underprivileged young Americans the opportunity to develop skills, continue education, and find useful work.

It will give every American community the opportunity to develop a comprehensive plan to fight its own poverty—and help them to carry out their plans.

It will give dedicated Americans the opportunity to enlist as volunteers in the war against poverty.

It will give many workers and farmers the opportunity to break through particular barriers which bar their escape from poverty.

It will give the entire Nation the opportunity for a concerted attack on poverty through the establishment, under my direction, of the Office of Economic Opportunity, a national headquarters for the war against poverty.

This is how we propose to create these opportunities.

First, we will give high priority to helping young Americans who lack skills, who have not completed their education or who cannot complete it because they are too poor.

The years of high school and college age are the most critical stage of a young person's life. If they are not helped then, many will be condemned to a life of poverty which they, in turn, will pass on to their children.

I therefore recommend the creation of a Job Corps, a work-training program, and a work-study program.

A new national Job Corps will build toward an enlistment of 100,000 young men. They will be drawn from those whose background, health, and education make them least fit for useful work.

Those who volunteer will enter more than 100 camps and centers around the country.

Half of these young men will work, in the first year, on special conservation projects to give them education, useful work experience, and to enrich the natural resources of the country.

Half of these young men will receive, in the first year, a blend of training, basic education, and work experience in job training centers.

These are not simply camps for the underprivileged. They are new educational institutions, comparable in innovation to the land-grant colleges. Those who enter them will emerge better qualified to play a productive role in American society.

A new national work-training program operated by the Department of Labor will provide work and training for 200,000 American men and women between the ages of 16 and 21. This will be developed through State and local governments and nonprofit agencies.

Hundreds of thousands of young Americans badly need the experience, the income, and the sense of purpose which useful full or part-time work can bring. For them such work may mean the difference between finishing school or dropping out. Vital community activities from hospitals and playgrounds to libraries and settlement houses are suffering because there are not enough people to staff them.

We are simply bringing these needs together.

A new national work-study program operated by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will provide Federal funds for part-time jobs for 140,000 young Americans who do not go to college because they cannot afford it.

There is no more senseless waste than the waste of the brainpower and skill of those who are kept from college by economic circumstance. Under this program they will, in a great American tradition, be able to work their way through school.

They and the country will be richer for it.

Second, through a new community action program we intend to strike at poverty at its source—in the streets of our cities and on the farms of our countryside among the very young and the impoverished old.

This program asks men and women throughout the country to prepare long-range plans for the attack on poverty in their own local communities.

These are not plans prepared in Washington and imposed upon hundreds of different situations.

They are based on the fact that local citizens best understand their own problems, and know best how to deal with those problems.

These plans will be local plans striking at the many unfilled needs which underlie poverty in each community, not just one or two. Their components and emphasis will differ as needs differ.

These plans will be local plans calling upon all the resources available to the community—Federal and State, local and private, human and material.

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And when these plans are approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal Government will finance up to 90 percent of the additional cost for the first 2 years.

The most enduring strength of our Nation is the huge reservoir of talent, initiative and leadership which exists at every level of our society.

Through the community action program we call upon this, our greatest strength, to overcome our greatest weakness.

Third, I ask for the authority to recruit and train skilled volunteers for the war against poverty.

Thousands of Americans have volunteered to serve the needs of other lands.

Thousand more want the chance to serve the needs of their own land.

They should have that chance.

Among older people who have retired, as well as among the young, among women as well as men, there are many Americans who are ready to enlist in our war against poverty.

They have skills and dedication. They are badly needed.

If the State requests them, if the community needs and will use them, we will recruit and train them and give them the chance to serve.

Fourth, we intend to create new opportunities for certain hard-hit groups to break out of the pattern of poverty.

Through a new program of loans and guarantees we can provide incentives to those who will employ the unemployed.

Through programs of work and retraining for unemployed fathers and mothers we can help them support their families in dignity while preparing themselves for new work.

Through funds to purchase needed land, organize cooperatives, and create new and adequate family farms we can help those whose life on the land has been a struggle without hope.

Fifth, I do not intend that the war against poverty become a series of uncoordinated and unrelated efforts—that it perish for lack of leadership and direction.

Therefore this bill creates, in the Executive Office of the President, a new Office of Economic Opportunity. Its Director will be my personal chief of staff for the war against poverty. I intend to appoint Sargent Shriver to this post.

He will be directly responsible for these new programs. He will work with and through existing agencies of the Government.

This program—the Economic Opportunity Act—is the foundation of our war against poverty. But it does not stand alone.

For the past 3 years this Government has advanced a number of new proposals which strike at important areas of need and distress.

I ask the Congress to extend those which are already in action, and to establish those which have already been proposed.

There are programs to help badly distressed areas such as the Area Redevelopment Act, and the legislation now being prepared to help Appalachia.

There are programs to help those without training find a place in today's complex society—such as the Manpower Development Training Act and the Vocational Education Act for youth.

There are programs to protect those who are specially vulnerable to the ravages of poverty—hospital insurance for the elderly, protection

for migrant farmworkers, a food stamp program for the needy, coverage for millions not now protected by a minimum wage, new and expanded unemployment benefits for men out of work, a housing and community development bill for those seeking decent homes.

Finally there are programs which help the entire country, such as aid to education which, by raising the quality of schooling available to every American child, will give a new chance for knowledge to the children of the poor.

I ask immediate action on all these programs.

What you are being asked to consider is not a simple or an easy program. But poverty is not a simple or an easy enemy.

It cannot be driven from the land by a single attack on a single front. Were this so we would have conquered poverty long ago.

Nor can it be conquered by government alone.

For decades American labor and American business, private institutions and private individuals have been engaged in strengthening our economy and offering new opportunity to those in need.

We need their help, their support, and their full participation.

Through this program we offer new incentives and new opportunities for cooperation, so that all the energy of our nation, not merely the efforts of government, can be brought to bear on our common enemy.

Today, for the first time in our history, we have the power to strike away the barriers to full participation in our society. Having the power, we have the duty.

The Congress is charged by the Constitution to "provide * * for the general welfare of the United States." Our present abundance is a measure of its success in fulfilling that duty. Now Congress is being asked to extend that welfare to all our people.

The President of the United States is President of all the people in every section of the country. But this office also holds a special responsibility to the distressed and disinherited, the hungry and the hopeless of this abundant Nation.

It is in pursuit of that special responsibility that I submit this message to you today.

The new program I propose is within our means. Its cost of $970 million is 1 percent of our national budget—and every dollar I am requesting for this program is already included in the budget I sent to Congress in January.

But we cannot measure its importance by its cost.

For it charts an entirely new course of hope for our people.

We are fully aware that this program will not eliminate all the poverty in America in a few months or a few years. Poverty is deeply rooted and its causes are many.

But this program will show the way to new opportunities for millions of our fellow citizens.

It will provide a lever with which we can begin to open the door to our prosperity for those who have been kept outside.

It will also give us the chance to test our weapons, to try our energy and ideas and imagination for the many battles yet to come. As conditions change, and as experience illuminates our difficulties, we will be prepared to modify our strategy.

And this program is much more than a beginning.

Rather it is a commitment. It is a total commitment by this President, and this Congress, and this Nation, to pursue victory over the most ancient of mankind's enemies.

On many historic occasions the President has requested from Congress the authority to move against forces which were endangering the well-being of our country.

This is such an occasion.

On similar occasions in the past we have often been called upon to wage war against foreign enemies which threatened our freedom. Today we are asked to declare war on a domestic enemy which threatens the strength of our Nation and the welfare of our people.

If we now move forward against this enemy—if we can bring to the challenges of peace the same determination and strength which has brought us victory in war—then this day and this Congress will have won a secure and honorable place in the history of the Nation, and the enduring gratitude of generations of Americans yet to come.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *March 16, 1964.*

S. 2642

A BILL To mobilize the human and financial resources of the Nation to combat poverty in the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Repeesentatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Economic Opportunity Act of 1964."

FINDINGS AND DECLARATION OF PURPOSE

SEC. 2. Although the economic well-being and prosperity of the United States have progressed to a level surpassing any achieved in world history, and although these benefits are widely shared throughout the Nation, poverty continues to be the lot of a substantial number of our people. The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of our society. It is therefore the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity to work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity. It is the purpose of this Act to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

PART A—JOB CORPS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 101. The purpose of this part is to prepare for the responsibilities of citizenship and to increase the employability of youths aged sixteen through twenty-one by providing them in residential centers with education, vocational training, useful work experience, including work directed toward the conservation of natural resources, and other appropriate activities.

ESTABLISHMENT OF JOB CORPS

SEC. 102. In order to carry out the purposes of this part, there is hereby established within the Office of Economic Opportunity (hereinafter referred to as the "Office"), established by title VI, a Job Corps (hereinafter referred to as the "Corps").

JOB CORPS PROGRAM

SEC. 103. The Director of the Office (hereinafter referred to as the "Director") is authorized to—

(a) enter into agreements with any Federal, State, or local agency or private organization for the provision of such facilities and services as in his judgment are needed to carry out the purposes of this part;

(b) provide education and vocational training to enrollees in in the Corps or, where appropriate, arrange for the provision thereof by another Federal agency or by State or local public educational agencies;

(c) provide or arrange for the provision of programs of useful work experience and other appropriate activities for enrollees;

(d) establish standards of safety and health for enrollees, and furnish or arrange for the furnishing of health services; and

(e) prescribe such rules and regulations and make such arrangements as he deems necessary to provide for the selection of enrollees and to govern their conduct after enrollment, including appropriate regulations as to the circumstances under which enrollment may be terminated.

COMPOSITION OF THE CORPS

SEC. 104. (a) The Corps shall be composed of male individuals who are permanent residents of the United States, who have attained age sixteen but have not attained age twenty-two at the time of enrollment, and who meet the standards for enrollment prescribed by the Director. Participation in the Corps shall not relieve any enrollee of obligations under the Universal Military Training and Service Act (50 U.S.C. App. 451 et seq.).

(b) In order to enroll as a member of the Corps, an individual must agree to comply with rules and regulations promulgated by the Director for the government of the Corps.

(c) The total enrollment of any individual in the Corps shall not exceed two years except as the Director may determine in special cases.

ALLOWANCES AND MAINTENANCE

SEC. 105. (a) Enrollees may be provided with such living, travel, and leave allowances, and such quarters, subsistence, transportation, equipment, clothing, recreational services, medical, dental, hospital, and other health services, and other expenses as the Director may deem necessary or appropriate for their needs. Transportation and travel allowances may also be provided, in such circumstances as the Director may determine, for applicants for enrollment to or from places of enrollment, and for former enrollees from places of termination to their homes.

(b) Upon termination of his enrollment in the Corps, each enrollee shall be entitled to receive a readjustment allowance at a rate not to exceed $50 for each month of satisfactory participation therein as determined by the Director: *Provided, however,* That under such circumstances as the Director may determine, a portion of the readjustment allowance of an enrollee not exceeding $25 for each month

of satisfactory service may be paid during the period of service of the enrollee directly to a dependent (as that term as defined in section 401 of title 37, United States Code) and any sum so paid shall be supplemented by the payment of an equal amount to the dependent by the Director. In the event of the enrollee's death during the period of his service, the amount of any unpaid readjustment allowance shall be paid in accordance with the provisions of section 1 of the Act of August 3, 1950 (5 U.S.C. 61f).

APPLICATION OF PROVISIONS OF FEDERAL LAW

SEC. 106. (a) Except as otherwise specifically provided in this part, an enrollee shall be deemed not to be a Federal employee and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of works, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

(b) Enrollees shall be deemed to be employees of the United States for the purposes of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (26 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) and of title II of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 401 et seq.), and any service performed by an individual as an enrollee shall be deemed for such purposes to be performed in the employ of the United States.

(c)(1) Enrollees under this part shall, for the purposes of the administration of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act (5 U.S.C. 751 et seq.), be deemed to be civil employees of the United States within the meaning of the term "employee" as defined in section 40 of such Act (5 U.S.C. 790) and the provisions thereof shall apply except as hereinafter provided.

(2) For purposes of this subsection—

(A) The term "performance of duty" in the Federal Employees' Compensation Act shall not include any act of an enrollee

(i) while he is on authorized leave or pass; or

(ii) while he is absent from his assigned post of duty, except while participating in an activity authorized by or under the direction or supervision of the Corps.

(B) In computing compensation benefits for disability or death under the Federal Employees' Compensation Act, the monthly pay of an enrollee shall be deemed to be $150, except that with respect to compensation for disability accruing after the individual concerned reaches the age of twenty-one, such monthly pay shall be deemed to be that received under the entrance salary for GS–2 under the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 1071 et seq.).

(C) The term "injury" as defined in section 40 of the Federal Employees' Compensation Act (5 U.S.C. 790) shall include disease, illness, or injury if it arises out of service in the Corps.

(D) Compensation for disability, including medical care, shall not begin to accrue until the day following the date on which the enrollment of the injured enrollee is terminated.

(d) An enrollee shall be deemed to be an employee of the Government for the purposes of the Federal Tort Claims Act (28 U.S.C. 2671 et seq.).

(e) Personnel of the uniformed services who are detailed or assigned to duty in the performance of agreements made by the Director for

the support of the Corps shall not be counted in computing strengths under any law limiting the strength of such services or in computing the percentage authorized by law for any grade therein.

PART B—WORK-TRAINING PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 111. The purpose of this part is to provide useful work experience opportunities for unemployed youths, through participation in State and community work-training programs, so that their employability may be increased or their education resumed or continued and so that public agencies and private nonprofit organizations will be enabled to carry out programs in the field of conservation and development of natural resources and recreational areas, or other programs which will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided.

DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS

SEC. 112. In order to carry out the purposes of this part, the Director shall assist and cooperate with State and local agencies and private nonprofit organizations in developing programs for the employment of young people in State and community activities hereinafter authorized, which, whenever appropriate, shall be coordinated with programs of training and education provided by local public educational agencies.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 113. (a) The Director is authorized to enter into agreements providing for the payment by him of part or all of the cost of a State or local program submitted hereunder if he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he may prescribe, that—

(1) enrollees in the program will be employed either (A) on publicly owned and operated facilities or projects, or (B) on local projects sponsored by private nonprofit organizations, other than projects involving the construction, operation, or maintenance of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship;

(2) the program will increase the employability of the enrollees by providing work experience and training in occupational skills or pursuits in classifications in which the Director finds there is reasonable expectation of employment, or will enable student enrollees to resume or to maintain school attendance;

(3) the program will permit or contribute to an undertaking or service in the public interest that would not otherwise be provided, or will contribute to the conservation, development, or management of the natural resources of the State or community or to the development, management, or protection of State or community recreational areas;

(4) the program will not result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services;

(5) the rates of pay and other conditions of employment will be appropriate and reasonable in the light of such factors as the

type of work performed, geographical region, and proficiency of the employee;

(6) to the maximum extent feasible, the program will be coordinated with vocational training and educational services adapted to the special needs of enrollees in such program and sponsored by State or local public educational agencies: *Provided, however*, That where such services are inadequate or unavailable, the program may make provision for the enlargement, improvement, development, and coordination of such services with the cooperation of, or where appropriate pursuant to agreement with, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; and

(7) the program includes standards and procedures for the selection of applicants, including provisions assuring full coordination and cooperation with local and other authorities to encourage students to resume or maintain school attendance.

(b) In approving projects under this part, the Director shall give priority to projects with high training potential.

ENROLLEES IN PROGRAMS

SEC. 114. (a) Participation in programs under this part shall be limited to young men and women who are permanent residents of the United States, who have attained age sixteen but have not attained age twenty-two, and whose participation in such programs will be consistent with the purposes of this part.

(b) Enrollees shall be deemed not to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

(c) Where appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act, the Director may provide for testing, counseling, job development, and referral services to youths through public agencies or private nonprofit organizations.

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 115. Federal assistance to any program pursuant to this part paid for the period ending two years after the date of enactment of this Act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, shall not exceed 90 per centum of the costs of such program, including costs of administration, and such assistance paid for periods thereafter shall not exceed 75 per centum of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of this part. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 116. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this part among the States. In developing such criteria, he shall consider among other relevant factors the ratios of population, unemployment, and family income levels. Not more than 12½ per centum of the sums appro-

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priated or allocated for any fiscal year to carry out the purposes of this part shall be used within any one State.

PART C—WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 121. The purpose of this part is to stimulate and promote the part-time employment of students in institutions of higher education who are from low-income families and are in need of the earnings from such employment to pursue courses of study at such institutions.

AGREEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION

SEC. 122. The Director is authorized to enter into agreements with institutions of higher education (as defined by section 103 of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (20 U.S.C. 403)) for payment by him of part of the compensation of students employed under work-study programs as hereinafter provided.

CONDITIONS OF AGREEMENTS

SEC. 123. An agreement entered into pursuant to section 122 shall—

(a) provide for the operation by the institution of a program for the part-time employment of its students in work (1) for the institution itself, or (2) under arrangements satisfactory to the Director, for public agencies or private nonprofit organizations whose activities contribute to the objectives of this Act: *Provided, however*, That no such work shall involve the construction, operation, or maintenance of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship.

(b) provide that employment under such work-study program shall be furnished only to a student who (1) is from a low-income family, (2) is in need of the earnings from such employment in order to pursue a course of study at such institution, (3) is capable, in the opinion of the institution, of maintaining good standing in such course of study while employed under the program covered by the agreement, and (4) has been accepted for enrollment as a full-time student at the institution or, in the case of a student already enrolled in and attending the institution, is in good standing and in full-time attendance there either as an undergraduate, graduate, or professional student;

(c) provide that no student shall be employed under such work-study program for more than fifteen hours in any week in which classes in which he is enrolled are in session;

(d) provide that in each fiscal year during which the agreement remains in effect, the institution shall expend (from sources other than payments by the Director under this part) for the employment of its students (whether or not in employment eligible for assistance under this part) an amount that is not less than its average annual expenditure for such employment during the three fiscal years preceding the fiscal year in which the agreement is entered into;

(e) provide for payment by the Director of a portion of the compensation of each student employed under such work-study

program in accordance with the agreement, but not to exceed 90 per centum of such compensation for work performed during the period ending two years after the date of enactment of this Act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, and 75 per centum thereafter;

(f) provide, subject to section 124, that the institution undertakes to act, if so requested by the Director, as his agent for the payment of the Director's share of the student's compensation;

(g) include provisions designed to make employment under such work-study program, or equivalent employment offered or arranged for by the institution, reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all eligible students in the institution in need thereof; and

(h) include such other provisions as the Director shall deem necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this part.

PAYMENTS TO STUDENTS

SEC. 124. (a) The Director's share of the compensation of a student employed under a work-study program covered by an agreement under this part may be paid directly by him to the student; or it may be paid through the employing institution as paying agent for the Director. If the institution is utilized as paying agent, the Director's share may be paid to the institution in advance or by way of reimbursement, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Director, and the Director may authorize the institution to combine the Director's share and the remainder of the student's compensation in a single payment to the student.

(b) Regardless of the method of payment under this section, students employed under a work-study program covered by an agreement under this part shall be deemed not to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits.

(c) Nothing in this part shall be construed as restricting the source (other than this part) from which the institution may pay its share of the compensation of a student employed under a work-study program covered by an agreement under this part.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 125. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this part among the States and among institutions of higher education within each State. In developing such criteria, he shall consider among other relevant factors the ratios of full-time students in institutions of higher education, unemployment, and family income levels. Not more than 12½ per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal year to carry out the purposes of this part shall be used within any one State.

TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 201. The purpose of this title is to provide stimulation and incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources, public and private, to combat poverty through community action programs.

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 202. (a) The term "community action program" means a program—

(1) which mobilizes and utilizes, in an attack on poverty, public and private resources of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (referred to in this title as a "community"), including but not limited to a State, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multicity unit, or multicounty unit;

(2) which provides services, assistance, and other activities of sufficient variety, scope, and size to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty through developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, and bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work;

(3) which is developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups referred to in section 204(a); and

(4) which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a public or private nonprofit agency (referred to in this title as a "community action organization") which is broadly representative of the community.

(b) The Director is authorized to prescribe such additional criteria for community action programs as he shall deem appropriate.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 203. The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, community action organizations, or, if he deems it necessary to effectuate the purposes of this title, other appropriate public agencies or private nonprofit organizations, to pay part or all of the costs of development of community action programs.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR CONDUCT AND ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 204. (a) The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, community action organizations or other appropriate public agencies or private nonprofit organizations to pay part or all of the costs of community action programs which have been approved by him pursuant to this title, including the cost of carrying out programs which are components of a community action program and which are designed to achieve the purposes of this title. Such component programs shall be focused upon the needs of low-income individuals and

families and shall provide, in particular areas or to particular groups in a community, expanded and improved services, assistance, and other activities, and facilities necessary in connection therewith, in the fields of education, employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, and other fields which fall within the purposes of this title.

(b) Any elementary or secondary school education program assisted under this section shall be administered by the public educational agency or agencies principally responsible for providing public elementary and secondary education in the area involved. No child shall be denied the benefit of such a program because he is not regularly enrolled in the public schools.

(c) Assistance under this section may be extended for a limited period, even though a community has not completed and put into effect its community action program, if the Director determines that there is a representative group engaged in developing such a program in the community, and that extension of such assistance will further the purposes of this title with respect to such community and will not impede the development and carrying out of a community action program. After June 30, 1965, expenditures under this subsection in any fiscal year shall not exceed 20 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for such year to carry out the purposes of this title.

(d) In determining whether to extend assistance under this section the Director shall consider among other relevant factors the incidence of poverty within the community and within the areas or groups to be affected by the specific program or programs, and the extent to which the applicant is in a position to utilize efficiently and expeditiously the assistance for which application is made. In determining the incidence of poverty the Director shall consider information available with respect to such factors as: the concentration of low-income families, particularly those with children; the extent of persistent unemployment and underemployment; the number and proportion of persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations; the number of migrant or transient low-income families; school dropout rates, military service rejection rates, and other evidences of low educational attainment; the incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality; housing conditions; adequacy of community facilities and services; and the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

(e) In extending assistance under this section the Director shall give special consideration to programs which give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with their problems without further assistance.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 205. The Director is authorized to provide, either directly or through grants or other arrangements, (a) technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs, and (b) training for specialized personnel needed to develop, conduct, or administer such programs or to provide services or other assistance thereunder.

RESEARCH, TRAINING, AND DEMONSTRATIONS

SEC. 206. The Director is authorized to conduct, or to make grants to or enter into contracts with institutions of higher education or other appropriate public agencies or private nonprofit organizations for the conduct of, research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of this title. Expenditures under this section in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for such year to carry out the purposes of this title.

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 207. (a) Assistance pursuant to sections 203 and 204 paid for the period ending two years after the date of enactment of this Act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, shall not exceed 90 per centum of the costs referred to in those sections, respectively, and thereafter shall not exceed 75 per centum of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of this title. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

(b) The expenditures or contributions made from non-Federal sources for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures and contributions from non-Federal sources which were being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance.

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 208. (a) The Director shall establish procedures which will facilitate effective participation of the States in community action programs. Such procedures shall include provision for the referral of applications for assistance under this title to the Governor of each State affected, or his designee, for such comments as he may deem appropriate.

(b) The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, appropriate State agencies for the payment of the expenses of such agencies in providing technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 209. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this title among the States and between urban and rural areas. In developing such criteria, he shall consider the relative numbers in the States or areas therein of: (a) low-income families, particularly those with children; (b) unemployed persons; (c) persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations; (d) school dropouts; (e) adults with less than an eighth grade education; and (f) persons rejected for military service. Not more than 12½ per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal

year to carry out the purposes of this title shall be used for grants or contracts pursuant to sections 203 and 204 within any one State.

PREFERENCE FOR COMPONENTS OF APPROVED PROGRAMS

SEC. 210. In determining whether to extend assistance under any other title of this Act, the Director shall, to the extent feasible, give preference to programs and projects which are components of a community action program approved pursuant to this title.

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 301. It is the purpose of this title to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby to raise and maintain the income and living standards of low-income rural families.

AUTHORITY TO MAKE GRANTS AND LOANS

SEC. 302. (a) The Director is authorized to make—

(1) grants of not to exceed $1,500 to low-income rural families where, in the judgment of the Director, such grants have a reasonable possibility of effecting a permanent increase in the income of such families by assisting or permitting them to—

(A) acquire to improve real estate or reduce encumbrances or erect improvements thereon,

(B) operate or improve the operation of farms not larger than family-sized,

(C) participate in cooperative associations, or

(D) finance nonagricultural enterprises which will enable such families to supplement their income; and

(2) loans to such families, having a maximum maturity of 15 years and in amounts not exceeding $2,500 in the aggregate to any family at any one time, for the purpose set forth in subparagraph (a)(1)(D) of this section.

(b) Grants under this section shall be made only if the family is not qualified to obtain such funds by loan under other Federal programs: *Provided, however,* That nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the making of grants where appropriate in combination with or as supplements to loans made under this program or other Federal programs.

FAMILY FARM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

SEC. 303. (a) The Director is authorized to cooperate with, furnish technical assistance to, and otherwise assist in the organization of public or private nonprofit corporations having as their objective the improvement of the productivity and income of low-income farmers. Such corporations shall be eligible for assistance under this section if they are organized for the purpose of and have the power to acquire real property or any interest therein in rural areas, to develop or reconstitute such real property into units not larger than family farms, including necessary fences, farm buildings, land and water development, and related facilities, and to sell the farms so developed or reconsti-

RESEARCH, TRAINING, AND DEMONSTRATIONS

SEC. 206. The Director is authorized to conduct, or to make grants to or enter into contracts with institutions of higher education or other appropriate public agencies or private nonprofit organizations for the conduct of, research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of this title. Expenditures under this section in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15 per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for such year to carry out the purposes of this title.

LIMITATIONS ON FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 207. (a) Assistance pursuant to sections 203 and 204 paid for the period ending two years after the date of enactment of this Act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, shall not exceed 90 per centum of the costs referred to in those sections, respectively, and thereafter shall not exceed 75 per centum of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to regulations adopted and promulgated by him establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of this title. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

(b) The expenditures or contributions made from non-Federal sources for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures and contributions from non-Federal sources which were being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance.

PARTICIPATION OF STATE AGENCIES

SEC. 208. (a) The Director shall establish procedures which will facilitate effective participation of the States in community action programs. Such procedures shall include provision for the referral of applications for assistance under this title to the Governor of each State affected, or his designee, for such comments as he may deem appropriate.

(b) The Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, appropriate State agencies for the payment of the expenses of such agencies in providing technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 209. The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under this title among the States and between urban and rural areas. In developing such criteria, he shall consider the relative numbers in the States or areas therein of: (a) low-income families, particularly those with children; (b) unemployed persons; (c) persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations; (d) school dropouts; (e) adults with less than an eighth grade education; and (f) persons rejected for military service. Not more than 12½ per centum of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal

year to carry out the purposes of this title shall be used for grants or contracts pursuant to sections 203 and 204 within any one State.

PREFERENCE FOR COMPONENTS OF APPROVED PROGRAMS

SEC. 210. In determining whether to extend assistance under any other title of this Act, the Director shall, to the extent feasible, give preference to programs and projects which are components of a community action program approved pursuant to this title.

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 301. It is the purpose of this title to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby to raise and maintain the income and living standards of low-income rural families.

AUTHORITY TO MAKE GRANTS AND LOANS

SEC. 302. (a) The Director is authorized to make—

(1) grants of not to exceed $1,500 to low-income rural families where, in the judgment of the Director, such grants have a reasonable possibility of effecting a permanent increase in the income of such families by assisting or permitting them to—

(A) acquire to improve real estate or reduce encumbrances or erect improvements thereon,

(B) operate or improve the operation of farms not larger than family-sized,

(C) participate in cooperative associations, or

(D) finance nonagricultural enterprises which will enable such families to supplement their income; and

(2) loans to such families, having a maximum maturity of 15 years and in amounts not exceeding $2,500 in the aggregate to any family at any one time, for the purpose set forth in subparagraph (a)(1)(D) of this section.

(b) Grants under this section shall be made only if the family is not qualified to obtain such funds by loan under other Federal programs: *Provided, however*, That nothing herein shall be construed to prevent the making of grants where appropriate in combination with or as supplements to loans made under this program or other Federal programs.

FAMILY FARM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

SEC. 303. (a) The Director is authorized to cooperate with, furnish technical assistance to, and otherwise assist in the organization of public or private nonprofit corporations having as their objective the improvement of the productivity and income of low-income farmers. Such corporations shall be eligible for assistance under this section if they are organized for the purpose of and have the power to acquire real property or any interest therein in rural areas, to develop or reconstitute such real property into units not larger than family farms, including necessary fences, farm buildings, land and water development, and related facilities, and to sell the farms so developed or reconsti-

tuted to low-income farm families at prices equal to their appraised value when used for agricultural purposes and in a manner that the Director determines will further the purposes of this title.

(b) The Director may prescribe such rules and regulations regarding the organization, financial resources, operations, and activities of such corporations as he deems appropriate.

(c) The Director is authorized to purchase the obligations of, or make loans to, such corporations upon such terms and conditions as he may determine subject to the limitations of sections 305 and 306.

(d) The Director is authorized to make grants to such corporations in amounts sufficient to make up the deficiency between the cost of the farms developed or reconstituted by them and the net proceeds received from the sale of such farms at the prices specified in subsection (a).

COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

SEC. 304. The Director is authorized to make loans to local cooperative associations furnishing essential production, processing, purchasing, or marketing services, supplies, or facilities predominantly to low-income rural families.

LIMITATIONS ON ASSISTANCE

SEC. 305. No financial or other assistance shall be provided under this title unless the Director determines that—

(a) the providing of such assistance will materially further the purposes of this title, and

(b) in the case of assistance provided pursuant to sections 303 and 304, the applicant is fulfilling or will fulfill a need for services, facilities, or activities which is not otherwise being met.

LOAN TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 306. Loans made pursuant to sections 302, 303, and 304 (including obligations purchased pursuant to section 303) shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the following limitations:

(a) there is reasonable assurance of repayment of the loan;

(b) the credit is not otherwise available on reasonable terms from private sources or other Federal, State, or local programs;

(c) the amount of the loan, together with other funds available, is adequate to assure completion of the project or achievement of the purposes for which loan is made;

(d) the loan bears interest at a rate not less than (1) a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity, plus (2) such additional charge, if any, toward covering other costs of the program as the Director may determine to be consistent with its purposes; and

(e) with respect to loans made pursuant to sections 303 and 304, the loan is repayable within not more than 30 years.

TITLE IV—EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 401. It is the purpose of this title to provide new training and employment opportunities for long-term unemployed persons; to assist in the establishment, preservation, and strengthening of small business concerns and improve the managerial skills employed in such enterprises; and to mobilize for these objectives private as well as public managerial skills and resources.

PART A—INCENTIVES FOR EMPLOYMENT OF LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED PERSONS

LOANS, PARTICIPATIONS, AND GUARANTIES

SEC. 411. (a) The Director is authorized to make, participate (on an immediate basis) in, or guarantee loans to private borrowers, repayable in not more than twenty-five years, when he determines that such financial assistance will result in stable employment for persons not already employed by the borrower, a majority of whom will be recruited from among the long-term unemployed and members of low-income families.

(b) The amount of any loan, participation, or guaranty made hereunder shall not exceed an amount equal to $10,000 multiplied by the number of persons to be employed by the borrower as a result of the financial assistance.

LIMITATIONS ON FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 412. No financial assistance shall be extended pursuant to this part unless—

(a) the Director determines that the assistance will not be used in relocating establishments from one area to another; and

(b) the assistance is extended in accordance with and as part of a community action program approved pursuant to title II of this Act.

PROVISION FOR LOSSES ON GUARANTEES

SEC. 413. The Director shall make a reasonable provision for possible losses with respect to guaranties under this part, but such provision shall be not less than 15 per centum of the guarantees in force at any time. The amounts so provided and set aside within appropriations shall be considered to constitute obligations for purposes of section 1311 of the Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1955 (31 U.S.C. 200).

LOAN TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 414. Loans made pursuant to section 411 (including immediate participations in and guaranties of such loans) shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the following limitations:

(a) there is reasonable assurance of repayment of the loan;

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(b) the financial assistance is not otherwise available on reasonable terms from private sources or other Federal, State, or local programs;

(c) the amount of the loan, together with other funds available, is adequate to assure completion of the project or achievement of the purposes for which the loan is made;

(d) the loan bears interest at a rate not less than (1) a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity, plus (2) such additional charge, if any, toward covering other costs of the program as the Director may determine to be consistent with its purposes: *Provided, however*, That the rate of interest charged on loans made in redevelopment areas designated under the Area Redevelopment Act (42 U.S.C. 2501 et seq.) shall not exceed the rate currently applicable to new loans made under section 6 of that Act (42 U.S.C. 2505); and

(e) fees not in excess of amounts necessary to cover administrative expenses and probable losses may be required on loan guarantees.

Part B—Small Business Loans

LOANS, PARTICIPATIONS, AND GUARANTEES

Sec. 421. The Director is authorized to make, participate (on an immediate basis) in, or guarantee loans, repayable in not more than fifteen years, to any small business concern (as defined in section 3 of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 632) and regulations issued thereunder), or to any qualified person seeking to establish such a concern, when he determines that such loans will assist in carrying out the purposes of this title: *Provided, however*, That no such loans shall be made, participated in, or quaranteed if the total of such Federal assistance to a single borrower outstanding at any one time would exceed $15,000. The Director may defer payments on the principal of such loans for a grace period and use such other methods as he deems necessary and appropriate to assure the successful establishment and operation of such concern. The Director may, in his discretion, as a condition of such financial assistance, require that the borrower take steps to improve his management skills by participating in a management training program approved by the Director. The Director shall encourage, as far as possible, the participation of the private business community in the program of assistance to such concerns.

COORDINATION WITH COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Sec. 422. No financial assistance shall be provided under section 421 in any community for which the Director has approved a community action program pursuant to title II of this Act unless such financial assistance is determined by him to be consistent with such program.

FINANCING UNDER SMALL BUSINESS ACT

Sec. 423. Such lending and guarantee functions under this part as may be delegated to the Small Business Administration may be

financed with funds appropriated to the revolving fund established by section 4(c) of the Small Business Act (15 U.S.C. 633 (c)) for the purposes of sections 7(a), 7(b), and 8(a) of that Act (15 U.S.C. 636(a), 636(b), 637(a)).

LOAN TERMS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 424. Loans made pursuant to section 421 (including immediate participations in and guarantees of such loans) shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the limitations set forth in paragraphs (a) through (e) of section 414.

TITLE V—FAMILY UNITY THROUGH JOBS

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

SEC. 501. It is the purpose of this title to expand the opportunities for constructive work experience and other needed training or basic education available to persons who are unable to support or care for their families.

PAYMENTS FOR EXPERIMENTAL, PILOT, AND DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

SEC. 502. In order to stimulate the adoption by States of programs designed to help unemployed fathers and other members of needy families with children to secure and retain employment or to attain or retain capability for self-support or personal independence, the Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable him to make payments for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects under section 1115 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1315), in addition to the sums otherwise available pursuant thereto. The costs of such projects to the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, shall, notwithstanding the provisions of such Act, be met entirely from funds appropriated or allocated to carry out the purposes of this title.

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

PART A—ADMINISTRATION

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

SEC. 601. (a) There is hereby established in the Executive Office of the President the Office of Economic Opportunity. The Office shall be headed by a Director who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. There shall also be in the Office four Deputy Directors who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Deputy Directors shall perform such functions as the Director may from time to time prescribe.

(b) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 5(b) of the Reorganization Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 133z–3(b)), at any time after one year from the date of enactment hereof the President may, by complying with the procedures established by that Act, provide for the transfer of the Office from the Executive Office of the President and

for its establishment elsewhere in the Executive Branch as he deems appropriate.

(c) Section 103(a) of the Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956 (5 U.S.C. 2202(a)) is amended by adding the following clause thereto:

"(6) Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity."

(d) Section 105 of the Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956 (5 U.S.C. 2204) is amended by adding the following clause thereto:

"(32) Deputy Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity."

(e) Section 106(a) of the Federal Executive Pay Act of 1956 (5 U.S.C. 2205(a)) is amended by adding the following clause thereto:

"(52) Deputy Directors of the Office of Economic Opportunity (3)."

AUTHORITY OF DIRECTOR

SEC. 602. In addition to the authority conferred upon him by other sections of this Act, the Director is authorized, in carrying out his functions under this Act, to—

(a) appoint in accordance with the civil service laws such personnel as may be necessary to enable the Office to carry out its functions, and, except as otherwise provided herein, fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949 (5 U.S.C. 1071 et seq.);

(b) employ experts and consultants or organizations thereof as authorized by section 15 of the Act of August 2, 1946 (5 U.S.C. 55a), compensate individuals so employed at rates not in excess of $100 per diem, including travel time, and allow them, while away from their homes or regular places of business, travel expenses (including per diem in lieu of subsistence) as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently, while so employed: *Provided, however,* That contracts for such employment may be renewed annually;

(c) appoint, without regard to the civil service laws, one or more advisory committees composed of such private citizens and officials of the Federal, State and local governments as he deems desirable to advise him with respect to his functions under this Act; and members of such committees (including the National Advisory Council established in section 605), other than those regularly employed by the Federal Government, while attending meetings of such committees or otherwise serving at the request of the Director, shall be entitled to receive compensation and travel expenses as provided in subsection (b) with respect to experts and consultants;

(d) with the approval of the President, arrange with and reimburse the heads of other Federal agencies for the performance of any of his functions under this Act and, as necessary or appropriate, delegate any of his powers under this Act and authorize the redelegation thereof;

(e) utilize, with their consent, the services and facilities of Federal agencies without reimbursement, and, with the consent of any State or a political subdivision of a State, accept and utilize the services and facilities of the agencies of such State or subdivision without reimbursement;

(f) accept in the name of the Office, and employ or dispose of in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, or of any title thereof,

any money or property, real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible, received by gift, devise, bequest, or otherwise;

(g) accept voluntary and uncompensated services, notwithstanding the provisions of section 3679(b) of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 665(b));

(h) allocate and expend, or transfer to other Federal agencies for expenditure, funds made available under this Act as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions hereof, including (without regard to the provisions of section 4774(d) of title 10, United States Code) expenditures for construction, repairs, and capital improvements;

(i) disseminate, without regard to the provisions of section 321n of title 39, United States Code, data and information, in such form as he shall deem appropriate, to public agencies, private organizations, and the general public;

(j) adopt an official seal, which shall be judicially noticed;

(k) notwithstanding any other provision of law relating to the acquisition, handling, or disposal of real or personal property by the United States, deal with, complete, rent, renovate, modernize, or sell for cash or credit at his discretion any properties acquired by him in connection with loans, participations, and guarantees made by him pursuant to titles III and IV of this Act;

(l) collect or compromise all obligations to or held by him and all legal or equitable rights accruing to him in connection with the payment of obligations until such time as such obligations may be referred to the Attorney General for suit or collection; and

(m) establish such policies, standards, criteria, and procedures, prescribe such rules and regulations, enter into such contracts and agreements with public agencies and private organizations and persons, make such payments (in lump sum or installments, and in advance or by way of reimbursement, and in the case of grants, with necessary adjustments on account of overpayments or underpayments), and generally perform such functions and take such steps as he may deem to be necessary or appropriate to carry out the provisions of this Act.

VOLUNTEERS FOR AMERICA

SEC. 603. (a) The Director is authorized to recruit, select, train, and—

(1) upon request, refer volunteers to perform duties in furtherance of programs of assistance at a State or local level; and

(2) in cooperation with other Federal, State, or local agencies involved, assign volunteers to work (A) in meeting the health and education needs of Indians living on reservations, of migratory workers and their families, or of residents of the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; (B) in the care and rehabilitation of the mentally ill and mentally retarded under treatment at nonprofit mental health facilities assisted in their construction or operation by Federal funds; and (C) in furtherance of Federally-operated programs or activities authorized by Titles I and II of this Act.

(b) The referral or assignment of volunteers shall be on such terms and conditions as the Director may determine, but volunteers shall not be referred or assigned to duties or work in any State without the consent of the Governor.

(c) The Director is authorized to provide to all volunteers during training and to volunteers assigned pursuant to subsection (a)(2) such stipend, not to exceed $50 per month, such living, travel, and leave allowances, and such housing, transportation (including travel to and from the place of training), supplies, equipment, subsistence, clothing, and health and dental care as the Director may deem necessary or appropriate for their needs.

(d) Volunteers shall be deemed not to be Federal employees and shall not be subject to the provisions of laws relating to Federal employment, including those relating to hours of work, rates of compensation, leave, unemployment compensation, and Federal employee benefits, except that all volunteers during training and such volunteers as are assigned pursuant to subsection (a)(2) shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees of the Corps under section 107 (b), (c), and (d) of this Act.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY COUNCIL

SEC. 604. (a) There is hereby established an Economic Opportunity Council, which shall consult with and advise the Director in carrying out his functions, including the coordination of anti-poverty efforts by all segments of the Federal Government.

(b) The Council shall include the Director, who shall be Chairman, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the Administrator of the Small Business Administration, the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, the Director of Selective Service, and such other agency heads as the President may designate, or delegates thereof.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL

SEC. 605. There is hereby established in the Office a National Advisory Council. The Council shall be composed of the Director, who shall be Chairman, and not more than fourteen additional members appointed by the President, without regard to the civil service laws, who shall be representative of the public in general and appropriate fields of endeavor related to the purposes of this Act. Upon the request of the Director, the Council shall review the operations and activities of the Office, and shall make such recommendations with respect thereto as are appropriate. The Council shall meet at least once each year and at such other times as the Director may request.

REVOLVING FUND

SEC. 606. (a) To carry out the lending and guaranty functions authorized unter titles III and IV of this Act, there is authorized to be established a revolving fund. The capital of the fund shall consist of such amounts as may be advanced to it by the Director from funds appropriated pursuant to section 701 and shall remain available until expended.

(b) The Director shall pay into miscellaneous receipts of the Treasury, at the close of each fiscal year, interest on the capital of the fund at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, taking into consideration the average market yield on outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity during the last month of the preceding fiscal year. Interest payments may be deferred with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, but any interest payments so deferred shall themselves bear interest.

(c) Whenever any capital in the fund is determined by the Director to be in excess of current needs, such capital shall be credited to the appropriation from which advanced, where it shall be held for future advances.

(d) Receipts from any lending and guaranty operations under this Act (except operations under part B of title IV carried on by the Small Business Administration) shall be credited to the fund. The fund shall be available for the payment of all expenditures of the Director for loans, participations, and guaranties authorized under titles III and IV of this Act.

REPORTS

SEC. 607. Not later than one hundred twenty days after the close of each fiscal year, the Director shall prepare and submit to the President for transmittal to the Congress a full and complete report on the activities of the Office during such year.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 608. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "State" means a State, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the District of Columbia, Guam, American Samoa, or the Virgin Islands, and the term "United States," when used in a geographical sense, includes the foregoing and all other places, continental or insular, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

(b) The term "agency," unless the context requires otherwise, means department, agency, or other component of a Federal, State, or local governmental entity.

PART B—COORDINATION OF ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS

COORDINATION

SEC. 611. In order to insure that all Federal programs related to the purposes of this Act are carried out in a coordinated manner—

(a) the Director is authorized to call upon other Federal agencies to supply such statistical data, program reports, and other materials as he deems necessary to discharge his responsibilities under this Act, and to assist the President in coordinating the anti-poverty efforts of all Federal agencies;

(b) Federal agencies which are engaged in administering programs related to the purposes of this Act, or which otherwise perform functions relating thereto, shall

(1) cooperate with the Director in carrying out his duties and responsibilities under this Act, and

(2) carry out their programs and exercise their functions in such manner as will, to the maximum extent permitted by other applicable law, assist in carrying out the purposes of this Act; and

(c) the President may direct that particular programs and functions, including the expenditure of funds, of the Federal agencies referred to in subsection (b) shall be carried out, to the extent not inconsistent with other applicable law, in conjunction with or in support of programs authorized under this Act.

PREFERENCE TO COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

SEC. 612. To the extent feasible and consistent with the provisions of law governing any Federal program and with the purposes of this Act, the head of each Federal agency administering any Federal program is directed to give preference to any application for assistance or benefits which is made pursuant to or in connection with a community action program approved pursuant to Title II of this Act.

INFORMATION CENTER

SEC. 613. In order to insure that all Federal programs related to the purposes of this Act are utilized to the maximum extent possible, and to insure that information concerning such programs and other relevant information is readily available in one place to public officials and other interested persons, the Director is authorized as he deems appropriate to collect, prepare, analyze, correlate, and distribute such information, either free of charge or by sale at cost (any funds so received to be deposited to the Director's account as an offset to such cost), and make arrangements and pay for any printing and binding without regard to the provisions of any other law or regulation.

TITLE VII—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 701. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Director for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, the sum of $962,500,000, and thereafter such sums as are necessary to carry out this Act, to be available until expended.

[The following section-by-section analysis was prepared by the Office of the Legal Counsel, U. S. Department of Justice]

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

Section-by-Section Analysis

The proposed bill is entitled the "Economic Opportunity Act of 1964."

Section 2 of the bill declares that it is the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this Nation by opening to everyone opportunities for education, training, work, and a life of decency and dignity, and that the purpose of the act is to strengthen, supplement, and coordinate efforts in furtherance of that policy.

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Title I provides three separate programs for youth—a Job Corps, work-training programs, and work-study programs.

PART A—JOB CORPS

Section 101 declares that the purpose of this part is to increase the employability of youths aged 16 to 21 by providing them in residential centers with education, vocational training, useful work experience, and other appropriate activities.

Section 102 establishes a Job Corps within the Office of Economic Opportunity created by title VI.

Section 103 authorizes the Director of the Office to (*a*) enter into agreements with public or private organizations for the provision of necessary facilities and services; (*b*) provide education and vocational training to enrollees in the Corps or arrange for their provision by public educational agencies; (*c*) provide useful work experience; (*d*) furnish health services; and (*e*) prescribe rules and regulations to govern the Corps.

Section 104 provides that the Corps shall be composed of males aged 16 through 21 who are permanent residents of the United States. Participation in the Corps shall not relieve an enrollee of his Selective Service obligations. Enrollment shall be for a maximum of 2 years except as the Director may determine in special cases.

Section 105 provides for living allowances and maintenance of enrollees. Upon termination of enrollment, each enrollee shall receive a readjustment allowance amounting to not more than $50 per month for each month of satisfactory participation in the Corps. However, under circumstances determined by the Director, up to $25 per month of the readjustment allowance may be paid directly to a dependent of an enrollee during his period of service in the Corps, and any such payments shall be matched by the Director.

Section 106 contains technical material concerning the application to enrollees of provisions of the Internal Revenue Code, Social Security Act, Federal Employees' Compensation Act, and the Federal Tort Claims Act. Personnel of the uniformed services working for

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health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, and welfare.

Subsection (b) requires that any assisted elementary or secondary school education program shall be administered by public educational agencies but shall be available to all children regardless of whether they are regularly enrolled in the public schools.

Subsection (c) authorizes assistance for antipoverty activities in a community without a community action program, if a representative group is developing such a program and if such assistance will further the purposes of title II. After June 30, 1965, such assistance in any fiscal year shall not exceed 20 percent of the sums appropriated or allocated to title II for such year.

Subsection (d) lists factors to be considered by the Director in determining whether to extend assistance to a community.

Subsection (e) requires the Director to give special considerations to programs which give promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of those aided to deal with their problems without further assistance.

Section 205 authorizes the Director to provide technical assistance to communities in developing and administering community action programs and training for specialized personnel.

Section 206 authorizes the Director to conduct or contract for research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of title II, but expenditures for such activities in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15 percent of the sums appropriated or allocated to title II for such year.

Section 207 sets limits on the amount of Federal assistance that can be extended under sections 203 and 204. Such assistance paid for the period ending 2 years after the enactment of the act, or June 30, 1966, whichever is later, shall not exceed 90 percent of the costs referred to in these sections, and thereafter shall not exceed 75 percent of such costs, unless the Director determines, pursuant to objective criteria, that greater percentages are required. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind. The non-Federal expenditures or contributions for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources being made for similar purposes before Federal assistance was extended.

Section 208 requires the Director to establish procedures for effective State participation in community action programs, including the referral of applications for Federal assistance to the Governor for comment. The Director is authorized to reimburse State agencies for their expenses in providing technical assistance relating to community action programs.

Section 209 requires the Director to establish criteria to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance under title II among the States and between urban and rural areas and sets forth certain factors that are to be considered. Not more than 12½ percent of the sums appropriated or allocated for any fiscal year to title II shall be used for assistance under sections 203 and 204 within any one State.

Section 210 requires the Director, in extending assistance under other titles of the act, to give preference, to the extent feasible, to programs and projects which are components of an approved community action program.

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

Section 301 declares that the purpose of the title is to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby to raise and maintain the income and living standards of low-income rural families.

Section 302 authorizes the Director to make grants and loans to such families. Grants up to $1,500 may be made where they have a reasonable possibility of effecting a permanent increase in the income of such families by assisting them to acquire or improve real estate, to improve the operation of family-sized farms, to participate in cooperatives, or to finance nonagricultural enterprises to supplement income. Fifteen-year loans up to $2,500 in the aggregate may also be made for this last purpose.

Section 303 authorizes the Director to make loans to and otherwise assist corporations if they are organized to acquire real property in rural areas, to develop or reconstitute such property in units not larger than family farms, and to sell such farms to low-income farm families at appraised value for agricultural purposes. Section 303 also authorizes the Director to make grants sufficient to make up the deficiency between the cost of such farms to the corporation and the net proceeds from their sale.

Section 304 authorizes loans to cooperative associations furnishing essential services, supplies, or facilities predominantly to low-income rural families.

Section 305 conditions assistance under the title upon a determination by the Director that such assistance will materially further the purposes of the title and, in the case of a corporation or cooperative, that the applicant will fulfill a need not otherwise being met.

Section 306 provides that loans under the title shall have such terms and conditions as the Director determines, subject to (*a*) reasonable assurance of repayment, (*b*) credit not otherwise being available on reasonable terms, (*c*) assurance of completion of the project for which the loan is made, (*d*) interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, plus a possible additional charge to cover costs, and (*e*) a term of not more than 30 years (except for the 15-year loans provided for in section 302).

TITLE IV—EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

Section 401 declares that the purpose of the title is to provide new training and employment opportunities for long-term unemployed persons; to assist small business concerns and improve the managerial skills used therein; and to mobilize for these objectives private as well as public managerial skills and resources.

PART A—INCENTIVES FOR EMPLOYMENT OF LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYED

Section 411 authorizes the Director to make or guarantee 25-year loans which will result in stable employment for persons not already employed by the borrower, a majority of whom will be recruited from among the long-term unemployed and members of low-income families. Any such loan shall not exceed an amount equal to $10,000 multiplied by the number of persons to be employed by the borrower as a result of the loan.

Section 412 limits such assistance to cases where it will not be used to relocate establishments and where it is part of an approved community action program.

Section 413 requires the Director to make provision for losses on loan guarantees.

Section 414 provides that such loans and guarantees shall have terms and conditions determined by the Director, subject to (*a*) reasonable assurance of repayment, (*b*) financial assistance not otherwise being available on reasonable terms, (*c*) assurance of completion of the project for which the loan is made, (*d*) interest calculated in general at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury, plus a possible additional charge to cover costs and (*e*) the right on loan guarantees to require fees to cover administrative expenses and probable losses.

PART B—SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

Section 421 authorizes the Director to make or guarantee 15-year, $15,000 loans to small business concerns or to persons seeking to establish such concerns, where such loans will assist in carrying out the purposes of title IV. The Director may require a borrower to participate in a management training program as a condition of a loan.

Section 422 provides that no assistance may be provided under section 421 in a community with an approved community action program unless consistent with that program.

Section 423 authorizes any functions under this part which are delegated to the Small Business Administration to be financed through its revolving fund.

Section 424 provides that loans under this part (including participations and guarantees) shall have such terms and conditions as the Director shall determine, subject to the five limitations set forth in section 414.

TITLE V—FAMILY UNITY THROUGH JOBS

Section 501 declares that the purpose of the title is to expand the opportunities for work, training and basic education for those who are unable to support or care for their families.

Section 502 provides that in order to stimulate States to adopt programs to help unemployed fathers and other members of needy families with children to secure employment or otherwise attain capability for self-support, the Director is authorized to transfer to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare funds to make payments for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects under section 1115 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C. 1315).

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

PART A—ADMINISTRATION

Section 601 establishes the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President. After 1 year, the President may provide for the transfer of the Office elsewhere in the executive branch by complying with the procedures of the Reorganization Act of 1949. The Office shall have a Director and four Deputy Directors,

who shall be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Director shall receive a salary of $22,500; one Deputy Director shall receive a salary of $20,500 and the other three a salary of $20,000.

Section 602 authorizes the Director to: (*a*) appoint personnel in accordance with the civil service laws and fix their compensation; (*b*) employ experts and consultants; (*c*) appoint and compensate members of advisory committees; (*d*) with the approval of the President, arrange for other Federal agencies to carry out functions under the act and, as necessary, delegate his powers; (*e*) utilize, with their consent, the services and facilities of other Federal, State, and local agencies, without reimbursement; (*f*) accept, use, and dispose of gifts and bequests; (*g*) accept voluntary services; (*h*) allocate and expend, or transfer to other Federal agencies for expenditure, funds made available under the act; (*i*) disseminate data and information without regard to certain postal restrictions; (*j*) adopt an official seal; (*k*) deal with property acquired on loans and guarantees; (*l*) collect and compromise obligations; and (*m*) establish policies, prescribe rules and regulations, and generally take such steps as are appropriate to carry out the act.

Section 603 authorizes the Director to recruit, select, and train volunteers for America. Upon request, he may refer volunteers to work on programs of assistance at a local level. He may assign volunteers to work (*a*) in meeting the health and education needs of Indians, migratory workers, and residents of certain areas under Federal jurisdiction, (*b*) in nonprofit mental health facilities assisted by Federal funds, and (*c*) in federally operated programs or activities under titles I and II of the act. No volunteers may work in any State without the consent of the Governor. The Director may provide to all volunteers during training and to assigned volunteers a stipend up to $50 a month, together with living allowances and maintenance. Volunteers shall be deemed not to be Federal employees except that all volunteers during training and assigned volunteers shall be deemed Federal employees to the same extent as enrollees in the Job Corps.

Section 604 establishes an Economic Opportunity Council to consult with and advise the Director on his functions, including that of coordinating all Federal antipoverty efforts. The Council shall include the Director and other appropriate Cabinet officers and agency heads, or delegates thereof.

Section 605 establishes a National Advisory Council, to consist of the Director and not more than 14 additional members, appointed by the President, to represent the general public and fields of endeavor related to the act. At the Director's request, the Council shall review the operations of the Office and make recommendations.

Section 606 establishes a revolving fund for loans and guarantees under titles III and IV and contains provisions for its operation.

Section 607 provides that within 120 days after each fiscal year, the Director shall submit a report for transmittal to the Congress.

Section 608 defines the terms "State," "United States," and "agency" as used in the act.

PART B—COORDINATION OF ANTIPOVERTY PROGRAMS

Section 611 contains provisions to insure that all Federal antipoverty programs are carried out in a coordinated manner. Subsection (a) authorizes the Director to call on other Federal agencies for data, reports, and other materials, and to assist the President in coordinating the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies. Subsection (b) requires Federal agencies to cooperate with the Director. Subsection (c) authorizes the President to direct that particular programs and functions, including the expenditure of funds, shall be carried out to support programs under the act.

Section 612 directs each Federal agency head administering any Federal program to give preference to applications for assistance made under an approved community action program.

Section 613 provides that to insure that information about Federal antipoverty programs is readily available in one place to public officials and others, the Director may collect, prepare, analyze, correlate, and distribute (free or at cost) information concerning such programs.

TITLE VII—AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

Section 701 authorizes an appropriation to the Director for fiscal 1965 of $962,500,000, and thereafter such sums as may be necessary, to be available until expended.

[The following presentation was prepared under the direction of Sargent Shriver, special assistant to the President]

THE WAR ON POVERTY

A Congressional Presentation, March 17, 1964

Introduction

When Americans look at themselves today, they cannot help seeing a reflection of growing affluence and optimism. The image is thrown back from every side.

Their income level is at an all-time high; their purchasing power is vigorous. They drive one or more cars, watch one or more television sets, own one or more telephones. They have added freezers to their refrigerators, automatic dryers to their automatic washers, swimming pools to their backyards, air conditioners to their homes and cars; and they have more time than ever to switch off the appliances and get away from it all. They are coming, in fact, to regard the uses of leisure as a serious problem.

For the average school child, the prospect has never seemed brighter. He knows he can go through high school without having to help support his parents. If he chooses, he can attend a city or community college, or a State university, pursue the course of study he selects, and find his place in the constantly expanding business, scientific, academic, or cultural community in the richest Nation on earth. His children, he feels, will have at least equal opportunities—or better.

This is the image of America that is seen from abroad, and that Americans themselves see—a reflection of the vast progress our economy has made in the past three decades. There is dramatic evidence of this progress in the fact that while the total number of families in the United States increased by 10 million during the last 15 years, the total number of families with income of less than $3,000 *dropped* by 2.6 million.

But in spite of this, there remains an unseen America, a land of limited opportunity and restricted choice. In it live nearly 10 million families who try to find shelter, feed and clothe their children, stave off disease and malnutrition, and somehow build a better life on less than $60 a week. Almost two-thirds of these families struggle to get along on less than $40 a week.

These are the people behind the American looking glass. There are nearly 35 million of them. Being poor is not a choice for these millions; it is a rigid way of life. It is handed down from generation to generation in a cycle of inadequate education, inadequate homes, inadequate jobs, and stunted ambitions. It is a peculiar axiom of poverty that the poor are poor because they earn little, and they also earn little because they are poor. For the rebel who seeks a way out of this closed circle, there is little help. The communities of the poor generally have the poorest schools, the scarcest opportunities for training. The poor citizen lacks organization, endures sometimes arbitrary impingement on his rights by courts and law enforcement agencies; cannot make his protest heard or has stopped protesting.

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A spirit of defeatism often pervades his life and remains the only legacy for his children.

If the American economy can be compared to a 20-story luxury apartment house where even the ground floor tenants share the comforts, then this one-fifth of our population inhabits a subbasement, out of sight, and almost out of mind.

Thirty years ago, it was simple enough to recognize the poor, on street corners, in doorways, and breadlines everywhere. In 1964, one needs an economic road map to find them. For today's poor are a mixed group. They include—

The children of poverty.
Those bypassed by industrial change.
Rural families.
Minority group members.
Fatherless families.
The aged.

This is not an all-inclusive list. There are some who fit none of these descriptions, and certainly many who do fit them are not poor. But it is safe to say that most of the poor share one or more of these characteristics, and together, they constitute what must be recognized, even by the skeptical, as a stubborn core of poverty in the United States.

The children of poverty

Patterns of poverty are established early in life. Thousands of children grow up in homes where education, ambition, and hope are as scarce as money. Many of these children attend school with little incentive or guidance from home to get them through. They drop out as soon as the law permits, or sooner. Others fail to attend school at all.

By the time such children reach 16, they begin a lifelong drift through a series of low-skill or no-skill jobs that grow increasingly harder to find as automation spreads through business and industry. Some who can't find jobs at all turn to drug addiction, petty crime, then major crime.

But most simply find a niche of minimum usefulness to themselves and society, where they may cling for the rest of their lives. They need opportunities for escape, but first, their attitudes have to be rebuilt, in a sense, from the ground up. For poverty can be a state of mind, and many of these young people feel already defeated.

Another group falls in with this youthful army of the poor who form ranks in city slums and rural backwaters across the Nation. These are children of poor families who grow up with the motivation and the ambition, but not the opportunities. If they get through high school they are unable to find part-time work to help them meet college expenses, or to help them contribute to needed support at home.

There are, in all, 11 million children among the 35 million poor of this Nation. The leading edge of the postwar wave of infants has been reaching the critical 16-to-21 age bracket for the past few years. There are 5.5 million in this bracket now. In a single month last fall, 730,000 of them were unemployed and not registered in schools. By 1970 there will be over 7 million in the 16-to-21 group, and unless the trend is reversed the number of youths not working and not attending schools can be expected to total well over a million.

The bypassed

Unparalleled technical advances in America have brought to most of our labor force and their families a standard of living undreamed of 30 years ago. But for a considerable minority it has brought considerably less.

There are thousands who are simply bypassed by modern technological advances. They are unable to secure regular employment in an economy which increasingly creates jobs beyond their meager skills and education.

There is also the semiskilled or unskilled worker, suddenly displaced from his job as the plant relocates, or as the machine takes over, who faces weeks or months of unemployment, or a forced retirement. Following a plant closing in Trenton in October 1961, 1,900 employees—almost two-thirds of the work force—were still unemployed and looking for work 9 months later. In Sioux City, Iowa, 40 percent of the former employees remained unemployed 6 months after the June 1963 closing of their plant. In Iron City, Wis., a mine closed in August of 1962, leaving about 40 percent of the miners still looking for work 9 months later. In Fargo, N. Dak., a third of the former employees were still unemployed a year after their plant closed.

Some of these workers, who have nontransferable skills or are "too old" at 40 or 50 to be reabsorbed, are unable to get regular jobs or, in many cases, any work at all. They find themselves in a downward spiral that pulls their children down with them. Still others, somewhat luckier, are able to find steady work, but in low-pay occupations and industries, at wage rates which are insufficient to keep the family out of the grip of poverty.

Millions of workers inhabit this economic underworld of the bypassed.

The rural poor

Our technological upheaval has cast off another luckless group—the small farmer and the surrounding community which depends on his solvency. Some farmers have ridden the tides of our economic growth to unprecedented farm income levels. But many more, caught between falling agricultural prices and soaring investment costs, have found themselves in a trap that appears to offer no escape except perhaps to an unpromising new life in an urban slum.

One and a half million rural farm families live on less than $250 a month; 2.8 million other rural families in nonfarm occupations struggle along at the same income level. Over a million of these rural families must somehow stretch $80 a month to cover their needs. For the children of these families, without shoes or clothes for school, without money for school supplies or lunches, even primary education becomes a luxury. Nearly half a million of these rural youths between the ages of 14 and 24 have completed no more than sixth grade. Their horizons thus stop at the edge of a few acres of exhausted land.

Nowhere is the irony of the poor being furnished with the poorest services more poignant than in the rural areas. Here are found the one-room schoolhouse held together by a single overburdened teacher, the families too isolated to avail themselves of health services, the homesteads unable to apply the benefits of agricultural research.

Many rural farm families find that even a semibarren piece of land offers them more certitude than the prospect of a new life in a strange

environment. With limited education or skills, or failing health, they have no choice but to squeeze some sustenance from the land they know.

Others have already joined the vanguard of an unhappy exodus, a growing legion of unskilled, uneducated workers who come to the city in search of something they may not find: better opportunities. Often they find they have accomplished nothing but a relocation of their poverty.

The minority poor

There is a substantial segment of the poor in this country who need not puzzle over the complicated economics of poverty. They are the minority group poor. For them the equations are simpler. They are hired last, paid less, and fired first. They work mainly in the low-pay occupations, and in those, get lower pay then their white counterparts. The Negro college graduate can expect to earn only as much income as the white worker who never went beyond the eighth grade; in comparable occupations, the white man can expect to earn almost 50 percent more in his lifetime than the Negro and the Puerto Rican, almost one-third more than the Spanish-speaking American.

Eight million Negroes—nearly half the total Negro population in the United States—are poor. A third of the Negro population lives in southern cities, one-fourth on southern farms, and the balance largely in the northern cities. In both the North and the South the Negro faces the same problem: in relation to his white counterpart, he is falling further and further behind. During the fifties the average income of the Negro male improved substantially. For every dollar he earned in 1949, he earned $1.75 in 1959. But the white man running ahead of him ran a little faster. While the Negro was earning $1 in 1949, his white counterpart earned $1.90; in 1959, every time the Negro earned $1.75 the white man earned $3.20.

In 24 of the 26 States with large Negro populations, the Negro's share of per capita income fell; and in some of these States the gap between white and Negro income widened dramatically. In Michigan in 1949, when the equalizing effect of World War II was still being felt, the Negro earned 87 percent as much as the white. Ten years later he earned only 75 percent as much. In North Carolina his comparative earnings fell from 54 percent of his white counterpart's to 43 percent; in Tennessee, from 68 to 56 percent; in Arkansas, from 53 to 39 percent.

Nearly a million Puerto Ricans live in the United States today, primarily in Metropolitan New York City. Fifty-three percent of New York's Puerto Ricans earned less than $4,000 in 1959, only 8 percent earned more than $8,000. Three-quarters of them never entered high school. Moreover, the primary and junior high schools in Puerto Rican neighborhoods tend to be more crowded and less equipped than the average city school.

In the Southwestern United States live 3½ million Spanish-speaking Americans. Not only does the Spanish-American face the burdens of prejudice and inadequate education; like the Puerto Rican, he also faces a language barrier, and moreover a peculiar structure of laws, both Federal and local, which tend to isolate him even more from the opportunities of the community.

Among the poverty-stricken minorities, the American Indian is perhaps the hardest hit. Of the 550,000 American Indians, 380,000 live on or near reservations, most of them in poor circumstances. Their average family income is only a quarter to a third of the national average. Their average educational level is only half as high as the national average. And though they are American-born, go to American schools, and have received special attention from the Federal Government, social and economic barriers continue to pen them up in islands of poverty.

The fatherless families

Death, divorce, and disability often leave the same barren legacy. There are 2.3 million fatherless families in America who have inherited nothing but the father's poverty. Many of them were poor while the father was still present; some are poor because the father is disabled, or deserted or died; and some are fatherless because they are poor. Low income families often live with far more strains—financial, physical, and moral—than comfortable families, and these strains may reach the point where the father unshoulders his burden by deserting.

With a crushing responsibility suddenly thrust upon her, the mother is often too ill equipped to carry it. Frequently the presence of young children forces her to remain at home. Even if adequate day care arrangements can be made, or if the children are older, the mother may lack education, training, or experience needed to get an adequate job.

Only 16 percent of the mothers of families receiving public assistance have completed high school; less than 10 percent have had experience in office or sales work or in related occupations, as against 40 percent of mothers not on welfare. Most of these mothers of fatherless families have had experience chiefly as domestics, service workers, and unskilled laborers.

The likelihood that such mothers will find employment which will furnish the stability and income so sorely needed in the absence of an able, breadwinning father up to now has been remote. Only half the fatherless families in the Nation are above the poverty line.

The aged

Living in the United States are 6.8 million heads of families who are over 65. Half of them have incomes of less than $3,000 a year, and half of these support their families on less than $1,000 a year.

Many of the aged are ending in poverty because they began in poverty. Their income throughout their working lives was never sufficient to provide that margin of savings which affords independence and dignity after retirement.

The majority of all the aged are covered by social security. But nearly two-thirds of the poorest aged—those living alone and earning less than $1,000 a year—are not covered by social security.

The great medical advances which continually discover new ways to prolong life have assured a steady growth in the number of aged persons in our society, and accordingly a growth in the problems of the aged. During the last 15 years the number of aged heads of families increased 37 percent. It is estimated that by 1980 there will be 9 million persons over 75 in this country and if the present pattern

is allowed to continue, many millions of them will be living in stark poverty.

The cost of poverty

These are the six groups from whom the community of poverty is largely drawn. Collectively the poor make up only a minority of the American population. But the costs of their poverty are shared by all Americans.

Two-thirds of poor families have an average annual income of $2,000 or less. If this could be raised to just over $3,000—above the poverty line—their total income would be $7 billion higher. Looked at in another way, if we could increase the average production of even 10 million earners among the poor enough to lift their earnings a modest $1,000 a year, the Nation would gain $14 billion of added annual output. This would mean fresh stimulus pouring into the national economy and, at the same time, a reduction of outlay for public assistance and social services which the poor receive.

If the governmental public assistance commitments could be cut by one-fourth, it could reduce the tax burden by $1 billion. And as the community of the poor diminishes, there is accordingly less need for the expansion of police, fire, and public health departments which function so busily among the poor. These services cost the Nation $8 billion annually. A 10 percent reduction in this cost, or almost $1 billion a year, is a plausible estimate of the savings that could be effected by the elimination of poverty communities.

Even apart from the moral obligation to help the poor, there is this clear dollars and cents justification for a revitalized and redirected attack on poverty. Moreover, if we raise the poor above the poverty line, all of us will benefit from their new capacity to integrate themselves into the constructive purposes of the Nation.

Clearly, much is already being done, through the efforts of Federal, State, and local governments, through religious organizations, charitable fund-raising drives, and foundations. But the castoffs, the rural poor, the racial poor, the fatherless families, and the aged have been falling further and further behind. As our wealth has grown, a dwindling portion of it has accrued to the bottom 20 percent of our income-earners during the last decade. The ratio of nonwhite to white income, which grew rapidly from 41 percent to 54 percent under the economic stimulus of World War II, continued to improve slowly and erratically during the fifties, but now has fallen back almost to the 1947 level. And during the last decade, while professional and managerial workers increased their income by over 150 percent, service workers and nonfarm laborers improved their lot by only 74 percent.

Thus the gulf between the affluent and the poor widens; and the poor—presently one-fifth of our Nation—grow less and less visible to the rest of us.

The foundations of the poverty program

The war on poverty is the oldest war in history. It is a war which cannot be won quickly—but it can be won decisively, through a concerted Federal, State, and local effort to eliminate the conditions and causes of impoverishment.

Two factors are absolutely prerequisite to success in this effort:

Our economy must remain strong and continue to develop; thereby providing maximum employment at optimum pay.

The last barriers to this maximum employment, barriers which seal off so many of our citizens from the opportunities available to the majority must be overthrown.

Already we have the broad base of the recently enacted tax cut, education and training programs, housing, welfare, and social security measures, from which to press an all-out war on an age-old enemy. In the period since 1961, such measures as the Area Redevelopment Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, and the Vocational Education Act, have strengthened our hand.

Already we are able to visualize, on the near horizon, an America without poverty. One-fifth of the Nation—the present domain of the poor—can be reduced to one-tenth, and then to zero.

This is the first nation in history to have total victory over poverty within its power. It has greater wealth, income, technical know-how, and productive capacity than any before it. We have demonstrated our capacity to direct these resources to whatever goals we set ourselves, and to achieve them.

The goal of the program set forth in the pages that follow is the launching of this final battle against poverty.

It is a program which will—

Stimulate our communities to initiate comprehensive action programs attacking the roots of poverty.

Expand the opportunities for our youth to gain the education, skills, and experience they must have to become full participants in our Nation's life.

Help farmers to increase their income through a program of small capital loans and grants.

Provide new employment opportunities for the long-term unemployed by encouraging capital investment, and new opportunities for small entrepreneurs by making credit available.

Encourage more States to orient their programs of public assistance toward rehabilitation rather than support.

Recruit and train volunteers to work with agencies carrying out the various programs.

In short, it is a program which can open for the young, the opportunity to learn; for the able bodied, the opportunity to work; and for all, the opportunity to live in decency and dignity.

Youth—Salvaging a Vital Resource

In October of 1963, there were 730,000 young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21 who were both out of school and out of work. This figure had increased 22 percent in a 1-year period. But this unemployment figure for a specific week in October does not tell the whole story. Many others are employed only in low-paying, dead-end jobs which are beneath their potential abilities. A conservative estimate is that there are almost 1 million young people in this country today who are desperately in need of training and guidance to develop these abilities. Left to itself, the problem will multiply. Last year the total teenage labor force, including half a million young people in the Armed Forces, numbered 5.6

million. Next year it will be 6.6 million. By 1970, it will be 7.2 million. If the current trends continue, in 5 years we will have almost one and a half million unemployed youth—without adequate education or training, without jobs, and without a future.

This trend must be reversed. And it can be reversed, by attacking the tight circle of poverty at its weakest point—among its young victims, whose creative energies and dreams may still be salvaged from the growing rubble of their lives.

The proposed legislation includes three different programs aimed at the attitudes and economics of the young. The first of these is a voluntary Job Corps, with camp-based programs of education and vocational training or conservation work for young men who are poorly adjusted to their homes and work. These young men cannot be helped best in programs located within their own communities. Some are in the migrant labor stream—at home nowhere. Others are outside the range of communities where adequate resources and concern exist. Still others come from impoverished rural areas and remote mountain hollows, or from city slums which have taught them only hostility to their environment. These young people must come a long way; the spark of motivation is not likely to be ignited in the same communities which have so long stifled it.

The other proposals are a work-training program, which will offer productive employment and training to those who can benefit from it in their home environments, and a work-study program, designed to enable young men and women to continue their education at the college level.

Sources and selection

One of the obstacles facing any program of assistance for the young is the problem of identifying those who need help. Nobody knows who they are. They drop out of sight as well as out of school. There is no community in this country which can say with certainty which of its young people who have left school are unable to find or keep jobs. Statistics are based on small samples, and the names are not recorded.

It will therefore be necessary to rely on many sources for the recruitment of volunteer participants in the youth programs. These will include U.S. Employment Service office referral of job applicants, school referral of dropouts, and Armed Forces Examining Center referral of registrants who fail the mental achievement test, as well as boys' clubs, churches, other public and private agencies, and public information programs.

The 1,900 local U.S. Employment Service offices of the Department of Labor, supplemented by youth guidance centers, will serve as the primary selection points. Applicants who have not been given the Armed Forces examination will be given physical and mental achievement tests comparable to those given by the selective service, interviews, and counseling. Each applicant will be counseled as to how he can best benefit from the programs available. This will include those whose home and community life is such that they can profit from participation in the work-training program, those for whom camp experience through the Job Corps is a desirable choice, and those for whom an existing program, such as the Manpower Development and Training Act, a regular job, return to school, or

further counseling is the best course. Mentally retarded or emotionally unstable youths and narcotics addicts will be referred to appropriate existing rehabilitation facilities.

It is currently estimated that during its first year of operation, the Job Corps may be able to reach as many as 30,000 to 40,000 young men, half of whom will be in conservation camps of 100 to 200. It is anticipated that approximately 6,000 will be enrolled by the end of September 1964, and that the Corps can be built up at a rate of about 3,800 per month to the first-year total of 40,000. The work-training program will be able to enroll approximately 200,000 young men and women, and the work-study program some 140,000 in the first year.

JOB CORPS

The Job Corps will consist of conservation camps and training centers. The most important aspect of the experience for the enrollees will be their development as self-respecting individuals who are ready for a job or for more intensive education and skill development. In conservation camps, young men with problems of attitude and resistance to learning will be given basic skills training, as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic. The training centers will offer more intensive and advanced education and training to young men who are ready for this experience. In the long run, it is anticipated that many youths will be coming to the training centers as conservation camp "graduates." Enrollment in both types of camp will be strictly voluntary. It will normally be limited to a period of less than 2 years. Although the details of operation require further study, the following reflects current thinking on the subject:

A. Conservation camps

It is the task of the conservation camps to do far more than provide basic education, skill training, and work experience; they must change indifference to interest, ignorance to awareness, resignation to ambition, and an attitude of withdrawal to one of participation. In order to achieve this, the camps must provide a series of living, working, training, counseling, and recreational experiences, and a sense of belonging which the homes and neighborhoods rarely supplied.

The work component

Work in conservation camps will be undertaken in small supervised groups with an adult supervisor, and will be designed to give enrollees a sense of participation, self-confidence, and pride of accomplishment, as well as to give them certain basic skills. They will work under experienced members of Federal conservation agencies—such as forest and park rangers, or members of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Land Management, Reclamation, or Sports Fisheries and Wildlife—in projects which can accomplish long-needed conservation work and recreation development on public lands.

The young men who are members of conservation camps will work in carpentry and masonry; with bulldozers, axes, and shovels; and in the kitchens, offices, and maintenance shops of the camps. They will learn to use basic tools, to plan and organize work, to follow instructions, to lead and to follow.

The following list summarizes some of the types of work which may be undertaken by members of conservation camps and the types of basic skills which will be developed as a result:

Type	Work experiences
Soil and water development	Equipment operation. Basic horticulture. Basic surveying. Basic engineering.
Timber stand improvement	Forestry technician skills.
Range resource development	Weed and pest control. Farm skills. Fencing construction.
Recreation facilities	Basic carpentry. Basic masonry. Machine and equipment operation.
Wildlife habitat improvement	Wildlife aid skills. Forestry aid skills.
Insect and disease	Elementary entomology. Basic surveying.
Fire protection	Truck driving. Specialized equipment operation. Fire control aid skills. Fire prevention aid skills.
Road and trail development	Basic surveying. Basic engineering. Equipment operation. Equipment maintenance.
Boundary surveys and marking	Basic surveying.
Miscellaneous	Cooking. Typing. Recordkeeping.

Whenever possible, the young men in the camps will be placed in work groups on the basis of their skills and aptitudes as well as the particular job to be done, in order to provide a variety of work skills and situations and to enable counselors to assess the potential of each youth for future placement.

The education component

The education program in conservation camps will be designed to meet the needs of young men who are so lacking in basic academic skills that they cannot undertake vocational training. (A fifth- to sixth-grade literacy equivalency is considered necessary to profit from vocational training. An analysis of Selective Service System rejectees indicates that over half of those who fail to meet mental achievement requirements will be below this level.) Reading, writing, arithmetic, and speech will be taught, and minimum levels to be obtained are as follows:

Reading.—An ability to read and comprehend at mean seventh-grade level.

Writing.—An ability to complete, clearly and legible, application and other employment forms, to write simple letters of inquiry, and to make out orders.

Arithmetic.—An understanding and mastery of the four basic skills (addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division), common and decimal fractions, reading of scales, units of measurement.

Speaking.—An ability to be understood in employment and other conventional situations, and to understand directions.

To reach these goals, new instructional materials designed especially for the purpose will be developed. But the education component of the program cannot wait. The availability of current materials will

be reviewed by the Office of Education, and those determined to be best suited will be used. Continuing evaluation of the camps' programs will provide guidance for the development of new materials.

Group discussions, films, individual counseling, and specially selected readings will be used to instill in the young men an understanding of their role as citizens and workers. The same techniques will be used to teach the fundamentals of personal health and hygiene.

Camp recreation will include hobbies and sports, designed to teach the value of learning to play by the rules and to exercise self-discipline. The emphasis will be placed on participation rather than on observance. In addition, specific all-camp activities will be held on a regular basis; singing, a camp newspaper, and amateur dramatics will be used to promote the overall purpose of the program; and a system of recognition and awards for achievement will be created.

Other aspects of camp life will also be designed to improve the attitudes of the young men involved. A typical camp might have some 5 to 10 cabins of 20 young men each, with 1 adult resident and 2 youth assistants in every cabin. This responsibility will be rotated regularly, so that each may have a chance to lead. In addition, each cabin group will elect one representative to a camp council, designed to instill an appreciation of democratic principles.

The unifying force in the life of the camp will be a counseling program, dealing with every aspect of the experience—living, work, education, and recreation. At the end of each young man's tour, the counselors will have the major responsibility for guiding him to placement opportunities or further vocational training through the U.S. Employment Service.

Staff

Each camp will have a director, who will have overall responsibility for the camp. In addition, for every 100 young men, there will be an educational and counseling staff of 4, responsible to the Deputy Director for the Job Corps through the camp director. Three of these four will be basic education teachers, and one a health and recreation teacher. Since work projects will be undertaken in small groups, each 100 enrollees will require 7 to 10 work supervisors from the staff of the conservation agency concerned. A maintenance and support staff of about five is envisaged.

The 800 education and counseling staff members required the first year will be recruited from many sources, including college placement offices, retired people, and volunteers throughout the country. These teachers will undergo a special intensive training course, currently planned to take about 4 weeks, which will prepare them for their work in the camps.

B. Training centers

Life in the training centers will be similar in many ways to life in the conservation camps, with several important differences. The centers themselves will be considerably larger, ranging in size from 500 to 5,000 enrollees, which will call for different plans for handling groups. The major emphasis of the training centers can be on vocational training and basic educational improvement in preparation for permanent employment. Although high skill levels in particular vocations will not be achieved in most cases, the program will develop work habits and an attitude toward learning which will enable the

young men involved to profit from more advanced education or work experience outside the centers.

The training component

Vocational training and basic education will consume most of the day in a training center. The courses to be taught are those for which the occupational outlook is good, for which the entering skills are within the capability of the young men in the program, and which can be taught within the framework of the existing facilities.

The skills to be taught may vary from center to center, and within each occupational group, trades requiring several levels of ability may be taught. For example, in a single center some young men might be trained as calculating machine operators, others as appliance repairmen, still others as clerks.

Along with other types of facilities, unoccupied or underutilized military camps will be used for this program, under an arrangement with the Department of Defense. To the extent possible, each occupational group will be placed at a facility which is particularly suitable. For example, an automotive center might be situated in a former armored division camp which has extensive automotive facilities; a maritime and fishing trades center might be housed in a navy yard, and a machinery center might be established at an unused Army arsenal.

Basic education courses will also be given in the training centers, since the academic achievement level of many of the young men involved will not be adequate for them to get and keep jobs. The goals of the basic education component in the training centers will be the same as those in the conservation camps, but less time—about 2 hours a day—will be allotted for daily instruction.

Other components

Health training, recreation, and counseling will also play an important role in the life of the training center. The young men will be housed in barracks of approximately 200 each, under the direction of an adult leader, with 1 youth assistant for every 25 youths. Physical fitness and recreation programs will be organized by barracks groups.

Staff

It is estimated that a training center enrollment of 20,000 will require some 3,000 staff personnel, including basic education teachers, vocational teachers, health-recreation instructors, and administrative and support personnel.

C. General

Participation in the Job Corps will be on a purely voluntary basis, and members will be free to resign if they choose. It is hoped, however, that the benefits of successful participation and completion of camp training will be clear enough to the members so that resignations will be minimized. The ultimate reward will be the significant broadening of a young man's horizons. The Job Corps "diploma"—identifying specific levels of educational and occupational accomplishment—will open new doors to job and occupational opportunities. Other rewards for successful participation will include assignment of leadership roles involving an increase in pay, special privileges, and opportunities for more favorable class and work assignments.

Disciplinary measures, including expulsion from the Corps, will also be applied when necessary.

Members of the Job Corps will receive a living allowance which will range from about $30 to $50 a month, depending upon the location of the camp and the services which are provided directly. An additional sum will be paid for assigned leadership duties, and upon termination of his enrollment in the Corps, each member will receive a separation payment of $50 for each month of satisfactory participation. He may allot up to $25 of this money to a dependent, and if he does, his contribution will be matched by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Budget estimate

[In millions of dollars]

I. Initial investment costs		$65
Training center preparation, 20,000, at $500 per man		10
Conservation camp construction, 20,000, at $1,500 per man		30
Preparation of facilities for expanded program in fiscal year 1966		25
II. Operating costs		101
Examination and processing, 350,000, at $20		7
Operation and maintenance of facilities, 20,000 man-years, at $1,500		30
Administration, education, and training costs, 20,000 man-years, at $1,500		30
Individual costs:		
Clothing and equipment	$195	
Subsistence	575	
Travel	150	
Pay, allowance	780	
20,000 man-years at	1,700	34
III. Costs of guidance centers		25
IV. Total		191

WORK-TRAINING PROGRAM

Until recently, most young men and women—whether or not they had not completed high school—could find early work experience in the unskilled jobs which abounded throughout the economy. Today, however, even as the number of young people entering the job market is increasing rapidly, the number of unskilled beginning jobs is declining. Automation, mechanization, and other scientific and technological advances have eliminated and will continue to eliminate many of the unskilled jobs which formerly served as the young person's entry into the world of work. The jobs of today and tomorrow require higher motivation, more maturity, greater judgment, and broader experience than are possessed by the thousands of actual and potential school dropouts aged 16–21 who need employment.

The work-training program, which will be administered by the Department of Labor, will provide productive full- or part-time work experience and training in State and community public service jobs to these young people. It will thus increase their employability, and, whenever possible, it will encourage them to continue or resume their education. Unlike the Job Corps, it will be open to women as well as to men.

The cornerstone of the work-training program is local initiative and control. Any agency of a State or local government, including

Indian tribal groups, or an approved private nonprofit organization may develop and conduct work projects. Such projects might place young people in work assignments in hospitals, settlement houses, schools, libraries, courts, children's homes, parks, playgrounds, public and private welfare agencies, and so on. Jobs might include, to suggest only a few, such diverse tasks as—

Nurses' aides and hospital orderlies in clinics and health centers.

Filing clerks, typists, and office machine operators in settlement houses and other welfare agencies.

Cooks' assistants, dieticians' assistants, and waitresses in schools and hospitals.

Building maintenance and landscape assistants in parks and recreation facilities.

Mechanics' helpers in police and county garages.

Switchboard operators and receptionists in neighborhood centers and homes for the aged.

Electricians' assistants and painters' helpers in city and county buildings.

The possibilities for projects and jobs are limited only by local resourcefulness and imagination, and by several basic criteria established in the act. These require that—

(1) Projects must increase the employability of the young men and women involved by providing work experience and training in jobs in which there is a reasonable expectation of employment or by enabling students to continue or resume their education.

(2) Projects must contribute to an undertaking in the public interest which will not otherwise be provided or which will contribute to conservation of State or local natural resources or the protection of recreation areas.

(3) The work done by enrollees in the program must not result in the displacement of employed workers or impair existing contracts for services.

(4) The rates of pay and other conditions of employment of the young people involved must be appropriate in view of such factors as the type of work performed, the level of skill involved, and the locality where the project is situated.

(5) Projects must be coordinated, as far as possible, with vocational training and educational services so that the special needs of the enrollees may be met by State or local school authorities.

(6) Projects must include standards and procedures for the selection of applicants which will include assurances that they are encouraged to continue or resume school attendance, if that is appropriate to their needs.

The types of sponsorship and the types of projects will vary widely. The work programs can include any combination of full- or part-time, employment. One project might involve only full-time employment including an element of on-the-job training, while another might have only part-time employment, a work-study combination, or any other work program which addresses the needs of the unemployed youth whom this program is designed to help.

One type of work-training program might be undertaken on a city-wide basis under the auspices of the mayor's office, while another might be run by a public institution such as a hospital, and still a third might be run by a settlement house or another type of private nonprofit organization.

Budget

The annual unit cost per enrollee is estimated to be $2,640 for full-time work, $1,375 for half-time work, and $735 for quarter-time work broken down as follows:

	Full time	Half time	Quarter time
Compensation and benefits	$2,080	$1,040	$520
Physical examination	25	25	25
General administration:			
Local employment service, counseling, testing, placement, etc., 10 hours at $3	30	30	30
State employment service administration	10	10	10
Labor Department administration	30	30	30
On-the-job supervision	420	210	105
User agency overhead	20	10	5
Miscellaneous	25	20	10
Total	2,640	1,375	735

It is estimated that the work-training program will provide employment of 200,000 young men and women, of whom 30,000 would be working full time, 60,000 half time, and 110,000 either quarter time throughout the year or full time during the summer months. Ninety percent of the total cost of such a program, or approximately $219 million for a full year, would be paid by the Federal Government during the first year of the program. During the first year, however, phasing in of enrollees is expected to involve an average period of enrollment of about 8 months, which will involve a total Federal cost of $150 million.

WORK-STUDY PROGRAM

Under the standards of financial need most commonly used by this country's colleges, families with incomes of $3,000 or less cannot be expected to make any contribution for the college education of their children. In fact, even at the $4,000 bracket, the contribution expected from a family with two or more children is extremely small. Students coming from such families must be self-supporting while in college. And the need of these students is so great relative to their capacity to pay that institutions of higher learning are usually able to provide only for the extremely bright student, the boy or girl in the top 2 or 3 percent of a high school graduating class. A recent study conducted by the University of Pittsburgh indicates that children from families with less than $3,000 annual income have the poorest chance of entering college, at all ability levels below the very top 2 percent.

The proposed college work-study program, which will be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, will provide a financial base for the able, but extremely needy, student to which can be added a loan or a limited scholarship grant. As a result of this program, the present levels of student employment are expected to be increased by 140,000 to 150,000 a year or over

30 percent. In addition to enabling a wider range of students to attend college through financial assistance, the program will sharply reduce the heavy debt load that often weighs on the student who is least able to bear it.

In order to avoid a program which will be detrimental to a student's academic work, however, the legislation provides that no student may be employed under the work-study program for more than 15 hours a week while classes in which he is enrolled are in session. Comparative studies at the University of Denver, the University of Southern Illinois, and Harvard on the academic achievement of students working part time compared with nonworking students all have concluded that the academic records of students who work part time for a limited period of hours are as good as or better than the records of students who do not work at all.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will establish criteria for fund distribution among colleges and universities. This will provide for concentration of work-study funds in institutions which serve poverty stricken areas or which enroll student populations drawn from extremely low-income families. These include both rural institutions and large public and private universities serving metropolitan areas.

On-campus work under this program will include both the service-type job which requires no specialized training—such as dormitory and plant maintenance, food service, clerical and stenographic work, and the like—and jobs in somewhat more sophisticated areas which do require some degree of training or skill development—such as work with a university press, computer programing, materials cataloguing, and library work. At the University of Southern Illinois, student employees hold part-time jobs as bus drivers, cafeteria workers, and work in other service categories. In the technical and supervisory groups are printers, surveyors, accountants, junior counselors, radio technicians, and senior stenographers—students of advanced or upper division standing with higher degrees of skills.

Another advantage of the work-study program will be that it will stimulate colleges to specify and define new jobs in addition to the pattern of student employment now offered.

There are a number of off-campus jobs in health, welfare, recreation, and similar social service work which hold immediate promise of job expansion through a college or university work-study arrangement. A case in point are teacher aid and tutorial assistant jobs, in which students work either directly as teacher assistants, or as tutors with small groups of students having difficulty in a specific subject area. In most cases, community agencies involved in this work have had to depend upon voluntary assistance from the colleges. A much more satisfactory approach would be the provision of part-time student employees who are actually assigned to responsibilities appropriate to their interests and capabilities. In this way, the college or university can help meet the financial needs of the student; the student can gain valuable work experience; and the community can gain a talented and highly motivated group of students for a variety of service jobs.

Because of the limited resources traditionally available to colleges for student employment, the expansion of off-campus jobs has been extremely slow. But just as the National Defense Education Act stimulated student borrowing to meet college expenses, so the work-study program will give great impetus to this expansion. Furthermore, students from these college work-study programs will make invaluable part-time instructors, aids and workers in the community action programs, job corps and other activities that develop under the proposed legislation. These students will have come from financially depressed backgrounds and they will therefore have a special understanding of the problems faced by youth enrolled in these programs. Their contributions will be particularly significant also because these same students, as mature upperclassmen will represent positive proof that educational attainment can break the cycle of poverty.

Budget

It is estimated that the average earning of an undergraduate during the first year of the work-study program will be approximately $500, of which the Federal Government will pay 90 percent or $450, and the comparable figure for a graduate student will be $1,000, of which the Federal Government will pay $900. It is estimated that approximately 145,000 students—130,000 of them undergraduates could benefit during the first year, at a total cost of about $71.7 million. An additional $800,000 will be required for the costs to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of administering the program, leading to a total cost of $72.5 million.

CONCLUSION

As a result of all these programs, the Office of Economic Opportunity is expected to reach almost 400,000 young people in its first year alone. For these young men and women, the experience derived and lessons learned from participation in the Job Corps, the work-training program, or the work-study program may well spell the difference between futility and usefulness, between a continuing circle of poverty and a pyramid of opportunities for themselves and their children.

Community Action Programs

A youth employment center opened in Boston in November 1963. Within 4 months, it had helped 400 young people to find jobs. Three out of four of those placed came from families receiving relief. Most would otherwise have been unemployed high school dropouts.

In the Southwest, 35 Zuni Indians were given 24 weeks of electronics training. Within 12 days after the course, all were employed at wages averaging twice the 97 cents an hour they earned previously.

In a St. Paul high school, a coordinated program of special attention for children from broken homes, and low ability students, changed the dropout rate from highest in the city to second lowest.

In Jackson City, Fla., 49 persons of limited education were trained and are now employed as "cottage parents" for mentally retarded children. Eighty percent of the trainees had been unemployed for the previous 2 years or more.

Successful employees of a Philadelphia company volunteered their services to speak to local high school students, emphasizing the importance of education to a career; the dropout rate decreased one-third.

Across the Nation there are countless additional examples of imaginative community programing to expand opportunity and break the cycle of poverty. Many are created locally. Some received impetus from State agencies, private foundations, industry, or labor unions. Others were initiated with the help of creative Federal programs, such as those undertaken by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency. But nearly all share a common handicap—their scope is sharply limited by shortages of local and State resources. In many cases the shortages derive directly from the problem which these efforts are trying to cure—the low income and earning power of the poor.

Some efforts are therefore only demonstration programs, with little hope of expansion. Others provide full solutions for only a part of the problem, a few blocks of a blighted neighborhood, or several families out of several hundred. Often they provide adult education classes which can handle only a small number of illiterates, or special counseling for only some of the dropouts and potential dropouts.

One crucial lesson has been learned from this community experience. Since the causes of poverty are complex, the solutions must be comprehensive. An illiterate adult must learn to read and write before he can enter the skill training program that will lead to employment. The mother on welfare cannot enter employment or manpower training unless there is a day care or community school program for her children. The 16-year-old youth might not be dropping out of school if he had learned to read in early grades or if a work-study program were available. Poverty is a web of circumstances, not the simple result of a simple condition.

The most successful community action, therefore, usually includes the political, business, labor, and religious leaders, the school board, the employment service, the public welfare department, private social welfare agencies, and neighborhood houses in a coordinated attack on local poverty. Above all it includes the poor people of the community whose first opportunity must be the opportunity to help themselves.

PRESENT FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Already the National Government is involved in programs that relate to the problems of poverty.

These programs make an important contribution, but they have not been enough. Moreover, Federal support of community efforts has generally involved insufficient coordination among the various Federal agencies. The programs are administered by different agencies under different terms and conditions with different objectives in mind. Nowhere in the Federal Government can a community find broad support for a concentrated program to attack poverty. As a result, the combined expenditures of Federal, State, and local government and private foundations and united funds are too often dispersed into many single-purpose projects, each of which may be worthwhile within its own bounds but which fail to achieve the effectiveness a coordinated approach can bring.

A COORDINATED APPROACH

Two steps are needed to change this situation. The first, described earlier, demands a focal point within our Government for marshaling Federal programs to support communities ready to do battle with poverty. The creation of the Office of Economic Opportunity will achieve this.

But community action also encompasses many activities for which existing Federal programs can provide no support. The existence of special funds clearly designated for community action support is critical to spurring communities with existing programs to direct more resources into this area. The community action fund is therefore necessary.

WHO MAY APPLY FOR A GRANT?

The local organization applying for a community action program grant must satisfy only one basic criterion: it must be broadly representative of the interests of the community. It may be a public agency which seeks to build into its programs the advice and expertise of business, labor, and other elements of the private sector. Or it may be a private nonprofit agency which has the support of the relevant elements of community government. It may be an already existing organization, or it may be newly created for the specific purpose of fighting poverty. The community may be a city or a town, a metropolitan area, a county or a multicounty unit, or a combination of rural and urban areas. But above all, it must provide a means whereby the residents of the program areas will have a voice in planning and a role in action. Additionally, in the case of grants for educational purposes, the application must come from the appropriate public body.

HOW WILL PROGRAMS BE INITIATED?

The initiative for community programs must be distilled from the community itself; there can be no substitute. Through 11 regional representatives, the Office of Economic Opportunity will stand ready to assist any community in formulating its plans, in deciding how to marshal its human and financial resources, by providing technical assistance where this is needed, and by describing what Federal resources are available. The expertise of the Federal agencies concerned with specific aspects of the poverty problem will be brought to bear. Where necessary, community officials may be enabled to visit other communities to see how problems have been solved elsewhere. But the momentum, the direction, and the energy must come from within the community itself.

WHAT ARE THE CRITERIA?

The plan itself need not be complex. It must answer only five basic questions:

1. Does it demonstrate a basic knowledge of the facts of poverty in the area?
2. Does it propose to attack the real causes of poverty?
3. Does it promise effective solution of the problems which it identifies?

4. Are there community organizations which will work together to carry out the plan responsibly, speedily, and efficiently?

5. Is the community itself dedicated to the achievement of the goals, contributing its own human and financial resources towards that objective?

Above all, this must be a program in which projects are carried out not *for* the community, but rather *by* the community—with external financial assistance—to attack community problems.

WHAT ACTIVITIES WILL BE UNDERTAKEN?

Communities will have wide discretion in determining what program activities should be undertaken, for the needs will vary throughout the Nation. In keeping with the focus upon opportunity and with the emphasis upon improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, and the conditions under which people live and work, it is likely that community action programs will include activities such as the following, all focused on the problems of poor people:

1. Services and activities to develop new employment opportunities;
2. Strengthening the teaching of basic education skills, especially reading, writing, and mathematics;
3. Providing comprehensive academic counseling and guidance services and school social work services;
4. Providing after-school study centers, after-school tutoring, and summer, weekend, and after-school academic classes;
5. Establishing programs for the benefit of preschool children;
6. Reducing adult illiteracy;
7. Developing and carrying out special education or other programs for migrant or transient families;
8. Improving the living conditions of the elderly;
9. Arranging for or providing health examinations and health education for school children;
10. Rehabilitation and retraining of physically or mentally handicapped persons;
11. Providing health, rehabilitation, employment, educational, and related services to young men not qualified for military service;
12. Providing community child-care centers and youth activity centers;
13. Improving housing and living facilities and home management skills;
14. Providing services to enable families from rural areas to meet problems of urban living; or
15. Providing recreation and physical fitness services and facilities.

HOW WILL PLANS BE PROCESSED?

Community action plans will be received in Washington by the Office of Economic Opportunity and reviewed for consistency with the five basic criteria. In reviewing each plan the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity will assure that the views of interested Federal agencies are sought and taken into account in decisions on plan approval. In those cases where the proposal does

not contain the views of relevant State governmental organs, these will be sought. The Administrator's approval of a community action plan signifies that this effort warrants the full support of Federal assistance up to the maximum limits based on appropriate matching contributions in order to assure that the goals set forth are achieved.

The success of the program will depend upon the ability of the Office of Economic Opportunity, other Federal agencies, State agencies, and the communities to cooperate in program development, funding and implementation.

The Office will have field staff and consultants who will work with communities as they develop their action programs. The field representatives will also be responsible for involving staff of other Federal agencies—including the Departments of Labor; Agriculture; Commerce; Health, Education, and Welfare; the Housing and Home Finance Agency; and the Small Business Administration. The representative will also suggest involvement of appropriate State officials. This process will make possible a sharing of ideas among the levels of government. It will enable many sources, public and private, to combine to finance community action programs.

Once the community action plan has been approved, the Office of Economic Opportunity will assume two functions. First, it will make available to the community, according to the financial plan, those funds which are derived from its own appropriations. The Director may do this directly, by making allotments, advances, contracts, or other financial arrangements with appropriate action organizations, or he may transfer funds to an appropriate Federal agency or agencies to be administered by that agency in support of the action program. In instances where a number of action organs will be implementing a plan formulated and approved by the community action organization, it will normally be the practice to allot funds to the community action organization which will administer individual action unit allotments. Secondly, the Office of Economic Opportunity will monitor the overall administration of the community action plan and the support provided by Federal agencies in order to assure that the goals planned will in fact be achieved.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT GRANTS

For communities which have not yet formulated community action plans, but which exhibit a strong will to attack problems of poverty within the community, program development grants will be made. These grants will allow communities to call in experts to assist in analyzing the problems of poverty and to advise on approaches to solutions of the causes of poverty.

During the time that a community is formulating its action plan, whether with or without assistance of a program development grant, action grants may be made to initiate specific projects within that community which will clearly be a part of the final community action program. But it is not planned to continue to make action grants in the absence of a completed community action plan for a period of longer than 12 months.

FEDERAL-LOCAL COST SHARING

The principle of community cost sharing is vital to the success of community action programs. For cost sharing demonstrates the community's commitment to the objectives of the program, and this commitment in turn leads to involvement of the leaders and organizations of the community in carrying out the actions proposed.

The Federal share of the added costs of expanded community action programs will normally be not more than 75 percent. However, many city and county budgets for the next 18 months or 2 years are already enacted, or are far advanced in the approval process; local leaders will need time to refocus their programs and to reallocate their resources to put higher priority on poverty programs. Recognizing that the capacity of communities to share the costs of community action programs will be limited in the immediate future, but confident that their cost sharing will grow, the Office of Economic Opportunity will increase its share of the costs of community action plans up to 90 percent during the first 2 years of the program, or through June 30, 1966, whichever is later. In calculating the value of the community's contribution, account will be taken of contributions in kind, and of the value of volunteers' services.

In some cases, however, poverty is prevalent through most of a community, not just a few neighborhoods. In those cases, the resources which the community itself can bring to bear are sharply limited.

Where these heavy concentrations of poverty occur, and where it is clear that an adequate attack on poverty cannot be undertaken within the normal cost-sharing standards, the Director will authorize a higher Federal share. This authorization will be based upon objective criteria, including the median income of the community, the adequacy of social services, the number of public assistance recipients, and other relevant factors.

Farm Investment: Strength in the Marketplace

Farm families represent 16 percent of the poor in the United States. About 1.5 million farm families receive so little income from all sources that they remain at or below the poverty level year after year. When these families include large numbers of children, as they often do, their lack of adequate income represents desperate poverty.

The overwhelming majority of low-income farm families cannot make the transfer to some other environment. Walled in by physical or educational handicaps, severely limited in skills and aptitudes, often beyond the age of new employment, the family breadwinner must "make it" where he is or he won't make it at all.

Unless some means can be found to help these families where they are, they face an ever bleaker future in an increasingly technical and advanced rural society. What is of acute importance for the entire Nation, the children of these families represent the seeds of future poverty scattered throughout the rural and urban communities of the future.

Improving the skills and abilities of these children through education, better health care, and specialized training is of absolutely first

importance. Community action and other programs can help rural communities upgrade and enrich the potential of their young citizens. In addition, aids to stimulate business and industrial development will benefit some adult members of poverty-stricken farm families who need work off the farm.

But the root cause of farm poverty is a lack of resources on the farm itself, particularly land and capital. Poor farm families produce little. They therefore earn little. They thus have little to invest in farm development. It is the classic vicious cycle.

A keystone of the assault on rural poverty, therefore, is what might be termed a "package" of loan and grant programs and advisory services designed to get these poor farm families off dead center, to get their output up, and to give them some strength in the marketplace.

The rural economic opportunity program will make grants to farm operators with meager earnings who have the character and ability to improve the earning capacity of their farms thereby. The grant would be made individually or in conjunction with a loan. It would be made with the specific purpose of moving the farmer to a position where he could finance continued improvements and developments through loans from public or private sources. At present, many small, poverty-stricken farmers either have no debt-paying ability or they are unable to amortize a large enough loan out of anticipated earnings to give them a new start. To gain a position where they can obtain conventional loan financing, they first have to expand their operations. However, they can't expand their operations without financing, for which they now are not eligible. The program will break this cycle by extending carefully managed grants.

Regardless of the financing available for farming expansion, however, some poor families will not benefit. They may not be able to obtain additional resources for farming because the resources—land on particular—simply aren't available. The rural opportunity program would, therefore, provide loans and grants to finance small items of machinery for nonagricultural enterprises on farms. Examples of such items might be a chain saw for felling trees, woodworking tools, a sewing machine, a small electric feed mixing mill, or similar capital equipment that can be operated easily and will significantly increase the productivity of family labor. Where a family has no opportunity to increase its income from agricultural production, such nonagricultural enterprises would be an alternative—the only alternative in a great many cases. Grants are necessary, as well as loans, because here again there is limited debt-paying ability. These families must first move to a position where they can qualify for credit. They can move to this position only through a capital grant that will increase their earning potential.

A direct assault is also proposed on what is probably the single most serious cause of poverty among low-income farm families: Their inability to pay the high costs of farmland coming on the market and thereby obtain the basic resource of agriculture. The value of farm land has been rising at the rate of 3 percent each year, a rise stimulated in part by speculative forces and the fierce competition among large agricultural operators for land to meet the requirements of modern farm technology. It is extremely difficult—indeed, almost impossible—for the Nation's poorest farm families

to buy good land at a price they can pay. Sharecroppers, tenants displaced by machinery, farm laborers, young farmers have no savings. The Department of Agriculture cannot make real estate loans to the majority of these operators because the Department by law may extend a loan only up to the normal value of the land, not its current market value.

The poor farmer has no savings to make up the difference. Frustrated in acquiring more land, he cannot take the additional steps that would increase the earning capacity of his farm. Too often he faces a sad choice: Remain in poverty where he is or migrate to an urban environment where a lack of skills will severely handicap him in earning a living for his family.

The rural opportunity plan thus includes a program of loans and grants to State and local nonprofit corporations which will enable them to purchase at the going price farm land coming on the market and resell this land to individual small family farmers at its appraised value. The Department of Agriculture, through its regular farm lending activities, would help the individual families to buy the land from the corporation. Any loss the corporation might sustain in the transaction would be made up by a grant from the funds appropriated for the antipoverty program. In the initial period of the program, an estimated 2,500 carefully selected families would be assisted in getting the land resources they must have to earn an adequate income.

Finally, the rural effort provides a credit program to finance cooperatives made up wholly or partly of low-income farm and other rural families. Such cooperatives would provide services, supplies, and facilities not now available to low-income families, and would serve as a market place for their products. Poor farm families generally are excluded from the benefits of participating in cooperatives. Most in need of strong marketing, purchasing and service organizations, they are least likely to be in a position to organize and support such organizations. There exists at present no practical source of financing for cooperatives that are in the early, tryout stages, are weak financially, or require financing beyond the legal limitations of the Bank for Cooperatives, private banks, and other existing sources of credit.

The proposals to combat farm poverty must be viewed as a single package. Major items of the package complement and reinforce each other. They have a single, unified objective: To raise the income-producing capacities of families by giving them access to capital, land resources and management aids on the farm and by opening up new opportunities for them to obtain economic strength in the community.

Following is a detailed explanation of how each major program will operate:

GRANTS AND LOANS TO INDIVIDUAL FARM FAMILIES

Grants would not exceed $1,500 and would be concentrated among those families who with such assistance would be able to move up to an income level which permitted financing entirely through credit sources.

To be eligible for a capital grant, the applicant must—

(*a*) Be the operator of not larger than a family farm;

(*b*) Demonstrate character, industry, and intent to utilize the grant to raise his level of living permanently;

(*c*) Be unable to maintain a satisfactory level of income but have reasonable prospects, with the assistance of a grant or loan-grant combination, of raising his income sufficiently to improve his living standard; and

(*d*) Be unable to obtain credit for the desired purposes elsewhere.

Capital grants will be administered through Farmers Home Administration county supervisors, who serve all rural areas in the United States. Priority will be given capital grants in areas which have adopted, or are in the process of formulating, community action plans. This will insure that full advantage will be made of the mutually reinforcing effect of the grants and community-wide human resources development assistance.

A combination of grant and loan financing will be programed only after a formal analysis of the family resources and prospects. The amount of the grant will be determined by the amount of capital input required that the family is unable to finance through a loan while retaining a minimal standard of living. Depending on the family's farm and home development plan and management ability, the capital grant may be provided in one sum or phased in installments. However, in either case, Farmers Home Administration will retain control of all expenditures made with the grant.

Under the proposed program, capital grants would be made to approximately 45,000 farm families. The average grant is expected to be $500. In the majority of cases it would be supplemented by a loan from the Farmers Home Administration. By combining a small capital grant and a loan, plus intensive farm and home management assistance provided by Farmers Home Administration a significant number of these low-income farm families can hope to increase their earnings and their standard of living substantially over a relatively short period of time. Farmers Home Administration experience with loans for purchase of farm real estate and for farm operations shows that on the average family cash income less operating costs increased from 85 to 102 percent during the life of the loan. A program of grants supplementing the existing loan program would open similar opportunities for extreme low-income farm families.

FARM LAND PURCHASE AND RESALE

To make additional land resources available to poor farm families, loans and grants will be made to State and local nonprofit corporations for the purchase and resale of farm land either (*a*) in small parcels to add to existing units or (*b*) in the form of individual farm-size units. On large tracts of land purchased, necessary improvements also would be carried out by the corporations to make these tracts viable as sites for family farms. These improvements would be financed by the corporations using loan and grant funds.

Under the program corporations would purchase suitable farmland coming on the market in local rural areas. Necessary improvements would be made on the land. Where large tracts were involved, after

the land had been improved and subdivided into adequate family farming units it would be sold to selected potentially successful low-income farming families. These families would use loans from Farmers Home Administration to purchase the farming units or additional farm land to add to their existing units.

In most cases, the cost to the corporation of land purchase and development would be greater than the sale price of the land to an individual small farmer. The corporation would need to pay the going market price to acquire the land, while the individual farmer would be able to pay only the normal (or appraised) value of the land, using an FHA loan. The difference between what the corporation pays for the farm land purchase and development and the price it receives would be made up through a direct grant to the corporation.

Approximately 200,000 acres of land can be purchased and resold initially by the corporations, using loan and grant funds provided by the program. It is estimated that the average farm purchaser will acquire about 80 acres; thus the program initially will benefit approximately 2,500 families.

LOANS TO COOPERATIVES

Another important aspect of the antipoverty campaign in rural America will be a new program of loans, grants, and direct technical assistance for cooperatives that are made up wholly or partly of low-income families. Some examples of enterprises operated by small cooperatives that might be assisted through this program are:

Marketing of fruits and vegetables produced on small farms.

Processing, transporting, and selling timber products produced on farms. (Processing might include manufacturing of crates, furniture, millwork, etc.)

Purchase of farm supplies such as fertilizer, garden seeds, building materials, and machinery.

Cold storage and packing plants both for home use and for sale.

Livestock sales facilities.

Facilities for the manufacture, transport, and sale of handicraft items produced by members of the co-op, such as glassware, ceramics, furniture, toys, decorative items, clothing, etc.

Under this program, loans and grants would be authorized both to help a small cooperative get started and also to supply credit for one already in operation. Initially, however, the major emphasis would be placed on the former, with assistance concentrated where the largest number of low-income farmers and rural residents would benefit per dollar of expenditure.

In order to provide the supervision and technical services required to assure the success of the loan and grant programs proposed, the Farmers Home Administration will need to supplement its field staff in rural poverty areas, particularly those areas going forward with community action programs. It will, therefore, be necessary to supplement existing staffs with an additional 340 field personnel and 10 headquarters unit personnel to provide the supporting technical and farm and home management advisory services. These additional staff members will be concentrated in 469 counties where half the families have incomes of less than $2,500.

EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

PART A—INCENTIVES FOR HIRING

High rates of unemployment and underemployment and their invariable result—severe poverty—may be found in broad areas such as Appalachia and the Ozarks or in smaller pockets such as certain depleted mineral and lumber areas of the North and the slum-ridden core areas of many of our larger cities. Obviously, one of the most necessary and effective measures for the alleviation of poverty in these areas is to provide a means of stable employment for those who cannot find work.

The first major national effort in this direction was the Area Redevelopment Act passed by the 87th Congress and signed into law in May, 1961. Under that act, low-interest loans were made available to stimulate the establishment of new or expanding industrial and commercial enterprises in designated areas of substantial unemployment and underemployment. Significant progress has already been made under this program in many localities. As of the end of February, the Area Redevelopment Administration had approved 291 business loans, involving the expenditure of $119.2 million.

The ARA program, although still relatively new, has served to focus attention on the need for positive and constructive programs which can assist the unemployed once again to become self-respecting, self-supporting, productive members of society. Such programs also have the advantage of enabling the Government to realize a return on its original investment, even though their purpose is primarily social and economic. Without these investments, ever-expanding relief and welfare programs would be necessary, and even greater economic waste of manpower would occur only because opportunities for productive labor are lacking. The ARA experience thus far has shown that for every $3,600 of business loans a new job in a private enterprise has been created. As against this, it should be noted that the average worker in the United States produces goods and services having a value of about $8,500. The $8,500, moreover, repeats itself every year in addition to the real wealth of the Nation, while the investment of $3,600 for each job is a one-time loan commitment which will be returned to the Federal Treasury with interest.

Part A of title IV would establish a new program of business loans for poverty areas or pockets beyond the reach of the regular ARA program, either because the poverty pockets are too small for designation as redevelopment areas or because capital resources in the other areas are so lacking that it is impossible to comply with the local participation requirements of an ARA loan. It is expected that most of the loan requests will come from business enterprises based on local natural resources, local markets, and local labor. These industries probably will predominantly include the lighter types of manufacturing enterprises rather than large, national concerns requiring highly skilled labor. Also included will be businesses catering to tourist income such as handicraft and gift industries, and other service and commercial establishments which will help to install a viable economic base in the poverty areas.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity would be authorized to establish a program of direct loans, participations with

banks, and loan guarantees, to provide funds for the establishment, preservation, and expansion of promising business ventures which will hire the long-term or hard-core unemployed. The program would be administered through the existing resources and facilities of the Area Redevelopment Administration. It is expected that ARA in processing such applications would normally make the loan under its own program, wherever possible. The funds available to the Director under this expanded program to increase economic opportunities would be used only where the ARA program could not be applied.

Most of these funds would be used for direct loans, since banks in the poverty areas often lack the resources to make large or long-term loans. However, a portion would be set aside for loan guarantees in force at any one time, to provide for possible losses.

Loans to private borrowers would be authorized for a period of not more than 25 years. At least half of the employment openings created by the investment must be recruited from among the long-term unemployed, or from members of low-income families. No financial assistance will be extended to relocate businesses from one area to another, and assistance will be limited to areas undertaking an approved community action program. In order to assure that assistance extended under this program creates a significant number of new employment opportunities, loans will be made primarily in labor-intensive industries, or in industries in which the investment cost per employee is relatively low. In no case will any loan be made for which loan-cost-per-job exceeds $10,000; the average cost-per-job created will be substantially lower.

The Director would also be authorized to participate with other lending agencies and institutions whenever immediate participations could be obtained. Deferred participations, which depend on the ready availability of ample investment funds, are not deemed practical and would not be authorized.

Whatever the form of the financial assistance provided, the Director would first be required to determine that there were sufficient funds available to complete the project and that it gave reasonable assurance of repayment. Loans would bear interest at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury on the basis of the average market yield of outstanding Treasury obligations of comparable maturity, plus an additional charge at the discretion of the Director to cover the other costs of the program. However, the legislation would require that no interest rate be charged on any project in a poverty area in excess of the rate then being charged under the area redevelopment program.

The Director would also be authorized to charge reasonable fees for administrative expenses and to cover probable losses in connection with the loan guarantee program.

PART B—SMALL BUSINESS LOANS

The small businessmen of our Nation constitute one of the foundations of community life. When poverty strikes the community, it strikes them as well. Indeed, the ledgers and annals of the poor would be incomplete if they failed to show that—

> One-half of the Nation's 5,600,000 sole proprietorships engaged in nonagricultural enterprises report annual profits of $3,000 or less.

Sixteen percent of these proprietorships report net losses.

Three hundred and eighty-seven thousand small businesses go out of business annually.

When small businesses fail, we lose the creative talents of individuals whose enterprise and initiative have long been the backbone of American life. Each such failure is America's loss and poverty's gain.

In addition, since almost one-half of the jobs in our country are created by small business employers, the demise of the small businessman proliferates poverty and further paralyzes the community.

The Small Business Administration has made more than 40,000 loans to small business concerns totaling more than $2 billion over the past 10 years. However, there remain many small businessmen who have been unable to meet normal credit eligibility requirements under existing law. More often than not, these are the very small retailer or serviceman, the business with one, two, or perhaps five employees, which is nevertheless an important part of the business community, and makes an important contribution to the economy. Such a small entrepreneur needs little capital, but he does need it on reasonable terms and for a somewhat longer period than is presently available.

Part 3 of title IV would establish a broader lending program designed to meet the needs of the small proprietor. Such a program—

Will help put a new or incipient business on its feet.

Will enable an existing business to grow where there is a need for growth and provide small loans for longer terms than existing SBA programs permit.

Will enable small firms to ready themselves for the higher levels of economic activity which the tax reductions in 1964 and 1965 will produce; and for firms in areas where the ARA or other development programs have spurred economic growth, to share in the improved conditions which such development yields.

Will hold out the promise of increased employment by every firm which can with the help of a modest loan from the SBA expand its labor force.

Will provide for these small businessmen an opportunity to learn by making available a program of management training in connection with which both the business community and the educational institutions will be encouraged to share their knowledge and their experience.

The SBA has within the limits of its existing legislation experimented with such an approach in Philadelphia, Pa., in cooperation with local business groups and foundations. This program was started as a pilot project on January 28, 1964, but the response has been instantaneous and extraordinary. To date, the SBA has conducted in connection with the pilot program more than 1,100 interviews. Three hundred applications for financial assistance have been received; 74 loans have already been approved, averaging $5,000 each.

The borrowers include an insect exterminator now making $40 a week. With a $6,000 loan, he will purchase a new truck, buy new equipment, and expand his business to employ two or three helpers. He is taking a local Small Business Administration "How to Run a Business" course. Another borrower wholesales artificial flowers from his basement, but will expand into new quarters and hire several

new employees with a $6,000 loan just granted. An appliance repairman, through a loan, is expanding his small business by establishing several branch stores. A locksmith who has just invented a new electronic automatic timeclock has received a loan of $4,500 with which he will be able to expand his presently very limited production.

In conjunction with these loans, members of the business community of Philadelphia who are recognized experts in fields such as bookkeeping, merchandising, and taxation, have volunteered their services as advisers to borrowers. The chief beneficiaries of both the lending and the management training aspects of the Philadelphia pilot project are expected to be the disadvantaged small business concerns—frequently members of minority groups—who are unable to obtain private financing, or to underwrite any form of management training for themselves or their employees.

The experience has been encouraging and dramatic. It should now be attempted in similar situations. This act would authorize the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity to make or guarantee loans to small business concerns or to those seeking to establish such concerns if the financing is not otherwise reasonably available and if there is reasonable assurance of repayment. The definition of "small business" would be governed by the Small Business Act and the authority to make such loans will be delegated to the SBA.

The maturity of the loans (15 years) would exceed that presently within the power of the SBA. In addition, the act provides for more relaxed credit standards. The loan may be made under conditions which permit the borrower to defer repayment of principal for a period of time necessary to establish the business, or permit the payment of other existing indebtedness so as to insure the viability of the concern. The purpose of this more liberal approach is not only to enable small business concerns not otherwise able to meet the credit criteria of private lenders or the SBA to obtain financial assistance under this act, but also to attract participation by private lenders. Because it is expected that the chief applicants will be the very smallest firms—typically, service and retail enterprises—the maximum loan limit will be $15,000.

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Particular emphasis is given to management training, both to train those entering business and to upgrade the skills of those already in business. The Administrator would be given specific authority to condition the granting of a loan upon the borrower's participation in an approved management training program, either privately conducted or Government sponsored. Such provision will also give the Government additional assurance that its investment will be repaid.

Under the program it is estimated that more than 1,000 loans to small businessmen in Philadelphia alone can be made, based on the enthusiasm with which the announcement of the pilot was received. In addition, the Philadelphia approach will be extended to 10 more cities with core area problems which a thriving community of small businessmen can help to solve. In all, more than 5,000 loans to these sole proprietors and small enterprises can be made during the next year. These loans will average about $5,000 each, and will be concentrated in neighborhoods which are undertaking community action plans. The Small Business Administration, through its 15 regional offices, will be the prime mover of the program, and will absorb the

estimated cost of $25 million during the first year within its existing funding authorizations. No additional funds to finance this program are being requested as part of the 1965 Office of Economic Opportunity budget.

Family Unity Through Jobs

For the unskilled and the semiskilled, loss of a job may mean far more than the loss of income. It is likely to mean eventual exhaustion of unemployment benefits, loss of dignity, loss of hope. And the long period of enforced idleness, with nothing to do and nothing to contribute, may result in the disintegration of the family.

What is needed is a program that will give even the least qualified of those low-skilled workers a chance to avoid this descent into hopelessness. The way for such a program has already been cleared.

In 1961, the Social Security Act was amended to authorize Federal financial participation in assistance to families with an unemployed, but employable, parent living at home. The following year the act was again amended to permit this assistance to be paid in the form of wages for work or training in special programs.

Thirteen of the eighteen States which have expanded their aid to families of dependent children (AFDC) program to include unemployed parents (AFDC–UP) have undertaken or are completing plans for such work and training programs. These programs have been highly successful. They have proved that welfare recipients welcome the opportunity to return to productive work or training and that such programs both increase the employability of the recipient and benefit the community in which he lives.

In West Virginia, a statewide work-training program has provided work for over 10,000 unemployed individuals each month. In the last 18 months, 6,700 welfare cases have been closed as the result of regular employment for the relief recipients. And institutions across the State continue to request more work-training participants than are available.

In Cook County, Ill., 700 fathers from AFDC–UP families were given a special course in cabdriving; 85 percent of them are now employed as cabdrivers. Throughout the county, nearly 6,000 unemployed parents have been enrolled in a basic education program, and almost 2,000 in a high school program, both of which have been received enthusiastically by students and administrators alike.

In Fulton County, Ga., 232 AFDC mothers participated in a training course in commercial food preparation and housekeeping, and 103 of these found permanent employment. In less than 1 month, the costs of training these women were offset by savings in public assistance payments to them.

In Oregon, 610 unemployed parents are being provided work and training in clerical services, cafeteria operations, mechanical trades, and construction skills. In Indiana, 200 are being trained in nursing, barbering, and hair dressing. In downstate Illinois, over 2,000 are working at building maintenance, clerical and library services in public schools, and road maintenance.

These cases, and many more like them, demonstrate that public assistance with work and training can be used as a positive instrument to keep families together, to increase employability, and to brighten our communities.

RELATIONSHIP TO MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

This program directly complements programs carried out under the Manpower Development and Training Act. Both programs are directed primarily at the same person—the unemployed head of a family. However they differ in their methods of recruitment and accordingly in the persons they reach. The Manpower Development and Training Act program, because it recruits through the State employment services and because it calls for a relatively high aptitude, tends to attract an "elite" element among the unemployed—those who are better educated, who are aware of the services available to them, and who have the confidence to seek admission.

But the lower ranks of the unemployed generally do not share this aptitude, awareness, or confidence. They must be reached by other means, the most effective of which is the mechanism of public assistance. When combined with a program of constructive work or training, public assistance serves as an effective device not only for reaching the unskilled unemployed, but also for preserving their basic work skills and initiatives. Some of those selected through this mechanism will enter Manpower Development and Training Act programs immediately; others will be given experience and confidence to qualify them for such training; and still others will enter the labor force directly once again. But all will be given an opportunity to improve themselves and their communities through work and training.

The way in which the Office of Economic Opportunity will spur initiative of these programs has been dramatically demonstrated in the State of Kentucky.

In November 1963, Kentucky sought a grant from HEW to enable it to initiate a small, pilot program under which AFDC would be extended to families with unemployed fathers and a community work and training program would be initiated. In December, a grant was approved in principle under which HEW would underwrite, until the end of the State's current fiscal year, the total cost of an AFDC–UP pilot program in seven eastern counties. The grant was made in January. Rapid progress and full public acceptance led the legislature in February to authorize the expansion of the program to 39 hard-hit east Kentucky counties at the beginning of its next fiscal year and to the entire State 1 year hence. Thus a small grant to finance a pilot program can rapidly lead to a statewide program.

In order to stimulate the adoption by other States of constructive work or training programs which will enable employable individuals and their families to transfer from welfare rolls to payrolls, a three-part program is proposed:

1. *Extension of AFDC–UP and work and training programs to more families*

In addition to the 18 States whose programs of aid to families with dependent children include families with an unemployed parent, 10 States are actively considering the establishment of such programs. But many of the 18 States which now have AFDC-UP programs limit their effectiveness and scope by using restrictive definitions of unemployment, need, or residence and there are 22 States in which nothing has been done. In all of the States there are substantial

members of families—a total of almost 300,000 involving nearly 1.6 million persons—in which the father is unemployed and which are not receiving adequate assistance and training.

This situation permits the disintegration of many families, the withdrawal of many children from school, and the reinforcement of a pattern of poverty for many of this Nation's citizens. Accordingly, the family-unity-through-jobs program has been designed to encourage the expansion of existing programs, the establishment of new AFDC–UP programs, and the inclusion of work and training programs on a pilot basis where they do not now exist.

It is estimated that approximately 80,000 unemployed fathers who are not now receiving public assistance can be reached during the first year of an expanded program. Since the average family receiving AFDC–UP contains 5.7 people, this part of the program alone will directly affect some 456,000 people.

2. Extension of work and training programs to more families now receiving AFDC–UP

An estimated 35,000 able-bodied fathers are now receiving public assistance while what skills they have wither from disuse, while technological change renders even those skills obsolete, and while pride and self-respect become luxuries which can no longer be afforded.

In order to avoid the perpetuation of this waste, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare would also underwrite pilot efforts to stimulate the adoption of work and training programs in connection with public assistance. It is estimated that approximately 20,000 families or a total of 114,000 people at an average family size of 5.7, could be reached during the first year in an expanded program.

3. Provision of basic education and training of AFDC mothers

A majority of the families in the AFDC program are headed by women. The father is absent, dead, or incapacitated. Of the over 700,000 women heading families receiving AFDC, about 14 percent are now employed and another 13 percent, or approximately 100,000 could work if employment were available. Many more would seek employment if adequate day-care facilities were available. Moreover, less than one-third of the AFDC mothers have more than an elementary school education, and their children will almost inevitably suffer from such a home environment. These mothers (primarily those with older children for whom day care arrangements can be made) would benefit both themselves and their children if they were to receive basic education and training. In addition to enhancing their prospects for employment, such training has proved its value in strengthening the family situation and making possible progress for the children.

It is estimated that during the first year of this program, about 30,000 of the 100,000 mothers seeking employment could be given basic literacy education and vocational training. Since the average size of an AFDC family headed by a female is 3.9 people, this would affect some 117,000 people.

Budget estimate

[Cost in thousands of dollars]

	Total cost	Economic opportunity agency	State contribution
I. Extension of AFDC-UP and work and training programs to more families:			
Welfare costs:			
Public assistance	95,760	95,760	0
Additional living expenses	11,200	11,200	0
Work and training costs	28,000	22,400	5,600
Total	134,960	129,360	5,600
II. Extension of work and training programs to more families now receiving AFDC-UP:			
Welfare costs:			
Public assistance	(1)	(1)	(1)
Additional living expenses	4,000	4,000	0
Work and training costs	10,000	8,000	2,000
Total	14,000	12,000	2,000
III. Provision of basic education and training to AFDC mothers:			
Welfare costs:			
Public assistance	(1)	(1)	(1)
Additional living expenses	3,000	3,000	0
Basic education and training	5,000	5,000	0
Total	8,000	8,000	
IV. Cost of administration	640	640	
Grand total	157,600	150,000	7,600

[1] Not applicable because basic cost of public assistance already being paid under regular State program.

VOLUNTEERS FOR AMERICA—THE OPPORTUNITY TO HELP

The response throughout America to the Peace Corps has demonstrated with dramatic clarity the intensity of the spirit of service in this country. It is proposed to tap this vital source for domestic service through a volunteers for America program within the Office of Economic Opportunity.

For those thousands of Americans who are not eligible for Peace Corps service (for the most part because they have families) who are unable to volunteer for a full 2 years, or who would prefer to make their contribution at home rather than abroad, the volunteers for America program will offer an opportunity for service. Peace Corps experience has indicated the great extent to which this program can benefit the volunteers themselves, the people and the communities served by them, and the Nation as a whole.

Volunteers will participate not only in the programs proposed in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. They will also work in existing Federal programs related to poverty problems, and in State and local activities. A volunteer may teach in a Job Corps training center, or he may work on an Indian reservation on projects administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He may work in a community undertaking a community action program, or he may, on request of a State or municipality, be assigned to projects which are supported wholly by local resources. In each case, the aim of the Office of Economic Opportunity will be simply to bring together a Volunteer willing to serve and an opportunity for service.

The term of service in the volunteers for America program will normally be 1 year, including training. To be eligible, applicants

must be at least 18 years of age. Specific standards of selection—including physical condition and level of education and experience required—will vary depending on the job to be done, but a high degree of motivation and stability will be required in every case. As in the Peace Corps, initial selection will be made on the basis of detailed applications, references, and an aptitude examination; final selection will be based upon evaluation of a candidate during training.

Training for approximately a 1-month period will be given to every volunteer. The training will be conducted through contracts with colleges and universities throughout the country. Although the content of training will vary with the nature and location of the job at hand, it will normally include studies in the volunteers of America program, the nature and causes of poverty in this country, the skills required for the specific project, and physical fitness and health care.

Membership will be of two basic types. Approximately 2,500 of the 5,000 volunteers anticipated by the end of the first year of operations will be responsible directly to the State or local organization under whose auspices they are serving or to a central State office. In this case, the assignment of volunteers will be subject to the approval of the Governor, and the State or local community will be responsible for payment of all allowances and support costs following the period of training.

Of the balance of the volunteers, part will be assigned on request of Federal agencies to various poverty-related programs where opportunities for service exist. They will work in programs on Indian reservations, programs dealing with migratory workers, and programs located outside the 50 States—such as those which might be undertaken in the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and Guam or other American territories. And part will serve in conservation camps in Job Corps training centers, and in federally assisted mental health and mental retardation institutions. The Office of Economic Opportunity will bear the costs of volunteer services for Federal programs.

The Deputy Director for Volunteers will both assign volunteers to Federal programs and make available to interested States and communities lists of qualified applicants for programs under their auspices. All training will be conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity, although a State or locality will, of course, be free to supplement such training to the degree it deems desirable.

Volunteers will receive an allowance of $50 for each month of satisfactory service, including the training period, to be held for them until the completion of their service. In addition, they will receive a living allowance which will vary depending upon the location of the project and the types of support provided in kind. In any case, volunteers will receive—either in kind or through their living allowances—housing, subsistence, transportation, medical care, and the supplies, equipment, and special clothing necessary during their period of service.

For volunteers assigned to State and local programs, the entire cost to the Federal Government will be the intital costs of selection, processing and training. This will normally be obligated at the time the volunteer enters training. Two million dollars will therefore be required to enroll in service in fiscal year 1965 an estimated 2,500 volunteers in this category at an estimated average per capita cost of $800.

For volunteers assigned to Federal programs and federally assisted institutions, it will also be necessary to finance all of the initial processing training costs. These initial costs are expected to average approximately $900, including the provision of certain items of work clothing and supplies. Since volunteers will be phasing in during the year, average posttraining costs and allowances during fiscal year 1965 are estimated to be about $300. Three million dollars will therefore be necessary to enroll in service in 1965 an estimated 2,500 volunteers in this category at an average per capita cost of $1,200.

Information Center

The antipoverty programs of the Federal Government involve more than a score of agencies and offices, dozens of laws, and hundreds of pages implementing regulations and procedures. To a local mayor, city councilman, county supervisor, or welfare official the prospect of contacting and dealing with half a dozen or more Federal agencies can present a prohibitive obstacle to progress. The local official or community leader who attempts to mobilize the Federal help now available to him must thread his way alone through this labyrinth.

A one-stop antipoverty data center will end that confusion and break through much of the existing redtape that has bewildered local officials. Above all, it will get into their hands a single response that will furnish them information about ongoing Federal antipoverty programs.

It is planned to establish such a center in Washington, D.C., to provide prompt and complete service to State, county, and city officials, and others who will organize and carry out community action programs.

The operations of the center will be geared to meet the needs of specific communities. Conditions, problems, and avenues of attack on poverty will differ from community to community and from State to State. The center will furnish each community the kind of information it needs.

We expect the workload of the center to be large, as more and more communities seek ways by which they can tackle the problems of poverty. The first contact which a community makes with the center will be all important in keeping alive the spark of initiative that has been kindled in the community. No community anywhere should fail to act because the Government was either too slow in responding to a request for help or because the information and data furnished was inadequate to meet its needs. To assure that this goal is met, the center will serve as a coordinator for response to local officials. Where several agencies of the Federal Government are involved in a specific program, the center will do the necessary legwork to see to it that the local community gets a single set of replies to its questions.

This center would not duplicate or overlap present services performed by an existing agency. Specific requests for information about the Department of Labor, for example, will continue to be handled by that agency. The same would hold true for all other agencies.

This new dimension of the antipoverty effort will, however, require a new approach to the handling of requests for help from all across

the Nation, especially as the combined resources of the Federal Government are brought to bear in the attack on poverty.

The work of the center will be closely coordinated with the teams of experts who will work directly with local community action organization in their planning and programs. In addition, the center will make available, on request, to communities and officials samples, case studies, and models of how other areas have solved or attacked similar problems.

Office of Economic Opportunity

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

The Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by a Director, will be located in the Executive Office of the President. The proposed Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 would give the Director the function of coordinating existing Federal agency programs related to poverty, and also empower him to initiate new programs as specifically authorized by the act. Except for the Job Corps, the analysis and review of community action plans, and administration of the volunteers for America program, nearly all operating functions of the antipoverty program will be perfomed by other departments and agencies, with the Director formulating guidelines to govern their overall shape and content.

Organizational details are still tentative, but the basic outlines are as follows:

Office of the Director

Director	Statutory.
Deputy Director	Do.
2 Special Assistants	GS–18.
Executive Secretary	GS–16.
Staff to the Office of the Director	6.
Executive secretariat	6.

The Director and his staff will have overall reponsiblity for the work of the Office. Paramount among the responsibilities involved will be (1) the coordination of the activities of other departments and agencies related to the combating of poverty, and (2) encouraging the cooperation and participation of business, labor, and other private organizations and associations in this effort, and (3) administering the program authorized by the proposed Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. In order to achive these ends more effectively, the Director and Deputy Director will also have the status of Special Assistant and Deputy Special Assistant to the President.

The two Special Assistants to the Director will assume special responsibilities in advising the Director on problems of Federal interagency coordination, and ways to enlist the cooperation of business, labor, and private organizations.

Job Corps

Deputy Director for the Job Corps	Statutory.
Assistant Deputy Director	GS–18.
2 Associate Directors	GS–17.
Program Staff	48.
Recruitment Staff	10.

The Deputy Director for the Job Corps will have overall responsibility for the composition and activities of both the conservation camps and the vocational training centers located throughout the country. The Washington staff will have two basic functions, as indicated by the divisions within the office: (1) program responsibilities concerning the basic nature of the camps, including the selection of enrollees and the administration, content, and evaluation of the camps, and (2) the recruitment, including any necessary training, of the teaching staff. The implementation of program plans will be carried out in the field by USES offices, the camp staffs, and other appropriate organizations or individuals.

Community Action Programs

Deputy Director for Community Action	Statutory.
Assistant Deputy Director	GS–18.
Chief—Program and Financial Analysis	GS–17.
Chief—Information Center	GS–17.
11 regional directors	GS–17.
Program analysis staff	15.
Financial analysis staff	8.
Information staff	30.
Regional office staff	39.

The Deputy Director for Community Action and his staff will be responsible for overseeing the efforts of "target" communities to combat poverty. To this end, they will conduct practical analyses of the causes of poverty and its incidence throughout the country, and they will formulate specific guidelines to other departments and agencies on the shape and content of their role in a coordinated Federal effort to eliminate poverty. In particular, they will be responsible for the analysis of community action and related program submissions and for recommending appropriate action by various agenies.

There will be 11 regional offices, each headed by a regional representative, who will be responsible for the horizontal integration of all Federal services to meet the needs of approved community action plans. In addition, they will stimulate and process individual plans, recommend appropriate Washington action, and seek highest level State cooperation.

The financial analysis staff will be responsible for the allocation to other departments and agencies of funds appropriated to the Director for the implementation of programs recommended by the program staff.

The information center staff will serve as a one-stop source of information about the full range of Federal antipoverty programs for State and local government officials and other interested individuals in order to enable them more effectively to take advantage of Federal resources available to assist in eliminating poverty.

Volunteers for America Program

Deputy Director for Volunteers	Statutory.
Assistant Deputy Director for Volunteers	GS–17.
Chief—Selection	GS–17.
Chief—Training	GS–17.
Selection staff	30.
Support staff	40.

The Deputy Director for Volunteers and his staff will be responsible for the nationwide program involving an estimated 5,000 volunteers at the local, State, or Federal level in programs designed to combat poverty.

The selection staff will evaluate all applications and will allocate suitable applicants to appropriate programs including referral to State and local programs. It will also serve as a clearinghouse for the allocation of suitable applicants to local communities.

The support staff will develop training programs for all volunteers and will develop and apply payment, transportation, and related policies for volunteers in Federal programs. In doing so, they will work closely with State and local authorities in order to assure that volunteer programs are coordinated throughout the country.

General Counsel

General Counsel	GS-18.
Deputy General Counsel	GS-16.
Staff	3.

The General Counsel and his staff will provide legal counsel and other legal services related to the attack on poverty and to the proposed legislation.

Public Information

Associate Director for Public Information	GS-17.
Staff:	
Press relations	8.
Public affairs	15.

The Associate Director for Public Information and his staff will be responsible for all information functions directed at the general public. The press relations staff will deal with communications media and with interested individuals to explain and interpret the Government-wide program to combat poverty to the public.

The public affairs staff will have primary responsibility for a nationwide information campaign aimed at (1) volunteer enrollees in the Job Corps, (2) volunteers to work as staff at the Federal, State, or local level in the various programs involved in the antipoverty effort, and (3) paid staff members for the Job Corps camps.

Management

Associate Director for Management	GS-17.
Staff:	
Accounting and audit	8.
Personnel	6.
Management services	8.

The Associate Director for Management and his staff will be responsible for the internal administration of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This will involve accounting for the funds appropriated to the Director, audit of the financial records of communities with approved community action and related programs, personnel services for the Office, and management services such as building maintenance, reproduction, stocks and records, and the like.

SUMMARY

The organization of the Office of Economic Opportunity as described above would involve a Washington staff of 247, of whom 5 will be statutory and 16 will be supergrades, and a field staff of 65 direct hire personnel, of whom 11 would be supergrades.

Budget summary, war on poverty, fiscal year 1965

Title	*Thousands*
I. Youth programs	$412, 500
A. Youth camps and guidance centers	190, 000
B. Work-training programs	150, 000
C. Work-study programs	72, 500
II. Urban and rural community action programs	315, 000
III. Special programs to combat poverty in rural areas	50, 000
A. Family capital grants	22, 200
B. Farm resources adjustments	15, 000
C. Loans to cooperatives	10, 000
D. Administrative expenses	2, 800
IV. Employment and investment incentives	25, 000
A. Incentives for employment of long-term or hard-core unemployed persons	25, 000
B. Small business loans	(1)
V. Family unity through jobs	150, 000
A. Jobs and training for unemployed fathers not now eligible for public assistance	129, 360
B. Jobs and training for unemployed fathers now receiving public assistance	12, 000
C. Training for mothers of families receiving public assistance	8, 000
D. Related administrative expenses	640
VI. Administration, research and volunteers	10, 000
A. Office of Economic Opportunity—Administrative expense	3, 500
B. Research	1, 500
C. Volunteer expenses	5, 000
Total appropriations request, fiscal year 1965	962, 500

1 Utilizes existing Small Business Administration funding authority.

[From "Legislative Notes," Office of Education, Mar. 16, 1964]

Economic Opportunity Act of 1964: A Summary

The bill establishes the Office of Economic Opportunity in the Executive Office of the President. The Director of the Office is provided with coordinating powers with respect to existing Federal agency poverty-related programs, and with authority to carry out new programs to attack poverty. Operating functions of the new programs, except for the Job Corps, the community action program and the volunteers for America program, will be performed by other departments and agencies. Funds will be appropriated to the Director; it is anticipated that the first year program allocations will be:

Program summary

	Millions
Total	$962.5
I. Youth opportunity programs	412.5
A. Job Corps	190.0
B. Work-training program	150.0
C. Work-study program	72.5
II. Urban and rural community action programs	315.0
III. Rural economic opportunity programs	50.0
IV. Employment and investment incentives	25.0
A. Incentives for employment of unemployed	25.0
B. Small business loans	(1)
V. Family unity through jobs	150.0
VI. Volunteers and administration	10.0

1 Utilizes existing funding authority.

The bill contains six titles:

TITLE I—YOUTH PROGRAMS

Part A.—Establishes a Job Corps within the Office of Economic Opportunity, with responsibility for administering a program of education, work experience, and vocational training for youths aged 16 through 21. Two kinds of programs are envisaged—conservation camps providing useful work and basic education and residential training centers providing basic education and job training programs to increase employability.

Part B.—Authorizes the Director to enter into agreements with State and local governments or nonprofit agencies to pay part of the costs of part- or full-time employment for young men and women aged 16 through 21 to enable them to resume or continue their education or to increase their employability. This part of the program will be administered by the Department of Labor.

Part C.—Authorizes the Director to enter into agreements with institutions of higher learning to pay part of the costs of part-time employment for undergraduate, graduate, or professional students from low-income families in order to enable them to pursue courses of study at such institutions. This part of the program will be administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

TITLE II—URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Authorizes the Director to encourage and support community action programs which mobilize community resources to combat poverty and which are conducted by a local government unit or an organization which is broadly representative of the community. Elementary or secondary school education programs which receive Federal assistance will be administered by the public school system, and such programs must be open to all children regardless of whether they are regularly enrolled in the public schools. Assistance may be provided to communities in advance of the completion of the plan. Technical assistance in preparing and administering community programs may be furnished. Financial assistance from the Federal Government under this title will be 90 percent of the costs of the programs for the first 2 years and 75 percent thereafter. The Director will establish criteria for equitable distribution of Federal funds; not more than 12½ percent of total funds may be used within one State in any one year. Programs will be administered by the communities and will incorporate assistance from various Federal departments and agencies.

TITLE III—SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

Authorizes grants up to $1,500 to low-income rural families where such grants are likely to effect a permanent increase in the income of such families, and loans up to $2,500 to finance nonagricultural income-producing enterprises for the same purpose. The Director may also provide assistance to nonprofit corporations to acquire land to be reconstituted into family farms, and make loans to cooperatives. Program will be administered by the Department of Agriculture.

TITLE IV—EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

Part A.—Authorizes the Director to make, participate in, or guarantee loans for investments which will employ hard-core unemployed or members of low-income families. These investments may be outside designated surplus labor areas, if they are part of a community action plan. Program will be administered by the Area Redevelopment Administration.

Part B.—Authorizes the Director to make, participate in, or guarantee loans to small businesses not in excess of $15,000 on more liberal terms than the regular loan provisions of the Small Business Administration. Program will be administered by SBA.

TITLE V—FAMILY UNITY THROUGH JOBS

Authorizes the Director to transfer funds to HEW to pay costs of experimental, pilot or demonstration projects designed to stimulate the adoption in States of programs providing constructive work experience or training for unemployed fathers and other members of needy families with children.

TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

Establishes the Office of Economic Opportunity. Authorizes the Director to recruit, select, and train volunteers, and to refer them to programs at the State or local level, or to utilize them, with appropriate allowances and benefits, in specified mental health, migrant, Indian, and other Federal programs, including the Job Corps. Establishes an Economic Opportunity Council made up of Federal officers, and a National Advisory Council of citizens appointed by the President to consult with and advise the Director. Also authorizes the Director to assist the President in coordinating the antipoverty efforts of all Federal agencies and requires other agencies, to the maximum extent feasible, to carry out poverty-related programs in a manner which will assist in carrying out the purposes of this bill. Provides that the President may direct that programs of Federal agencies be carried out, to the extent consistent with other applicable law, in conjunction with or in support of programs authorized by the bill. Requires heads of agencies, where possible, to give preference in their programing to community action programs. Authorizes the Director to take steps to insure that adequate information concerning all relevant Federal programs is readily available to public officials and other interested persons.

Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT**

636-2293//

One Dan Goggin (~~Goff~~), formerly a city councilman of North Atlanta, together with a Gerald Niles, is attempting to set up a Coop in his area. This involves, apparently, negroes and "interested, good, whites" in the Area. Purpose of coop is to get work, direct, on contract basis, for the membership. Thru cooperative advertising. Also, later, want to set up a store. There are just a couple of stores in the area serving these people, and "they are robbing them blind."

Is getting run-around from Dan Sweatt, in Emmerich's office, he says. Isn't this because he's in DeKalb and Emmerich is FULTON-ATLANTA only?

Check to see — See Title IV of EO Act
what aid he can get? CAP?
SBA?
Who is area program coordinator for
DeKalb County. (Luke Teasley 523-8598)
ANS: To Mr. Manning — had "designated" ~~appointed~~
someone, but never got around to completing
it. Segregation platform. Not going an under
OEO. ∴, Manning may be ignoring. They're "fiddling."
Call Vernon Jordan (526-6901) better:
Earl Redwine's Office. // 526-6068

Lv. Wed, back Monday. Charles
Ck. him later; if Goggin Niles pan out
O.K.
Linwood —
Close Hill took Learyview
because of "store".

Al go directly to Wash., setting
up a CA advisory committee, or to
Redwine's office.

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Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT**

(FATHER) REV. A. J. McKnight
SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE, INC
P.O. Box 3005
LAFAYETTE, LA. 70501

EARL REDWINE 526-6901
Sr. Field Representative
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
601 14th Street, N.W.
(Vernon Jordan --- 526-6068)

LUKE TEASLEY (LUCIUS E.)
JA3-8593
STATE COORDINATOR
ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM
ROOM 326
STATE AGRICULTURE BLDG.

AL ULMER, SRC

Federal Extension Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Public Law 88-452

SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964
(Signed by President August 20, 1964)

Highlights

Administration: Act establishes in the Executive Office of the President an Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by a director reporting directly to the President, to administer, delegate authority to administer, and to coordinate the various programs authorized by Economic Opportunity Act.

Authorization: Programs authorized by act are to be carried out in fiscal year ending June 30, 1965 and two succeeding fiscal years. First year's authorization for appropriations totals $947.5 million. New authorizations for appropriations necessary for succeeding fiscal years.

Programs: Major programs authorized are Youth Programs --Job Corps, Work-Training Program, Work-Study Program; Community Action Programs; Special Programs to Combat Poverty in Rural Areas, including loans to low-income rural families and assistance to migrant and other seasonally-employed agricultural employees and their families; Employment and Investment Incentives; Work-Experience Programs; and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA).

TITLE I -- YOUTH PROGRAMS

Part A - Job Corps: Purpose is to prepare for citizenship and to increase employability of youth ages 16 through 21 by providing them education, vocational training, useful work experiences, including work on conservation of natural resources, and other activities through rural and urban residential centers.

Director of OEO is authorized to enter into agreement with Federal, State, or local agency or private organization for establishment and operation, in rural and urban areas, of conservation camps and training centers. Includes agreements with agencies charged with conserving, developing, and managing public natural resources and recreational areas for utilizing Job Corps enrollees in carrying out responsibilities of the agencies.

Corps to arrange for education and vocational training of enrollees. Where practicable, such education and training to be provided by local public educational agencies or private vocational education or technical institutes where they can provide substantially equivalent education and training at less cost.

Corps to be composed of young men and women who are permanent residents of the U. S.: Corps enrollment does not relieve obligation for military service.

Enrollment in Corps not to exceed two years except as Director may determine.

Enrollees provided such living, travel, and leave allowances; and such quarters, subsistence, transportation, equipment, clothing, recreational and health services, and other expenses as Director may deem appropriate. As deemed appropriate, travel may be provided to and from places of enrollment and, upon termination of service, to place of residence.

Upon termination of service, each enrollee entitled to readjustment allowance not to exceed $50 per month for each month of satisfactory service. As determined by Director, portion of readjustment allowance not exceeding $25 per month may be paid during period of enrollment directly to member of enrollee's family. Any such sum to be supplemented by payment of equal amount by the Director.

State-Operated Youth Camps

Director is authorized to enter into agreement with States to assist in operation and administration of State-operated programs which carry out purposes of Job Corps.

No camps, training centers, or other facilities designed to carry out purposes of act, shall be established within State unless plan has been submitted to the Governor of said State and not disapproved by him within 30 days of submission.

No less than 40 percent of enrollees in Job Corps shall be assigned to camps where their work is directed primarily toward conservation, developing, and managing public natural resource and recreational areas. Such work to be performed under direction of agencies charged with above responsibilities.

Part B - Work-Training Programs: Purpose is to provide useful work experiences for unemployed young men and women, ages 16 through 21 who are permanent residents of the U. S., through participation in State and community work-training programs so their employability may be increased or their education resumed. Such work experiences designed to provide needed services in public interest by public or non-profit private agencies or organizations that would not otherwise be provided, or to contribute to the conservation and development of natural resources and recreational areas.

Director shall assist State and local agencies and private non-profit organizations in developing programs for employment of youth in authorized activities. Wherever appropriate, such work shall be coordinated with training and education provided by local public educational agencies.

Rates of pay and other conditions of employment will be appropriate in light of type of work, geographical region of employment, and proficiency of employees.

Director shall give priority to projects with high training potential which provide reasonable expectation of employment, or which enable enrollees to resume or maintain school attendance.

Part C - Work-Study Programs: Purpose is to stimulate and promote part-time employment of students in institutions of higher education who are from low-income families and who are in need of employment in order to continue their education at such institutions.

Director is authorized to enter into agreement with institutions of higher education to make grants for operation of work-study programs. Work may be performed for institution or for public or non-profit private organization when position is obtained through an arrangement between institution and organization and when (a) such work is related to student's educational objectives or (b) is in public interest and would not otherwise be provided, and (c) will not displace employed workers or

impair existing contracts for services. No work shall involve construction, operation, or maintenance of "so much of any facility used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship."

Work will be governed by such conditions of employment as are appropriate in light of type of work performed, geographical region of employment, and proficiency of the employee. Employment to be furnished only to students who (a) are from low-income families, (b) are in need of employment in order to continue study at such institution, (c) are capable of maintaining good standing in institution while employed, and (d) have been accepted for enrollment as full-time students at institution or who are already enrolled as full-time students.

No student shall be employed under work-study program more than 15 hours in any week in which classes in which he is enrolled are in session.

Federal share of compensation of students will not exceed 90 percent of compensation for work performed during period ending two years after enactment of this act, and 75 percent thereafter.

Part D - Authorization for Appropriations: $412.5 million authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for Title I.

TITLE II
URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

Part A - General Community Action Programs: Purpose is to provide stimulation and incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through community action programs. CAP means a program:

> Which mobilizes public or private resource of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (referred to in this part as a community) including but not limited to a State, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multi-city area, or multi-county unit in an attack on poverty;
>
> Which provides services, assistance, and other activities of sufficient scope and size to give promise of progress toward elimination of poverty or causes of poverty by developing employment opportunities, improving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work;

Which is developed, conducted, and administered with maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of groups served, and;

Which is conducted, administered, or coordinated by a public or private non-profit agency or combination thereof.

Financial Assistance
(Sections 204-205)

Director is authorized to make grants to, or to contract with, appropriate public or private non-profit agencies, or combination thereof, to pay part or all of the cost of development of community action programs which have been approved by him and which have not been disapproved by Governor of State within 30 days after submission of plan for program to the Governor.

Community action programs can be conducted in fields encompassed in this part of act including employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, and special remedial and other non-curricular educational assistance for the benefit of low-income individuals and families.

No grant or contract authorized under this part of act may provide for general aid to elementary or secondary education in any school or school system.

In determining whether to extend assistance under this part of act, the Director shall consider, among other factors, the incidence of poverty in community and within areas and groups to be affected by proposed programs, and the extent to which applicants are able to utilize the assistance requested.

In determining the incidence of poverty, the Director shall consider information on:

The concentration of low-income families, particularly those with children;

The extent of persistent unemployment and under-employment;

The number of migrant or transient low-income families;

The number and proportion of persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations;

School drop-out rates, military service rejection rates, and other evidence of low educational attainment;

The incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality; housing conditions; adequacy of community facilities and services; and the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

Special consideration shall be given to programs which show promise of improving capacity of individuals, groups, and communities to deal with their problems without further assistance.

Financial assistance for community action programs shall not exceed 90 percent of the costs for the period ending two years after enactment of the act. Thereafter, financial assistance shall not exceed 50 percent of such costs. Expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources which were being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance.

Technical Assistance
(Section 206)

Director is authorized to provide, either directly or through grants or other arrangements, (a) technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs, and (b) training specialized personnel needed to develop, conduct, or administer such programs or to provide services or other assistance thereunder.

Research, Training, and Demonstrations
(Section 207)

Director is authorized to conduct, or to make grants or to enter into contracts with institutions of higher education or other appropriate public agencies or private organizations for the conduct of research, training, and demonstrations pertaining to the purposes of this part of the act. Expenditures for this purpose in any fiscal year shall not exceed 15 percent of the total sums appropriated or allocated for such year to carry out the purposes of Part A.

Participation of State Agencies
(Sections 209-210)

Director is authorized to make grants to, or contract with, appropriate State agencies for the payment of the expenses of such agencies in providing technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering community action programs.

No contract, agreement, grant, loan, or other assistance shall be made with, or provided to, any State or local public agency or private institution or organization for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of Title I and II of this act within a State unless a plan setting forth such proposed contract, agreement, grant, loan, or other assistance has been submitted to the Governor of the State, and such plan has not been disapproved by him within 30 days of submission;

Provided, however, that this provision shall not apply to contracts, agreements, grants, loans, or other assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on the date of the approval of this act.

No private institution or organization shall be eligible for participation in community action programs unless it (a) has had a concern with problems of poverty prior to its consideration for participation, or (b) is sponsored by one or more such institutions or organizations or by a public agency, or (c) is an institution of higher education.

The Director shall establish criteria designed to achieve equitable distribution of assistance between urban and rural areas within the state for community action programs.

Part B - Adult Basic Education Programs: Purpose is to initiate programs of instruction for persons who have attained age 18 and whose inability to read and write the English language constitutes a barrier to getting or retaining employment in line with their ability.

Grants for basic adult education programs may be made to States which have State plans approved by the Director. Grants may be used to:

Assist in the development of pilot projects by local educational agencies, relating to instruction of persons in public schools, or other facilities used for this purpose by such schools, to (a) demonstrate, test, or develop modifications or adaptations in the light of local needs of special materials or methods of instructions, (b) stimulate the development of local educational agency programs for instruction of such persons, and (c) acquire additional information about materials or methods needed for an effective program of raising adult basic education skills;

Assist in meeting the costs of local educational agency programs for instruction of such individuals, and;

Assist in the development or improvement of technical or supervisory services by the State educational agency relating to adult basic education programs.

The Director shall approve for purposes of Part B the plan of a State which provides for administration by the State educational agency.

Part C - Voluntary Assistance Program for Needy Children: Purpose is to allow individual Americans to assist in the support of one or more needy children through a program coordinated with city or county social welfare agencies.

Director is authorized to establish a section within Office of Economic Opportunity to act as an information and coordination center to encourage voluntary assistance for needy children. This section has no authority over State and local welfare agencies with respect to programs for needy children.

Part D - Authorization for Appropriations: $340 million authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.

TITLE III
SPECIAL PROGRAMS TO COMBAT POVERTY IN RURAL AREAS

Purpose is to meet some of the special problems of rural poverty and thereby raise and maintain income and living standards of low-income rural families and migrant agricultural employees and their families.

Part A - Authority to Make Loans: Director is authorized to make loans of up to $2500 for 15 years to low-income rural families to:

Acquire or improve real estate; participate in cooperative associations; and to finance small non-agricultural enterprises on farms to supplement the family's income from farming;

To pay for equipment, livestock, seed, feed, fertilizer, and other inputs needed by low-income farmers to raise their income.

Loans are to be made only to families not qualified to obtain such funds by loan under other Federal programs.

Loans are also available to finance cooperatives providing low-income rural families essential marketing, purchasing, and other services to help them earn a better living.

Part B - Assistance for Migrant and Other Seasonally Employed Agricultural Employees and Their Families: Director shall develop and implement as soon as practicable a program to assist State organizations, agencies, and individuals in establishing and operating programs

of assistance for migrants and other seasonally employed agricultural employees and their families. Programs to be limited to housing, sanitation, education, and day-care of children. Institutions, organizations, or individuals shall be limited to direct loans.

Part C - Authorization for Appropriation: $35 million authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.

Part D - Indemnity Payments to Dairy Farmers: Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to make indemnity payments, at fair market value, to dairy farmers who have been directed since January 1, 1964, to remove milk from commercial market because of residues of chemicals registered and approved for use by the Federal government at the time of use. Such payments to continue until dairy farmer has been reinstated and is allowed to dispose of his milk in commercial markets. Authorization is granted for appropriations of funds necessary to carry out this portion of act. Authority expires on January 31, 1965.

TITLE IV
EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT INCENTIVES

Purpose is to assist in the establishment, preservation, and strengthening of small business concerns; improve managerial abilities employed in such enterprises; and to mobilize for these objectives private and public managerial skills and resources.

Director is authorized to make, participate in, or guarantee loans for 15 years to any small business concern or to any qualified person seeking to establish such a concern. Special emphasis to be placed on employment of long-term unemployed. No loan(s) to a single borrower to exceed $25,000 outstanding at any one time.

No loan shall be made in any community having an approved community action program unless such financial assistance is determined by the Director to be consistent with such program.

Lending and guaranty functions under this title as may be delegated to the Small Business Administration may be financed with funds appropriated to the revolving fund established by section 4(c) of the Small Business Act.

TITLE V
WORK-EXPERIENCE PROGRAMS

Purpose is to expand opportunities for constructive work experiences and other needed training to persons unable to support or care for themselves or their families. In carrying out this purpose, the Director

shall make maximum use of programs available under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

Director is authorized to transfer funds appropriated or allocated to carry out purposes of this title to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to enable it to make payments for experimental, pilot, or demonstration projects designed to help unemployed fathers and other needy persons secure and retain employment or personal independence.

Authorization for Appropriation: $150 million authorized to be appropriated for fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.

TITLE VI
ADMINISTRATION AND COORDINATION

Part A - Administration: Act establishes in the Executive Office of the President an Office of Economic Opportunity, headed by a director appointed by the President and directly responsible to him.

Director's authority includes, with approval of the President, arranging with and reimbursing other Federal agencies for the performance of any of his functions under this act and, as appropriate, to delegate any of his powers under this act and authorize the re-delegation thereof. Authority also includes utilizing, with their consent, the services and facilities of Federal agencies without reimbursement and, with the consent of any State or political subdivision of a State, accept and utilize their services and facilities without reimbursement.

Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA): The Director is authorized to recruit, select, and train volunteers and; --

Upon request of State or local agency or private non-profit organization, refer volunteers to work in furtherance of programs to combat poverty;

In cooperation with other Federal, State, or local agencies involved, assign volunteers to work in (a) meeting the health, education, welfare, or related needs of Indians living on reservations, of migratory workers and their families, or of residents of the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (b) in the care and rehabilitation of mentally ill or mentally retarded under treatment at non-profit mental health or mental retardation facilities assisted in their construction

or operation by Federal funds, and (c) in furtherance of programs or activities supported by Titles I and II of this act.

Director is authorized to provide to all volunteers during training and to volunteers assigned to above duties stipend not to exceed $50 per month; living, travel, and leave allowance; housing; equipment, clothing, and health care as Director may deem appropriate.

Volunteers shall not be referred or assigned to duties or work in any State without the consent of the Governor.

Part B - Coordination of Antipoverty Program: Director is authorized to coordinate Federal programs carried out under act and to call upon other Federal agencies to supply information and other materials he deems necessary to discharge his responsibilities under the act.

To the extent feasible, heads of Federal agencies are directed to give preference to applications for assistance or benefits which are made pursuant to or in connection with a community action program approved under Title II.

TITLE VII

Sets forth provisions for computing income taxes of persons receiving payments under Title I or II and programs assisted under such titles; for determining income in relation to eligibility of persons receiving grants under Title III; and for determining eligibility of States for Social Security funds in relation to State plans submitted under Economic Opportunity Act.

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For further information write to:

Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

MECHANIZED FARMS CAST OFF LABORERS; RACISTS BLOCK

Jobless Negroes pour

By Dale Gronemeier
and Jerry Tecklin

WILLIEBELL SMITH, 35, a Mississippi Negro, lived and worked on a plantation between Drew and Ruleville. After going to a voter registration rally, he wore two SNCC pins to the field—the clasped black and white hands and the "One Man, One Vote" buttons. "The Man" of course fired him and ordered him off the plantation. Williebell Smith is a simple man with a simple desire to be free. He is illiterate and has no skills. "The Man" could easily fire him because mechanization is eliminating the need for agricultural labor.

For days, Williebell Smith hung around the SNCC Community Center in Ruleville. There was nothing the movment could do for him; it has few jobs and none for the illiterate. There were no jobs in the community. The summer volunteers avoided his eyes, feeling guilty that they could not help him.

Mississippi—that abstraction for a billion cold and minute injustices—has created in Williebill Smith a human being useless to its purposes. Yet he is one of the luckiest of its victims, for in some sense he chose his fate. Far sadder are the thousands simply pushed off the land with no place to go, no skills to sell, and no proud act to salve being "useless." They have filled the towns of the South and then moved on to the slums of the North. Their tragedy makes the plight of those in the Okie exodus of the 1930s seem pale.

THE BLACK MIGRATION out of Mississippi has been going on at a rapid rate since 1940. The percentage of Negroes in the state has been reduced from a high of 58.5% in 1900 to the current 42%. Between 1950-1960, the Negro population decreased by 7.2% while the white increased by 5.8%. The migration has been starkest in the black-belt Delta counties: Tunica, 24.8%; Tallahatchie, 20.1%; Sunflower, 18.7%; Quitman, 15.3%; Bolivar, 14.4%; Leflore 13.8%. Hardest hit are the young Negroes; while there was a total decrease of 72,213 Negroes in the state between 1950-60, the 19-44 age bracket decreased by 93,599—i.e., there are more very young and old Negroes and many less working-age Negroes.

The increasing mechanization of cotton-farming has been the primary cause of migration. Beginning in the 1940s, tractors replaced the mule drivers. The replacement of cotton-pickers by cotton-picking machines has been going on since the end of World War II and is near completion. Effective methods with flamethrowers and pre-emergent herbicides to eliminate hand-chopping of weeds appear to be only a few years away.

THE THRUST of agricultural automation has been intensified by the conscious hope of whites that the Negro migration will effect a "final solution to the race question." The White Citizen's Council, born in the Delta, in 1955, has encouraged the Negro exodus.

State Senator W. B. Alexander Jr. of Bolivar County told New York Times reporter David Halberstam July 19: "We could get along with 15,000 coloreds in

COTTON FIELD WORKERS GA
Farm mechanization is rapi

this county." (The 1960 census showed 36,701 Negroes in the county.) The Bolivar County Overall Economic Development Program (an economic study that counties seeking federal funds must produce) said: "Due to the critical labor situation that exists in this area at this time, complete mechanization, along with the full utilization of chemicals, is considered a 'must' in the very near future." The "critical labor situation" is the dream of the whites rather than the reality.

What is developing is an all-white economy; the Negroes have moved and will move because their agricultural jobs are eliminated and industrial jobs are reserved for whites. The change has been both rapid and enormous; in 1940, 58% (420,000) of the labor force was in agriculture; in 1960 only 21% (142,000). In Sunflower County, for instance, primarily Negro agricultural jobs decreased by 5,588 in 1950-1960; primarily white non-agricultural jobs increased by 1,251. There are few young Negro adults in Sunflower.

EVEN IF INDUSTRIAL JOBS were opened up, Negroes are not being prepared for the transition. On billboards along Mississippi's highways, a dark figure pushing a wheelbarrow is seen receding into the background; over the picture are the words: "You can't get tomorrow's job with yesterday's skills." The enlightened admonition of the Advertising Council is not carried over into public policy. The educational system makes no effort to educate Negroes for a place in a technological society. The Ruleville Negro high school, for instance, has no technical training (it does, however, have a course in farm management—not exactly the thing for landless Negroes!).

There has been little or no use of the federal retraining programs. According to Cecil Black, U.S. Department of Agriculture Sunflower County agent, the plantation-owning whites vetoed a tractor-driver retraining program because the federal government would pay the trainees $1.25 an hour—more than Delta farmers are willing to pay tractor drivers. At the same time, Black said paradoxically, the county is overloaded with industry because there is a shortage of skilled personnel for more industry. It seemed clear that federal retraining programs are opposed because they will keep Negroes in the Delta and because they are integrated.

THE WHITE COMMUNITY has eliminated Negro jobs, provided a third-rate segregated education, and given "useless" Negroes no alternative but to move out. The vaunted Southern "benevolence" to the Negro disappears as soon as the Negro's hands are no longer profitable. But there are even more sinister aspects to the "final solution to the Negro question": Some of the

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FEDERAL AID

ing out of Mississippi

Photo from St. Louis Post-Dispatch Pictures

THER AROUND A CREW LEADER (LEFT) AT THE START OF THE DAY
idly reducing the number of jobs for the uneducated and the unskilled

of white Mississippi seem consciously genocidal.

Last winter, a number of counties refused free federal surplus foods—food that would have gone to starving Negroes. Mississippi HB 180, a bill providing for either prison terms or sterilization for parents of more than one illegitimate child, was passed by the Mississippi lower house but was toned down after SNCC published a pamphlet, "Genocide in Mississippi." Rep. Stone Barefield of Hattiesburg said during floor debate on the bill. "When the cutting starts, they'll [Negroes] head for Chicago."

Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Ruleville civil rights leader, charges that Mississippi doctors haven't needed any sterilization bill to start cutting; she says she knows of a number of instances when Negro women have gone into a hospital for an operation and have come out involuntarily sterilized.

WORKERS IN THE MOVEMENT for civil rights are deeply concerned about the economic squeeze. They fear that all the work in building a grass-roots organization will have been wasted unless the attempt to drive the Negro North is thwarted. SNCC speakers constantly urge young people not to leave Mississippi. The movement has given many of them an outlet for their frustrations and a reason for staying. But short of providing some economic incentive, the Negro removal plan cannot be balked.

A federal depressed areas program, pouring in hundreds of millions of dollars, would seem to be one solution. But such programs have traditionally required the participation of local power-structure leadership. Even if the whites were willing to participate in such a program, the old Negro subservience would only be perpetuated in a new form. A program to develop a Negro economy which used Negro leadership does not seem possible, given the national legislative strength of the Dixiecrats. Rep. Jamie Whitten, of the Mississippi Delta's 2nd Congressional District, for example, ranks fifth on the Appropriations Committee of the House and is chairman or a member of subcommittees which pass on 80% of the entire federal budget.

There is germinal talk of a cooperative movment. On a very limited scale, there have been ventures in this direction—the Fayette County, Tennessee, tote bag industry, the quilting cooperative in Ruleville. Just as the movement has graduated from the idealistic headlong assault on public accommodations in its early stages to the more calculated stage of organizing the people into local movements, it seems inevitable that it will shortly begin work to provide some economic solution for black Mississippi.

Circumstances necessitate radical solutions. For, unless an economy can be developed for the Negroes, Mississippi will continue to feed the slums of Harlem, Chicago and Los Angeles, and the tragedy of uprooted humans will go on and on.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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FACTS ABOUT VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA - As the Peace Corps offers an opportunity for voluntary service abroad, VISTA offers a similar opportunity for dedicated Americans to serve their country at home. VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is part of the Office of Economic Opportunity which was created by President Johnson to wage the War Against Poverty. VISTA will recruit, select, train, place, and support qualified Volunteers whose services have been requested to assist in eliminating poverty in the United States.

WHO MAY APPLY - Any person 18 years of age or older may apply. Married couples are eligible, if both the husband and wife qualify for service. In certain cases, married couples with children will also be considered. Volunteers will not be exempted from military obligations.

LENGTH OF SERVICE - The period of service is one year, including a four to six weeks training program.

TRAINING - The training program will be directed towards the needs of the job and location to which the Volunteer will be assigned. It will stress supervised field experience, the application of particular skills to the environment in which the Volunteer will work, discussion of the nature and causes of poverty in the United States, area and language study, health education, and the development of recreational skills. Training will be conducted by local private and public organizations, including selected colleges and universities.

ASSIGNMENTS - Volunteer assignments will call for a great variety of skills, trades and professions. Volunteers will work in rural and urban community action programs, Job Corps camps, migrant worker communities, Indian reservations, hospitals, schools, and institutions for the mentally ill or mentally retarded. Volunteers may be sent to any of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territories. An applicant may express an area preference.

ALLOWANCES - Volunteers will receive a monthly living allowance. Since the Volunteer will be expected to live where he or she works, the amount will vary depending on local conditions. In addition, Volunteers will receive a $50 stipend for each month of satisfactory service. Upon completion of service, the entire amount of the stipend will be paid to the Volunteer. During service, Volunteers will be reimbursed for medical and dental expenses.

HOW TO APPLY - Each applicant should obtain a preliminary application from VISTA or the local post office. Upon receipt of the preliminary application, VISTA will send each legally qualified applicant a detailed questionnaire. Selected applicants will be invited to participate in a training program. For further information or a preliminary application write:

VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

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GUIDE TO COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GRANTS

Authorized under Sections 204 and 205 of
Title II-A, Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

Community Action Program
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D. C.

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November 6, 1964

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GUIDE TO COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GRANTS

Authorized under Sections 204 and 205
of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964

A. GRANTS FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS

1. Contents of this guide. This guide sets forth policies and application procedures of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in providing financial assistance to communities for the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs (CAP's) under Sections 204 and 205 of Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

   Additional guides, available on request from OEO, Washington, D. C., provide information policies and application procedures for other grant programs authorized under Title II-A, including:

   a. Technical Assistance Grants to States, under Section 209(b), to enable State agencies to assist communities in preparing CAP's.

   b. Research Grants and Contracts under Section 207 for studies, surveys, and investigations into the causes and nature of poverty and the means by which poverty might be eliminated or reduced.

   c. Demonstration Grants, under Section 207, to finance and evaluate novel and experimental approaches that give promise of increasing the effectiveness of local anti-poverty actions.

   d. Training Grants, under Section 207, to help orient and train professional and non-professional personnel for work in community action programs.

2. The purpose of the community action program. The purpose of Federal assistance to community action programs is to help urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty. Because community needs and resources differ widely, considerable latitude is allowed in the development and conduct of a community action program.

   Poverty is a network of social ills like illiteracy, unemployment, poor health, and dilapidated housing. To alleviate them requires a varied and coordinated attack. Remedial reading, literacy courses, job training, employment counseling, homemaker services, job development and training, vocational rehabilitation, and health services are some of the many program areas that can be support d and coordinated within a community action program.

A vital feature of every community action program is the involvement of the poor themselves--the residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served-- in planning and carrying out the program.

The long-range objective of every community action program is to effect a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals, groups, and communities afflicted by poverty to deal effectively with their own problems so that they need no further assistance.

3. Federal assistance available. The cost of developing, conducting, and administering a community action program may be paid in whole or in part by Federal funds. However, Federal assistance shall not exceed 90% of such costs for the period ending August 20, 1966, and thereafter shall not exceed 50% of such costs, unless the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity determines that assistance in excess of such percentages is required in furtherance of the purposes of Title II-A.

Federal assistance in excess of the statutory limitations shall be approved only for those communities which can demonstrate that all of the following conditions exist:

a. The community is severely afflicted by poverty, measured in terms of the factors set forth in Section 205 (c) of the Economic Opportunity Act;

b. The possibilities of providing the local share of program costs from existing public and private sources, either in cash or in kind, have been thoroughly explored without success; and

c. Constitutional, charter, or other provisions of law limit the authority of the general local government of the community and of other public agencies so as to preclude the possibility of the community's financing the local share of the cost of the community action program.

Federal assistance shall not in any event exceed the amount of actual cash outlay for the community action program.

4. Non-Federal share. The non-Federal share of community action program cost may be contributed in cash or in kind. The non-Federal share may be provided by any public or private agency, but may not include assistance provided directly or indirectly through other Federal programs, nor may any portion of the non-Federal share under any other Federal program be used to meet matching requirements for community action programs.

In kind contributions may include the cost of staff assigned to the community action program, supporting services which can be identified and priced, and the use of office space, automobiles, office equipment, and other facilities and equipment necessary to the effective operation of the program. In kind contributions shall be valued

for this purpose in terms of actual or depreciated cost or fair value. No monetary value may be attributed to volunteer services as a contribution to the local share of program cost.

No credit will be given toward the non-Federal share for costs incurred prior to the date of approval of a grant by OEO.

5. Maintenance of non-Federal contribution. The expenditures or contributions made from non-Federal sources for a community action program or component thereof shall be in addition to the aggregate expenditures or contributions from non-Federal sources which were being made for similar purposes prior to the extension of Federal assistance. The activities proposed in the community action program must be incremental to the activities conducted in the 12 month period prior to applying for Federal assistance; related or similar programs conducted during the previous 12 months must not be curtailed, limited, or in any other way lessened in order to finance the non-Federal share.

6. Allotment of Federal aid. The distribution of Federal aid among communities for the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs is subject to the limits and procedures established by the Economic Opportunity Act. The requirements of the Act are essentially as follows:

Of the total amount reserved by the Director for community action programs, no more than 2 percent may be allotted to programs in Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; 20 percent may be distributed among the States as the Director shall determine; the remainder is to be allotted among the States according to a statutory formula reflecting in equal proportions the number of public assistance recipients, the average annual number of persons unemployed, and the number of related children under 18 years of age living in families with incomes of less than $1,000. (See Exhibit I).

Any portion of any State's formula allotment which the Director determines will not be required for a given fiscal year can be made available for re-allotment from time to time on dates to be fixed by the Director.

In carrying out these provisions of the Act, the Director will redistribute the portion of any State's allotment which he determines will not be required for the remainder of the fiscal year in February and again in May.

In the allotment of the 20 percent of the funds which may be distributed among the States at the discretion of the Director, priority will be given:

First, to communities with the greatest need, as measured by the incidence of poverty.

Second, to communities which have, in the judgment of the Director, an unusual capacity for taking prompt and effective measures to carry out a community action program.

Third, to communities in States whose total allotment has been exhausted by prior grants or for which pending applications exceed the uncommitted balance of the allotment, and

Fourth, to communities in rural areas for which the minimum feasible community action program requires large grants relative to the incidence of poverty.

7. Distribution among communities within a State. The Director is required under Section 210 of the Act to establish criteria to achieve an equitable distribution of grant funds within each State, between urban and rural areas, taking into consideration the relative numbers of:

   a. Low-income families, particularly those with children;

   b. Unemployed persons;

   c. Persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations;

d. School dropouts;

e. Adults with less than an eighth grade education;

f. Persons rejected for military service; and

g. Persons living in urban places compared to the number living in rural places as determined by the Bureau of the Census for the 1960 census.

The Director is further required, under Section 205 (c), to take into account in the making of grants certain additional factors including: the number of migrant or transient low-income families, the incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality, housing conditions, adequacy of community facilities and services, and the incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

The amount of grant funds available to an applicant will be based upon:

First, the incidence of poverty within the community in relation to the incidence of poverty in the State as a whole. The incidence of poverty is to be measured by each of the factors specified in Section 205 (c) and cited above.

Second, an overallocation factor, to be determined from time to time by the Director, reflecting his estimate of the aggregate proportion of poverty occuring in communities which are unlikely to require funds for community action programs during the current fiscal year.

Third, the amount allotted under Section 203 to the State in which the community is located.

Fourth, special requirements resulting from an unusual incidence in the community of any one or more of the factors specified in Section 205 (c) of the Act and cited above.

Fifth, the capacity of the applicant to conduct his program in an efficient and expeditious manner.

Sixth, the extent to which the proposed program deals directly with the areas or groups in the community which are most severely afflicted by poverty.

Seventh, the extent to which the proposed program gives promise of effecting a permanent increase in the capacity of individuals,

groups, and the community as a whole to deal with their problems without further assistance, and

Eighth, the extent to which the community meets any of the criteria established above for allotments from the funds to be distributed among the States at the discretion of the Director.

(Exhibit I shows the effect of the statutory formula in Section 203(a) on the distribution among the States of $_____ for fiscal year 1965.)

8. Non-discrimination. No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, or be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance under Title II-A of the Economic Opportunity Act.

B. ELIGIBILITY OF APPLICANT

1. Definition of community. The "community" to be served by a community action program may be any urban or rural, or urban and rural, geographical area, including but not limited to a State, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multi-city unit, or multi-county unit. Generally, a community should be identical with a major political jurisdiction such as a city or county or with a group of political jurisdictions exercising responsibility for related public programs.

   A community should cover a geographical area of sufficient size and population to allow for the effective utilization of human, physical, and financial resources in an attack on poverty. Communities containing very small populations are encouraged to combine their efforts with adjacent communities to ensure the creation of an adequate resource base.

   An acceptable alternative to combining the efforts of several small communities in a single community action program is the creation of a multi-community agency that can serve as a central administrative unit and resource base for a number of smaller community action agencies.

   The delineation of the community to be served should be related to the character and incidence of poverty it contains and to the type of programs or activities to be undertaken. For example, an entire State or even a number of States can constitute a community as a basis for action with respect to the problems of special groups of the poor, such as migratory workers and seasonal agricultural laborers, whose needs cannot be adequately met on a more restricted geographical basis.

2. Eligible agencies. Grants for the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs may be made to a public agency, a private non-profit agency (other than a political party) or a combination thereof.

   Every applicant agency must have:

   a. Adequate authority to enter into contracts with and to receive grants from the Federal Government and to carry out the program for which it is requesting assistance, either directly or by contract or working agreement.

   b. The capacity to utilize efficiently and expeditiously the assistance for which the application is made.

c. The ability to mobilize and utilize the community's public or private resources, or both, in an attack on poverty.

d. The capacity to enlist the participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served in the development, conduct, and administration of the proposed program.

An applicant which is a private non-profit agency must, in addition, qualify in one of the following respects:

e. It must be an institution or organization which has had a a concern with problems of poverty prior to application for Federal assistance under Title II-A; or

f. It must be sponsored by a public agency, or by a private institution or organization which has had a prior concern with problems of poverty; or

g. It must be an institution of higher education, as defined in Section 401(f) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

3. Resident participation. The Economic Opportunity Act requires that a community action program be developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas or neighborhoods in which the program will be carried out and of the members of the groups that it will serve. Among the means to ensure participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served are:

a. Representation on the board of directors, executive committee, policy committees, and appropriate advisory boards of the community action agency.

b. Use of existing neighborhood organizations and the creation of new neighborhood organizations for advice on program policy and, where appropriate, for actual conduct and administration of elements of neighborhood-based programs.

c. Employment, to the maximum extent feasible, of the residents of areas being served in jobs created as part of the community action program itself. Such jobs should include positions which allow residents to influence the ways in which policy decisions are made and carried out, as well as jobs in which special advantage can be taken of the residents' knowledge of and familiarity with the area. Such employment opportunities should be maximized insofar as possible through the identification of tasks not requiring professional training.

The requirement of resident participation applies to all stages of a community action program, from its inception on. Achievement of meaningful participation shall be a continuing objective of every com-

munity action program. It is through their own effective participation in a community action program that the residents and groups to be served can most readily achieve the objective of a permanent increase in their capacity to deal with their own problems without further assistance.

4. Mobilization of Resources. The Act provides that an applicant must have the ability to mobilize and utilize the community's resources, public or private, in an attack on poverty.

Every community in America has agencies which provide services to the poor. Many of these agencies already receive financial assistance from State and Federal governments. Mobilization of these existing resources is an essential part of a community action program.

Most agencies tend to concentrate on one basic service function, such as education, employment, health, housing, or family welfare. Where several agencies are working in the same functional area, they relate to each other in a service system. The mobilization of resources for a community action program should bring these various service systems together in a concerted attack on poverty.

The effort should embrace most of the following:

a. The educational system, including the public schools and the related State educational agencies, libraries, private schools, and other private agencies providing educational services.

b. The employment system, including the State employment service, the apprenticeship agency, employers, labor unions, the educational agencies that train and retrain people for specific occupations, the vocational rehabilitation agency, and agencies that conduct special employment programs, such as for youth or the handicapped.

c. The family welfare system, including the public welfare department, school social workers and the private agencies that try to strengthen family life by providing such services as counseling, casework, and income maintenance through public assistance.

d. The health service system, including the public welfare department, the community nursing agency, and the clinics and emergency room of the community hospital.

e. The housing system, including public agencies concerned with the enforcement of housing and building codes, fire prevention, low-rent public housing, urban renewal, and mortgage insurance, and certain private agencies.

Each of these service systems deals with only one part of the complex and interrelated causes of poverty. The separate service systems need to be linked in a total network in order to mount an effective attack

on poverty. Each applicant agency must demonstrate its ability and intention to mobilize community resources against poverty through the establishment of linkages among and within service systems and through other means.

5. Desirability of broadly-based agencies and programs. Broadly coordinated programs organized on a community-wide basis are the most effective in achieving community action. A broadly-based coordinated program should eventually embrace components in all of the major service systems and extend to all of the major concentrations of poverty within the community. Initially, few communities will be able to undertake fully comprehensive programs but preference will be extended to agencies organized for that purpose and providing for the wide participation of existing organizations and agencies necessary to achieve it.

A broadly-based agency capable of eventual operation on a community-wide basis should involve the participation of the mayor, county commissioners or other chief elected officials, the School Superintendent or members of the board of education, other municipal and county officials and agencies concerned with problems of poverty including welfare, health, housing and urban renewal, State officials such as the director of the local employment service office and representatives of private social welfare and health agencies, private schools, and neighborhood councils. Participation by many other groups is also desirable. These might include labor unions, business groups, and civic betterment, minority group, and ethnic associations.

The objective of including these officials and agencies as active participants in the program is to provide the basis for a broad program and to increase prospects for coordinating the many service systems of the community. Among the appropriate methods of achieving such participation are:

a. Representation on the Board of directors, executive committee, or policy committees of the community action agency.

b. Creation of an advisory committee or committees with responsibility to discuss, criticize, and, if appropriate approve plans submitted by the community action agency.

c. Delegation or subcontracting of appropriate responsibilities in developing, conducting or administering a part or parts of the community action program.

The existence of a broadly-based community action agency is not a prerequisite to the granting of Federal assistance. However, potential applicants from communities where such an agency has been or is being created shall provide adequate evidence why they are unable to combine their efforts with those of the broadly-based

agency, and how, in the event that unification is not possible, their proposed activities will be coordinated with the efforts of the more broadly-based agency. Applicants from communities where there is no broadly-based agency shall provide evidence as to why it is not possible to develop such an agency.

6. Ineligible applicants. The following are ineligible as applicants for Federal assistance in developing, conducting, or administering community action programs:

   a. Individuals.

   b. Organizations, partnerships, corporations or other entities operated for a profit.

   c. Political parties.

   d. Organizations or institutions on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

7. Means of carrying out a community action program. Among the means that may be used to develop, conduct, and administer a community action program are:

   a. Direct performance of activities by staff of the community action agency.

   b. Delegation of portions or all of a component project to another public or private non-profit agency by means of a subcontract or agreement.

   c. Retaining the services of qualified consultants or other organizations, whether non-profit or profit-making, to conduct specialized activities or to provide advice under contract. In general, consultants or other organizations should only be used when it is not feasible to operate a program by using the staff of the community action agency or other local public or non-profit agencies.

   No third party contract or agreement shall be entered into until

   after a copy of the proposed third party contract or agreement has been submitted to OEO for information purposes. Prior approval by OEO of third party contracts or agreements is not necessary--unless specifically required by OEO at the time of grant approval--if the contract includes all provisions governing the grant of funds to the applicant.

   The use of residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served to perform a variety of tasks in the community action program should be maximized. Special attention should be paid to the design of work opportunities so that they can be filled by non-professionals selected from the population to be served by the program.

C. ELIGIBILITY OF ACTIVITIES

1. Local Initiative. The applicant agency has considerable flexibility in determining what activities it will undertake, the manner in which these activities will be undertaken, and the families and individuals to be assisted, subject to the policies and procedures set forth in this guide and to such further policies and procedures as may be issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

2. Characteristics of eligible activities. A wide variety of activities can be included in a community action program. Each community action program, however, shall display all of the characteristics listed below.

   a. Benefit to the poor. A community action program must focus on the needs of low-income families and individuals. Those services and assistance which can be made available to selected individuals and families shall be limited to families and individuals living in poverty. Where the nature of the activity requires administration by areas or groups, services and assistance shall be made available only in areas and for groups which have a high incidence of poverty.

   The determination of what constitutes poverty is a decision to be made by each community but, in any event, it shall reflect the number and proportion of low-income families, particularly those with children. Among other factors that shall be considered are the following:

   (1) The extent of persistent unemployment and underemployment.

   (2) The number and proportion of persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations.

   (3) The number of migrant or transient low-income families.

   (4) School dropout rates.

   (5) Military service rejection rates.

   (6) Other evidence of low educational attainment.

   (7) The incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality.

   (8) Housing conditions.

   (9) Adequacy of community facilities and services.

   (10) The incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

   The community may identify additional factors which indicate evidence of poverty, particularly as they relate to specific needs to be served by proposed programs.

b. Progress toward eliminating poverty. The program must give promise of progress toward eliminating poverty in the community, or toward eliminating one or more of the underlying causes of poverty. A Community Action Program may do this through developing employment opportunities, inproving human performance, motivation, and productivity, or bettering the conditions under which people live, learn, and work. The aim of community action is not merely improvement in the standard of life of the poor but provision of opportunities and assistance needed to enable poor people to move into the mainstream of American life.

c. Utilization of other programs. A community action program must provide for the re-direction, extension, expansion, or improved utilization of existing programs and activities. It should also make maximum use of untapped resources available under other Federal programs, including other titles of the Economic Opportunity Act, as well as of previously unused community resources, public or private.

Generally, assistance under Title II-A will not be made available except where it is not feasible to utilize another Federal aid program. Nor will aid be made available under Title II-A where there is evidence that existing, available community resources are not being fully utilized to meet the need in question.

d. Sufficient scope and size. A community action program must provide for an adequate range of activities, and for the necessary linkages among such activities, to ensure a reasonable prospect of success. Where the full scope of services and activities cannot be provided immediately, plans should be made for their inclusion at the earliest practicable opportunity (see "Building-block" approach, below).

Programs should be of sufficient size to deal efficiently and expeditiously with the problems toward which they are directed. This need not prevent concentration on a particular "target" neighborhood or area where problems are expecially severe; it does mean that programs that are too small and too limited in scope will not be assisted.

3. "Building-block" approach. Many communities, at the outset, may be unable to initiate coordinated community action programs which link different programs and service systems in an effective and efficient attack on poverty. With establishment of such a coordinated program as its goal, a community may decide to use a "building-block" approach in the development of its community action program, beginning with one or two essential projects and subsequently adding others.

   Communities may combine the "building-block" approach with a program development stage, which can precede, or can accompany, the undertaking of the first action projects. Encouragement is given to requests for concurrent assistance for program development and for the conduct and administration of limited programs embracing those components on which early action is most feasible.

   The "building-block" approach enables an applicant to get a community action program under way in the most expeditious manner. It must be recognized, however, that the individual initial projects eventually should become component parts of a broader coordinated effort. Approval of subsequent assistance for the community will be conditioned upon evidence of progress toward this objective.

4. Types of eligible components. A community action program may include component projects in employment, job training and counseling, health, vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, special remedial and other non-curricular educational assistance, and other fields which fall within the purposes of the Act.

   Components may be of four types:

   a. Program development components enable an applicant to prepare sound and effective plans and programs for community action. Grants are made under Section 204 for this purpose.

   b. Conduct and administration components enable the undertaking of a variety of projects attacking poverty. Grants are made under Section 205 for this purpose.

   c. Research, training, and demonstration components can include research into how a more effective attack on poverty can be mounted, training of personnel to work in community action programs, or experimental projects designed to test new approaches to community action. Grants are made under Section 207 for these purposes.

   d. Preference components are projects to be financed under other sections of the Economic Opportunity Act or under other Federal acts, but which are included in the Community Action Program application so that preference can be obtained for them. (see Part D. PREFERENCE FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM COMPONENTS.)

Component projects may provide wholly new services, extend existing services, alter current services so that they offer new opportunities, or educate and motivate individuals to use existing services of which they are not aware or do not know how to use.

5. Eligible program development activities. Federal assistance is provided under Section 204 for the development of community action programs in order to assist communities to prepare sound and effective plans for an attack on poverty. Program development assistance can be provided prior to, concurrent with, or at any stage in the conduct and administration of a Community Action Program.

For communities interested in starting their efforts with a program development stage, a suggested work program has been developed by Office of Economic Opportunity (See Part F of this GUIDE). Applicants may use this model or may modify or change it.

Program development assistance is available either for the development of a coordinated community action program which includes a broad spectrum of components, or for intensive analysis and planning of a single component. Generally, assistance for detailed work in planning a single component will not be approved until the community has undertaken and completed the development of an initial, broader analysis.

The work that may be done under a program development grant is not limited to the planning of actions to be financed under Title II-A. Program development activities may include consideration of other programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, other Federal programs, and the use of State, local, and private resources as well.

Generally, the following activities are eligible:

a. Investigation of the incidence of poverty, and of its characteristics.

b. Analysis of existing agencies and services in terms of the extent to which they meet the needs of the poor and how they might be used more effectively.

c. Preparation of proposals for the organization, financing, scope, and content of community action programs.

d. Study of means by which residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served may participate most effectively in the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs.

Work financed by program development grants must be designed to result in the completion of a plan of action for one or more specific components of a community action program.

6. Examples of eligible conduct and administration activities. The following activities are examples of projects which might be eligible for assistance under Section 205. The list of examples is intended to be suggestive, rather than all-inclusive. Many additional activities can be included in a community action program under one or another of the following headings. Office of Economic Opportunity is preparing, and will publish from time to time, descriptions of possible activities which can be included in a community action program.

a. Remedial and non-curricular education. Federal assistance to education under Title II-A is limited to remedial and other non-curricular educational activities. Curricular is considered, for this purpose, to refer to the present course of study for which credit is granted toward propotion or graduation from school. Eligible non-curricular educational activities include:

(1) Remedial programs that emphasize the correction of deficiencies in reading, language arts, spelling, and mathematics.

(2) Programs that enrich the school experience beyond the normal curriculum.

(3) Supportive services to increase the classroom teacher's chance for success with children from low-income areas. Such services might include specialists in psychology, school social work, speech and hearing, and health.

(4) Pre-school day care and nursery centers for three-and four-year olds.

(5) Tutoring programs, in which high school or college students and adults are used to tutor pupils in need of extra educational assistance.

(6) Specialized pre-service and in-service training for school personnel, to make their efforts more effective in working with the child from low-income areas.

(7) Development of special remedial material for children from low-income areas.

b. Employment, job training, and counseling.

(1) Developing job opportunities in fields directly related to community action, where there are needs for a wide variety of nonprofessional and technical aides to extend and assist the efforts of professionals in welfare, health, education, and related fields.

(2) Establishment of neighborhood-oriented employment information, counseling, and placement facilities for unemployed youth. (This activity can be combined with, or related to, Youth Opportunity Centers established by State employment services in cooperation with the Department of Labor.)

(3) The provision of supporting services, such as guidance and counseling, and of training to young men and women in work-training programs under Title I-B of the Act to the extent these needs cannot be met from other programs.

(4) Job training and education programs aimed at the development of either specific skills required for jobs currently available or of the work habits and communication skills required in any employment situation, to the extent aid is not available under other programs.

c. Health and vocational rehabilitation.

(1) Health examinations and referral services for low-income adults and children.

(2) Rehabilitation and training of the physically or mentally handicapped.

(3) Providing health, rehabilitation, employment, educational and related services to young men rejected for military service.

(4) Environmental health programs, such as rat extermination and other actions to improve sanitation and living conditions.

(5) Health education programs directed at the entire family.

(6) Expanding the range of medical and social services available at out-patient clinics to serve low-income families more effectively.

d. Housing and home management.

(1) Improving the living conditions of the elderly through homemaker service and a variety of supportive services.

(2) Improving home management skills through classes and through the use of home management aides.

(3) Providing housing information services to spread knowledge of how to obtain rehabilitation financing and how to go about home rehabilitation.

(4) Assistance to homeowners, tenants, and landlords in obtaining enforcement of municipal housing and construction codes.

(5) Organizing sponsors to plan for rehabilitation and construction of low and moderate income housing.

(6) Services and facilities to improve the quality of life for residents of low-rent public housing developments and to expand contacts between them and the rest of the community.

(7) Aiding families displaced from their homes by public or private action to relocate, including assistance in making the move, finding new housing, and becoming assimilated into a new neighborhood.

e. Welfare.

(1) Improving the level of social services and developing new services for low income families, including recipients of public welfare.

(2) Providing day care and home-maker services.

(3) Consumer information, education, and savings programs designed to improve the purchasing, saving, and borrowing habits of low income families.

(4) Aid for low-income persons in obtaining legal services.

(5) Assistance to in-migrant families from rural areas in meeting the problems of urban living.

f. Neighborhood multi-service centers. Close coordination of the different service programs at the neighborhood level is essential to effectiveness of a community action program. A neighborhood multi-service center can provide a physical focus for such a coordinated effort. From such a center, services can be extended to families in the neighborhood. A center can house as well as integrate such activities as a day care program, a health service, an employment information and testing unit, adult literacy classes, home-makers and a housing rehabilitation clinic. Centers may be located in or adjacent to schools or in vacant stores, office buildings, or municipal buildings.

g. VISTA and Job Corps Activities.

(1) The use and payment of necessary expenses of volunteer workers, especially volunteers from the VISTA program.established by Title VI of the Act and operated by Office of Economic Opportunity.

(2) Operation of recruitment and testing facilities for the Job Corps program established by Title I-A of the Act and operated by Office of Economic Opportunity.

h. Administration of Community Action Programs. The administration of a Community Action Program is an eligible activity. Where administrative or overhead costs cannot be specifically attributed to one or more components of the community action program, they may be united in an administrative component. Administrative costs shall be minimized, insofar as feasible.

i. Evaluation of accomplishments. Prompt and careful evaluation of accomplishment is essential to provide a feedback of information to help improve program development, conduct, and administration. Every community action program must include provision for evaluating its effects and estimating progress made in achieving its objectives.

7. Research, training, and demonstration activities. The activities which can be assisted under Section 207 of the Act are described in separate guide publications prepared by Office of Economic Opportunity. Among the eligible activities are:

a. Training of personnel for work in community action programs. Brief training programs can orient trained professionals and provide job-training for certain kinds of sub-professionals.

b. Research and demonstration activities of many different types can be financed by Office of Economic Opportunity under Section 207. Interested applicants should request additional information on these programs.

8. Preference components. Many Federal programs can be coordinated with the conduct of a community action program. Some of the many possible activities of this kind are:

a. Education.

(1) Projects designed to use college students from low-income families enrolled in the work-study program established in Title I-C of the Economic Opportunity Act and operated through institutions of higher education by the Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

(2) Adult basic education classes financed through grants to State agencies from the Office of Education under Title II-B of the Act.

(3) Vocational education programs, financed under the Vocational Education Act.

b. Employment, job-training, and counseling.

(1) Work-training projects for youths between 16 and 22, financed under Title I-B of the Act (the Neighborhood Youth Corps), which is administered by the Department of Labor. Work-training programs may be undertaken by community action agencies either

directly or by subcontract to other organizations. Community action agencies can also play a coordinating role for work-training projects undertaken by other public or private non-profit organizations by assisting in youth selection, counseling, and training, and in placement of trainees after the completion of the program.

(2) Developing work opportunities for unemployed parents, with their pay financed or supplemented through the work-experience program established in Title V of the Act which is administered by the Welfare Administration in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

(3) Developing new employment opportunities through aid to small businessmen under the loan program established in Title IV of the Act, administered by the Small Business Administration.

(4) On-the-job and in-school training programs for unemployed and underemployed workers, conducted by State employment services and vocational training agencies under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

c. Health

(1) Community Mental health centers financed under grants from the National Institute of Mental Health.

(2) Environmental health and related assistance available through the many programs operated by the Public Health Service.

d. Housing and Home Management. The examples of eligible activities in meeting the housing and home-management problems of low-income families given above can all be more effective when used as complements to one of the existing Federal housing programs. These include the public housing, urban renewal, home insurance, and other programs administered by the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent agencies and the programs of aid to rural families of the Farmers Home Administration.

9. Ineligible expenditures. The following activities may not be financed as part of a Community Action Program:

a. Any program which involves sectarian instruction or religious worship or practice.

b. Any program of general aid to elementary or secondary education in any school or school system.

c. Any activity for which expenditure was made or obligation incurred prior to the date of approval of a grant or contract by Office of Economic Opportunity.

d. Expenditures for the construction of buildings and for the purchase of real property or motor vehicles except where they can be demonstrated to be essential to the carrying out of the proposed program.

D. PREFERENCE FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM COMPONENTS

1. Basis for preference. The Economic Opportunity Act provides that preference in the extension of Federal assistance shall be given, to the extent feasible, to projects which are components of an approved community action program. Two related, but different, forms of preference are involved:

   a. Section 211 provides that preference shall be given by the Director of Office of Economic Opportunity in determining whether to extend assistance under the Economic Opportunity Act. This applies to all titles and programs under the Act, including both those directly administered by Office of Economic Opportunity and those whose administration is delegated by the Director to other Federal agencies.

   b. Section 612 provides that, insofar as consistent with the provisions of law governing any Federal program and with the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act, preference shall be given by the head of the appropriate Federal agency.

   The purpose of giving preference to projects which are components of a community action program is to make more effective the mobilization of community resources for eliminating poverty.

2. Obtaining preference for a component. In order to obtain preference for a project as a component of a community action program, both of the following steps must be accomplished:

   a. There must be an approved community action program covering the community with which the project is concerned. Approval of a community action program shall be deemed to have occurred when a grant providing assistance under Sections 204 and 205 of the Act has been approved by Office of Economic Opportunity. Approval will be voided if the project is subsequently disapproved by the Governor of the State under the provisions of Section 209 (c).

   b. The project for which preference is desired must be a component of the approved community action program and must have been included as such in the approval of the application for a community action program grant. The essential condition of such inclusion is a clear demonstration of the linkage between the project and other components of the community action program.

   Once these steps have been completed, Office of Economic Opportunity will issue a statement requesting preference under Section 211 or 612 to the Federal agency from which preference is desired.

3. Requesting preference prior to Community Action Program approval. All preference components should be included in any application to Office of Economic Opportunity for grants for the development, conduct, and administration of a community action program. Office of Economic

Opportunity will notify the appropriate Federal administering agency with respect to any preference component included in a pending Community Action Program application. The Federal administering agency will be advised that the notification is preliminary to a determination of eligibility for preference and that appropriate interim steps should, to the extent feasible, be taken in order to assure such preference.

The applicant for preference should indicate the relationship of its proposed project to an actual or prospective community action program in its application to the Federal administering agency, whether or not an application for a community action program has as yet been submitted to Office of Economic Opportunity. Such indication will serve to notify the Federal administering agency to take appropriate interim steps to assure preference for the component.

4. Meaning of the preference system. Once a community action program has been approved and a statement of preference has been issued, projects included as components in the community action program will be given first priority for consideration and funding by any Federal agency, except as Federal law provides to the contrary or as found to be inconsistent with the purposes of the Economic Opportunity Act. This applies with respect to competing applications from the same community and from other communities.

Where an applicant has obtained a statement of preference covering an application for Federal assistance under another Federal program or part of the Act, but has not yet filed an application for such assistance with the appropriate Federal agency, submission of the statement of preference to the other Federal agency shall be interpreted as an intention to apply. During a reasonable period after the submission, the Federal agency concerned will be requested by Office of Economic Opportunity to defer action, wherever possible, on competitive applications for similar aid from the same community, to allow the community action agency an opportunity to file its application and to obtain the preference provided in the Act.

E. SUBMISSION OF PLAN TO THE GOVERNOR

1. Requirement of submission. Section 209 (c) of the Economic Opportunity Act requires that no financial assistance may be provided under Titles I and II, except to an institution of higher education in existence on August 20, 1964, unless a plan setting forth the proposed assistance has been submitted to the Governor of the appropriate State, and is not disapproved by him within 30 days after the submission.

2. Method of submission. The required submission will be made by the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Governor. It will be made after an application for assistance has been reviewed and approved by Office of Economic Opportunity so that the plan submitted to the Governor will be identical in all essential features to the proposed grant to be made to the applicant by Office of Economic Opportunity.

   Applicants should submit their applications directly to Office of Economic Opportunity; they are not required to transmit applications to Office of Economic Opportunity through the Governor or any State agency. Applicants are, however, strongly encouraged to keep appropriate State officials informed of their efforts in preparing and submitting an application for Federal assistance under the Act and to transmit an information copy of the application to the Governor when it is submitted to Office of Economic Opportunity. Office of Economic Opportunity will notify the Governor of the receipt of any application from any agency or organization within the State. (Exhibit II contains a listing of State officials who have been appointed by Governors to direct State programs of technical assistance to communities in preparing Community Action Programs.)

   The thirty day period during which the Governor may disapprove of a plan setting forth the proposed assistance will begin on the date of receipt of such plan, sent by registered mail, in the Office of the Governor. If the Governor chooses, he may, without waiting for the thirty days to elapse, signify to Office of Economic Opportunity his approval of the plan and his intention not to disapprove it.

3. Institutions of higher education exempt. It is not required that a plan setting forth financial assistance to any institution of higher education in existence on August 20, 1964, be submitted to the Governor of the State within which such institution is located. (It is suggested, however, that such institutions send an information copy of their application to the State technical assistance directors listed in Exhibit II.)

   For purposes of the Act, an institution of higher education is as defined in Section 401 (f) of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. Generally, this includes all public and private universities, colleges, junior and community colleges, technological institutes, and other institutions offering courses beyond high school and leading to a degree or certificate.

4. Other roles of the State. The Act provides for other important roles for State government, in addition to that set forth in Section 209 (c). Specifically, it instructs the Director of Office of Economic Opportunity to establish procedures which will facilitate effective participation of

the States in Community Action Programs. One such procedure is the program of grants to states to enable them to provide technical assistance to communities in developing, conducting, and administering Community Action Programs. Federal assistance will be made available to an agency designated by the Governor to finance the operation of such a technical assistance program, with emphasis on providing aid to smaller communities.

Appropriate State agencies should be involved in the development and conduct of a Community Action Program. Participation by State agencies may be achieved by such methods as:

a. Regular consultation and discussion with local representatives of State agencies and programs. This may be through their formal participation on advisory boards, as well as through informal day-to-day contacts between such representatives and the community action agency.

b. Agreements with officials responsible for State agencies and programs to coordinate all existing and proposed programs combatting poverty within the community.

c. Participation of local representatives of State agencies and programs on boards of directors or policy-making executive committees of local community action agencies.

In addition to their participation in Title II-A activities, States will have important administrative and procedural roles to play under the Economic Opportunity Act in the Job Corps Program (Title I-A), the Adult Basic Education and Literacy Training Program (Title II-B), the Work-Experience Program (Title V), and the Volunteers In Service To America Program (Title VI).

F. PREPARATION OF APPLICATION FOR CAP

1. Application procedure. An application for approval of a community action program shall be submitted by the applicant agency to Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C. An application consists of the Forms CAP-1 through CAP-10, as appropriate, accompanied by the necessary attachments.

   Eight copies of each application, including all attachments, shall be submitted.

   Each set of forms and attachments should be enclosed in a hard-cover folder, bound along the top edge with a clamp or other device that will make it possible to insert or extract pages. The various forms should be identified by tabs, labeled "CAP-1, CAP-2," etc. along the right-hand edge. The cover of each binder should be clearly marked with the name of the applicant agency, its address, and the title: "APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM."

2. Contents of an application. An application for a CAP may contain as many as ten different forms. A brief description of each form is presented below:

   CAP-1: Summary of Program. Overall information on the applicant agency, the community to be served, and the various component projects for which aid is requested.

   CAP-2: Timetable and Program Characteristics. Summary of the time schedule for undertaking each component project and a description of key characteristics of the CAP.

   CAP-3: Applicant Agency. Description of the organizational structure of the applicant and the composition of its governing body.

   CAP-4: Eligibility of Applicant. Statement of finding by legal counsel that the applicant is eligible to receive grant funds under Title II-A.

   CAP-5: Community Information: Description of the community to be served and information on the incidence of poverty in the entire community and selected sub-areas.

   CAP-6: Program Development Component. Description of any program development project to be assisted under Section 204.

   CAP-7: Conduct and Administration Component. Description of any component project to be assisted under Section 205. A separate form CAP-7 should be submitted to describe each separate conduct and administration component.

CAP-8: Research, Demonstration, or Training Component. Description of any component project to be financed under Section 207. A separate Form CAP-8 should be submitted for each separate research, demonstration, or training component.

CAP-9: Preference Component. Description of any component project to be financed under other Titles of the Economic Opportunity Act, under other related Federal programs, or from any other source. A separate CAP-9 should be submitted to describe each separate component project for which preference is sought under Sections 211 and 612 of the Economic Opportunity Act. (See Part D. PREFERENCE FOR CAP COMPONENTS.)

CAP-10: Budget. A copy of this form, which describes the various items of expenditure estimated for a component project, should accompany each Form CAP-6, 7, or 8.

Only the appropriate forms need be submitted with each application. For example, a Form CAP-8 need only be submitted when the CAP application includes a component project requesting a research, training, or demonstration grant. A request for an initial program development project may omit a number of the forms (see the "simplified procedure," below).

Information once submitted as part of an application need not be resubmitted with an amendment to the program or a subsequent application. For example, data on the applicant agency (CAP-3) and its eligibility (CAP-4) or on the community (CAP-5) need not be resubmitted unless there has been a significant change in the information shown on the form.

3. How to prepare an application. The application forms contain instructions on what information is required, either to fill in blank spaces on the form or to be attached as a supplement to it. In addition, the following sections present additional instructions for preparing an application.

The GUIDE TO COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GRANTS, of which these application instructions are a part, contains policy guidance material to aid in preparing an application. In addition, applicants may obtain help either by asking for it from OEO or from a technical assistance agency established by their State. OEO plans to establish six regional offices, located in major cities across the nation, from which field personnel will assist communities in applying for and conducting community action programs. Until these regional offices are in operation, requests for assistance should be addressed to Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D. C.

Many states are establishing agencies to provide technical assistance to communities on community action programs. The functions of these agencies will complement those of OEO, and the work they perform is eligible for financial assistance from OEO under Section 209(b) of the Act.

4. Simplified procedure when applying for a program development grant only. Because the requirements of the Economic Opportunity Act are slightly different for Sections 204 and 205, it is possible for applicants who are requesting aid only for program development to follow a simplified procedure in applying. In this case, the applicant needs to submit only the following forms:

   CAP-1. Summary of Program

   CAP-3. Applicant Agency Information

   CAP-4. Eligibility of Applicant

   CAP-6. Program Development Component

   CAP-10. Budget

   To simplify even further the application process for communities who wish to start their anti-poverty programs by undertaking program development work (either alone or in combination with one or two initial conduct and administration components), a standard work program has been prepared. Communities may accept this standard work program (see item 6.2, below) in lieu of preparing their own work program.

5. Additional instructions for preparing an application. The following additional instructions are intended to supplement and clarify instructions contained on Forms CAP-1 through CAP-10. Each instruction has the same item number as the appropriate section of the form; for example, item 6.2 refers to the second item on Form CAP-6. However, it should be noted that in the case of many items, and even some complete forms, no additional instruction is presented below, since it is all contained on the form itself.

Form and Item Number	Additional Instruction
1.1	Type of application. An amendment is any application submitted by an applicant agency that has already had its initial CAP grant approved. An amendment may be a request for additional time or grant funds to complete a component project or a request for grant funds for additional component projects.
1.4	Payee. Insert the name of the agency, official, or bank account to which payment of grant funds should be made.

1.5 Area to be served. This is the city, county, or other jurisdiction, not the specific neighborhoods in which action is to be undertaken.

1.5.1 Population of area. Insert the 1960 population, as given in the U. S. Census of population. "Rural" includes the Census categories of "rural farm" and "rural non-farm" population; "urban" is all other population.

1.6 Number of Component Project. Number each component consecutively (1, 2, 3...) and list by title. The brief title of the component should describe the activity to be undertaken, such as "program development", "work-training", or "pre-school program."

1.7 Acceptance of conditions. The governing body of the applicant agency shall authorize a single individual to sign the application and to be the principal point of contact between OEO and the applicant.

2.1 Timetable. Assistance under Title II-A is limited by statute to grants extending for no more than 24 months. However, grants will ordinarily be limited administratively to projects with planned time periods of not more than 12 months, except when there are special circumstances--such as a need to include an entire school year.

2.2.1 Resident Participation. Attach a statement describing the ways in which the maximum feasible opportunity to participate in program development, conduct, and administration will be provided to residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served. The statement shall describe:

a. The ways in which such residents and members have participated in the preparation of this application.

b. The roles that will be played by such residents and members in program direction, policy-making, and advisory capacities in carrying out the program proposed by this application.

c. The ways in which opportunities will be provided for participation by such residents and members as program employees, either paid or unpaid.

2.2.2 Mobilization of resources. Attach a statement describing efforts to mobilize public and/or private resources through coordination or existing and proposed activities. The statement should describe:

a. The ways in which existing public programs concerned with the problem of poverty will be coordinated with the CAP.

b. The ways in which existing private activities concerned with poverty will be coordinated with the CAP.

c. The ways in which the different component projects of CAP will be linked to one another and to existing public and/or private programs.

2.2.3 Checkpoint procedure. The applicant is responsible for ascertaining the potential relationships of the proposed community action program to approved and prospective programs financed under other parts of the Economic Opportunity Act and under related programs, whether locally or Federally financed. All applications for assistance under this part must, accordingly, be reviewed and discussed and comments solicited prior to submission to the Office of Economic Opportunity with:

a. The chief elected official of the community to determine the relationship to other programs and to prospective Community Action Programs.

b. The director of any public agency or non-profit corporation developing or conducting a Community Action Program within the same community.

c. The director of the local office of the State Employment Service to determine the relationship of the proposed program to projects financed under the Manpower Development and Training Act, to Youth Opportunity Centers, and to other activities of the Employment Service.

d. The local superintendent of schools to determine the relationship to the adult basic education program established under Title II-B of the Economic Opportunity Act, and other education programs.

e. The City or County Welfare Commissioner, to determine the relationship to work-experience projects under Title V of the Economic Opportunity Act.

f. The appropriate official of any local institution of higher education to determine the relationship to work-study programs under Title I-C of the Economic Opportunity Act.

g. The local representative of the Department of Labor to determine the relationship to work-training projects under title I-B of the Economic Opportunity Act.

h. Such other officials as may be appropriate, including:

(1) The director of the local urban renewal agency to determine the relationship to any urban renewal programs.

(2) The director of the local public housing agency to determine the relationship to any public housing programs.

(3) The local commissioner of health to determine the relationship to any public health or community mental health programs.

(4) The local representatives of the Farmers Home Administration and the Agricultural Extension Service to determine the relationship to loans to rural families made pursuant to Title III-A of the Economic Opportunity Act, and to other agricultural and rural programs.

The application shall report on the results of these discussions, identifying any problems of program inter-relationship as well as the character of support by these officials for the community action program.

5.4 Incidence of poverty. Attach a description of the sources used to obtain the data presented in item 5.4. Indicate the source of data for the community as a whole and also for sub-areas, where the sources are different (for example, when sub-area data is estimated).

The "%" columns should be used to indicate what percentage the sub-area figure is of the community total for the same characteristic. For example, if there are 3,000 persons living in rural areas in the community as a whole, a rural population of 300 in Area "A", the figure under the "%" symbol would be "10".

Suggested sources for data on the incidence of poverty are:

a. The 1960 U. S. Census of Population for total and rural population, family incomes, employment and unemployment data, education data, and data on minority groups. In many cases, census data are available for census tracts and enumeration districts, which can be used as sub-areas.

b. The 1960 U. S. Census of Housing for data on total housing and housing condition.

c. State employment security agencies for more up-to-date information on employment and unemployment.

d. State and local health departments for vital statistics on births and deaths of babies.

e. Local selective service boards and State agencies for data on military service rejection rates.

f. Local school boards and State education agencies for more up-to-date information on education levels and drop-out rates.

In addition to these sources, useful information can often be obtained from city and county planning commissions, economic development agencies, health and welfare councils, housing and renewal agencies, chambers of commerce, central labor union councils, and minority group organizations.

Where data for the items listed on the form are not readily available, the applicant may substitute other, appropriate measures of the incidence of poverty.

6.2 Work program. The work program for a program development grant, whether it considers the problems of poverty in the entire community or is concentrated on a particular problem, should include:

a. Survey of how the problem affects people.

b. Analysis of the extent to which existing programs do, or could, attack the problem.

c. Planning of action to be taken to aid afflicted families and individuals to deal with their problems.

The work program should spell out all necessary detail on how these tasks will be accomplished. It is a plan for the program development project.

To assist applicants who are initiating community action programs, a standard work program has been developed for a community-wide program development project (see Exhibit III). While it is relatively generalized, it provides a framework for the applicant to follow in his efforts. Applicants who wish to do so may adopt this work program.

7.2 Work program. The work program for a conduct and administration component project should answer the questions suggested below. The general objective is for the applicant to provide a design that is sufficiently clear and detailed so that (a) there is an adequate basis for OEO review, (b) there is sufficient justification for the proposed budget, and (c) the work program can provide a guide to the subsequent work of the applicant in carrying out the component project.

a. Purpose and beneficiaries: What is the component project intended to achieve and who will benefit from it, in relation to the overall incidence of poverty in the community?

b. Scope and content: What action will be undertaken during the course of the component project? Where feasible, describe scope and content in terms of major stages of the project and what will be done in each.

c. Evaluation: How will it be possible to measure the benefits of the component project?

d. Administration and organization: How and by whom will the component project be administered? How will it be coordinated with other components of the CAP and existing programs of the community? What staff will be needed?

e. Resident participation: How will the residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served be given maximum feasible opportunity to participate in the development, conduct, and administration of the project?

8.1 Purpose of Project. It should be noted that training assistance can be provided through other means than through a grant request using Form CAP-8. OEO will itself conduct a number of training programs for personnel who are employed in community action programs, either directly or through contracts with universities and other appropriate institutions. Applicants interested in taking advantage of one of these training programs should communicate directly with OEO, Washington, D. C.

10.1 Personnel employed by applicant. For the initial application, attach a statement justifying the salaries to be paid to personnel employed by the applicant agency in terms of salaries for comparable positions in local public and/or private agencies.

EXHIBIT II

State Officials with Technical Assistance Responsibilities

STATE		STATE	
Alabama	Claude Kirk Dept. of Industrial Relations Industrial Relations Bldg. Montgomery, Alabama	Illinois	Thomas Jackson Office of the Governor State Capitol Springfield, Illinois
Arizona	Col. Harold Moore Office of the Governor State Capitol Phoenix, Arizona	Indiana	Jacques LeRoy, Director Indiana Youth Council State Office Building Indianapolis, Indiana
Arkansas	Ted J. Morley Executive Director Arkansas State Planning Office Little Rock, Arkansas	Kentucky	Felix Joyner Commissioner of Finance Capitol Building Frankfort, Kentucky
California	Dr. Paul O'Rourke State Capitol Sacramento, California	Louisiana	Champ Baker Office of the Governor State Capitol Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Colorado	Lyle Lindesmith Office of the Governor State Capitol Denver, Colorado	Maine	Dean Fischer, M.D. Governor's Economic Opportunity Council State House Augusta, Maine
Connecticut	Joseph P. Dyer Office of Economic Opportunity Hartford, Connecticut	Maryland	Edwin Mester Office of the Governor State Capitol Baltimore, Maryland
Georgia	Mrs. Bruce Schaefer Technical Advisory Committee State House Atlanta, Georgia	Massachusetts	John Cort Office of the Governor State Capitol Boston, Massachusetts
Hawaii	William S. Richardson Office of the Governor State Capitol Honolulu, Hawaii	Michigan	Malcolm Lovell Michigan Office of Economic Opportunity 7310 Woodward Avenue Detroit, Michigan

EXHIBIT II (continued)

STATE		STATE	
Minnesota	Joseph P. Summers 102 State Capitol Saint Paul, Minnesota	Oklahoma	H. Dale Cook Office of the Governor State Capitol Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mississippi	Gene A. Triggs Assoc. Dir. of Mississippi Agriculture and Industry Board Wolfolk State Office Bldg. Jackson, Mississippi	Oregon	Dwight E. Haugen Office of the Governor State Capitol Salem, Oregon
Missouri	James Tice Office of the Governor State Capitol Jefferson City, Missouri	Pennsylvania	Daniel Rogers Dept. of Commerce Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Nebraska	James Dunlevy State Capitol Lincoln, Nebraska	South Carolina	Edwin Culpepper State Auditor's Office Wade Hampton Bldg. Columbia, South Carolina
New Jersey	John C. Bullitt Office of the Governor State Capitol Trenton, New Jersey	Tennessee	Harlan Mathews Office of the Governor Capitol Building Nashville, Tennessee
New Mexico	John W. Flynn Planning Office 120 South Capitol Santa Fe, New Mexico	Texas	Larry Temple Office of the Governor State Capitol Austin, Texas
New York	Samuel Aldrich Office of the Governor State Capitol Albany, New York	Vermont	Paul H. Guare State House Montpelier, Vermont
North Carolina	James White Office of the Governor State House Raleigh, North Carolina	Virginia	Robert Kirby Office of the Governor State House Richmond, Virginia
Ohio	Arthur Giles Office of the Governor State Capitol Columbus, Ohio	West Virginia	Paul Crabtree Office of the Governor State Capitol Charleston, West Virginia

EXHIBIT II (concluded)

STATE

Washington	John F. Gordon Inter-Governmental Agency Coordinating Committee State Capitol Olympia, Washington
Wisconsin	Frank Zeidler Dept. of Resources Development Madison, Wisconsin

GSA DC 65-6928

PRESIDENT PUSHES AID TO APPALACHIA AND MEDICAL CARE

Asks House Chiefs to Give Bills Priority — Seeks to Expedite His Program

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 17 — President Johnson asked House leaders today to seek quick action on two bills — medical care for the aged and economic aid to Appalachia — when the new Congress convenes Jan. 4.

The decision to place these measures at the top of his "must" list was disclosed by the President as he met for nearly two hours at the White House with Speaker John W. McCormack of Massachusetts and the House majority leader, Carl Albert of Oklahoma.

Mr. Albert said later that the President had asked them to confer with committee chairmen handling the two measures "to see if we couldn't put them together for quick action" in the new Congress.

Mr. Johnson also asked the two House leaders to survey all committee chairmen to determine what other leftover legislation would be ready for action early in the new Congress. The two are to report back by early in January.

Bills Must Be Reintroduced

No legislation carries over from one Congress to another. Thus, bills pending when the 88th Congress adjourned last month would have to be introduced again.

However, some measures on which extensive hearings were conducted would be in a better position to move more rapidly than new proposals still subject to extensive Congressional study.

The conference today was the first of what will be a number of moves by the President to expedite his legislative program.

Among Administration bills pending in the House when Congress adjourned were the program of nearly $1 billion in economic aid to Appalachia and a measure to give additional funds to the Area Redevelopment Administration.

Panel Voted Appalachia Aid

The Appalachia bill had cleared the House Public Works Committee. The panel will be headed next year by

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1964.

PRESIDENT SEEKS ACTION ON 2 BILLS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

Mills, Democrat of Arkansas, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, said last week that he would call up the health-care measure in committee right after the new Congress convened if the President asked him to.

This would place the bill ahead of a new proposal by Mr. Johnson to cut certain excise taxes. Both bills would originate in the Ways and Means Committee.

While agreeing to call up the health-care bill early, Mr. Mills has not abandoned his opposition to financing such a program under Social Security. He has hinted he might favor a compromise for a separate payroll tax to finance medicare.

President Johnson is expected to push also for an increase in Social Security cash benefits.

A bill to do this passed the House last summer. It was amended by the Senate to embrace health insurance and even higher cash benefits. The measure died when Senate and House conferees failed to agree.

Other matters discussed today by the President and the House leaders were described by a White House spokesman as "off the record."

However, he said the President and the leaders did not discuss setting a new formula for allocation of committee seats to reflect the larger Democratic majority in the new Congress.

No similar meeting has been scheduled with Senate leaders.

Most of the Administration programs not acted upon by the House this year had passed the Senate and are expected to win quick approval next year. Among the programs approved by the Senate were health care, aid to Appalachia and area redevelopment.

The Administration's medicare bill would provide hospital care, nursing-home care, nursing visits to homes, some financial assistance in diagnostic studies and payments for drugs of persons hospitalized or in nursing homes.

Tax Would Go Up

It would apply to persons 65 or over and would be financed by an increase in Social Security taxes.

The Appalachia program is designed to relieve the distressed Appalachian Mountain areas of 11 states. Its chief feature would be an $840 million highway construction program.

Earlier today, President Johnson conferred with Gov. W. W. Barron of West Virginia and that state's Governor-elect, Hulett Smith, about plans to win Congressional approval of the Appalachia bill.

The President also saw John A. McCone, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Carl T. Rowan, director of the United States Information Agency. A White House spokesman declined to comment on what had been discussed at these conferences.

In early afternoon, the President walked out into the sunny Rose Garden just outside his office to accept the traditional Thanksgiving turkey from officials of the Poultry and Egg National Board.

The 40 - pound gobbler squirmed as the President commented:

"I didn't know for a while what we'd be eating for Thanksgiving dinner. I'm glad I can eat turkey instead of crow."

Around the turkey's neck was a beribboned sign: "Good eating, Mr. President."

A White House spokesman said the Johnson family would "cook and eat the turkey," probably for Thanksgiving. It is expected that the Johnsons will spend Thanksgiving Day at the LBJ Ranch in Texas.

Belgian King Visits Iran

TEHERAN, Iran, Nov. 17 (AP) — King Baudouin and Queen Fabiola of the Belgians arrived today for a 10-day state visit. They were welcomed at the airport by Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi and Empress Farah.

FIRST PLAN TO AID APPALACHIA FAILS

PE 11-25-64

Area Is Bitter as New Plant Closes Despite U.S. Help

For Prog

By BEN ~~A. FRANKLIN~~

Special to The New York Times

WILLIAMSON, W. VA., Nov. 24—The collapse of the first big effort to revive the stagnant economy of Appalachia by using Federal aid to help create new, diversified industry has left a bitter legacy here for both the rescuers and the rescued.

Until last Friday, when the board of the National Seating and Dimension Company, Inc., voted to close its doors in the face of mounting debts, the company's venture into the manufacture of parts for the wood furniture industry was symbolic of the promised new deal for Appalachia that began four years ago with John F. Kennedy's Presidential primary campaign in West Virginia.

Mr. Kennedy promised then, and his Administration and the Johnson Administration are seeking to provide, large sums of Federal aid to get the 11-state Appalachian region on its feet.

With $1.8 million in financing, most of it 4 per cent Federal loans from the Area Redevelopment Administration and the Small Business Administration, the new woodwork-

Continued on Page 24, Column 1

FIRST PLAN TO AID APPALACHIA FAILS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

ing plant here created more than 100 jobs. At the same time, however, it produced practically no profits.

Now the jobs are gone, and, according to officials of the West Virginia Office of Employment Security, many of the men who held them are gone, too—to seek factory work in Ohio and Illinois.

There is considerable evidence, however, that the company's failure came, in large part, as a result of management mistakes. Company officials conceded today that "we made some bad errors." They also said they had been "misquoted" in reports published locally in which they had blamed "labor" for the collapse.

"It's not that you can't train a coal miner to be a woodworker," one company official said. "We proved that you can train them—but it takes a hell of a lot more money than anyone thought it would."

"These men are not used to working for $1.25 an hour," he said, "and wages in the furniture industry are not high."

Accordingly, efforts to overcome the National Seating Company's failure and to revive the plant here by finding a buyer interested in a ready-made $675,000 tax write-off are under way in Washington and in Charleston, the state capital.

State and Federal officials are determined to make the experiment a success. But they face formidable odds.

A Typical Target Area

This city is a typical Appalachian target area—a dirty, peeling, railroad town tucked away on the Kentucky border in a narrow Tug Fork flatland between the silhouettes of cone-shaped mountains.

The Tug Fork got its name in 1756, when winter overtook a body of troops on an expedition against the Indians. In their extremity, the soldiers boiled the "tugs" or thongs of their boots, and from this unhappy episode the river got its name.

At the Tug Valley Chamber of Commerce, a building whose walls are made of block-size chunks of coal. Williamson is still billed as "The Heart of the Billion Dollar Coalfield." The smog of soft coal smoke in the surrounding hollows and draws gives the city's motto a certain gritty authenticity.

At dusk thousands of columns of yellow-white coal smoke rise from the chimneys of houses. In the steep valleys, the sun comes up late and sets early, and there is a chill in the afternoons.

But coal long ago ceased to make a significant contribution to the local economy. The mines, mostly big operations of absentee-owned corporations, have employed fewer and fewer men and more and better machines, and the machines have produced more and more coal. Employed miners earn $27 a day.

3,000 Men in the Mines

Mingo County, of which Williamson is the seat, has 3,000 men in the mines. That is roughly one-quarter of the

ployed miners earn $21 a day.

3,000 Men in the Mines

Mingo County, of which Williamson is the seat, has 3,000 men in the mines. That is roughly one-quarter of the number employed here at the end of World War II.

The unemployment rate now is 13.9 per cent, "a whole lot better than it was when it was 30 per cent in 1959 and 1960," an unemployment security official said.

The National Seating venture was started in 1962 at Varney, 17 miles or "three mountains" east of here on U.S. Route 119. The plant is the newest and most modern in the furniture parts industry, according to Government spokesmen.

The failure of the experiment, many qualified observers here believe, underlines the stubborn isolation of this region from what one spokesman familiar with the Seating Company project described as "the facts of Appalachian existence."

In addition to the management failures acknowledged by the company, there was a smoldering labor situation. Some company officials attach equal blame for the failure to the workers.

Everett Shrader, the local representative of District 50 of the United Mine Workers Union, which organized the National Seating Company's 78 production workers two years ago, said:

"We felt the company was trying to provoke us and cause a work stoppage, and we felt the company wanted to close down under a strike situation and blame us for the whole thing."

There was no strike. But there apparently were temporary slowdowns, absenteeism and refusals to work overtime, for which J. Brooks Lawson Jr., the secretary and counsel of the corporation, blames "a few union troublemakers."

Mr. Lawson was candid, however, in assessing management mistakes.

At one point, administrative control became so chaotic, he recalled, that the plant shipped out "a whole load" of damaged or imperfect products that were "plainly marked as scrap." The shipment had to be made good on an overtime basis at a $13,000 loss, he said.

There were other costly mistakes involving the goodwill of customers. Products came unglued when they were received at their destination. And among the major mistakes, officials said, the company failed to obtain sufficient working capital to carry it over the difficult retraining period.

In addition, several highly skilled production overseers resigned. The supervisor of maintenance for the complex of milling machines, the production manager, and finally, the general manager, left and were not immediately replaced.

Desire for Jobs Doubted

In an interview, Mr. Lawson mentioned a thought that haunts the state and Federal officials who are trying to inject new life into the region—that Appalachia's people do not want to work.

At $1.25 an hour, Mr. Lawson said, the woodworkers were earning after taxes little more than the maximum of $165 a month they could get "for standing on the street corner under the Federal Aid to Dependent Children program."

Men whose families qualify them for this program, he added also get food stamps that can be redeemed for groceries at local stores.

Among other state officials, the West Virginia director of commerce, Koder M. Collison, bitterly denounced as "propaganda" this "recurring theme of writers who come here and say all our people want is a dole."

"The fact that some of the National Seating men have left the state to look for work elsewhere shows that this is a lie," Mr. Collison said in an interview in Charleston.

"The fear is that these legends about Appalachia will scare off the industries we need," he said.

But Mr. Collison and other officials said they recognized that such failures as the National Seating Company's would "do us no good in West Virginia."

Investments Noted

In addition to $220,000 in local stock ownership in the company that is "wiped out," according to Mr. Lawson, three West Virginia banks have $75,000 invested in the defunct operation.

The Area Redevelopment Administration's share is $679,000 and the Small Business Administration's $350,000. The West Virginia Industrial Development Authority has lent $134,000 to the company.

As of today, with its assets under audit, the company owes the Appalachian Power Company $12,000 for electricity.

A visitor found the woodworking plant locked, vacant and under guard today. Half a mile up the sharply winding road, a group of men in clean khakis stood by the edge of the road in front of a peeling shanty.

"We never thought the Government would let them close it," one said. "But I'm glad they got that company out of there. Maybe they'll send a new boss down from Washington to run it right."

"They didn't pay enough for a man to live on," said a companion. "It's not as good as in the mines."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1964.

List of Projects in Campaign Against Poverty

Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., Nov. 24—Following is the list of anti-poverty projects announced today by Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, after a conference with President Johnson at the LBJ Ranch:

ALABAMA — Community Action Program: Technical assistance grant of $134,000 to Alabama Advisory Committee for Economic Opportunity in Montgomery.

ARIZONA—Community Action Program: Grant of $29,500 to the Papago Tribal Council of the Papago Indian Reservation in central Arizona. Job Corps Centers: Winslow Base in Navajo County, Heber in Navajo County and Alpine in Greenlee County.

ARKANSAS—Job Corps Centers: Ouachita in Garland County. Work Experience: Yell County, $100,000 for training men and women from families on relief for work.

CALIFORNIA—Community Action Program: Los Angeles, grant of $2,729,683 to the Youth Opportunities Board of Los Angeles; San Francisco, grant of $55,080 to Economic Opportunity Council of San Francisco. Job Corps Centers: Alder Springs in Glenn County, Lewiston in Trinity County, Toyon in Shasta County, Fenner Canyon in Los Angeles County, Los Pinos in Riverside County and Sly Park in El Dorado County.

COLORADO—Community Action Program: grant of $46,000 to Colorado Office of Economic Opportunity; grant of $35,692 to Denver's War on Poverty, Inc. Job Corps Centers: Collbran in Mesa County.

CONNECTICUT—Community Action Program: Grant of $430,244 to Community Progress Inc., New Haven. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $105,000 to Community Progress Inc., New Haven.

FLORIDA—Community Action Program: Grant of $[illegible],000 to Suncoast Progress, Inc., St. [illegible]. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $825,000 to Hillsborough County Board of Public Instruction, Tampa.

GEORGIA—Community Action Program: Grant of $132,500 to Georgia office of Economic Opportunity; grant of $1,080,000 to Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Authority, Atlanta; grant of $16,700 to Georgia Mountains and Development Commission to plan antipoverty programs in 12 counties in northeast Georgia. Work Experience Program: Atlanta, $600,000 to train men and women from relief familes for work.

IDAHO—Job Corps Centers: O'Hara in Idaho County.

ILLINOIS—Community Action Program: Grant of $350,100 to Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity. Job Corps Centers: Crab Orchard in Williamson County. Work-Study Program: Colleges and universities in the Chicago area participating: American Conservatory of Music, Columbia College, DePaul University, George Williams College, Illinois Institute of Technology, Loyola University, Mundelein College of Chicago, Northwestern University, Rosary College, Roosevelt University, University of Chicago, Center Y. M. C. A. Community College, North Park College, Trinity College, University of Illinois, St. Xavier College and College of Jewish Studies.

KENTUCKY—Job Corps Centers: Frenchburg Center in Menifee County, Cumberland Gap in Bell County and Great Onyx in Edmonson County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $35,000 to Paducah Public schools.

LOUISIANA—Community Action Program: Grant of $42,435 to Acadiana Neuf Community Action Organization in Lafayette to develop antipoverty programs in nine parishes in southwestern Louisiana; small business loan of $25,000 for manufacturer of Fruitcake Delight, Lafayette (this is a cooperative).

MARYLAND—Job Corps Centers: Catoctin Center in Frederick County.

MASSACHUSETTS—Job Corps Centers: Wellfleet Center in Barnstable County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $20,000 to School Committee of City of Holyoke; grant of $250,000 to City of New Bedford.

MICHIGAN—Community Action Programs: Grant of $172,000 to Michigan Economic Opportunity Office; grant of $2,836,172 to Total Action Against Poverty, Detroit. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $585,000 to Detroit Board of Education. Work-study Program: Colleges and universities in Detroit area participating: Detroit Institute of Technology, Madonna College, Marygrove College, Mercy College, Merrill-Palmer Institute, Michigan State University, University of Michigan, Wayne State University and University of Detroit.

MISSISSIPPI—Community Action Program: Grant of $49,887 to Corinth Urban Renewal Agency. Neighborhood Youth Corps, Grant of $620,000 to Corinth Urban Renewal Agency.

MISSOURI — Community Action Program: Grant of $127,000 to Missouri Office of Economic Opportunity; grant of $46,350 to Ripley County Opportunity Corporation.

MONTANA — Job Corps Centers: Trapper Creek Center in Ravalli County.

NEW JERSEY—Community Action Program: Grant of $145,000 to New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $465,000 to Newark.

NEW MEXICO—Community Action Program: Grant of $39,000 to New Mexico Office of Economic Opportunity. Job Corps Centers: Mexican Springs in McKinley County, Grants Center in Valencia County, Eight Canyon in Otero County and Mountainair Center in Torrance County.

NEW YORK—Community Action Program: Grant of $238,900 to Poverty Operations Board in New York City. Job Corps Centers: Iroquois Center in Genesee county.

NORTH CAROLINA—Community Action Program: grant of $171,500 to Economic Opportunity Program of North Carolina State Department of Administration. Job Corps Centers: Arrowwood in Macon County, Schenck in Transylvania County and Oconaluftee in Swain County. Work Experience Program: Craven County, $200,000 to train men and women from relief families for work.

OHIO—Job Corps Centers: Vesuvius in Lawrence County.

OKLAHOMA—Job Corps Centers: Hodgens in Le Flore County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $105,000 to Osage Tribe in Pawhuska.

OREGON—Job Corps Centers: Wolf Creek in Douglas County, Timber Lake in Clackamas County, Camp Angel in Lincoln County, Tillamook in Tillamook County, Fort Vannoy in Josephine County and Malhuer in Harney County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $320,000 to Portland Public School System.

PENNSYLVANIA — Community Action Program: Grant of $1,230,000 to Pittsburgh Mayor's Committee on Human Resources, Inc. Job Corps Center: Blue Jay in Forest County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $33,000 to Butler County Public School System. Work Experience Program: Pittsburgh, $300,000 to train men and women from relief families for various types of work.

TENNESSEE — Community Action Program: Grant of $13,162 to Oneida-Scott County Economic Opportunity Authority, Inc., Scott County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $810,000 to Chattanooga Board of Education.

VIRGINIA—Job Corps Centers: Flatwoods in Wise County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $81,000 to Dickenson County School System in Clintwood.

WASHINGTON—Job Corps Program: Curlew in Ferry County and White Swan Mission in Yakima County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: Grant of $310,000 to Seattle Public School.

WEST VIRGINIA — Community Action Program: Grant of $146,411 to Hardy and Mineral Counties Rural Areas Development Committees. Job Corps Centers: Anthony in Greenbrier County.

WISCONSIN — Community Action Program: Grant of $69,000 to Wisconsin State Department of Resources Development.

WYOMING — Job Corps Centers: Casper in Natrona County.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Community Action Program: Grant of $1,455,930 to United Planning Organization of Washington. Work-Study Program: Colleges and Universities in the District of Columbia area participating: American University, George Washington University, Howard University, Immaculata College of Washington and Trinity College.

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Constitution 12/2/64

U.S. Lawmakers Debate on Appalachia

By REMER TYSON

A series of speeches by powerful U.S. lawmakers directly concerned with road building turned into a debate on President Lyndon B. Johnson's Appalachian program here Tuesday.

Sen. Jennings Randolph, D-W. Va., chairman of the Senate Public Works subcommittee on roads, predicted passage of the Appalachian measure by more than 3-1 in the upcoming Congress. Randolph said the program would give a "hand-up instead of a handout" to some 17 million Americans handicapped by "long-standing deficiencies in that region's highway network."

OPENING SESSION

Randolph addressed the opening session of the American Association of State Highways Officials.

The Virginian's home state is in the heart of the economically depressed Appalachian region that covers parts of 11 states, including a portion of north Georgia. Plans call for Georgia to qualify for nearly 100 miles of highways under the program.

Republican Rep. William C. Cramer of Florida, ranking minority member of the House public works subcommittee on roads, termed the proposed Appalachian highway-development program "discriminatory" against other regions and a

Sen. J. Randolph

Sen. Caleb Boggs

may or may not be unique in "dangerous precedent."

Cramer said, "Appalachia some respects, but it is most certainly not unique in its lack of adequate highways. . . . It seems obvious that the best interests of the nation demand that such funds be apportioned to all the states, not a selected few, in accordance with equitable formulas or criteria. . . ."

MOST IMPORTANT

In a prepared speech, Democratic Rep. George H. Fallon of Maryland, chairman of the House public works subcommittee on roads, described proposed highway construction as the "most important part of the Appalachian package." He also pointed out the program has been given top priority by President Johnson.

Fallon's speech was read by Edward McNeal, chief clerk of the House Public Works Committee. Fallon is recovering from surgery and could not attend.

Sen. Caleb Boggs, R-Del., did not mention the Appalachian program in his speech to the highway officials, but said in an interview that he is "in sympathy with the Appalachian area, but I was not satisfied that this was set up for a specific area. I think it should be set up for most of the country. There are other areas that need this type of assistance."

SUBS AS SPEAKER

Sen. Boggs substituted for Sen. John Sherman Cooper, R-Ky., as a convention speaker.

In an interview, Sen. Randolph said he thinks the Appalachian road program will "complement the rest of the country" rather

Job Corps Centers Aim At Youths' Ignorance, Motivation

By CHRISTIAN E. BURCKEL

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 in the antipoverty program provides for a Job Corps designed to remove a cause of unemployment by teaching youngsters marketable skills in rural and urban centers.

A rural center will comprise about 100 16-to-21-year-old enrolees, an "urban center" about 1,000.

According to Dr. Lewis Eigen, director of program development and analysis, approximately 45 centers are in the formative stage: 48 rural and 5 urban.

It is planned to have the anticipated 40,000 enrollees divided equally between the two types of centers.

When the initial implementation is completed there will be 20 urban and 200 rural centers.

Rural centers are planned to be conducted on federal lands located nationwide from Cape Cod to California, while urban centers will be nearer to or within cities and metropolitan areas.

The objectives are very similar for both types of centers: Basic education (reading, writing and arithmetic) tailored to the needs of the individuals comprising the corps; training in a marketable skill such as might be offered in a trade school or technical institute; development of attitudes considered good by educators; indoctrination of good health habits and personal grooming as well as the development of physical fitness; instruction in job application, etc.

Rural centers will be staffed by employes assigned by the U.S. Departments of Agriculture and Interior, while urban centers are planned to be operated under agreement with prime contractors.

Applications to operate an urban center have been filed by IBM, Chicago, and by the Federal Electric Co. of New Jersey.

Another application has been filed by a university which plans to use a local manufacturer as its vocational training facility.

In another instance a manufacturer lists a nearby college as its subcontractor to teach the basic subjects of the program.

Enrollees in the rural centers will receive free board and room, transportation expenses and $1 a day spending money besides $50 per month which is held in trust for them until their enrollment has been completed — estimated at from six months to two years.

The act provides a matching plan for those who wish to send half of their monthly pay home. The government would send $50 per month to the youth's dependents and credit $25 per month to his completion stake.

This money does not reduce the amounts which families on relief receive from other sources. At the end of two years, an enrollee would receive $1,200 in cash, or if he has sent half of his monthly allowance home, he would start out with $600.

Urban centers are to be operated on essentially the same financial subsidies and opportunities.

This Job Corps is one of a four-part program designed to help young men and women achieve self-reliance.

Also in the planning stages to help unemployed youth are a work-training program, a work-study program and a community action program. They will be described in subsequent columns.

Youngsters will be recommended for the Job Corps by high school counselors, local welfare and youth agencies, or, the young man or woman can apply without recommendation. Graduates of the program will be assisted by local organizations to become responsible members of the community.

The program is in the formulating stage and its first implementation is planned for next January.

No one quarrels with the humanitarian purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, but many are deeply concerned with the ill - defined method of organization and function of this new federal agency.

Opponents of the bill point out that there is no requirement for enlisting the cooperation and participation of existing local agencies, who presumably are not without knowledge in the administration of welfare programs.

Officials in Washington explain that the Economic Opportunity Act is not a welfare program but a program of rehabilitation through training and education.

In my opinion, based on first-hand experience with the National Recovery Program of the 30's, no national program or policy can possibly be developed that will meet a local situation without adaptation to local conditions, philosophy, problems, status, and objectives, coordinated within the framework and experience of the hundreds of agencies dedicated to improving the lot of our less fortunate citizens.

Under the law, the director has the authority to develop his program so as to make it function in cooperation with all organizations concerned for years with the war on poverty.

Only by marshalling all of the efforts now being expended by nearly half a hundred Federal agencies in the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Finance, Interior and Labor, and can there be any hope of progress toward the stated objectives.

It is sincerely hoped that Sargent Shriver, the director, will clear all proposed activities in his part of the war on poverty with local, state and federal groups and officials instead of imposing a bureaucratic agency on any local area.

How To Get Money For College

W. German Court Official Charged

N. — (AP) — Disciplinary ac- s been begun against the of West Germany's isciplinary court, Dr. e.

handles cases in- ment officials who d for unbecoming erior ministry, e, refused to ions against en suspend-

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Afraid To Get Your Draperie Cleaned? We're Speci

We take your Dr We clean them care —with special equi serves perfect and we Guarant age. Then we again.
Is this a lot cleaner?
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If You

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Aid to Appalachia

RE Pov Prog

Batt Defends West Virginia Plant Project as One of Many

NYT 12/11/64

TO THE EDITOR:

The news article on the front page of your issue of Nov. 25 bears the headline "First Plan to Aid Appalachia Fails," and the accompanying story implies that the project itself is both typical and symbolic of the status of Federal aid for the economic development of the Appalachian region.

Any such inference drawn by your readers would be both incorrect and unfortunate. The National Seating and Dimension Company represents only a small fraction of the Federal aid to Appalachia, and even this project cannot yet be classed as a "failure."

The project is only one out of 430 Area Redevelopment Administration projects of all kinds which had been approved as of Oct. 31, 1964, for the Appalachian region, as defined by the President's Appalachian Regional Commission. It is expected that these projects will ultimately be responsible for the creation of over 19,000 direct jobs when they are in full operation for a year.

Eighty of these projects, representing an A.R.A. investment of $28 million, were commercial loans to business and industry of the type made for the project referred to in your article. Most of these projects are successful. Those which are experiencing difficulties represent only a small proportion of the total.

Percentage of Investment

The Area Redevelopment Administration investment in the West Virginia project now in difficulty represents only about 2 per cent of the total investment in commercial and industrial loans in Appalachia, and less than 1 per cent of the total investment of all kinds in the region.

While no one denies the difficulties involved in establishing new businesses in the very heart of the most depressed section of Appalachia, the evidence so far does not support a conclusion that it is either unwise or impossible to do so. The National Seating and Dimension plant is modern, efficient, and in existence. We are working with the State of West Virginia and the Small Business Administration to see if it cannot be put back into operation as soon as possible under new management.

If all concerned recognize that the fundamental difficulties of Appalachia cannot be overcome quickly, and exercise patience and intelligence, there is good reason to believe that this plant should again operate on a scale which will bring profit to its owners and, most important, jobs to its community.

WILLIAM L. BATT Jr.,
Administrator, Area Redevelopment Administration
Washington, Nov. 25, 1964.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1964.

PRESIDENT SPURS POVERTY FIGHTERS

RE Pov Prog

He Defines Tasks for VISTA and Opportunity Groups

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12 — President Johnson greeted the first group of volunteer antipoverty workers today and then met for the first time with his new Economic Opportunity Council, which he asked to help him attain "total victory" in the war on poverty.

In a ceremony in the White House theater, Mr. Johnson was introduced to the first 20 men and women accepted for training in the Volunteers for Service in America (VISTA) program, sometimes described as a domestic Peace Corps.

He told them it would be their job "to guide the young, to comfort the sick, to encourage the downtrodden, to teach the skills which may lead to a more satisfying and more rewarding life."

"No aspect of the war against poverty will be more important than the work that you do," he said to the pioneers in a volunteer group of antipoverty workers expected to total 5,000 by 1966.

The President then went to the Cabinet Room for a meeting with the Economic Opportunity Council, which he called "a domestic National Security Council for the war on poverty."

The 23-member body, containing Cabinet members and other officials, was established by the Economic Opportunity Act to advise on "the coordination of antipoverty efforts of all segments of the Federal Government."

The President said he hoped that Vice President-elect Hubert H. Humphrey, who was present, would assume a role similar to the one Mr. Johnson filed as chairman of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council when he was a Vice President.

Mr. Johnson said he would announce the membership of such an advisory council soon. This was the second task assigned to Mr. Humphrey this week. Earlier he was designated to coordinate the work of agencies dealing in civil rights.

Noting that he was asking Mr. Humphrey to "take a leading role" in the poverty fight, Mr. Johnson said that Sargent Shriver, head of the Economic Opportunity Office, would work closely with the Vice President-elect.

Mr. Johnson asked the council to "review major policy issues that arise in conducting the war against poverty."

He also asked it to "weigh national priorities for program needs" and to assess the ability of existing programs to meet them. He called for an information system to supply local leaders with facts on the program and help to develop local community action.

The VISTA volunteers included an 81-year-old psychologist, a 20-year-old college student and a 71-year-old retired Army colonel.

The 20 who came to the White House are the first accepted among more than 100 who will begin six weeks of training, similar in nature to Peace Corps training, the first of the year.

They will begin work in the field in poverty pockets in the United States and possibly in American territories overseas on Feb. 1, Mr. Shriver said.

The poverty officials have not selected the projects, but have requests from Indian reservations, city slums and a mental institution in Appalachia, a spokesman said.

The volunteers will receive a subsistance allowance and $50 a month, to be held until their enlistment is up. They join for one year, with an option to re-enlist for another year.

The psychologist is Miss Elizabeth M. Brown of Kinston, N. C., who was the first president of the North Carolina Association for Retarded Children. In her letter of application she wrote that "for me to point the way to a better life is only neighborly."

The retired colonel among the VISTA volunteers is Marc J. Logie, who fought in France in World War I and in the Pacific in World War II.

He learned of the program last March by reading of it in a Spanish newspaper while on a religious retreat in a Trappist monastery in Spain. He volunteered immediately.

Nine other members of the group are 50 years old or older and there are three married couples.

Before shaking hands with members of the group, Mr. Johnson said:

"Your pay will be low; the conditions of your labor will often be difficult. But you will have the satisfaction of leading a great national effort. . . . I hope that all those with skills and dedication to offer will come and join with you in this most extraordinary force for good in our country."

The President informed the council that he would rely heavily on it for recommendations and added:

"Our objective is total victory —and we are going to attain it."

Mr. Shriver serves as the chairman of the Economic Opportunity Council as well as chief of the antipoverty program.

RI

Memo from **LLOYD ELLIOTT**

From Duane Beck, at Hungry Club, 12/16/64:

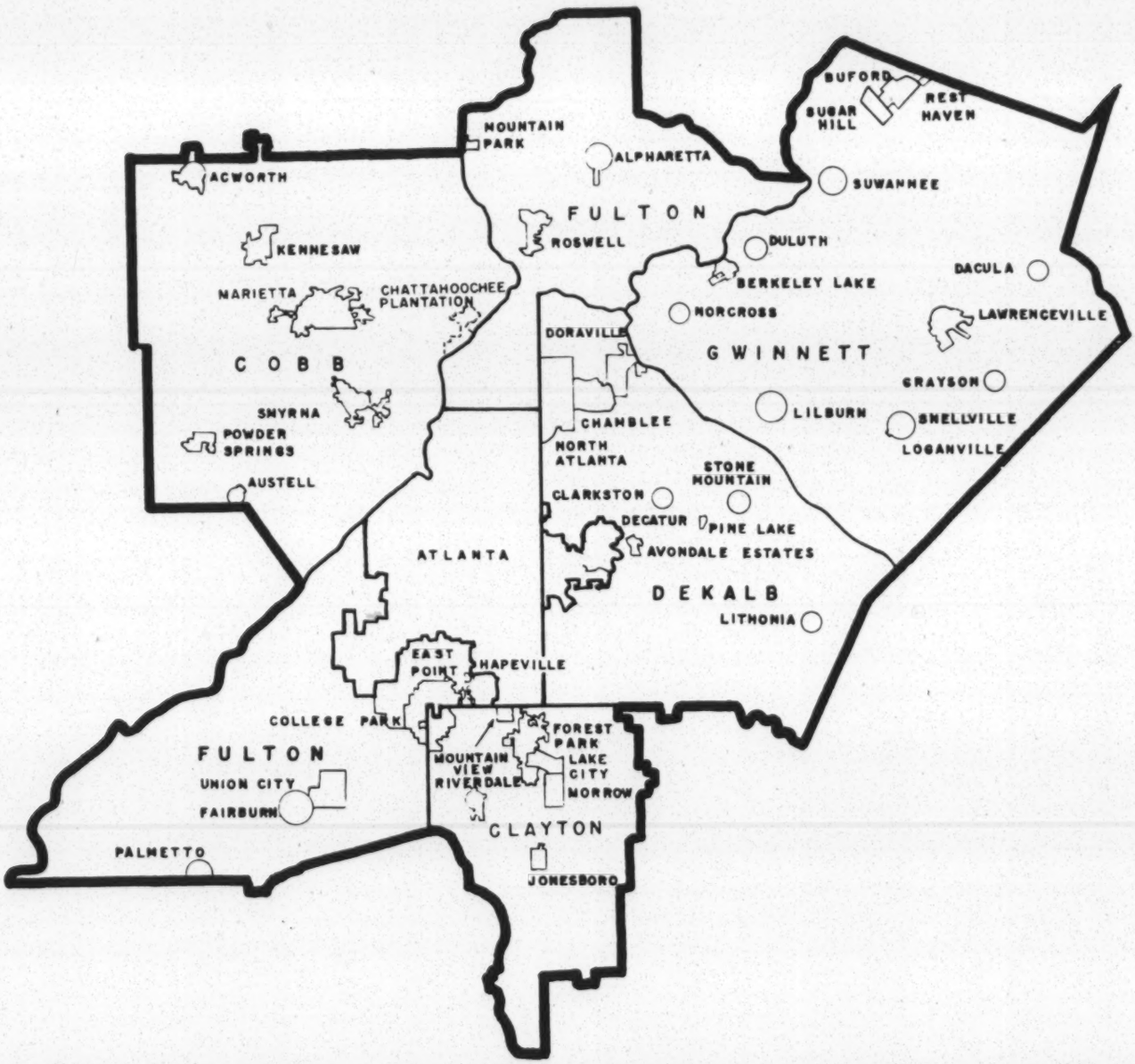
(1) Allen set up —
Atlanta-Fulton Economic Opportunity Authority
"Chairman of the Board" — unpaid, volunteer — B. Jones.
"Executive Director" — paid — C. O. Emmerich [otherwise unstaffed as of 12/16/64.]

(2) Allen utilized already existing "Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc." — as a research outfit — non profit and non-partisan" — to do preliminary planning to get a Community Action Grant from OEO. Had staff, would plan, i.e.

COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE ATLANTA AREA, INC.

ANNUAL REPORT

MAY 1964



Community Planning

No form of social action is more uniquely American than Community Planning for Health, Education, and Welfare. Community Planning is stimulated by optimism, tempered with realism, and can be successfully implemented only by the concerted efforts of volunteer lay citizens who are willing to assume responsibility for their own destiny.

Optimists believe that man's condition and status in life is controllable—to a degree at least. American tradition, with its scorn for a stratified society, gives impetus to the optimistic view that social condition and individual status can be improved. Community planning offers the challenge and the opportunity "to do something about" one's immediate environment. It refuses to accept poverty, ignorance, dependency, and disease as social statics.

Common sense—a realistic evaluation of the demands and resources available in a particular community needs no spokesman to point out that every society is relatively restricted and that, therefore, each individual is limited in attaining the full measure of his potential if his environment is cluttered with non-functional and ineffectual people, and if its best assets are wasted in disordered profligacy. Stated simply—taxes or contributions taken from the effective, producing members of a society cannot forever be poured into the bottomless pit of subsidizing the least productive. Community planning aims to discover, assess, and satisfy the greatest number of human needs by the most efficient use of all community resources.

Voluntarism is the word used to describe the American characteristic evidenced by lay citizens voluntarily forming themselves into clubs, committees, and associations to achieve goals of interest to the group—goals which in most countries, if sought at all, are sought by governmental action. If "consent of the governed" is the basic tenent of American poltical philosophy, surely voluntary lay participation is its counterpart in our social philosophy. Successful community planning must be by and for the citizens of the community—it cannot be legislated, and it must and rightfully should depend for its success solely upon its ability to sell its purposes and procedures to the people it serves.

The great paradox is that such an essentially optimistic, realistic, and American way to enlist the human resources in a common effort for the common good as is offered by community planning continually fails to stimulate the kind of united community support that it should. Atlanta is no exception. Our community deserves a better fate. I am confident that with our splendid Executive Director, and our new Chairman, and reactivated Board, the Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., will surely meet the challenge and create a more socially effective community.

Joseph F. Haas
Chairman Board of
Directors

Facts About

PURPOSE (from the Bylaws)

The purpose of the Council shall be to cooperate with existing public and private agencies and institutions in the fields of health, education, recreation, and welfare, in order to ascertain facts, develop methods and foster the means whereby the social problems of the Atlanta area may be ameliorated and become less and less a public burden.

FUNCTIONS

A. *Coordination* of services at the administrative, service, and financing body levels.

The proliferation of agencies and the increasing tendency toward fragmentation of services emphasizes coordination as a function. Most of the Council's attempts at coordination have been at the administrative level and have met with little success. A greater emphasis must be placed on bringing financing bodies together and on working with service organizations *at the point of delivery of service*. The latter method suggests a non-service, neighborhood—based organization within the Council concentrating on solving problems of *people*.

B. *Research*

1. Uniform collection and continuous analysis of social data are necessary to provide a current picture of a city, its people, and their problems.
2. Research consultation with study committees and agency personnel.
3. Formulation of a comprehensive guide for services related to social problems to guide financing bodies in budgeting funds.
4. More knowledge is needed on the environmental influence in social problems.
5. Accountability must be developed. Too many claims are made by too many services based on numbers served or on professional quality of service. The public is entitled to know what a program *can* and *cannot* do.
6. Two of the major programs changing the face of the city are highway construction and urban renewal. The programs conceived by the physical planners affect the lives of people. Social research and planning must be meshed with the physical planners' ideas for changing the landscape of the city.

C. *Experimental and Demonstration*

The Council should have the freedom and the opportunity to experiment with new service pro-

the Council

grams. Two of the greatest problems in our city are limited job opportunity and educational deficiencies. The Council should take the initiative in bringing together community leadership, interested organizations and the facts of the problems for creative thinking and planning. New concepts of services and program realignment will emerge which should be tested.

D. *Agency and Field of Service Studies*

After comprehensive guides for services are developed, there will still be conflicts and differences of opinion about agency programs and services. Work with individual agencies or groups of agencies engaged in similar services is necessary.

E. *Participation of More People in Planning*

There are people in all walks of life who, if we can gain their cooperation and impart some training to them, can supply significant insights and first rate leadership in defining better approaches to problems which they see and live with. There are many people with competence in lower socio-economic groups who can serve as extensions of professional workers if we can bring them into the picture.

Job opportunities for volunteers and paid nonprofessionals need to be re-explored and training programs revamped so that more significant service positions are created. The Social Service Aides' program of 1962 illustrates that people are available and after receiving training can perform a real service.

F. *Public Education*

People are not generally well informed about social welfare problems. As facts are uncovered by the Council, the information should be made public.

G. *Implementing Change*

Cities and problems change. This is not always true of services. There are difficult decisions—controversial situations—which the Council must face up to. Councils have reputations for often creating many new services and seldom eliminating old services. Planning organizations which vacillate get into difficult straits. The difference between successful and unsuccessful planning organizations is the dedication of community leadership to do that which the facts indicate must be done and the ability of the professional staff to supply accurate, unbiased information.

Executive Director's Report

The Council is in a transitional phase. The past year was important because we searched for and found new directions. It was an exciting year, but as someone once said, "You ain't seen nothing yet!"

We finished a few things like Protective Services for Children, the Hospital and Health Inventory, "Atlanta's People," approved three requests for Hill-Burton funds, completed studies on the Massell Clinic and the Savannah Street Mission, made two reports to the Fund Appeals Review Board, and completed a report on Cuban Refugees.

Two grant proposals on planning for the aging were written, but neither was accepted. We helped several groups find projects—a time-consuming process. A tour of a "disadvantaged" neighborhood was organized in cooperation with the Council of Jewish Women and the Salvation Army. Our Information and Referral Service calls increased tremendously, including one international referral from Colombia, South America. We spoke to many groups and handled numerous requests to show the "Atlanta's People" slide presentation.

Consultation with agencies continued. Our staff worked with the Chest budget committees, Community Services for the Blind, and the Clayton County mental health committee.

We bogged down in finding a new "home" for Homemaker Services, in finding a sponsor for centers for the aged in new public housing projects, and in making a study of public welfare potential.

A new Neighborhood Improvement Program was launched in West End. Out of the mouths of the "disadvantaged" people have come ideas for services and new structures for services. An array of potential services have been outlined. We are discussing the possibility of joint project proposals with agencies. The problems of employment and day care have received our initial attention. The Georgia Department of Labor has temporarily assigned a job counselor to West End.

From the Permanent Conference have emerged two committees of significance, Youth Training and Employment, and Basic Education (illiteracy). Both groups are wrestling with difficult problems. The enthusiastic response by community institutions has kindled the imagination of many people and new, creative approaches to both problems are being suggested.

The request to the Council to become involved in social research in Atlanta's Urban Renewal Program and President Johnson's "War on Poverty" has important ramifications for the Council. In non-apparent ways, these two programs fit together and are within the limits of Council functions—rehabilitation of people and prevention of social ills. We need to know more about our social problems, and we need a strategy for getting at the problems. It is possible that these two programs as they unfold will create an entirely different social planning philosophy and technique.

Most important of all, however, is the encouraging response the Council is receiving as it re-emerges on the community scene. The Board, the Executive Committee, and all other committee members are responsible for this reception. I am grateful for the energetic support of all of the Council's "volunteers" and appreciate the expenditure of effort to build the Council.

Duane W. Beck
Executive Director

Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc.

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Chairman
Board of Directors

A. H. Sterne
Vice-chairman

Joseph W. Jones
Secretary

R. L. Foreman, Sr.
Associate Secretary

Jack F. Glenn
Treasurer

1963–64

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Eugene T. Branch
James Furniss
Richard Hicks
Frank Nicholson
A. B. Padgett
James Sibley

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Charles Mathias
Mrs. Edmund P. Phillips
C. B. Rogers

Committee Chairmen

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Hospital and Health Division — Dr. Napier Burson, Jr.
Family and Children's Division — C. B. Rogers
Recreation and Group Work Division — Bradley Currey
Neighborhood Improvement — A. B. Padgett
Public Interpretation — Albert Love
Council Evaluation — Arthur Howell
Rehabilitative Services — Harvey G. Booth
Chronically Ill and Aged Services — W. Daniel Barker
Education and Research in Health — Dr. John T. Godwin
Mental Health Services — Dr. Joseph Skobba
General Hospital Services — Rease Inge
Voluntary and Public Health Services — James Mackay
Basic Education — Bradley Currey
Youth Training and Employment — Mrs. Thomas Gibson, Dr. Phil Narmore
Day Care — Mrs. E. A. Driscoll
Senior Centers in Public Housing Projects — Jack Izard
Cuban Refugees — Michael Egan, Jr.
Savannah Street Mission — A. B. Padgett
Guided Tours — Mrs. J. J. Wallen
Homemaker Service — C. B. Rogers
Central Information and Referral — Mrs. Thomas E. Martin
Children & Youth — Mrs. Lydia Shelfer
Protective Services — Judge Luther Alverson

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Mrs. Inez B. Tillison, Associate Director
David Beecher, Neighborhood Worker
Mrs. Vera M. Ireland, Planning Associate
Mrs. Marian B. Glustrom, Planning Associate*
Mrs. Alene F. Uhry, Public Interpretations Associate*
Miss Faith Magdovitz, Research Associate*
Mrs. Doris N. Bradley, Office Manager
Mrs. Mary Ann Wood, Accountant
Mrs. Jacquelyn De Land, Research Assistant-Secretary
Mrs. Caroline Maurer, Secretary
Mrs. Rosalyn Epstein, Secretary*
Mrs. Sarah Zimmerman, Secretary
Mrs. Cynthia Reed, Secretary*
Miss Carolyn Brock, Receptionist-Secretary
* Part-time

Courtesy
Foote & Davies

THE COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF THE ATLANTA AREA, INC.
215 Palmer Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WHAT IS IT?

An organization of volunteers and agency employees working to lessen the social problems of the Atlanta area.

WHAT DOES IT DO?

Coordinates

Works with public and private groups in the fields of health, education, and welfare to:

- Eliminate overlapping and duplicating services
- Create new services to provide for unmet needs
- Improve existing services

Plans

Evaluates needs and implements services to meet them

Does Research

Conducts studies of social problems and searches for resources to correct them

WHOM DOES IT SERVE?

People in the five county metropolitan area

WHO FINANCES IT?

The United Appeal and local foundations

For Further Information, please call

Duane W. Beck
Executive Director
525-7695

12-17-64

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THUR

Antipoverty Projects Listed by Johnson

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—Following is the list of Federal antipoverty projects announced today by President Johnson:

ALABAMA—Adult basic education allotment: $570,401.

ALASKA—Adult basic education allotment: $30,000.

ARIZONA—Adult basic education allotment: $144,456. Community Action program: a grant of $39,000 to the Choate Foundation in Phoenix for five Southwestern states. Jobs Corps center: San Carlos Center in Gila County.

ARKANSAS—Adult basic education allotment: $312,060. Jobs Corps center: Cass Center in Franklin County. Community Action program: a grant of $69,900 to Yell County. VISTA volunteers: Yell County, four volunteers to live in rural areas and work with slow learners.

CALIFORNIA—Adult basic education allotment: $1,061,000. Community Action program: a grant of $286,140 to the Centra Costa Council of Community Services in Richmond. Jobs Corps center: Five Mile Center in Tuolumne County. VISTA Volunteers: 1, Central Valley and Santa Maria and Santa Clara Counties, 23 volunteers to work in 10 migrant-worker communities. 2, San Francisco, nine volunteers to work with retarded children. Neighborhood Youth Corps: 1, a grant of $1,900,000 to the Los Angeles City and County schools. 2, a grant of $170,000 to the Stockton Unified School District. Work Experience program: Hadera County, $168,160 to train men and women from relief families for various types of work.

COLORADO—Adult basic education allotment: [illegible].

CONNECTICUT—Adult basic education allotment: $209,968. Community Action program: 1, a technical assistance grant of $45,000 to the office of the Governor. 2, a grant of $72,027 to Action for Bridgeport Community Development. 3, a grant of $565,757 to the Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford. 4, a grant of $29,810 to Community Progress, Inc., New Haven. 5, a grant of $43,226 to New Opportunities for Waterbury. VISTA Volunteers: 1, three volunteers to work with the community renewal team of Greater Hartford. 2, 10 volunteers to tackle the problems of poverty in the "inner city," an urban slum in New Haven.

DELAWARE—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

FLORIDA—Adult basic education allotment: $551,591. Community Action program: a grant of $34,210 to the Economic Opportunity Program, Inc., in Miami. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $545,000 to the Dade County Board of Public Instruction.

GEORGIA—Adult basic education allotment: 734,846. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $11,483 to the Slash Pine Area Planning and Development Commission. 2, a grant of $10,550 to the Southwest Georgia Planning and Development Commission. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $100,000 to the Carlersville School Board.

HAWAII—Adult basic education allotment: $79,379.

IDAHO—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. Job Corps center: Mountain Home Center in Elmore County.

ILLINOIS—Adult basic education allotment: $798,298. Community Action program: 1, a technical-assistance grant of $229,000 to the office of the Governor. 2, a grant of $3,993,471 to the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity. Job Corps center: Golconda Center in Pope County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $160,000 to the Dixon State School.

INDIANA—Adult basic education allotment: $275,040. Community Action program: a technical-assistance grant of $74,000 to the office of the Governor. Job Corps center: Branchville Center in Perry County.

IOWA—Adult basic education allotment: $108,163.

KANSAS—Adult basic education allotment: $94,246.

KENTUCKY—Adult basic education allotment: $475,553. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $19,447 to the Breathitt County Action Program. 2, a grant of $299,242 to the Council of the Southern Mountains for the Appalachia Volunteers Program. VISTA Volunteers: 1, 14 volunteers to work and live in eight Kentucky counties in response to a joint request from the Council of Southern Mountains and Appalachia Volunteers. 2, three volunteers to organize [illegible] County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $22,000 to the Covington public schools. Work experience program: A grant of $9,600,000 for work experience and training projects in nine Eastern Kentucky counties.

LOUISIANA—Adult basic education allotment: $684,393. Community Action program: A grant of $132,000 to the office of the Governor. Work experience program: three separate projects for a total cost of $516,000 to train 884 persons in Caddo Parish and Acadia Parish and to hire state staff for work experience programs.

MAINE—Adult basic education allotment: $54,040. Community Action program: a grant of $25,000 to the office of the Governor.

MARYLAND—Adult basic education allotment: $302,584.

MASSACHUSETTS—Adult basic education allotment: $381,461. Community Action program: 1, a technical-assistance grant of $116,000 to the office of the Governor. 2, a grant of $89,308 to the Mayor's Committee on the War on Poverty in New Bedford.

MICHIGAN—Adult basic education allotment: $523,304. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $191,572 to Total Action Against Poverty in Detroit. 2, a training grant of $1,830 to Total Action Against Poverty in Detroit. Job Corps center: Hoxey Center in Wexford County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $965,000 to Total Action Against Poverty in Detroit.

MINNESOTA—Adult basic education allotment: $152,737. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $33,240 to Community Health and Welfare Council, Inc., for Minneapolis and Hennepin County. 2, a grant of $43,430 to Citizens' Economic Opportunity Committee for Ramsey County in St. Paul. Job Corps Centers: 1, Chippewa Ranch Center in Nahnomen County. 2, Isabella Center in Lake County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $1,220,000 to the Minnesota Department of Conservation.

MISSISSIPPI—Adult basic education allotment: $429,207.

MISSOURI—Adult basic education allotment: $377,037. Community Action program: a grant of $857,634 to the St. Louis Human Development corporation. Job Corps centers: 1, Poplar Bluff Center in Butler County. 2, Mingo Center in Stoddard County. VISTA Volunteers: Three volunteers to work with youth in Ripley County.

MONTANA—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

NEBRASKA—Adult basic education allotment: $63,320. Community Action program: A technical assistance grant of $26,000 to the office of the Governor.

NEVADA—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. VISTA Volunteers: Eight volunteers to work in a Las Vegas program called Operation Independence.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

NEW JERSEY—Adult basic education allotment: $561,561. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $202,750 to the Jersey City Neighborhood and Community Delevolpment Organization, Inc. 2, a grant of $82,050 to United Progress, Inc., in Trenton. Urban Job Corps center: Camp Kilmer, for 2,500 young men, under contract of $11,520,000 with International Telephone and Telegraph's Federal Electric Corporation and Rutgers University. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $90,000 to the Board of Education in Trenton.

NEW MEXICO—Adult basic education allotment: $111,004. Work experience program: A grant of $18,000 for supervisory staff at the state level.

NEW YORK—Adult basic education allotment: $1,670,097. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $50,000 to the Borough of Manhattan Community College. 2, a grant of $289,652 to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University. 3, a grant of $314,329 to Syracuse University. Neighborhood Youth Corps: 1, a grant of $155,000 to the Board of Education in Buffalo. 2, a grant of $5,000,000 to the Poverty Operations Board in New York City.

NORTH CAROLINA—Adult basic education allotment: $819,068. Community Action program: A grant of $109,700 to the North Carolina Fund.

NORTH DAKOTA — Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. Community Action program: A grant of $58,189 to the Devil's Lake Sioux Tribal Council.

OHIO—Adult basic education allotment: $650,261. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $513,194 to the Community Action Commission of Cincinnati. 2, a grant of $9,570 to the War Against Poverty Commission in Martin's Ferry. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $250,000 to the Board of Education in Cincinnati.

OKLAHOMA—Adult basic education allotment: $224,664. Community Action program: A technical-assistance grant of $78,000 to the office of the Governor. Job Corps center: Treasure Lake center in Comanche County.

OREGON—Adult basic education allotment: $73,722. Community Action program: 1, a technical-assistance grant of $34,000 to the office of the Governor. 2, a grant of $21,948 to the Portland Metropolitan Steering Committee. Urban Job Corps center: Tongue Point Naval Station, Astoria, under contract with the University of Oregon with cooperation of Ford Motor Company's Philco Corporation for a total of $8,100,000.

PENNSYLVANIA—Adult basic education allotment: $937,080. Community Action program: 1, a technical-assistance grant of $251,000 to the office of the Governor. 2, a grant of $105,860 to the City of Philadelphia. 3, a grant of $207,000 to the Mayor's Community Action Committee in Pittsburgh. VISTA Volunteers: Pittsburgh, 10 volunteers to work under the direction of the Mayor's Committee of Human Resources. Small Business Adminisration: Loans totaling $29,500 to four small businesses in Pittsburgh.

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TENNESSEE—Adult basic education allotment: $593,682. Community Action program: A grant of $87,862 to the Metropolitan Action Commission in Nashville. Job Corps center: Jacobs Creek Center in Sullivan County. Vista Volunteers: Dongelson, 10 volunteers to help the mentally retarded at the Clover Bottom State Hospital and School for the Mentally Retarded. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $1,145,000 to the City of Memphis.

TEXAS—Adult basic education allotment: $1,411,483. Community Action program: A technical-assistance grant of $70,000 to the office of the Governor. Urban Job Corps Center: Camp Gary, San Marcos, under contract with the Texas Educational Foundation, Inc., with cooperation of the Texas Education Agency for a total of $8,160,000. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $131,000 to the Corpus Christi Independent School District.

UTAH—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. Job Corps center: Price Center in Carbon County.

VERMONT—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. Community Action program: A grant of $25,000 to the office of the Governor.

VIRGINIA—Adult basic education allotment: $606,118. Community Action program: a grant of $67,851 to the Progressive Community Club of Washington County. VISTA Volunteers: Washington county, two volunteers to start a preschool program in Hayter's Gap.

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WYOMING—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Adult basic education allotment: $68,470.

TERRITORIES—Adult basic education allotment: $375,000. Work experience program: A grant of $70,300 to the Virgin Islands.

DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

State to Get Four Projects In Poverty War

Largest Is Plan To Train Adults On Basic Level

By TOM GREENE

Georgia will get four of 162 new projects and grants totaling $856,879 under a second phase of the "war on poverty" announced in Washington.

The total grants for the 162 new projects is $82.6 million.

The largest Georgia grant is $734,846 for an "adult basic education" program. This is designed to provide training in such areas as reading and basic arithmetic for 1,200 Georgians over 18 who never finished elementary school.

OTHER Georgia projects are:

—A $100,000 grant for a Neighborhood Youth Corps project in Cartersville.

—Grants of $11,483 to the Slash Pine Area Planning and Development Commission in Waycross and $10,550 to the Southwest Georgia Planning and Development Commission, Camilla.

The Cartersville project, which comes under the U.S. Department of Labor, will provide jobs for children from low-income families so they can stay in school.

IT IS EXPECTED that 240 students in the area will be provided such jobs as library, cafeteria or clerical aides or laboratory assistants.

The project will be under the supervision of the local school board and is designed for students between the ages of 16 and 21.

THE WAYCROSS grant will be used by the planning commission there to design development plans for Atkinson, Clinch, Ben Hill, Brantley, Charlton, Bacon, Coffee, Pierce and Ware counties.

The grant to the Southwest Georgia Planning and Development Commission will be used for a similar plan for Baker, Calhoun, Colquitt, Decatur, Grady, Lee, Miller, Mitchell, Seminole, Dougherty, Terrell, Thomas and Worth counties.

These two grants come under the Community Action Program.

Rural families in Georgia also will be eligible for a new loan program, under the Farmers Home Administration, designed to aid those unable to get credit elsewhere. They may apply for loans up to $2,500.

INCLUDED in the $82.6 million package was a New Jersey

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POVERTY PROJECTS

Continued from Page 1

Job Corps Training Center to be operated by a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph Co. for a possible fee of $540,000.

At a news conference, Wednesday, Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, said "I hope that a large amount of participation by private industry will develop over the months ahead."

The Urban Job Corps Training Center at Camp Kilmer, N.J., was one of three announced. The two others, at Tongue Point Naval Station, Ore., and Camp Gary, Tex., will be operated by nonprofit organizations.

The White House announcement also contained 18 sites in 15 states for the smaller rural job training centers. They are in addition to 41 sites announced in late November.

IN ALL, antipoverty program officials said, some 150 rural centers to train 100 to 200 youths in basic job skills and rudimentary education are planned. They hope to have about 10 urban area centers, for 1,000 or more youths, in operation by next June.

Also disclosed Wednesday were the first assignments for the domestic version of the Peace Corps. Dubbed Vista, the program calls for 99 volunteers to work on 28 programs among poverty stricken Americans in migrant labor camps, chronically depressed areas and big city slums.

The announcement also listed grants of more than $51 million for community action projects, adult education and work training programs, and full and part-time job training for school students who have dropped out or are about to.

COMBINED WITH the projects announced by the White House in November, Shriver said, the antipoverty program has now committed $117 million for 212 separate projects in all of the states and territories.

He said demand for programs is running 50 to 100 per cent more than the $784 million which Congress appropriated for the antipoverty fight this fiscal year. But he would not say whether President Johnson will ask more money from the next Congress.

AS SKETCHED by program officials, the Jobs Corps Training Centers, while scattered across the country, are not intended to be regional. Youths from 16 to 21 can be shipped to any of them, at government expense.

The criteria will be a volunteer applicant's expressed interest plus aptitude tests, but the final decision as to where he goes will be up to program officials.

The smaller rural centers apparently will concentrate more on basic job skills and education combined with conservation work. The larger urban centers, while providing basic education, will offer somewhat more complicated job training.

THE CAMP KILMER center will be operated by the Federal Electric Co., a subsidiary of IT&T.

Under the contract, Federal Electric, which officials said has conducted other private and government personnel training programs, will be allowed "reasonable" expenses up to $11.5 million for the term of the 18-month contract. It will receive a fee of 4.7 per cent of expenses.

And, subject to government approval, the company can subcontract any portion of the work to Rutgers University, the state university of New Jersey.

The Tongue Point, Ore., center, to be operated by the University of Oregon, bears an $8.1 million price tag. The Philco division of Ford Motor Co., another firm with personnel training experience, is listed as the subcontractor.

The Texas center contract for $8,160,000 is with the Texas Education Foundation, Inc.

Shriver said the private firms will assist in the placement of employes following their six-

PRESIDENT: $82 MILLION TO FIGHT POVERTY

Poverty — Gen

62 Projects Listed in All States — $20 Million for New York and Vicinity

The new antipoverty projects are listed on Page 31.

12-17-64

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16 — President Johnson announced $82.6 million in new antipoverty projects today, including more than $20 million for New York State and surrounding areas.

The allocations, covering 162 projects in all 50 states, represents the second allotment of funds for what the President has called a nationwide war on poverty.

The initial allocation, $35 million for 120 projects, was announced Nov. 24. Congress has appropriated $784.2 million for the antipoverty program for the fiscal year ending next June 30.

A Major Assault Here

The new grants single out the metropolitan New York-New Jersey area as the target for a major assault on poverty.

New York City will receive a total of $5,339,652. Of this, $5 $5 million will go to the Poverty Operations Board for a Neighborhood Youth Corps program under which in-school young people will be given part-time jobs and those not in school will be given full-time jobs.

Additional funds for special antipoverty programs will go to the Borough of Manhattan Community College and the Albert Einstein College of Medicine at Yeshiva University.

In addition, New York State will receive $1,670,097 to establish a program of adult basic education. Funds for antipoverty projects also will go to Syracuse University and to the Board of Education in Buffalo for a Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The largest single allocation, $11,520,000, will be used to establish an urban job-training center at the abandoned military base at Camp Kilmer, N. J. Two similar centers will be established at abandoned bases at San Marcos, Tex., and Astoria, Ore.

The Camp Kilmer center, to be opened in February, will be operated under a cost-plus contract by the International Telephone and Telegraph's Federal Electric Corporation of Paramus, N. J. The company, noted as a leader in skilled training, will be assisted by Rutgers University.

Up to 2,500 young men be-

Continued on Page 20, Column 4

POWELL SWITCHES TO WAGNER'S SIDE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

tween the ages of 16 and 22 will be trained at the Kilmer center each year for such positions as hospital orderlies, clerks, office workers, welders, and a variety of others.

The three urban job-training centers, the first to be announced, will be for young men only. Similar centers for young women will be established within several months.

The 162 new projects range from a nearly $4 million grant to help Chicago wage a community-wide attack on poverty to a $6,000 small-business loan to a Pittsburgh man, a former steelworker, so that he can expand his 12-seat luncheonette.

Sioux to Be Aided

Grants will provide preschool training for children of the Devil's Lake Sioux Indian Tribe; help parents on relief rolls in the Virgin Islands to learn how to operate power sewing machines; provide job retraining for residents of the little town of Martin's Ferry, Ohio.

In Eastern Kentucky, one of the nation's poorest areas, 1,200 college students will teach reading to deprived children and install libraries in 800 small schoolhouses under a $299,242 grant.

Yeshiva University's Albert Einstein College of Medicine will use its $289,652 grant to establish four neighborhood service centers offering counseling aid in the South Bronx area.

Ninety-nine Vista volunteers, domestic counterparts of Peace Corpsmen, will be sent to fight poverty in migrant camps in California, city slums and in the blighted villages and hollows in Appalachia. The formal name of this antipoverty organization is Volunteers in Service to America.

Federal funds, supplemented by local money, wil be used to attack poverty locally in Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven and Waterbury, Conn.; and in Trenton and Jersey City.

$18 Million for Education

Highlights of the antipoverty projects announced today are:

¶Each state will receive Federal funds to establish adult basic education programs. The total allocation for such courses in the states, the District of Columbia and territories is $18,344,000.

¶Grants totaling $10,342,300 were made to 13 states, 22 cities, seven rural areas, three universities, one Indian tribe and one nonprofit organization to conduct antipoverty programs or to train workers in combating poverty.

¶Grants totaling $12,075,000 were made to establish 17 Neighborhood Youth Corps in 15 states to provide an estimated 22,380 young men and women with part-time employment.

¶The first VISTA volunteers will be assigned to 28 different communities to help teach, train and counsel impoverished Americans.

¶Grants totaling $10,500,000 were made to five states—Kentucky, Louisiana, Rhode Island, New Mexico, California—and to the Virgin Islands to provide job training for some 5,160 unemployed men and women. The major share, $9,600,000, went to nine Eastern Kentucky counties.

¶Eighteen Rural Job Corps camps—to provide remedial education and work experience for young men—will be established in 15 states. These are in addition to 41 other camps previously announced.

¶Loans totaling $29,500 were made to four small-business men in the Pittsburgh area by the Small Business Administration.

The Offices of Economic Opportunity, which is directing the antipoverty efforts, also disclosed that nearly 450 colleges and universities had indicated they would take part in the work-study program.

Under work-study, the Fedsral Government and the colleges and institutions will finance the cost of providing on-campus or off-campus jobs for students from needy families.

Another antipoverty program —one offering small loans to low-income rural families—will begin tomorrow when the Farmers Home Administration begins accepting loan applications. The loans, up to $2,500, would be used to finance small family businesses and farming enterprises.

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Antipoverty Projects Listed by Johnson

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—Following is the list of Federal antipoverty projects announced today by President Johnson:

ALABAMA—Adult basic education allotment: $570,401.

ALASKA—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

ARIZONA—Adult basic education allotment: $144,456. Community Action program: a grant of $39,000 to the Choate Foundation in Phoenix for five Southwestern states. Jobs Corps center: San Carlos Center in Gila County.

ARKANSAS—Adult basic education allotment: $312,060. Jobs Corps center: Cass Center in Frnaklin County. Community Action program: a grant of $49,980 to Yell County. VISTA volunteers: Yell County, four volunteers to live in rural areas and work with slow learners.

CALIFORNIA—Adult basic education allotment: $1,061,000. Community Action program: a grant of $286,140 to the Centra Costa Council of Community Services in Richmond. Jobs Corps center: Five Mile Center in Tuolumne County. VISTA Volunteers: 1, Central Valley and Santa Maria and Santa Clara Counties, 23 volunteers to work in 10 migrant-worker communiities. 2, San Francisco, nine volunteers to work with retarded children. Neighborhood Youth Corps: 1, a grant of $1,900,000 to the Los Angeles City and County schools. 2, a grant of $170,000 to the Stockton Unified School District. Work Experience program: Hadera County, $168,160 to train men and women from relief families for various types of work.

COLORADO—Adult basic education allotment: $91,474.

CONNECTICUT—Adult basic education allotment: $209,968. Community Action program: 1, a technical assistance grant of $45,000 to the office of the Governor. 2, a grant of $72,027 to Action for Bridgeport Community Development. 3, a grant of $565,757 to the Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford. 4, a grant of $29,810 to Community Progress, Inc., Ne wHaven. 5, a grant of $43,276 to New Opportunities for Waterbury. VISTA Volunteers: 1, three volunteers to work with the community renewal team of Greater Hartford. 2, 10 volunteers to tackle the problems of poverty in the "inner city," an urban slum in New Haven.

DELAWARE—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

FLORIDA—Adult basic education allotment: $551,591. Community Action program: a grant of $34,210 to the Economic Opportunity Program, Inc., in Miami. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $545,000 to the Dade County Board of Public Instruction.

GEORGIA—Adult basic education allotment: 734,846. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $11,483 to the Slash Pine Area Planning and Development Commission. 2, a grant of $10,550 to the Southwest Georgia Planning and Development Commission. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $100,000 to the Cartersville School Board.

HAWAII—Adult basic education allotment: $79,379.

IDAHO—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. Job Corps center: Mounlain Home Center in Elmore County.

ILLINOIS—Adult basic education allotment: $798,298. Community Action program: 1, a technical assistance grant of $229,000 to the Committee on Urban Opportunity. Job Corps center: Golconda Center in Pope County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $160,000 to the Dixon State School.

INDIANA—Adult basic education allotment: $275,048. Community Action program: a technical assistance grant of $74,000 to the office of the Governor. Job Corps center: Branchville Center in Perry County.

IOWA—Adult basic education allotment: $108,163.

KANSAS—Adult basic education allotment: $94,246.

KENTUCKY—Adult basic education allotment: $475,553. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $19,447 to the Breathitt County Action Program. 2, a grant of $299,242 to the Council of the Southern Mountains for the Appalachia Volunteers Program. VISTA Volunteers: 1, 14 volunteers to work and live in eight Kentucky counties in response to a joint request from the Council of Southern Mountains and Appalachia Volunteers. 2, Three volunteers to organize comcommunity councils in Knox County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $22,000 to the Covington public schools. Work experience program: A grant of $9,600,000 for work experience and training projects in nine Eastern Kentucky counties.

LOUISIANA—Adult basic education allotment: $684,393. Community Action program: A grant of $132,000 to the office of the Governor. Work experience program: three separate projects for a total cost of $516,000 to train 824 persons in Caddo Parish and and Acadia Parish and to hire state staff for work experience programs.

MAINE—Adult basic education allotment: $54,040. Community Action program: a grant of $25,000 to the office of the Governor.

MARYLAND—Adult basic education allotment: $302,584.

MASSACHUSETTS—Adult basic education allotment: $381,461. Community Action program: 1, a technical-assistance grant of $116,000 to the office of the Governor. 2, a grant of $79,308 to the Mayor's Committee on the War on Poverty in New Bedford.

MICHIGAN—Adult basic education allotment: $523,304. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $191,572 to Total Action Against Poverty in Detroit. 2, a training grant of $1,830 to Total Action Against Poverty in Detroit. Job Corps center: Hoxey Center in Wexford County. Neighborhood Youth Corps: a grant of $965,000 to Total Action Against Poverty in Detroit.

MINNESOTA—Adult basic education allotment: $152,737. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $33,240 to Community Health and Welfare Council, Inc., for Minneapolis and Hennepin County. 2, a grant of $43,430 to Citizens' Economic Opportunity Committee for Ramsey County in St. Paul. Job Corps Centers: 1, Chippewa Ranch Center in Nahnomen County. 2, Isabella Center in Lake County.

Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $1,220,000 to the Minnesota Department of Conservation.

MISSISSIPI—Adult basic education allotment: $429,207.

MISSOURI—Adult basic education allotment: $377,037. Community Action program: a grant of $857,634 to the St. Louis Human Development corporation. Job Corps centers: 1, Poplar Bluff Center in Butler County. 2, Mingo Center in Stoddard County. VISTA Volunteers: Three volunteers to work with youth in Ripley County.

MONTANA—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

NEBRASKA—Adult basic education allotment: $63,320. Community Action program: A technical assistance grant of $26,000 to the office of the Governor.

NEVADA—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. VISTA Volunteers: Eight volunteers to work in a Las Vegas program called Operation Independence.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Adult basic education allotment: $50,000.

NEW JERSEY—Adult basic education allotment: $561,561. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $202,750 to the Jersey City Neighborhood and Community Delevolpment Organization, Inc. 2, a grant of $82,050 to United Progress, Inc., in Trenton. Urban Job Corps center: Camp Kilmer, for 2,500 young men, under contract of $11,520,000 with International Telephone and Telegraph's Federal Electric Corporation and Rutgers University. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $90,000 to the Board of Education in Trenton.

NEW MEXICO—Adult basic education allotment: $111,004. Work experience program: A grant of $18,000 for supervisory staff at the state level.

NEW YORK—Adult basic education allotment: $1,670,097. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $50,000 to the Borough of Manhattan Community College. 2, a grant of $289,652 to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University. 3, a grant of $314,329 to Syracuse University. Neighborhood Youth Corps: 1, a grant of $155,000 to the Board of Education in Buffalo. 2, a grant of $5,000,000 to the Poverty Operations Board in New York City.

NORTH CAROLINA—Adult basic education allotment: $819,068. Community Action program: A grant of $109,700 to the North Carolina Fund.

NORTH DAKOTA — Adult basic education allotment: $50,000. Community Action program: A grant of $58,189 to the Devil's Lake Sioux Tribal Council.

OHIO—Adult basic education allotment: $650,261. Community Action program: 1, a grant of $513,194 to the Community Action Commission of Cincinnati. 2, a grant of $9,570 to the War Against Poverty Commission in Martin's Ferry. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $250,000 to the Board of Education in Cincinnati.

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DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST!

PRESIDENT ALLOTS $82 MILLION MORE TO FIGHT POVERTY

Pov Prog

162 Projects Listed in All States — $20 Million for New York and Vicinity

12-17-64

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By MARJORIE HUNTER
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Continued on Page 30, Column 4

$82 MILLION MORE TO FIGHT POVERTY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

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¶Loans totaling $29,500 were made to four small-business men in the Pittsburgh area by the Small Business Administration.

The Offices of Economic Opportunity, which is directing the antipoverty efforts, also disclosed that nearly 450 colleges and universities had indicated they would take part in the work-study program.

Under work-study, the Federal Government and the colleges and institutions will finance the cost of providing on-campus or off-campus jobs for students from needy families.

Another antipoverty program—one offering small loans to low-income rural families—will begin tomorrow when the Farmers Home Administration begins accepting loan applications. The loans, up to $2,500, would be used to finance small family businesses and farming enterprises.

Job Corps Names Chief For Its Women's Centers

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 16—Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, principal of Cardozo High School in Washington, was named today as Director of the Women's Training Centers of the Job Corps, a part of the Government's antipoverty program.

Job Corps centers for women have not yet been established, but the first may open this spring. They will train disadvantaged young women between the ages of 16 and 22 in a variety of job skills.

Dr. Washington has been visiting professor in the department of guidance and personnel at New York University for the last 12 summers. She has written extensively on the problems of urban youth.

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JOHNSON WEIGHS A $2 BILLION FUND TO FIGHT POVERTY

Pov Program

Considers Asking Congress for That Sum Next Year—Favorable Reaction Seen

12-18-64

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17 — President Johnson is expected to ask Congress to step up the war on poverty with a multi-billion-dollar appropriation next year.

A $2 billion request is under consideration but has not been decided upon, it was learned today. Such an appropriation would more than double the antipoverty allotment for the fiscal year ending next June 30.

President Johnson had sought $962.5 million for the program. Congress appropriated $784.2 million.

If Congress agreed to appropriate $2 billion during the fiscal year starting next July 1, it would not mean that $2 billion would actually be spent in that fiscal year. Part of the increase could spill over into later years.

Willingness Foreseen

With antipoverty funds now flowing to cities and communities throughout the nation, Administration officials believe that Congress will be willing to increase the appropriation substantially next year.

To date, the Office of Economic Opportunity, which is administering the antipoverty program, has committed $117 million for 212 separate projects in every state and the territories.

A large portion of the money has gone directly to assist states, cities and communities in conducting antipoverty programs of their own.

The largest of these community-action grants have gone to cities with coordinated antipoverty programs already well under way. Chicago has received grants totaling $4,343,571, Detroit $3,403,759, Los Angeles $2,729,683, Atlanta $1,080,000.

However, the big cities have no monopoly on antipoverty funds. Of the 75 community-action grants made so far, some have gone to Indian reservations; mountain counties in Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee and West Virginia, and to poor rural areas in Louisiana, Arkansas and Virginia.

Youth Corps Funds

Large sums also have been allocated to establish Neighborhood Youth Corps in urban and rural areas of 23 states. These Youth Corps programs will provide part-time jobs for young people still in school and full-time jobs for those not in school.

Work-experience programs—designed to provide training and work experience for adults now on relief rolls—have been set up in nine states and the Virgin Islands.

Allocations totaling $18,344,000 have been made to every state, the District of Columbia and the territories to set up adult basic education programs. Within the next six months, 30,000 adults are expected to be attending such courses.

Recruiting already is underway for the Job Corps, a two-part program designed to pro-

Continued on Page 20, Column 7

$2 BILLION DRIVE ON POVERTY SEEN

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

vide up to 40,000 young people with remedial education and intensive job training.

Sites for 59 Job Corps Conservation Camps have been chosen in 28 states. The first camp, in the Catoctin Mountains of Maryland, will open next month. Others will open in the spring and summer.

Three sites have been chosen for Job Corps urban training centers. These centers, which will open within two months, will be at three former military installations—Camp Kilmer, N. J., Camp Gary, Tex., and Tongue Point Naval Station, Oregon.

Private industry, under contract with the Government, will assist in training youths at some of the urban Job Corps centers.

For instance, International Telephone and Telegraph's Federal Electric Corporation has signed an $11,520,000 contract with the Government to train up to 2,500 young men at the Camp Kilmer center to become cooks, waiters, welders, mechanics, office workers and dozens of other kind of workers.

Federal Electric Corporation, best known for developing the Distant Early Warning System for the Air Force, will work with Rutgers University in the job-training program. The contract provides for a 4.7 per cent fee to the corporation for operating the program.

Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, said he hoped to interest more private industries into entering contracts for operating job centers.

Another part of the antipoverty program soon to go into action is VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), the domestic counterpart of the Peace Corps.

Ninety-nine VISTA volunteers will begin training next month and will then be assigned to migrant camps, city slums, mountain communities and other areas in nine states.

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THE U.S. STARTS DRIVE TO AID ILLITERATE

Pov Prog.

$13 Million Is Allocated for Adult Education Courses

12-22-64

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 — The Federal Government and the states are teaming up this month to ease one of the nation's most serious educational problems—widespread adult illiteracy.

Using money allotted under the new antipoverty program, the Government distributed a total of $13,344,000 to the states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

The states and territories will set up adult basic-education courses, with training in reading, writing and arithmetic. About 30,000 persons are expected to begin training this year.

The courses will be open to persons 18 years of age and older who have not completed elementary school.

Based on 1960 census figures, an estimated total of 22.1 million adults 25 years of age and older have completed less than eight years of formal schooling; 11,472,732 of these have completed six years or less of schooling.

The problem is not confined to any one area, although on a percentage basis it is most widespread in the South.

New York State leads the nation in the number of "functional illiterates" (those with eight years of schooling or less). About 2 million adults in the state fall in this category.

Ranking next is Texas, with 1.5 million; Pennsylvania, 1.49 million; California, 1.3 million, and Illinois, a little over 1 million.

Recent surveys have shown that low-educational level is the single most widespread cause of poverty. It is characteristic of 67 per cent of low-income families.

Youth Centers Set Up

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21 (UPI) — The Labor Department announced today the establishment of youth opportunity centers in 18 cities as a supplement to the Federal antipoverty program to check soaring teen-age unemployment.

Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz said this would be the first of an expected 105 such centers to be situated in major metropolitan areas.

They will be charged with helping young people receive job training, part-time work to help them remain in school and other remedial programs.

4,500 Volunteer for Work In Poverty-Area Corps

Pov Prog

WASHINGTON, Dec. 27 (AP) —The director of the budding domestic peace corps said today 4,500 persons had applied for places in the organization.

He said the volunteers would be chosen largely on a self-selection basis after a close-up look at poverty.

Glen W. Ferguson, director of Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), said that after preliminary screening and training "we will take the candidate and place him in the environment of poverty for four to six weeks where he will be trained in the environment where we hope to have him living and working."

Such an environment, Mr. Ferguson said on the Radio Press International's program, "From the People," might be an urban slum, an Indian reservation, a migrant farm workers' camp or some other focus of poverty. NYT 12/28/64

Bomb Explodes in Cyprus Port

Poverty War Falters As Factory Fails

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

(Copyright 1964 by the New York Times Co.)

WILLIAMSON, W.Va.—The collapse of the first big federally assisted effort to revive the stagnant Appalachian region by creating diversified industry has left a bitter legacy here for both the rescuers and the rescued.

Until last Friday, when the National Seating and Dimension Co., Inc., closed its doors just ahead of an encircling posse of creditors, the company's venture into the manufacture of "dimensions" — finished parts for the wood furniture industry—was symbolic of the promised new deal.

The program began with John F. Kennedy's presidential primary campaign in this state in 1960. Since then the federal government has sought to deliver a massive amount of assistance to get the 11-state Appalachian region on its feet.

With $1.8 million in financing, most of it 4 per cent federal loans from the Area Development Administration and the Small Business Administration in Washington, the new woodworking plant here had created over 100 jobs, but practically no profits.

Now the jobs are gone, and according to officials of the West Virginia Office of Employment Security, many who held them have left to seek work in Ohio and Illinois.

MANAGEMENT MISTAKES

There is considerable evidence that the company's failure came largely as a result of management mistakes.

"It's not that you can't train a coal miner to be a woodworker," one company official said. "We proved that you can train them—but it takes a hell of a lot more money than anyone thought it would. These men are not used to working for $1.25 an hour, and wages in the furniture industry are not high."

Efforts to overcome the National Seating Co.'s failure and to revive the plant here by finding a buyer for the ready-made $675,000 tax write-off are under way.

TYPICAL TARGET

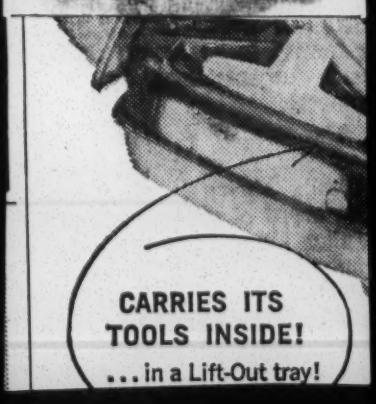
This city is a typical Appalachian target area—a dirty, peeling, railroad town tucked away on the Kentucky border in a narrow Tug Fork flatland between the pointed silhouettes of cone-shaped mountains.

At the Chamber of Commerce building, whose walls are made of blocks of coal, Williamson is billed as "the heart of the billion-dollar coalfield." The smog of soft-coal smoke in the surrounding draws and hollows gives the city's motto a certain gritty authenticity.

But coal long ago ceased to make a sufficient contribution to the economy.

The unemployment rate is 13.9 per cent—"a whole lot better than it was when it was 30 per cent in 1959 and 1960," an unemployment security official said.

The National Seating venture was started in 1962 at Varney, 17 miles, or three mountains, east of here. The plant is the newest and most modern in the dimension industry, according to government spokesmen.



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

GPO : 1964 O—743-538

FACTS

What is the Neighborhood Youth Corps?

A program to help youth stay in school and to start them toward constructive careers by providing work experience.

How was the Corps Established?

By the Department of Labor to carry out the youth work-training program under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the basic Federal legislation to fight poverty.

Who is Eligible for the Youth Corps?

Unemployed young men and women, age 16 to 22, who need part-time work to stay in school or return to the classroom, or who need full-time work experience to equip them for jobs in today's market.

What Sort of Work Will Corps Members Perform?

Work which will serve the community and which would otherwise not be performed.

Specifically, What Sort of Occupations are Involved?

Jobs developed will include nurse aides, hospital orderlies, assistant dieticians, teachers' aids, playground attendants, arts and crafts assistants, and similar occupations.

Must a Youth be Out of School and Out of Work to Qualify?

No. Encouragement will be given youth who want to combine schooling with part-time work in the Corps.

What about Rates of Pay for Corps Members Assigned to These Jobs?

The law requires Youth Corps wages to be based upon starting rates in the occupation in which the enrollee works. With proven ability, enrollees' pay can go to the full starting rate.

Apart from Wages, What Might be Some of the Longer-Range Benefits on a Young Person's Service in Neighborhood Youth Corps?

Youth who work on Youth Corps projects will develop abilities in occupations where workers are in demand. They will acquire work habits and many will be able to continue their education. They will also receive essential counseling and guidance. All factors will make possible greater employability and more creative lives.

Who Initiates Projects Under the Neighborhood Youth Corps?

State and local governments and private nonprofit service and welfare organizations.

Will Members of the Corps be Required to Travel to Areas other than Their Hometowns?

No. Enrollees will work, and continue to live in their own communities; where their backgrounds will be of greatest use, and their efforts of greatest impact.

How does the Neighborhood Youth Corps Differ from the Job Corps, Another Key Part of the Economic Opportunity Act?

Job Corps members will live in residential centers and work and study away from home.

What Kind of Work Schedules will be Expected of Corps Members?

The law permits an extensive degree of flexibility. Some may work full-time; others may combine part-time work with either attendance at high school or other educational activity.

There will be part-time and weekend jobs for school students who need income, and summertime jobs during the school vacation periods.

What is the Project Size of the Neighborhood Youth Corps?

The Congress has authorized up to 200,000 enrollees nationally in any given year.

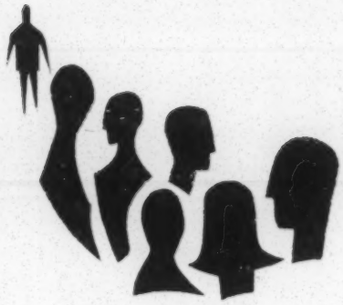
How are Costs of Corps Projects Financed?

The Federal Government will pay 90 percent of all costs; at the start local sponsoring organizations will be required to provide the other ten percent. Facilities and equipment provided by local sponsors will be accepted as all or part of their shares.

How can Individuals or Prospective Sponsors Obtain Additional Information on the Neighborhood Youth Corps?

By writing to the Neighborhood Youth Corps, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 20210, or inquiring at their State Employment Office.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS



THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

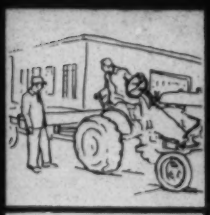
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

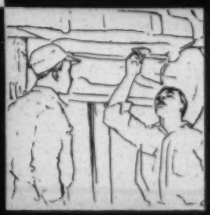
WHAT IS THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS?

AN EMPLOYER'S GUIDE TO

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

UNDER THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT





U. S.
DEPARTMENT
OF LABOR
W. Willard Wirtz,
Secretary

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NEW YORK TIMES, WE

U.S. AIDING TEXAS IN BIRTH CONTROL

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Federal Funds Likely to Be Given Other Applicants

Poverty - Econ. Opportun.
1-6-65

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5—Federal funds to assist local communities in birth control programs have been made available to one city and are likely to be granted to others.

The first grant was given recently to Corpus Christi, Tex., by the new Office of Economic Opportunity, which is administering the Federal Government's antipoverty program.

At least two other cities—Milwaukee and Washington—are seeking Federal funds for birth control clinics as part of their organized antipoverty programs.

The decision to allow Federal participation in birth control programs was made shortly after plans were drawn up last year for a national attack on poverty.

Sargent Shriver, who directed the drafting of the Federal antipoverty legislation and now heads the Office of Economic Opportunity, said publicly last March 22 that Federal funds would be made available for such a purpose if communities sought them.

In the $295,200 community-action grant to Corpus Christi, $12,580 is earmarked for birth control information and mobile clinics.

Milwaukee's decision to seek birth control funds was made yesterday by the Social Development Commission of Greater Milwaukee, which has been drafting an antipoverty program for that city.

A somewhat similar grant is being sought by the United Planning Organization, coordinator of the antipoverty program in the District of Columbia.

Econ. Fed

NYT 1-7-65

LE

2 Manpower Aides Named

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6 (AP)—The creation of two regional committees to advise the Government on manpower training programs was announced today. Dr. Harold C. Taylor, director of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research at Kalamazoo, Mich., was named chairman of the committee for the North Central States. Jerre S. Williams, University of Texas law professor, will head the committee for the Southwestern states.

Poverty - Job Corps

TRAINING IS STARTED BY JOB CORPS STAFF

LE 1-7-65

Special to The New York Times

THURMONT, Md., Jan. 6—Some 100 staff workers who will open the first five Youth Job Corps centers across the nation began training near here today.

Under a program at Catoctin Mountain Park, they will convert their talents to assorted assignments, from cook to director, before opening the centers early next month.

The Job Corps is part of the Office of Economic Opportunity, which is spearheading President Johnson's antipoverty program. It is designed to aid youths between the ages of 16 and 21 gain the education and job skills they now lack.

The 100 staff workers will live and train for three weeks at a camp, which will be turned into one of the first five centers.

The other camps will be at Arrowwood, N. C.; Ouachita, Ark.; Winslow, Ariz., and Tillamook, Ore.

The Job Corps hopes to enroll 40,000 youths during the first year of its inception, a spokesman said in Washington.

NYT Jan 17, 1965

List of Projects Designated by President in Antipoverty Program

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17—Following is the list of Federal antipoverty projects announced today in Texas by President Johnson:

ALASKA—Work experience program: 1. Gila River Reservation, four volunteers will be sponsored by the Gila River Indian Community Tribal Council. 2. Salt River Reservation, two volunteers will work under the supervision of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community Tribal Council.

ARKANSAS—Work experience program: A grant of $15,300 for training unemployed parents now on relief in Arkansas.

CALIFORNIA—Work experience program: Seven projects totaling $3,811,265, to train unemployed parents on relief in Contra Costa County, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Santa Clara, Shasta County and Ventura and for supervisory staff at the state level. Job corps: An $85,000 contract with the Systems Development Corporation of Santa Monica to operate a computer-based information processing and retrieval system.

CONNECTICUT—Community action program: A grant of $26,969 to the Stamford Committee on Training and Employment.

FLORIDA—Vista Volunteers: In Miami, 12 volunteers will serve in antipoverty programs supervised by the Miami Housing Authority.

GEORGIA—Community action program. 1. A grant of $29,154 to the University of Georgia Institute of Community and Area Development in Athens. 2. A grant of $10,325 to the Chattahoochee Area Planning and Developing Commission. 3. A grant of $10,992 to the Heart of Georgia Planning and Redevelopment Commission. 4. A grant of $11,177 to the Macom-Bibb County Economic Opportunity Council. 5. A grant of $10,260 to the Coastal Plain Area Planning and Development Commission in Valdosta. 6. A grant of $16,192 to the West Central Georgia Area Planning and Development Commission. 7. A grant of $19,005 to the Central Savannah River Area Planning and Development Commission. Rural family loans: 1. A loan of $2,500 to enable a father of 10 in Blairsville to purchase a small farm. 2. A loan of $2,200 to enable a poor farmer to retain her farm in Griffin.

HAWAII—Community action program: A technical assistance grant of $25,000 to the Hawaii Office of Economic Opportunity.

INDIANA—Urban Job Corps Center: Camp Atterbury, near Edinburg, under contract with the Midwest Education Foundation in conjunction with Indiana University and Adler Educational System of New Rochelle, N. Y., costing $10,828,000 for 18 month.

KENTUCKY—Vista Volunteers: 1. Breathitt County: Four volunteers will serve under the supervision of the Breathitt County Board of Education and the Community Action Committee of Jackson. 2. Harlan County: Four volunteers will serve in two programs under the supervision of the Harlan County Community Development Council. 3. Floyd County: Four volunteers will serve in community development and health education programs under the supervision of the Floyd County Planning and Development Association. Urban Job Corps Center: Camp Breckinridge, near Morganfield, is to be operated under contract with Southern Illinois University in conjunction with the University of Kentucky and General Electric Company's Appliance Division of Louisville, costing $10.. million for 18 months.

MARYLAND—Community Action Program: 1. A technical assistance grant of $63,000 to the Maryland Office of Economic Opportunity. 2. A demonstration grant of $112,650 to the Health and Welfare Council in Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS—Community Action Program: 1. A grant of $206,211 to Action for Boston Community Development, Inc. 2. A grant of $47,714 to the Springfield Action Commission, Inc. Vista Volunteers: Boston: 12 volunteers will serve in the Boston State Hospital as aides to patients and staff. Neighborhood Youth Corps: 1. A grant of $1,275,000 to Action for Boston Community Development, Inc. 2. A grant of $450,000 to the Fall River School Department. Work experience: a grant of $48,500 for training unemployed parents on relief in Massachusetts.

MICHIGAN—Community action program: 1. A grant of $65,885 to the Wayne County Board of Supervisors. 2. A grant of $77,033 to the Lansing School District. 3. A demonstration grant of $188,252 to the University of Michigan. Job corps center: Ojibway Center in Gogebic County.

MISSOURI—Community action program: 1. A grant of $29,700 to the Douglas County University Extension in Ava. 2. A grant of $15,790 to the Shannon County Area Development Corporation in Eminence. 3. A grant of $27,600 to the Texas County Area Development Corporation.

MINNESOTA—Community action program: A technical assistance grant of $70,089 to the Minnesota Office of Economic Opportunity. Vista Volunteers: 1. Fond du Lac Reservation, four volunteers will live and work in four Chippewa communities. 2. Grand Portage (Pigeon River) Reservation, three volunteers will provide varied social services. 3. Leech Lake Reservation, six volunteers will work in varied programs. 4. Minnetonka, five volunteers will serve in the Oak Terrace Nursing Home. 5. White Earth Reservation, four volunteers will assist Chippewa communities. Work experience: a grant of $12,400 for training unemployed parents on relief in Minnesota. Job corps center: Portage Lake Center in Cass County.

MISSISSIPPI—Rural family loans: A loan of $2,270 to a Carthage rural family.

NEBRASKA—Rural family loans: A loan of $2,500 to modernize and expand a small shoe repair business in Hartington, Cedar County.

NEW HAMPSHIRE—Community action program: A technical assistance grant of $25,000 to the New Hampshire Office of Economic Opportunity.

NEW JERSEY—Community action program: 1. A grant of $67,109 to the Monmouth Community Action Program, Inc., in Asbury Park. 2. A grant of $267,315 to the United Community Corporation in Newark and the Essex County Youth and Economic Rehabilitation Commission. Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $680,000 to the New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity. Rural family loans: A loan of $1,700 to a Hammonton, Atlantic County, farmer.

NEW MEXICO—Rural family loans: A loan of $2,500 to a rural family in Capitan, Lincoln County.

NEW YORK—Community action program: 1. A grant of $130,205 to the Community Action Program Committee in New Rochelle. 2. A grant of $127,157 to the Graduate School of Social Work at New York University. 3. A $12,339 grant to the Plattsburgh-Clinton County Joint Council for Economic Opportunity in Plattsburgh. Vista Volunteers: New York City, five volunteers will serve in the Henry Street Settlement House. Rural family loans: A loan of $2,500 to a low-income farmer, Sidney Center, Delaware County.

NORTH CAROLINA—Vista Volunteers: Durham County, 10 volunteers will work under the supervision of Operation Breakthrough, a countrywide antipoverty organization. Rural family loans: A loan of $1,500 to a Swansboro, Onslow County, commercial fishing enterprise.

NORTH DAKOTA—Vista Volunteers: Fort Berthold Reservation, three volunteers sponsored by the Business Council of the Arikara, Hidatsa and Mandan tribes.

OHIO—Neighborhood Youth Corps: A grant of $490,000 to the Cleveland Board of Education. Work experience: 1. A grant of $25,000 for supervisory staff at the state level. 2. A grant of $189,948 for training unemployed heads of families in Lorain County. Community action program: A technical assistance grant of $213,000 to the Ohio Office of Economic Opportunity.

RHODE ISLAND—Community action program: a grant of $30,973 to Progress for Providence, Inc., in Providence.

SOUTH CAROLINA—Community action program: a technical assistance grant of $51,635 to the South Carolina Office of Economic Opportunity. Rural family loans: a loan of $2,500 to a low-income rural family in Effingham, Florence County.

SOUTH DAKOTA—Community action program: a grant of $84,155 to the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux Tribal Council in Pine Ridge. Vista Volunteers: Pine Ridge Reservation, eight volunteers to work under sponsorship of the Tribal Council of the Oglala Sioux.

TENNESSEE—Community action program: 1. A grant of $25,866 to the Livingston Development Corporation, Inc. for the Upper Cumberland Counties. Vista Volunteers will work under the supervision of the Livingston, Byrdstown, Jamestown and Cookesville Development Corporation, Inc., a private nonprofit organization.

TEXAS—Vista Volunteers: San Antonio; 12 volunteers will work under the supervision of Action for Community Development, Inc. Rural family loans: a loan of $2,500 to a low-income farmer in Long Branch, Panola County.

UTAH—Vista Volunteers: Uintah and Duray Reservation; two volunteers will be sponsored by the Uintah and Ouray Tribal Business Committee.

WASHINGTON—Vista Volunteers: Buckley; 12 volunteers will serve in the Rainier School, a state institution for the mentally retarded.

WEST VIRGINIA—Vista Volunteers: McDowell County; six volunteers will work under the supervision of the Council of the Southern Mountains, McDowell County chapter.

WISCONSIN—Job corps center: Blackwell Center in Forest County. Rural family loans: a loan of $2,500 to a rural television repairman in Merrillan, Jackson County.

TERRITORIES—Work experience: a grant of $5,440,800 to establish work-experience programs in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

NATIONWIDE—Neighborhood Youth Corps: $20 million to establish a summer job program for 50,000 high school students.

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WATCH THIS SPACE FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON "HOW TO MURDER YOUR WIFE"

Poverty Prog 2 (2E)

Sanders Names 6 More To Lead War on Poverty

Ga Cons 1-8-65

Gov. Carl Sanders appointed six new staff members for Georgia's anti-poverty program Thursday.

The $10,000-a-year regional consultants will work with the Georgia Office of Economic Opportunity.

The new consultants will serve five geographic areas of the state, with one at-large staff member. They include:

Jackson County School Superintendent Frary Elrod of Jefferson, who will serve the Coosa Valley, Georgia Mountains and Northeast Georgia Area Planning and Development commissions.

Alex S. Boyer Jr. of Sylvania, Central Savannah River, Oconee and South Central Georgia commissions, as well as for Savannah and nearby unaffiliated counties.

Jere N. Moore of Milledgeville, for the counties around Macon and immediately south of Atlanta, as wel as the Chattahoochee Commission.

Bob Short of Jekyll Island, Altamaha, Coastal, Slash Pine and Coastal Plains commissions. He is a former press assistant to Gov. Sanders.

Walter Hewett, who will move to Albany to work with the Lower Chattahoochee, West Georgia and Southwest Georgia commissions.

Joseph B. Mahan Jr. of Columbus, state-at-large.

POVERTY PROGRAM FACING OVERHAUL

Pov Prog—Gen

President Seeks Best Plan to Aid Depressed Areas

1-22-65

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 — President Johnson is taking a hard look at existing economic aid programs to find the best formula for helping depressed areas throughout the nation.

A Presidential aide said today that Mr. Johnson "is working on that whole area of economic growth' and would submit his recommendations to Congress this spring.

There are indications that the Administration is leaning strongly toward the regional approach used in the Appalachia bill, which is expected to reach the Senate floor next week.

This would be in contrast to the present programs, now nearly defunct, which provide Federal aid to scattered communities.

One of these, the area redevelopment program, is due to expire next June 30 unless it is renewed by Congress. Efforts to push through an extension failed in the waning days of Congress last fall.

Area Grants Allocated

The Area Redevelopment Administration is virtually out of business. All its money for grants has been allocated. The only funds left, a few million dollars, are earmarked for loans to urban businesses and for technical assistance to communities.

The other program, accelerated public works, ran out of money nearly a year ago. A bill to pump more money into the program failed to clear Congress last fall.

Area redevelopment and accelerated public works were two of the major weapons in President Kennedy's efforts to aid economically depressed communities.

The A.R.A. has allocated approximately $400 million in loans and grants for building public facilities; loans to industries to generate new jobs; grants for retraining jobless workers, and technical assistance for studies to evaluate community needs and potentials.

About $900 million in Federal funds has been allocated under the accelerated public works program to create jobs in constructing public buildings, water systems, hospitals and other public facilities.

Find Relief Temporary

Both these Kennedy-backed programs focused largely on widely scattered communities, as opposed to entire regions.

Some critics have said that such scattered aid provides little more than temporary economic props for towns that can never expect to become thriving communities.

The wiser approach, many within the Administration now believe, is to pump money into a more limited number of communities that have potential for economic growth. Roads from the less promising communities could be built to provide better access to towns singled out for heavy doses of Federal aid, they argue.

To carry out this more selective program of aid would require a regional approach, such as is contemplated under the Appalachia bill, one Administration official has said.

Mr. Johnson is under heavy pressure in Congress to seek legislation aiding regions outside the 10-state Appalachia region.

Johnson Opposes Move

Seeking to obtain a commitment for such regional aid from the President, members of Congress from Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan have proposed adding an amendment to the Appalachia bill to create an Upper Great Lakes development authority.

The White House is strongly resisting this move. The President wants the Appalachia bill "to go through unencumbered," Senator Jennings Randolph, Democrat of West Virginia said today.

That was the word from a Presidential aide who telephoned Mr. Randolph today just as two days of hearings on the Appalachia bill were ending.

"The President says Appalachia is top priority," Mr. Randolph said.

The Senator said he expected the $1,077,000,000 Appalachia development measure to clear the Senate Public Works Committee, of which he is a member, next week and go to the floor for quick action.

Testifying today in support of the bill were four Governors of Appalachian states—William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania, Hulett C. Smith of West Virginia, Carl E. Sanders of Georgia and Edward T. Breathitt of Kentucky.

1-22-65

Shriver Aide Is Named

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 (AP) —Dr. Joseph A. Kershaw, provost of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., was named today to take charge of measuring the effectiveness of the antipoverty program.

Sargent Shriver, who heads the Office of Economic Opportunity, said that Mr. Kershaw would be an assistant director in charge of the research plans and evaluation staff.

filed in Appointments

Pres's Comm.

Equal Opp. Off. - Gen

JOB CORPS RECEIVES 50,000 APPLICATIONS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP)—Otis Singletary, director of the Job Corps, said today that 50,000 applications for training had been received in less than a month of recruiting.

He said the flood of applications, still pouring in, refuted critics who had said youths would not be interested in living in camps to work and train for jobs.

Mr. Singletary spoke to a Plans for Progress conference sponsored by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and a citizens advisory council. The Plans for Progress program is a joint undertaking by the committee and several hundred major companies aimed at eliminating job discrimination.

Mr. Singletary asked the 500 business representatives to work directly with the Job Corps to find employment opportunities for the youths when they complete the training.

In an interview, he said he expected applications to reach 100,000. The Job Corps expects to be able to handle 40,000 in the first year.

Many of those screened out will be referred to other programs, such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps and community-action programs, which are also part of President Johnson's antipoverty campaign.

The Job Corps is for unemployed, out-of-school youths who need basic education as well as job training.

Southwest's Poor Tell of Problems

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times

TUCSON, Ariz., Jan. 26—Tourists and magazine readers know the Southwest as a land of bright sunshine, breath-taking scenery and a wealth of natural resources feeding an endless boom in everything from oil to agriculture and real estate.

For the last two days here, however, regional spokesmen in many fields have been examining the Southwest's hidden face: the face of poverty.

In many vital respects, the consensus was tonight, the Southwest is another Appalachia.

The five states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California have some 30 million inhabitants. These include two-thirds of the nation's six million Spanish-speaking people, about 2.5 million Negroes, and nearly 200,000 Indians.

Representatives of these and other groups met in Tucson to tell their troubles at a conference aimed at gearing the Administration's antipoverty program to regional needs.

Humphrey and Shriver Attend

Among 500 participants forming the sounding board were Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Sargent Shriver, director of the Peace Corps and of the new Office of Economic Opportunity, the main antipoverty agency.

The witnesses were blunt in delineating the dimensions of the poverty problem.

"Some big agricultural operators have caused an immense amount of human suffering by paying far less than a living wage," one man said. "These groups of willful men oppose labor unions because their minds are in the 18th century. The economic philosophy of many of our citizens is thoroughly primitive."

The speaker was neither a labor leader nor a disgruntled worker, but the region's foremost churchman in the humanitarian field: Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio, Tex.

A fellow citizen of San Antonio a few minutes later described another aspect of the situation. She was a slender, soft-voiced Negro girl, Gwendolyn Terrell, 17 years old. The oldest of five children born in Aberdeen, Miss., she went to live with grandparents in San Antonio while her mother moved from city to city doing housework.

'Wanted to Be Somebody'

"I'm trying to work my way through St. Phillip's College," she told a panel of poverty-program officials. "I would like to be a teacher. I work from 4 in the afternoon to 10 at night as a cook's helper. I get paid $43 every two weeks.

"All my life I've wanted to be somebody—so my children wouldn't have to live like I do."

The conference was sponsored by some 50 national labor, religious and welfare organizations. The co-chairmen were James Patton, president of the National Farmers Union; Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers; and the Rev. James Vizzard S.J., an officer of the national Council on Agricultural Life and Labor. Federal Agencies contributed $39,000, most of it going toward the attendance of individuals who could speak with first-hand knowledge of poverty.

These ranged from Havasupai Indians who live deep in the Grand Canyon to a San Joaquin Valley mother, a farm worker for 22 years, who is worried about her 16-year-old dropout son and the "second-class citizenship" to which farm work consigned them.

The woman, Mrs. Violet Rotan of Plainview, Calif., said she usually made $25 a week picking fruit. Slender and intense, she touched off sympathetic laughter when a California official asked if tomato-picking classified as "stoop labor."

"Well," she said, "tomatoes don't grow on trees."

Growers Criticized

"The poverty of farm workers was created by the big growers of this country," she went on. "But the legislatures have done more than anyone else to keep us there by making us second-class citizens. Your hour and wage laws read 'farm workers excepted.' Unemployment insurance: 'farm workers excepted.' All your labor laws, the right to organize, collective bargaining, the right to have a voice—'farm workers excepted.' Health and welfare laws exclude most farm workers."

A Mexican-American drug salesman from Houston, Roy Elizonda, attested that Southwestern poverty was not confined to rural areas. Although Houston is known as the home of the nation's new Manned Spaceflight Center, he said, 300,000 citizens are in the poverty income bracket.

He said governmental agencies were "two-faced" about poverty, discussing benefits yet themselves fostering substandard wages. He said the new Post Office cafeteria in Houston, operated under a Government concession, paid workers as little as $32 a week, and that a common wage in state schools and hospitals was $185 a month.

Archbishop Lucey said that the Texas Highway Department paid common laborers as little as $1.25 an hour.

"I defy any man to rear a family decently in the United States on $1.25 an hour," he said.

The chairman of the White River Apache Indian tribe, Laster Oliver, said that despite some economic development on the Apache reservation in northeastern Arizona, inferences that they were "well off" were not correct. About half the 1,000 employable men are jobless, he said, because "they don't have specific skills." As a consequence, $500,000 a year welfare payments are made to this tribe.

"I didn't come here for the purpose of seeking a handout," he said. "If this conference can produce ways and means to help the Indians help themselves we'll be much happier than with temporary assistance."

The Havasupai Indians live in a scenic gorge 2,000 feet below the south rim of Grand Canyon. In the lobby of Tucson's Music Center this morning their chief, Stanley Manakaja, informally outlined their poverty problem.

There are 250 in the tribe, and its total annual income is $26,000 a year, derived mostly from packing tourists down into the canyon. Eighty-six per cent of their "labor force" of 35 men and nine women lacks regular work.

Neatly dressed in slacks and a blue zippered jacket, Mr. Manakaja conceded ruefully that he would feel more able to cope with the situation if he himself had not been a dropout after four years of high school at the Indian School at Phoenix.

Tourism the Main Resource

"Our main resource is the tourist business," he said.

"We would like to develop it through building better facilities for visitors, and advertising, which could be financed with tribal funds. If we could get a loan for farm equipment, we could grow alfalfa to feed our horses and save a lot of money."

Vice President Humphrey told the conference last night, referring to the circumstances being reported:

"we cannot permit this to continue in the Southwest. You will have to be the Paul Reveres in the fight against these conditions. Tell people the war is on—that it doesn't have to be fought just in Appalachia or Pennsylvania."

Mr. Shriver hailed the conference's regional approach to poverty as a potential turning point in national attitudes.

"Alleviating poverty has now become fashionable," he remarked. "But a lot of people still want to put plenty of difference between themselves and poverty. To most people there's a dichotomy between 'we, the Americans,' and 'they, the poor.'

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TEN CENTS

SENATE APPROVES $1.1 BILLION IN AID FOR APPALACHIA

Passage, 62-22, Is Victory for Johnson — He Hopes for Swift House Action

NEW YORK MAY BENEFIT

Kennedy, in First Speech on Floor, Wins Move to Study the Inclusion of State

By MARJORIE HUNTER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1 — The Senate passed the Administration's $1.1 billion Appalachia bill today after opening the way for possible inclusion of New York State in the program.

The vote was 62 to 22. It was a major victory for President Johnson, who had placed the measure at the top of his priority list this year.

The bill now goes to the House, which failed to act last year on a similar program of economic aid for the depressed 11-state region known as Appalachia.

President Johnson hailed the Senate action and said he was hopeful of prompt action in the House. The legislation, he said, would benefit not only Appalachia but "the entire nation."

Administration leaders successfully fought off strong efforts to use the Appalachia bill as a vehicle for establishment of other regional development programs in New England, the Ozarks, the Great Plains and the Upper Great Lakes area.

Plans Other Programs

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said he had been assured by President Johnson that other economically depressed regions would not be forgotten.

The President plans to recommend regional development programs under the Area Redevelopment Administration program to the Congress in the next [illegible] Mr. Mansfield reported.

The move to expand Appalachia to include 13 counties was made by Robert F. Kennedy, of New York, who made his maiden speech on the floor.

period.

He offered an amendment, adopted by voice vote, to allow the inclusion of the New York counties subject to approval of the Appalachian Regional Commission and the Governor of New York.

Would Rule on Eligibility

The commission would determine whether the 13 New York counties, the so-called Southern tier, share the social and economic characteristics of counties already in the Appalachia program. If the criteria were met, the commission would ask New York to join the program.

Senator Kennedy accused Governor Rockefeller of being "short-sighted" in failing to place his state under the program.

New York was invited to participate in the conference of Appalachian Governors, which met in 1960 and subsequently devised a regional program leading to the legislation now before Congress.

Senator Kennedy pointed out that New York and several other states had declined to

Continued on Page 16, Column 4

SENATE APPROVES AID TO APPALACHIA

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

take part in the conference. Since then, Ohio and South Carolina have reversed their earlier stands and become a part of Appalachia. The program is based on voluntary state participation.

Conceding that it would still be impossible for New York to become a part of Appalachia unless Governor Rockefeller agrees, Senator Kennedy said, "The door should be kept open."

Terming the Rockefeller decison a "grievous error," Senator Kennedy said he hoped "the Governor would reconsider his short-sighted position in failing to help the counties develop their lagging economies."

The 13 New York counties are geographically part of the Appalachian mountain chain and are largely poor, Senator Kennedy said. More than 23,000 persons, about 12 per cent of the population of those counties, have incomes of under $2,000 a year, he said.

Supported by Javits

Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, backed the Kennedy proposal but insisted that Governor Rockefeller be allowed to participate in the commission study on the possible inclusion of the New York counties. Senator Kennedy agreed to this, and the amendment then passed by voice vote.

The 13 New York counties are Allegany, Broome, Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Chenango, Chemung, Cortland, Delaware, Otsego, Schuyler, Steuben, Tioga and Tompkins.

In a statement released later, Senator Kennedy decribed some cities within the 13 counties as "relatively prosperous." He mentioned Elmira, Binghamton and Jamestown.

It is necessary to include such cities in a regional plan, however, because "they are the base on which the region can build its development," he said.

If Broome County, where Binghamton is situated, were omitted from the regional plan, "Federal assistance for roads for western counties [Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Allegany and Steuben] would have to stop at the Broome County line," Senator Kennedy said.

The New York counties would join 355 other counties in the program, which covers all of West Virginia and parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.

The measure cleared today is considered the first installment of an economic aid program that might eventually bestow as much as $2 billion upon the region.

Appalachia, covering 165,000 square miles, is largely a mountain region of narrow valleys and twisted spurs. It is populated by more than 15 million persons.

Of the $1,092,400,000 authorized under the bill, $840 million would be used to construct 2,350 miles of highways and 1,000 miles of local access roads. The Federal Government would pay 70 per cent of the cost; the states and localities the remainder.

The only real threat to the bill came in a move by Senator Roman L. Hruska, Republican of Nebraska, to eliminate a $17 million program of soil improvement and erosion control.

Such a program, he said, would lead to increased cattle production in the Appalachia region at a time when the beef industry in the Great Plains states was already suffering.

The Hruska amendment was defeated, 56 to 28, after an emotional plea by the bill's floor manager, Senator Jennings Randolph, Democrat of West Virginia.

The bill would also authorize $90 million in grants to help states qualify for existing Federal-aid programs requiring local matching funds.

Another large sum, $36.5 million, would be used for reclamation of land ravaged by strip mining, the principal industry in much of the region. Government officials have estimated that there are millions of acres of abandoned strip-mining land in Appalachia.

The bill would also earmark $41 million for hospital construction, $28 million for hospital maintenance, $16 million for construction of vocational education schools, $5 million for studies of water resources, $5 million for development of timber resources, $6 million for sewage treatment systems, $5.5 million for research and development, and $2.4 million for administration.

Senate Roll-Call on Appalachia

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1 (AP) —Following is the 62-to-22 vote by which the Senate passed today the Administration's $1.09 billion Appalachia region aid bill:

FOR PASSAGE—62

Democrats—51

Anderson (N. M.)	Long (La.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	Magnuson (Wash.)
Bass (Tenn.)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McGee (Wyo.)
Bible (Nev.)	McGovern (S. D.)
Brewster (Md.)	McIntyre (N. H.)
Burdick (N. D.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Byrd (W. Va.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Church (Idaho)	Monroney (Okla.)
Clark (Pa.)	Montoya (N. M.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Morse (Ore.)
Ervin (N. C.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Harris (Okla.)	Pastore (R. I.)
Hart (Mich.)	Pell (R. I.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Randolph (W. Va.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Hill (Ala.)	Russell (Ga.)
Holland (Fla.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Sparkman (Ala.)
Jordan (N. C.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Tydings (Md.)
Kennedy (N. Y.)	Williams (N. J.)
Lausche (Ohio)	Young (Ohio)
Long (Mo.)	

Republicans—11

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N. Y.)
Bennett (Utah)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Case (N. J.)	Morton (Ky.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Smith (Me.)
Fong (Hawaii)	

AGAINST PASSAGE—22

Democrats—7

Byrd (Va.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Eastland (Miss.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (La.)	Stennis (Miss.)
McClellan (Ark.)	

Republicans—15

Allott (Colo.)	Miller (Iowa)
Boggs (Del.)	Mundt (S. D.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Murphy (Calif.)
Cotton (N. H.)	Thurmond (S. C.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Tower (Texas)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Williams (Del.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Young (N. D.)
Jordan (Idaho)	

Not voting, but announced as paired: Saltonstall (R-Mass.) for passage and Pearson (R-Kan.) against; Scott (R-Pa.) for and Simpson (R-Wyo.) against; Johnson (D-S. C.) for and Dominick (R-Colo.) against; Dodd (D-Conn.) for and Hickenlooper (R-Iowa) against.

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From Opportunity Act - Gen

Job Training Centers for Youth Designated for 13 More Areas

Tuly T 2-3-65

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (AP) — Secretary of Labor W. Willar Wirtz announced today that youth opportunity centers would be established in 13 more city areas in 10 states under the antipoverty program.

The designation brings to 44 the number of cities thus far selected under a program to prepare youths between 16 and 21 for job opportunities.

A national network that will eventually include 105 centers will be administered by the United States Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security and its affiliated state employment agencies.

The 44 cities designated thus far have a youth population of more than 2.5 million.

Four of the centers announced today will be established in New York State — at Buffalo, Rochester, Utica-Rome and Albany. The others will be in Atlanta; Baltimore; Detroit; East St. Louis, Ill.; Hartford, Conn.; Minneapolis - St. Paul; Pittsburgh; Portland, Ore., and Tampa, Fla.

Mr. Wirtz said there was a growing number of unemployed and unskilled youths in these and other cities where centers will be established.

"Many of these young people came from backgrounds of poverty and lack the motivation necessary in a competitive society," he said. "These centers will provide an open door to a new world of opportunity for those most in need," he added.

Youths will be referred to the centers by local school systems, Selective Service boards, community agencies and other groups that work with young people. The centers will be staffed by specially trained personnel, many of them graduates of a youth adviser training program sponsored by the Labor Department.

Special emphasis, the department said, will be placed on increasing a youth's chances to obtain a job through enrollment in a neighborhood youth corps or job corps, referral to community agencies for remedial education or medical help, or referral to a skilled-training program.

The total population between 16 and 21 in each of the 13 areas and the number of personnel to staff the centers is as follows:

Atlanta 86,638 and 46; Baltimore 142,446 and 75; Buffalo 100,654 and 53; Detroit 282,984 and 147; East St. Louis 36,862 and 19; Hartford 40,190 and 21; Minneapolis - St. Paul 120,856 and 63; Pittsburgh 185,833 and 97; Portland 64,238 and 34; Rochester 56,171 and 30; Tampa 53,409 and 28; Albany 52,200 and 28, and Utica-Rome 25,370 and 21.

men

Poverty

APPALACHIA—PORTRAIT

Gen

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6—Wedged in between the rich Eastern Seaboard and the prosperous Middle West, Appalachia is often pictured as one huge and faceless poverty statistic.

In truth, it is a region of great contrasts: of backyard swimming pools and surplus food handouts; of luxury mountain resorts and blackened shacks perched on mine-stripped hillsides; of sprawling college campuses and one-room schoolhouses; of great industrial cities and tiny communities far up the hollows.

It is beautiful and scarred, patient and restless, alternately described as the "nation's most stubborn rural slum" and the "figment of the bureaucratic imagination, designed to justify a vast new spending program of the Federal Government."

Common Problems

Appalachia, as any mapmaker will vouch, is indeed a figment of the imagination, but not of the Federal bureaucracy. It is a name, borrowed from the Appalachian Mountain system that threads through the region, used by a group of Governors who got together five years ago to discuss the problems they had in common.

Out of that conference, and subsequent actions on both the state and national levels, the name Appalachia was coined to describe the 11-state region that stretches diagonally for 825 miles from the northwestern tip of Pennsylvania to mid-Alabama.

It embraces all of West Virginia and parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama and, if Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York has his way, it will eventually embrace the 13 Southern Tier counties of New York.

The victim of both geography and automation, Appalachia lags behind the nation as a whole in employment, education, health facilities, housing and virtually every other yardstick used to measure a healthy economy.

While it has its pockets of prosperity—such as industrially rich Pittsburg and Birmingham—it is generally conceded to be the nation's largest economically depressed area.

The reasons are many. Automation has thrown hundreds of thousands of coal miners out of work. Road building in the mountains is nearly twice as costly as in the flatlands, so the region's roads are few and poor, most of them narrow, winding ribbons. Accessible forest stands have been stripped by lumber companies. The streams run red with the sulphuric acid drainage from the open sores of abandoned mines.

Industry, unwilling to settle in a region where floods are frequent, water power is largely unharnessed and roads are inadequate, has largely ignored Appalachia, except in the big cities.

Not a New Concern

It has been said that America discovers Appalachia—or rather, the largely isolated region that now bears that name—about once in every generation.

The most recent discovery, perhaps, can be credited largely to John F. Kennedy, who saw the poverty that marks the region when he campaigned in the West Virginia Presidential primary five years ago.

Spurred on by the determination of the Appalachia Governors to develop a regional development plan, President Kennedy established the President's Appalachian Regional Commission to recommend a comprehensive program.

It is largely this program that is before Congress today—a $1.1 billion Federal program of economic pump-priming to open up the region to more industry, more tourists, more timbering.

The major share of the money—$840 million—would be used to build 2,350 miles of highways and 1,000 miles of access roads. The Federal share would be 70 per cent, the states' share, 30 per cent.

Other millions of dollars would go into flood-control studies, sewage - treatment plants, improvement of timber production and marketing, soil improvement, vocational education schools, new hospitals and restoration of mine-scarred land.

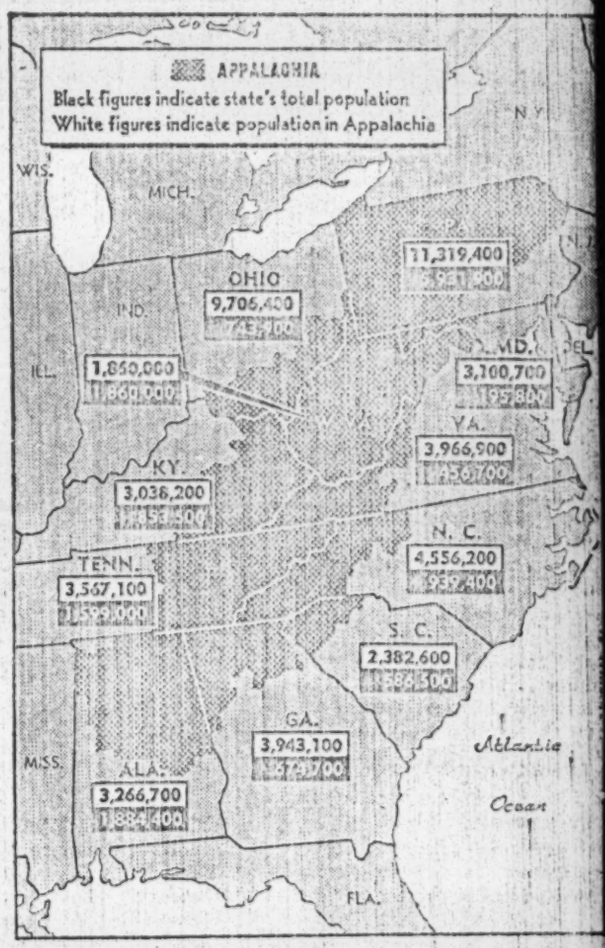
Well aware that $1.1 billion can be stretched only so far in the vast region populated by more than 15 million people, the Appalachia program would concentrate on areas that have "the greatest potential for future growth, and where the expected return on the public dollars will be greatest."

Many little towns and rural areas could never hope to become anything more than "bedroom communities," linked to the growth centers by better highways.

The program is experimental. Government officials frankly admit that they do not know whether it will succeed, for there are no past performances by which to gauge it.

Too, the program would be but part of an over-all effort to bring Appalachia out of poverty. It would be geared largely to economic needs. Other Federal efforts—such as the new nationwide anti-poverty program and the school-aid bill now before Congress—would concentrate on human needs.

Congressional critics of the program have been few, except those who contend their own regions are equally in need of help. The bill cleared the Senate last week with no trouble. The House is expected to approve it within the next month.



Appalachia, the name used to describe the 11-state region shown on the map, lags behind the rest of the country economically. It has become the prime target of the President's war on poverty with an initial $1.1 billion program aimed at improving economic climate.

CHICAGO SETS UP 'FAMILY PLANNING'

Birth Control Plan Is Begun With Grant of U.S. Funds

2-18-65

By AUSTIN C. WEHRWEIN

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Feb. 17 — The Chicago Board of Health started a birth control program today in its own clinics, open to all, regardless of income or married status.

It was described as the most far-reaching in any large American city.

But while the "family planning" program, as it is called, has flexible standards, provision was made for careful screening to avoid "promiscuity and immorality," according to the resolution setting up the program. The major criterion is "health," but the term will be broadly interpreted.

The resolution, which will begin in April, passed the eight-member body without dissent but with one abstention, and the abstaining member said that he had lacked time to study it.

The program, which will be operating with Federal funds, will be set up in six clinics on a pilot basis. It will be free, voluntary and medically supervised. Birth control pills and other devices will be suggested and provided, but never sterilization.

Parent and Child

Dr. Eric Oldberg, the board president, told a news conference that the health of both parent and child would be considered. He said that "broadly interpreted" meant that a child should have at least a 50 per cent chance of succeeding in life.

He also stressed that the people who wanted the devices and advice "ought to come to us." He repeated a section of the resolution that said the Board of Health would avoid controversies having to do with race, religion, tax questions and relief rolls.

He conceded that most of the people who came for help would be the poor who already use the clinics. "If they rode up in a Cadillac they would get kind of a cold shoulder," he commented.

But Dr. Oldberg also emphasized that the program would not be confined to women getting relief or to dependent mothers. He avoided saying so, but these two groups are the biggest single problem, according to social workers, either because of lack of money or through ignorance. Most of the women in these groups are Negro.

Dr. Oldberg said that the screening would be done by physicians in the clinics, following board guidelines.

The screening, he said, would weed out "young people who want to become promiscuous," or those who were so for financial gain. It would also screen out those who "for selfish reasons" wanted to avoid having any children, he said. Only valid medical reasons would be accepted, he added.

The program will be financed from a five-year $1.5 million grant for material and prenatal care from the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Thus the Board of Health, which has 36 branch clinics, avoided the need to get funds from the overwhelmingly Democratic city council.

Of the 46 members in the Council, 27 are Roman Catholics. The full council is 50 members, but there are four vacancies. Keeping the matter out of the Council enabled Mayor Richard J. Daley, a Catholic, to avoid pressure for a veto.

Dr. Oldberg, a physician himself, moved carefully and kept Mayor Daley informed, and two days ago the mayor said, "when it's on the basis of a health measure for everyone, public money can be used."

ANTIPOVERTY PLAN GETS A RURAL UNIT

Poverty - OEO

Task Force to Coordinate Government Activities

2-27-65

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 — A rural task force "to help wage the nation's War on Poverty in rural communities" was announced today by the Administration.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman said at a news conference that the task force would be available at the outset to move quickly into rural areas where immediate help was needed to overcome poor housing and other problems of low-income farmers and rural residents.

It will provide technical assistance and professional personnel and will coordinate the activities of Federal agencies in the field, including the new Rural Community Development Service of the Department of Agriculture.

The task force was set up by Mr. Freeman and Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. It will be under the direction of Mr. Shriver's office.

The Rural Community Development Service will absorb the present Office of Rural Areas Development.

Mr. Freeman said the service would be headed by Robert G. Lewis, who has been deputy administrator of the Federal price-support programs. Deputy administrator of the development service will be Dr. A. F. Mace, director of the old rural development office.

This new agency, Mr. Freeman said, will have the mission of carrying out President Johnson's pledge that "no service of the Federal Government stops at the city line."

The rural task force will be headed by Richard M. Hausler, who has been in the Agriculture Department since 1961 and a member of Mr. Shriver's staff since last summer.

Mr. Freeman also announced the first four loans to rural cooperatives under the anti-poverty program. The loans by the Farmers Home Administration total $105,910.

Seventy per cent of the membership of the cooperatives was made up of Negro families, Mr. Freeman said.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

he added. "It always has."

Poverty, JOB

JOB CORPS CENTER IS OPENED IN TEXAS

3-4-65

CAMP GARY, Tex., March 3 (UPI)--An Army camp of World War II opened as a Job Corps unit today and began receiving 250 young men as part of the drive against poverty.

The trainees came by bus, car and train. All were between the ages of 16 and 21.

The first group of 70 was welcomed by Dr. Oscar Baker, who organized the Peace Corps camp at the South Central Texas military base within two months. The Government let a $500,000 contract to refurbish the camp for the youths.

Most of the first group came from Arkansas. The remainder of the 250 are expected by tomorrow.

WASHINGTON, March 3 (UPI)—The office of conomic Opportunity, which administers the antipoverty program, approved a $252,119 Community Action grant today for the Council of Southern Mountains, Berea, Ky.

The council is a private group that has worked in the depressed areas of Appalachia for years to curb poverty. The money will be used in nine states.

RACE ISSUE SNAGS AID TO LOUISIANA

Poverty - EOA

U.S. Halts Antipoverty Grant on Complaints That State Appointed 'Extremists'

3-5-65

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 4—The Office of Economic Opportunity has held up a $132,000 planning grant to Louisiana because it does not like some of Gov. John J. McKeithen's appointments under the state's antipoverty program.

Federal officials here acknowledged today that the delay had been prompted by complaints that "at least two" of the Governor's four appointees were "segregationists" or "extremists." The agency is investigating the complaints, spokesmen said. Investigators were said to have been in Baton Rouge, the state capital, today.

It was the first time that any antipoverty funds had been withheld because of a racial issue. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Federal agencies are prohibited from making grants or loans to state or local agencies that dis-

Continued on Page 29, Column 2

Race Issue Snags Federal Grant To Louisiana Poverty Program

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

criminate on the grounds of race, creed or color.

Spokesmen at the Federal agency noted that planning grants were made to state antipoverty agencies in Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi after the states gave assurances that there would be no discrimination in using the funds.

"When these Louisiana complaints came along," an official said, "we instituted precautions."

The $132,000 grant, to which Louisiana was to have added about $13,000, was approved by the Federal agency last December after Governor McKeithen appointed Champ Baker as director of the Louisiana Office of Economic Opportunity at $13,000 a year.

Mr. Baker was Mr. McKeithen's central Louisiana campaign manager in the bitter, seven-way governorship primary in 1963.

Before the planning grant was disbursed, however, Mr. McKeithen appointed as assistants to Mr. Baker three men closely associated with his 1963 campaign, and "complaints started pouring in," Federal officials said. The payment was stopped.

"We have had more mail and more complaints about these Louisiana appointments than we have had from all the other states combined," one spokesman said. Many complaints were from civil rights groups.

Gus Weill, executive secretary to Mr. McKeithen, said in Baton Rouge that "the objections were principally to the appointment of Shelby M. Jackson" as Mr. Baker's principal assistant at $12,000 a year.

Mr. Jackson, a former state Superintendent of Education, was a candidate for Governor in 1963 on a states' rights platform. After his defeat in the primary, he threw his support to Mr. McKeithen.

"Mr. Jackson is an avowed segregationist," Mr. Weill said in a telephone interview. "It would be rather difficult in this state to find anyone of any note in public life who is not an avowed segregationist, including the Governor."

The Federal agency also received objections to the appointment of John Harding, an Alexandria radio commentator of conservative views, to a $9,000-a-year Louisiana antipoverty post.

The Governor has shown no disposition to back down on his appointments, Louisiana officials said, and officials here said the situation was "a probable stalemate." They said the funds would probably not be released.

The rigidity of positions on both sides reportedly stems, in part, from the hostility of the Governor and Mr. Jackson to former Representative Gillis W. Long, who ran third in the 1963 governorship primary. Mr. Long, who is considered a moderate, is now the assistant director of the Federal agency in charge of Congressional relations.

Governor Out of Capital

Special to The New York Times

BATON ROUGE, March 4—Governor McKeithen was reported out of Baton Rouge today and unavailable for comment.

Mr. McKeithen has said that his appointees, including Mr. Jackson, know "there can be no discrimination in the poverty program, and are prepared to abide by this."

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

BIRTH CLINIC GETS U.S. POVERTY FUND

Corpus Christi Center to Furnish Contraceptives

3-7-65

Special to The New York Times

CORPUS CHRISTI, Tex., March 6—The South Texas Planned Parenthood Center here made plans this week to use Federal funds for the purchase and distribution of contraceptive devices.

The funds are part of a $295,000 grant from the United States Office of Economic Opportunity to Corpus Christi's Community Action Committee, the local group directing the city's antipoverty program.

The grant for the planned parenthood group was for $8,500, of which $2,200 is "for those medical supplies that patients cannot afford."

Mrs. J. G. Bryson, past president of the center and now chairman of the planned parenthood program within the local "economic opportunity campaign" made the grant request.

She said she had used the words "medical supplies" in asking for funds for contraceptive devices.

"Everyone concerned knew what I was asking for," she said. "When the grant was approved the funds were there for medical supplies and the Government used the same words I did."

Although the grant is for the year beginning Feb. 1, Mrs. Bryson said the funds are not expected in Corpus Christi until next week.

Mrs. Bryson said Corpus Christi was the first city to receive funds for birth control work as part of the antipoverty program, and the grant was the first, under any program, to include funds designated for contraceptive supplies.

Other cities, including Milwaukee, have requests pending for funds to be used for planned parenthood programs. And two years ago the District of Columbia Planned Parenthood Center got a $25,000 grant. But the grant did not specify the funds were to be used for contraceptive aids.

The Planned Parenthood Center was the only privately supported organization invited into Corpus Christi's poverty program by the public agencies involved. The agencies include the city and county governments, the public library, city-county welfare departments, and the public schools.

Although nearly 40 per cent of the 190,000 people in Corpus Christi are of Latin-American descent and largely Roman Catholic, the city and county governments encouraged the planned parenthood campaign, which will be waged mostly in the Latin-American areas.

Although Corpus Christi is the see of the South Texas diocese of the Catholic Church, the church has remained publicly silent on the birth control program, choosing neither to protest nor support it.

Only married couples are eligible for the program.

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Appalachian Governors Meet To Set Aid Program in Motion

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP) — Governors of nine Appalachian states and representatives of two others met today to set in motion the $1 billion program of economic aid that grew out of a campaign promise by John F. Kennedy in 1960.

The Federal - state program is aimed at providing highways, water and land - resources development, vocational schools, and health clinics, among other things, for an area stretching from Alabama to Pennsylvania. The purpose is to improve the mountain region's economy.

Gov. Carl E. Sanders of Georgia was elected co - chairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission, to serve with the Federal co - chairman, John L. Sweeney.

Representatives of the governors will meet on a regular basis to work on the details of the program. Harry T. Boswell, former chairman of the Maryland Economic Development Commission, was elected head of this group. He and Mr. Sweeney form a two-man committee in charge of personnel and dispersements.

After a luncheon meeting with the governors, Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor announced the appointment of Under Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. as supervisor of the Appalachian activities assigned to the Secretary of Commerce.

The Activities

These activities include assistance in the construction of an Appalachian highway system; allocation of funds for increasing the Federal contribution to certain projects; programs to make grants to local development districts for administrative expenses and to other organizations for investigations and research on economic development.

Mr. Roosevelt headed a Presidential commission that studied the 11-state area's economic needs.

The $1.1 billion authorized by Congress for the program does not reflect the actual annual cost, since some programs are spread over several years and states will participate to a degree in financing some of the programs. For instance, some $840 million is authorized for a five-year highway program.

This is expected to be the first phase of the program, since it has been characterized as the region's most urgent need. Highway representatives from the 11 states are scheduled to meet Wednesday with officials of the Bureau of Public Roads to discuss a tentative highway plan.

The states are expected to put up 30 per cent of the money for highways.

Governors attending today's meeting were George C. Wallace of Alabama, Mr. Sanders of Georgia, Edward T. Breathitt Jr. of Kentucky, J. Millard Tawes of Maryland, Dan K. Moore of North Carolina, James A. Rhodes of Ohio, William W. Scranton of Pennsylvania, Albertis S. Harrison of Virginia and Hulett C. Smith of West Virginia. Mr. Scranton and Mr. Rhodes are Republicans, and the rest Democrats.

The two governors who did not attend are Frank G. Clement of Tennessee and Donald S. Russell of South Carolina. It was reported that Mr. Clement was unable to be present because of a strike situation.

Mr. Russell canceled his trip to attend memorial services for Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, who died yesterday.

YOUNG AND OLD DRAWN TO VISTA

Poverty War Opposed

First Volunteers in Fight on Poverty Begin Training

3-7-65

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.—In Florida a retired school superintendent and his wife locked up their house trailer. In California a pretty coed left college. In North Carolina an 81-year-old woman stored her furniture and sold her car.

They all had one goal: To work long hours, at poor pay, in the rural and urban slums of America.

These are the VISTA Volunteers, the old and the young who have put aside middle-class comforts to give Appalachia and Harlem the kind of help that Peace Corpsmen have given Afghanistan and Kenya.

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is the Federal Government's domestic version of the Peace Corps. Within a year, 5,000 VISTA Volunteers will be working in the nation's areas of hard-core poverty.

The first 13 of them came here this month, to a rustic church camp (prophetically named Camp New Hope years ago) to learn about poverty and how to deal with it.

Living in cabins, listening to lectures and taking part in discussions from dawn until long after dusk, they spent two weeks learning in theory about the poverty they had never known.

Put Theory to Work

Now, working in rural and urban slums of North Carolina, they are putting their theory into practice.

The training, both at camp and in the field, is being conducted by officials of the North Carolina Fund, an antipoverty program established nearly three years ago.

It was chosen to train the first VISTA Volunteers because of its experience in training antipoverty workers of its own.

Next month, their six weeks of study and field work completed, the first VISTA Volunteers will report to their assignments in migrant labor camps of California, the slums of Hartford, the mountain hollows of Eastern Kentucky.

Their pay: $50 a month and living expenses.

As pioneers, their jobs will be difficult, for they will be part of a new American revolution that threatens to upset the status quo in many communities.

James Hearn, director of a Federally financed $700,000 antipoverty program in New Bern, sounded a quiet warning to the Volunteers before they left camp:

"Remember, you're another string from Washington, and a lot of people in these places you'll be working don't like Washington."

Warning Against Impatience

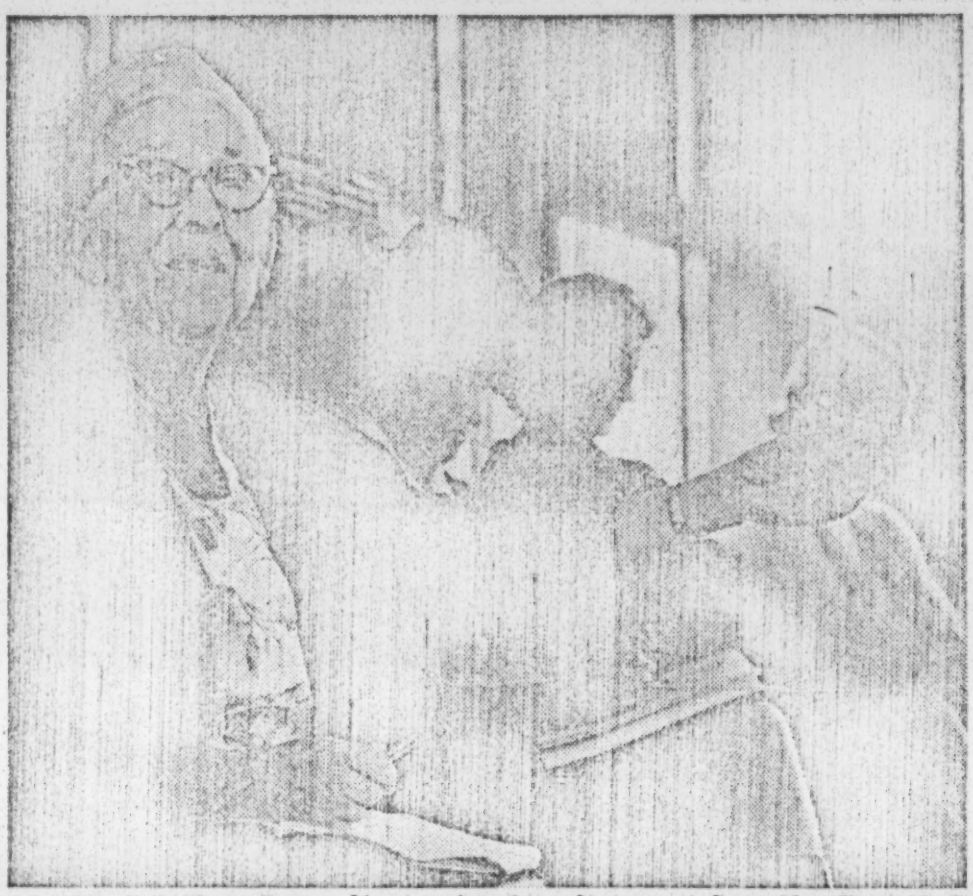
Mr. Hearn also cautioned against impatience:

"Every place you go you'll wonder and fret about why people running the show don't do it as quickly as you would. Maybe they aren't as excited about it as you. Maybe they have their doubts about changing their community. You will have to use every bit of tact at your command."

The Volunteers are putting that advice to a test now, as they practice field work in New Bern and Winston-Salem.

In coastal New Bern, Volunteers are working on rural sanitation projects, helping school-attendance counselors, recruiting students for pre-school programs and adult education classes.

In Winston-Salem, halfway across the state, other Volunteers are counseling students at a special school for poor achievers, working as aides in day-care centers, recruiting students for adult literacy classes, visiting homes of the poor who are about to be relocated because of urban renewal.



Miss Elizabeth Myers Brown, 81, at a class for volunteers at Camp New Hope, N. C.

Why are they doing it? Why did they volunteer to live and work among the poor?

James D. and Cynthia Mawhinney spent years stationed at Army posts around the world. He is a retired colonel, 66 years old.

The Mawhinneys are selling their house in Alexandria, Va., and putting their furniture in storage. Their three married children think it's a fine idea.

"Being retired can get awful tiresome," Mrs. Mawhinney said. "You play a better game of golf and improve your bridge score. But it's deadening."

Locked the Trailer

Another retired couple, J. E. and Dorothy Holmes, had been living in a trailer along a canal at Tavares, Fla. They locked up the trailer, sent their car to relatives in Michigan and reported for training.

Mr. Holmes, who is 66, retired seven years ago as Superintendent of Schools in Spring Lake, Mich. His wife, 63, had done Red Cross work, helped establish a school for the retarded and served on the board of a home for the aged.

Next month, the Holmeses will report to a migrant labor camp in the San Joaquin Valley of California to teach and counsel migrant families.

Miss Elizabeth Myers Brown, 81, spent 18 years as clinical psychologist at a school for the mentally retarded near Kinston, N. C. She retired six years ago, traveled to Europe and Japan, then did some historical research on the school where she had worked and still lived.

A spry little woman with snow white hair, Miss Brown wears a hearing aid at times but has no trouble reading without glasses.

"If my hair is glossy and my skin is shiny and my fingernails are long and my feet don't hurt, then I figure I'm in good condition," she said, smiling.

Miss Brown will be assigned to the Clover Bottom State Hospital and School for the mentally retarded near Nashville.

"I may not have a lot to give," she said, "but I've got a lot to enjoy."

Miss Alta Bee Wolcott, 73, spent 27 years as physical education instructor at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee, then ran an art gallery in Ellison Bay.

George H. Cottell of Fall River, Mass., had retired twice—first after 33 years as business manager of Local 437 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; then after five years as executive director of the Fall River Housing Authority and Urban Renewal Agency.

Wants to See America

Now 70 and a widower, Mr. Cottell decided: "I didn't want to hang around and do nothing. I've been too busy all by life to pick up a hobby."

He will be assigned to work in urban renewal areas in Hartford.

John C. Henry, a retired Navy commander from Cleveland, decided that he didn't want to stay retired, either. He is 50 and still single.

"I'm tired of far-away places with strange sounding names," he said. "It's time to see America."

He, too, will serve in Hartford, helping to relocate families from six impoverished neighborhoods.

There are the young, too.

Betty Burnett, 21, the daughter of a Merced, Calif., school teacher, was a junior at San Francisco State College. Richard Guske, 20, the son of a Eugene, Ore., real estate broker, was a junior at Antioch College in Ohio.

The two will be working together in the hollows of Eastern Kentucky. Both plan to finish college someday.

Jacqueline Steingold, 22, graduated last year from Wayne State University in Detroit and planned to do graduate work this year. Instead, she volunteered for VISTA.

"I'm at the stage of life it's not serious for me to give up a year of my life," she said. "Then I'll know what I want to do. I'm a bit of a do-gooder, I guess."

Clarence Willingham, 24, the only Negro in the first class of Volunteers, wanted to join the Peace Corps after graduating from Monroe Technical Institute in his native Georgia.

The Peace Corps turned him down. He had lost both legs, below the knees, in a fire when he was a child.

Bright and cheerful, a straight A student in mathematics and science, he was accepted by VISTA and will be assigned to the Clover Bottom School.

Doris Jane Boyer, 27, of Edmond, Okla., majored in chemistry and psychology at Oklahoma Central State College. She taught gifted students in Oklahoma City and juvenile delinquents at a special school in Tennessee. She, too, has been assigned to Clover Bottom.

Magazine Piece Details Frauds Against Poor

Carolina Harbor News 9/3/65

For a long time it has been clear that many stores in slum sections of cities that promised "easy credit terms" and "36 months to pay" were not so much offering a convenience to low-income groups as mulching them.

This is pointed up in a recent piece in The New Republic which observes that lawyers hired by the local anti-poverty war to work in the slums as advocates of the poor are uncovering a wide range of consumer fraud cases and razor-sharp business practices.

Here are some examples of the sort of cases that routinely come across their desks, the magazine says: "One slum dweller is being sued for $356.40 on a 19-inch portable television set that retails in many other parts of the city for $115.94. Another paid $325 plus $96 in carrying charges for a similar TV. A third client paid $400 plus $128 in carrying charges for a set that sells in many stores for less than $200. The anti-poverty lawyers are fighting these transactions in court, claiming the sales contracts are unconscionable."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

FEDERAL "ANTI-POVERTY" PROGRAMS

Present and Pending

THE FEDERAL PROGRAM for the rehabilitation of communities and their citizens is to be based on four statutes:

1. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-452). Purpose: To provide youth programs and community action programs — education, training, and work for young people, and help for urban and rural communities in mobilizing their own resources to combat poverty.
2. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-415; amended by Public Law 88-214). Purpose: The training and retraining of unemployed workers who have the ability to learn skills needed in their labor market area.
3. The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 (Public Law 87-27). Purpose: To assist localities in establishing new industries and in expanding existing industries through long-term, low interest loans.
4. The pending Appalachia bill. This legislation was not passed by the 88th Congress, but the Administration is assigning high priority to the Appalachia redevelopment program in the 89th Congress. Passage of an Appalachia bill would provide a special program for the economic rehabilitation of a depressed area comprising parts of eleven states, stretching from Pennsylvania to Alabama.

THESE SPECIFICALLY ANTI-POVERTY MEASURES will be supplemented, of course, by existing Federal, State, and Local programs; for example, such Federal programs as those of the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

JOINT FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL PROGRAMS:

* The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), an Executive agency headed by a director reporting directly to the President, will have overall administrative responsibility for programs under the Economic Opportunity Act.
* However, participation at the local level in planning and operating the projects will be encouraged in all programs, required in most.
* Each governor will have 30 days in which to veto proposed Youth Programs and Community Action Programs in his state.
* Governor, by not acting within 30 days, may permit a project to begin.
* Governor may expedite project by giving his approval before the 30 day period is over.

YOUTH PROGRAMS:

** The Job Corps:

* Will enroll, in 1965 and 1966, up to 140,000 young men and women, ages 16 to 22, for up to two years service in conservation camps and training centers.
* Camps and centers will emphasize basic education, skill training, and work experience.
* Job Corpsmen will be recruited through U. S. Employment Service offices, schools, churches, settlement houses, public and private welfare agencies, boys' clubs, selective service boards.
* Corpsmen will receive room, board, and travel allowances while in the Corps.
* Upon completion of their terms, they will be paid $50 for each month of satisfactory service.
* OR, Corpsmen may contribute to their dependents $25 per month (to which Government will add another $25), and receive $25 for each month of satisfactory service when separated from the Job Corps.

** The Neighborhood Youth Corps:

* A work training program for unemployed young men and women, ages 16 to 22, in public service projects such as at parks, playgrounds, hospitals, and libraries.
* Examples of work training include nurses', librarians', and teachers' aides; nursery school and playground attendants; hospital orderlies; assistant dietitians; mechanics' helpers; landscape assistants.

* Projects will be developed by state and local governments, and by private, non-profit service and welfare organizations.
* The agency developing the work training project will be responsible for recruiting the young people to work in it.
* Up to 200,000 young people will be enrolled in NYC each year.
* Enrollees will work and live in their own communities.
* They will be paid wages based on local rates for beginners in similar work.
* They will be encouraged to continue or resume their schooling.

** Work Study Programs:

* Will operate through, and be administered by, colleges and universities.
* Will provide on-campus and off-campus part-time work for deserving students selected by participating schools.

URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS:

* Locally planned, locally administered direct attacks on any poverty-promoting community problem.
* Will require comprehensive community action plans, developed by local community action organizations which may be formed by government agencies, private non-profit agencies such as volunteer or civic groups, or a combination of public and private agencies.
* Will emphasize programs designed to produce "a permanent increase in the ability of persons to deal with their problems without further aid."
* Examples of such programs include job-training, counseling, vocational rehabilitation, remedial education, home management, health improvement, family planning.
* Federal government will bear up to 90% of the cost during the first two years, 50% thereafter.
* Communities' contributions may be in cash, facilities, and services.
* Participants in the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Work Study programs will be available for work on community action projects.

OTHER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT PROGRAMS:

** Grants and Loans to Combat Rural Poverty:

* Will aid low-income rural families and migrant workers.
* Will loan up to $2,500 to such families, payable within 15 years, for certain home and farm improvements, if they cannot obtain funds elsewhere.
* Will provide similar loans for local marketing and purchasing cooperatives.

** Voluntary Assistance Programs for Needy Children:

* Federal government will locate needy children, supply their names to persons who volunteer to give them financial help.

* No direct federal financial assistance to the children under this program.

** Adult Basic Education Programs:

* For persons with six years or less of schooling.

* Will teach adults basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, helping them to find and to keep jobs.

* Will be conducted at local level, under guidance of state Department of Education.

* Federal government will pay 90% of cost during first two years, 50% thereafter.

** Volunteers in Service to America -- VISTA:

* A "domestic Peace Corps" whose purpose will be to improve the health, education, and welfare needs of the poor in the United States and its territories.

* Will place special emphasis on aiding the mentally ill and the mentally retarded.

* Volunteers will receive allowances for living, housing, and travel expenses, and pay not to exceed $50 monthly.

For information on programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, write or call:

Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Job Corps
Washington, D. C.

Neighborhood Youth Corps
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

For advice and consultation on community action programs, write or call these state officials:

Alabama:

Claude Kirk
Department of Industrial Relations
Industrial Relations Bldg.
Montgomery, Alabama

Arkansas:

Ted J. Morley
Executive Director
Arkansas State Planning Office
Little Rock, Arkansas

Florida:

Sam Hand
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Georgia:

Mrs. Bruce Shaefer
Technical Advisory Committee
State House
Atlanta, Georgia

Kentucky:

Felix Joyner
Commissioner of Finance
Capitol Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Louisiana:

Champ Baker
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mississippi:

Gene A. Triggs
Mississippi Agriculture and Industry Board
Wolfolk State Office Bldg.
Jackson, Mississippi

North Carolina:

James White
Office of the Governor
State House
Raleigh, North Carolina

Oklahoma:

H. Dale Cook
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

South Carolina:

Edwin Culpepper
State Auditor's Office
Wade Hampton Building
Columbia, South Carolina

Tennessee:

John A. Dyer
Office of the Governor
Capitol Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Texas:

Larry Temple
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Austin, Texas

Virginia:

Robert Kirby
Office of the Governor
State House
Richmond, Virginia

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT--MDTA

The Office of Manpower, Automation and Training--OMAT:

* An agency of the Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor.
* Plans and evaluates training programs; programs are administered by state employment service offices and state departments of vocational education.

MDTA training and retraining programs:

* Are conducted only for skills which are in demand within the labor market area.
* Vary in length according to the skill being taught; maximum length is 72 weeks, or 52 weeks if no basic education is included in the trainees' programs.
* Are conducted at no cost to the trainees.
* Include on-the-job training, operating through the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training with the cooperation of employers and labor unions.

To receive MDTA training:

* A person must be unemployed.
* OR, he may be working less than full time in a skill that is becoming, or will become, obsolete.
* OR, he may be working below his skill capacity, that is, a job lower than his potential skills would qualify him for, if trained.
* OR, he may be a member of a farm family with less than $1200 annual net family income.
* OR, he may be over 16 years old but not yet 22 and in need of further schooling or occupational training.

Prospective trainees qualify for MDTA programs by:

* First, visiting their local State Employment Service Office.
* Next, being interviewed, tested, and counseled by the local SES to determine interest in, and suitability and aptitude for, job training.

Persons selected for MDTA training:

* Will be assigned to a specific training course.
* Will be expected to maintain satisfactory attendance, and to make satisfactory progress, in the course being taken.
* Will be assisted in finding jobs by the State Employment Service office upon completion of their course.

Trainees are eligible for training allowances:

* If they are the head of a household, and have at least two years experience in gainful employment.

* OR, if they are between 17 and 22 and are enrolled in a specialized youth training program.
* If they are employed while in training, they may receive a reduced allowance.
* AND, if training facility is not within commuting distance of their residences, they may also receive subsistence and transportation allowances.

For further information write or call:

* Local, or nearest, Employment and Claims Office, State Employment Service
* OR, OMAT regional field directors:

1) Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
   Atlanta, Georgia

2) District of Columbia, North Carolina, Virginia:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Vanguard Building
   1111 Twentieth Street, N. W.
   Washington, D. C.

3) Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Commerce Building
   1416 Commerce Street
   Dallas, Texas

4) Kentucky:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Engineers Building
   1365 Ontario Street
   Cleveland, Ohio

* OR, write or call:

  Deputy Assistant Director
  Manpower, Automation, and Training
  Department of Labor
  Washington, D. C.

  Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
  Department of Labor
  Washington, D. C.

THE AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

The Area Redevelopment Administration---ARA:

* An agency of the U. S. Department of Commerce.
* Makes long-term, low interest loans to properly organized community groups establishing or expanding industry.
* Makes grants to communities for up to half the cost of building public facilities needed to attract and to aid new industries. Examples are roads, railroad spurs, dams, reservoirs, waterworks, sewerage systems, navigation channels, libraries.
* Retrains jobless workers and provides them with subsistence allowances during their training.
* Gives technical assistance to communities, helping them to survey, catalog, and assess the potential of their resources.
* Authority expires June 30, 1965, unless renewed by Congress.

To qualify for ARA aid:

* An URBAN area must have high unemployment--a current unemployment rate of 6% or more; OR, an annual average unemployment rate of 50% greater than the national average rate in three of the preceding four years; OR, 75% greater than the national average in two of the previous three years; OR, double the national rate during the preceding calendar year.
* A RURAL area must be one of low income and/or high unemployment--an area where farm-family incomes average $1170 or less annually; OR, where all family incomes average $1500 or less annually; OR, an area with a labor force of 15,000 or fewer where there has been persistent unemployment; OR, an area of "low production farming."

To receive ARA aid:

* A community must have been designated by the ARA as a "redevelopment area"--i.e., as meeting the above qualifications.
* A community must organize a local redevelopment committee, broadly representative of local groups such as commerce, industry, agriculture, labor, education, local government, and ethnic groups.
* An Overall Economic Development Program--OEDP--must be drawn up, and submitted to ARA for approval and financial aid.

The OEDP:

* Describes the community redevelopment organization.
* Details and assesses the community's existing resources and facilities.
* Outlines the plans for improving the community's economy.

* Explains why ARA aid is necessary; that is, why the community cannot accomplish the proposed plan without ARA assistance.

ARA Loans:

* Can finance as much as 65% of the total cost of an ARA approved project.
* Require, in addition, a minimum of 10% investment from public sources and a minimum of 5% from private sources.
* Commercial and industrial loans carry an annual interest rate of 4% and can run as long as 25 years.
* Public facility improvement loans are made at 3½% annually for up to 40 years.

ARA job retraining programs:

* Are intended to attract new industry to labor surplus areas by providing a supply of skilled workers.
* Have included training for semiskilled factory workers, office workers, nurses aides, farm and construction equipment operators and maintenance men.
* Are similar to programs offered under the Manpower Development and Training Act (see page 6); maximum training period is 16 weeks.

For further information, write or call:

1) Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations, Southeast Division
   Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

2) Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations, Appalachian Division
   Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

3) Texas and Oklahoma:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations
   Southwest Division
   Department of Commerce
   Washington, D. C.

For special assistance to minority groups on economic development problems in the Southeast Division, write or call:

Field Coordinator
Southeast Division
Area Redevelopment Administration
305 Bona Allen Building
135 Luckie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

SOME OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Rural Areas Development Programs -- RAD:

* Administered by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.
* Programs are "concerned with the total economic development of the rural community"; for example, industrial development, community facilities, conservation, and recreation.
* Programs are designed and carried out at the local level by county RAD committees composed of local businessmen and farmers, assisted by the local county agent and the Department of Agriculture.

For information write or call local county agent, OR:

Director, Rural Areas Development
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210):

* Dollar-for-dollar matching grants to states to improve their non-professional vocational education programs.

For information write or call:

Division of Vocational and Technical Education
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

The Food Stamp Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-525):

* Distributes food coupons to needy families through state welfare agencies.
* Participants can exchange coupons at most grocery stores for any food for human consumption except alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and certain imported foods.

For information write or call:

Director, Food Distribution Division
Agricultural Marketing Service
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PRIVATE AGENCIES AND CITIZENS

For political as well as practical reasons, provisions requiring LOCAL INITIATIVE, LOCAL ACTION, AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION of "anti-poverty" programs were written into the laws.

This creates many community-service opportunities for private agencies in the welfare, health, housing, education, and employment fields, as well as for public-spirited private citizens. The first responsibility of every private agency and every concerned citizen is to be a source of information and publicity for the anti-poverty campaign. Agencies and individuals should learn about the various programs, should function as ready sources of general information to anyone who might inquire about "the war on poverty," should study all programs carefully to determine which ones are applicable to their own communities, and should know whom to approach for complete information. In short, they ought to serve as go-betweens for persons or groups who might give help and persons or groups who might need such help.

Civic, fraternal, and even religious organizations, if they are non-partisan and (in most cases)non-profit, are eligible for initiating and participating in most anti-poverty projects. The Office of Economic Opportunity, for example, requires only that the agency be "broadly representative of the interests of the community" and that the project be non-discriminatory as to race, color and religion.

The Economic Opportunity Act invites private agencies to participate in Community Action programs. Such agencies, either singly or in cooperation with other interested persons and groups, can receive federal help in developing remedial education classes, after-school tutoring and study centers, programs for pre-school children, rehabilitation programs for the mentally and physically handicapped, and even in setting up new industries to provide jobs for the unemployed. Private agencies can be especially helpful in assembling the income, unemployment, education level, drop-out, migrant family, health, housing, and other community data which must be gathered before any anti-poverty program can be developed or approved.

The county Rural Areas Development committees are good examples of local initiative groups. Any existing local private agency, or any group of community-minded citizens, with the cooperation of the County Agent, can establish a local RAD committee where none exists. (Most counties already have them.) Local private agencies should try to work with existing RAD committees in the interests of those whom the agencies represent.

Area Redevelopment Administration programs require local initiative and local community action. Any private, non-partisan organization is potentially the agency through which the community

redevelopment program can be initiated and carried out. If the program sets up a new industry, or expands an existing one, these may be operated for private profit. Although there are no provisions in the Act requiring equal employment opportunities in industries set up with ARA funds, such industries will be covered by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, either initially or eventually, if they employ as many as 25 persons.

The concerned individual can be invaluable, not only in his own efforts, but in stimulating group action. The private citizen, living in a community where there is not now in existence either a private or public agency qualified to receive anti-poverty aid which may be provided to communities, can initiate an effort to have the necessary agency organized. He can approach local government officials and inform them of the aid available under anti-poverty programs, and work with them to secure such benefits for the community.

Working through existing agencies--and every community has some--he can seek the cooperation of school officials, parent-teacher associations, and religious, fraternal, civic, and social organizations, in order to secure the involvement of the total citizenry in planning and accomplishing community improvement projects. Together with other public-spirited individuals, the private citizens can secure appointments, at the policy-making and administrative levels, of qualified persons who represent all elements of the community. Further, he can monitor the actual performance of federally aided community improvement projects, seeking to assure that all elements of his community are properly benefited.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia
1965

(Continued from Page 86)

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PACKING too many people into an urban area increases the cost of providing still another essential of everyday living: electric power. Even more serious, such concentrations of people may make absolutely reliable electric service more and more difficult to maintain. I doubt if it was a mere coincidence, for example, that New York City needed 10 hours to restore electricity after the recent Northeast power failure while smaller communities were able to turn on their lights in a much shorter time. Growth is desirable up to a point; then the advantage of size diminishes and the multiplication of complexity multiplies the headaches. And by 1980 we can expect at least a 300 per cent increase in the nation's electrical energy needs. Most of this will flow into urban areas. The present difficulties of maintaining absolutely reliable service to such concentrations of people and industry, and holding down costs, will thus be magnified.

As chairman of T.V.A. and the Atomic Energy Commission, and in my present work in Asia and Latin America, I have become familiar with the problems of producing and distributing electricity on a large scale. Indeed, it was T.V.A. a generation ago that pioneered the concept that the greater the use of electricity the lower the cost per kilowatt hour. This is still generally true. But for great cities the exact contrary is coming to pass. To *distribute* electricity in a large, densely populated area such as New York is more costly than in smaller urban markets. Huge generating power plants produce ever lower generating costs; but to bring this power to the consumer in massive concentrations of population grows more and more expensive. Consequently, the price of this essential of modern life probably will go up in the great cities as population growth continues.

Fecund Future

At the estimated 1965 U.S. birth rate of 19.5 per 1,000 of population, a woman who reaches the age of 45 will have an average of three children. To achieve a stationary population, in which parents only replace themselves, the average number of children would have to drop to about 2.1. If childbearing gradually declined to this level by 1980 —a highly unlikely possibility — the U.S. population would then be about 250,000,000, and by 2020 the population would hit 300,000,000 and remain unchanged thereafter. At that point the birth rate would have declined to 14 per 1,000 and the death rate would have climbed to 14 per 1,000 (because a nongrowing population includes a much higher percentage of the aged).

On the other hand, if present fertility and mortality trends continue, a long-range projection by the National Academy of Sciences foresees that in about 650 years there will be one person per square foot throughout the United States, and in less than 1,500 years the weight of the U.S. population will exceed the mass of the earth — that is, 6,588,000,000,000,000,000,000 tons!

WITHOUT realizing it, we are fast approaching what may be called the population barrier beyond which lie unpredictability and, I fear, problems of unmanageable size. Consider, for example, the relationship between population growth and the poor.

The Federal Aid to Dependent Children program has doubled to more than four million cases during the last decade, while the costs have soared from about $600 million to more than $1.8 billion. Even more depressing than the numbers of families who cannot survive without welfare assistance is the phenomenon known as the "cycle of dependency."

More than 40 per cent of parents whose children receive A.D.C. funds themselves had parents who received relief checks. This cycle is sad but not surprising. Poor people tend to have more children than they want or can afford, and the children have less chance to receive the education and training they need to break the pattern. Thus, even the third generation appears on relief rolls in the U.S., the most socially mobile nation in the world. In America, reports the National Academy of Sciences in a recent study, "The Growth of U.S. Population," "the burden of unwanted children among impoverished and uneducated mothers . . . is much like that experienced by mothers in underdeveloped countries."

Since the poor cannot contribute their share of the mounting costs of education, medical care, public housing and similar necessary government enterprises, the money must be supplied by the rest of the population through taxation. But the most painful loss is not measured in dollars but in human resources. And one measure of the potential loss is the fact that one-fourth of America's children are the offspring of poor parents.

Belatedly, we are helping poor couples who need and want financial and medical help in family planning. The White House Conference on Health in November gave high priority to birth control as part of Federal efforts to halt the cycle of dependency and poverty. Tax-supported activities in 40 states, combined with such large-scale private efforts as Harvard's Center for

(Continued on Page 91)

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1-9-66

IN INDIA—"Many Americans regard overpopulation as a menace only to other peoples. It can't happen here, they think. But it can."

(Continued from Page 88)

Population Studies and the $14.5 million grant by the Ford Foundation for basic research by the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and the Population Council, herald new progress in a long-neglected field.

We tend to patronize the poor by preaching to them about birth control; though poverty-stricken parents with four, five or six children are the most publicized aspect of population growth, they are by no means the most important numerical aspect of the problem. As a matter of simple arithmetic, the four-fifths of the nation's families who earn more than the poverty-line income of $3,000 a year — and who can afford two, three or four children—produce a greater total of children than the one poor couple out of five which may have six youngsters.

In fact, the latest census information reveals that though poor families may have more children than do better-off families, the difference is much smaller than many people believe. According to the National Academy of Sciences analysis, in 1960 married women 40 to 44 years old in families with incomes below $4,000 and above $4,000 differed in the average number of children by less than one. The postwar baby boom, for example, was more pronounced among middle- and upper-income families than among the poor.

Thus, these relatively well-off families are the ones mainly responsible for our rapidly rising population curve. They and their children are the ones who will account for most of the 100 million additional Americans by the end of the century.

How many children a couple should have is a decision only they should make; a government inducement or deterrent —a tax, for example—is morally repugnant and politically impossible. We cannot penalize the poor in order to limit the size of their families while we allow more prosperous parents to have as many children as they want. The large majority of middle- and upper-class parents need no birth-control help from government, nor will they welcome outside advice on so personal a matter. Yet it is this group of families who will want to have three, four or more children for the very natural reason that they like children and can afford to suppport them. The question is, can the *country* support them?

Any notion that The Pill or some other scientific device is the sole and complete answer is very dubious. At a symposium on birth control not long ago, Dr. Stephen J. Plank, a professor in the Harvard School of Public Health, cautioned against "the facile assumption . . . that we may be able to contracept our way to the Great Society." Birth control, he said, is a question of motivation rather than technology alone.

THE neglected arithmetic of the population problem facing us is depressing. Look at this table showing the birth and death rates over the past quarter-century in the United States:

Year	Births	Rate (per 1,000 pop)	Deaths	Rate (per 1,000 pop)
1940	2,360,399	17.9	1,417,269	10.8
1945	2,735,456	19.5	1,401,719	10.6
1950	3,554,149	23.6	1,452,454	9.6
1955	4,047,295	24.6	1,528,717	9.3
1960	4,257,850	23.7	1,711,982	9.5
1964	4,027,490	21.0	1,798,051	9.4

Although the birth rate has been declining since the mid-50's, while the death rate has remained relatively stable, the drop in the birth rate is too little and too late to prevent an oversized population. The surge in the number of births over deaths continues (2.3 million were added to the population in 1964).

Or examine these low and high population projections prepared by the Census Bureau:

	Low	High
1970	206,000,000	211,000,000
1985	248,000,000	276,000,000
2010	322,000,000	438,000,000

The high figure would be reached if birth rates returned to the levels of the early 1950's. The low estimate — enormous as it is—is based on the possibility that the rates may decline by 1985 to the comparatively low levels of the early World War II years.

One theoretical way out of the dilemma would be to say that since America can no longer sustain complete "family freedom," some form of compulsory birth control is, regrettably, necessary. It would not be the first time in our history that government intervened to restrain individual impulse in the name of collective welfare. Yet, where children and parents are concerned, I do not believe we can yet advocate the sacrifice of one freedom for the sake of preserving another. Such a "solution" would make no sense at all, theoretically, practically or ethically.

Government policies and private programs must make plain the kind of life we all face if economically comfortable families reproduce at rates they personally can afford. With equal urgency we must make plain the dangers if poor families have children in numbers they cannot afford.

OBVIOUSLY, a stationary population—one in which the birth rate matches the death rate—is out of the question for many years to come. It is probably not feasible, nor even desirable. All we can hope to achieve is a slower rise in the size of our population rather than the present steep increase. What is needed is a far more drastic cut in the birth rate—a voluntary curtailment of the right to breed. It is needed, but I have no great conviction that it will happen.

For though scientific ingenuity may be able to solve many of the technological problems we are only beginning to understand people always change more slowly than technology. It is easier, after all, to design a new industrial process than redesign a cultural tradition. Yet that is the order of change we face if we are to preserve life's dignity and quality. Confronted by the crisis of population growth, we must, at present, appeal to private conscience for the sake of the general good.

Census + population

MEANING OF THE CHANGES IN U. S. POPULATION

1/10/66

New patterns are emerging in America's population. Growth has slowed sharply, diminishing the earlier "explosion" in numbers of people. Birth rates are plummeting. Yet there's a marriage boom. Teen-agers, young adults are increasing fast. So is the work force. Makeup of the school population is dramatically changed.

THE U. S. POPULATION explosion has subsided.

Because of fewer births, the population's annual rate of growth has been shrinking each year since 1961.

Experts say that the downward trend will continue through this decade.

At the end of 1965, people of the U. S. numbered just under 196 million. The total is expected to top 198 million this year, exceed 200 million next year, and climb to about 208 million in 1970. Some earlier projections had estimated the 1970 total at upward of 214 million.

In 1960, the population showed a gain of more than 3 million over 1959. That was a peak gain. By 1965, the increase had dropped to 2,367,000. The estimated gain in 1966 is 2,327,000.

More family planning. The downtrend reflects, in part, spreading knowledge and acceptance of birth control. New methods—such as birth-control pills—have made family planning easier.

As a result, more and more young married couples are choosing to postpone having families, or to limit their size, in favor of early achievement of a higher standard of living.

Population changes other than the decline in birth rate are generally favorable to business. A large growth in young adults is under way, which means an increasing number of marriages. This promises more demand for homes, household equipment and other goods and services in years just ahead.

Young couples who defer the start of a family may seek an apartment instead of a house. This could stimulate the already booming construction of modern apartment buildings with luxuries that many people have come to expect—such as swimming pools, "party rooms," and ample garage space.

Another factor: Many younger people will have two incomes instead of one. Young wives, not tied down by babies at home, will be free to take full-time employment.

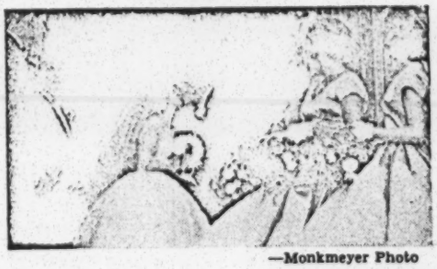
BIRTHS

—USN&WR Photo

Birth rates are tumbling. The decline is the sharpest since depression days of the 1930s.

In eight years, the birth rate in U.S. among women 15 to 44—the fertility rate—has dropped by a fifth. A further decline, to 88.6 per thousand in 1970, is projected by the Economic Unit of "U. S. News & World Report." In 1965, the number of babies born dropped below 4 million for the first time in years. The number born in 1965 was 3,813,000. Estimate for this year is 3,773,000.

MARRIAGES



—Monkmeyer Photo

Marriages, in an uptrend, will top 2-million rate by 1970, against this year's 1.8 million.

The baby boom has ended despite a rise in the number of marriages.

Marriages have been increasing each year since 1958, when they totaled 1.5 million. The number is estimated at 1.8 million in 1965 and is expected to exceed 2 million in 1970.

Household formations—which reflect not only marriages but young or old people living alone, and nonmarried groups—have shown little rise in recent years, having averaged 890,000 a year since 1960.

From 1966 through 1970, however, it is estimated that household formations will average a million a year. This should stimulate demand for houses and household equipment.

The large growth in that portion of the population which is of young adult age comes as people born just after World War II reach maturity.

Estimates are that there will be 60,000 more marriages in the U. S. in 1966 than there were in 1965, and that the upward trend will be even more pronounced in 1967.

NEGROES

—Black Star Photo

Racial "mix" of U. S. population is changing. Negroes are a growing portion of the total.

The Negro population is rising faster than the white population. Latest official figures show 171.4 million whites, and 23.1 million nonwhites, including 20.8 million Negroes.

Nonwhites accounted for 15.3 per cent of all U. S. births in 1957, for 17.4 per

cent in 1965, and are expected to account for about 18.3 per cent in 1970.

By the year 2000, according to present estimates, about 23.1 per cent, or almost 1 in every 4 births, will be nonwhite. Nonwhites will account for an estimated 14.7 per cent of the U. S. population by the year 2000, up from 11 per cent in 1957, and 11.9 per cent in 1965.

YOUNG PEOPLE

—Monkmeyer Photo

Fast-rising teen population offers promise of new markets—and a problem of enough jobs.

The most rapid rate of population growth in years ahead will be in the teen and young-adult ages.

Total U. S. population is expected to rise 12.5 per cent in the next 10 years, with gains of 20.6 per cent in those aged 10 to 24, and 39.3 per cent in those aged 25 to 34. The increase in these groups will account for 78 per cent of the entire growth in population.

The population changes in prospect indicate that a growing number of young people will be available for employment. If they can be fully employed, they represent a large potential source of new demand for goods and services. This would mean a strong push for expansion of the U. S. economy.

OLDER PEOPLE

—Pix Photo

Older people in the country now number 18.2 million. By 1975: more than 21 million.

In the decade ahead, the number of people 65 and over will increase at a slower rate than in the last decade.

The total number of Americans aged 65 and over rose by 29 per cent in the period 1955-65, from 14 million to 18.2 million. The increase in the next 10 years, it is estimated, will be to a total of 21.2 million, or 16.6 per cent.

WORKERS

—U.S. Steel Corp. Photo

The U. S. work force is heading sharply upward. New jobs are needed by the millions.

Population changes in the next six years are expected to increase the size of the labor force from 78.3 million to 86.1 million. This means that nearly 8 million more jobs must be generated in the U. S. if rising unemployment is to be avoided.

There will be a substantial expansion in numbers of younger workers. Persons aged 24 and under now make up 21.4 per cent of the labor force, but will account for 23.2 per cent in 1970.

In the year just ahead, if estimates are correct, actual employment will rise by 1.5 million, against 2.1 million in 1965. Predicted for this year is a drop of 509,000 in unemployment, compared with 545,000 in 1965.

GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

—USN&WR Photo

Grade schools can relax a bit. The earlier flood of postwar students now has crested.

The population boom that began when World War II ended put heavier and heavier pressure on elementary schools, all the way from kindergarten through the eighth grade. As a result of the dwindling birth rate, that pressure now is to ease somewhat.

In the years from 1955 through 1965, enrollment in public and private elementary schools rose from 27.7 million to 35.7 million. The grade-school population now is expected to increase at a much slower rate. The total, it is estimated, will reach 37.1 million in 1970 and 38.6 million in 1975.

HIGH SCHOOLS

—USN&WR Photo

High-school crush is abating. New-school construction will not have to match the earlier pace.

The number of high-school students, population projections show, will grow at a rate appreciably slower than in the last decade.

In the years from 1955 to 1965, enrollment in grades 9 through 12 rose from 7.6 million to 12.8 million. High-school enrollment is expected by present estimates to reach 15.1 million in 1970, and 16.7 million in 1975.

COLLEGES

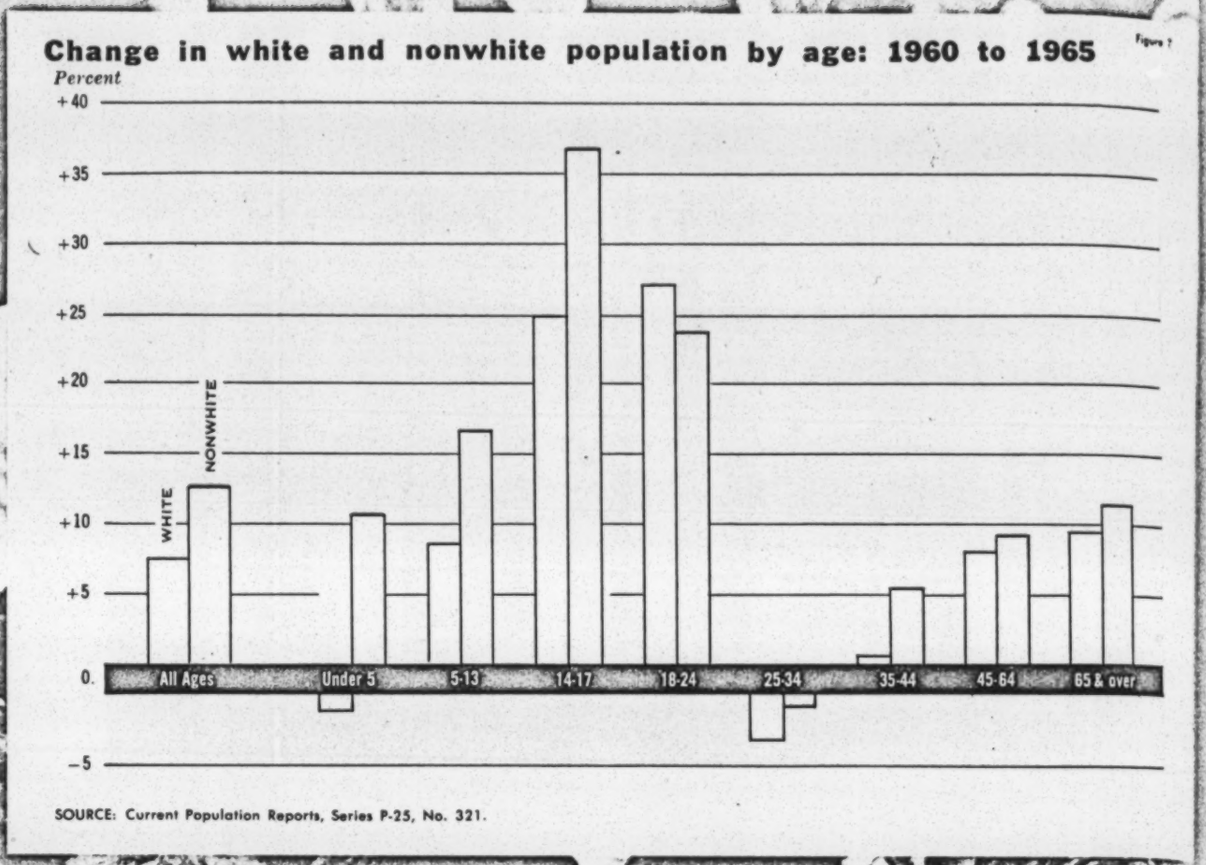
—University of Michigan Photo

College campuses face a big squeeze. Attendance is expected nearly to double by 1975.

The spectacular growth of colleges is to continue in the decade ahead.

Many colleges now are overcrowded. Increase in the U. S. college-age population and the rising importance of a college education are to put an even greater strain on this country's institutions of learning.

In the years from 1955 to 1965, total enrollment in U. S. colleges doubled—from 2.7 million to 5.6 million. The total is expected to exceed 6 million this year, to reach 7.2 million in 1970, and to exceed 9 million by 1975.



(March, 1966) Americans at Mid-Decade
U.S. Dept. of Commerce

of the total population in 1965, compared with 11.4 percent in 1960. Since the nonwhite population of the United States is largely Negro (over 90 percent), patterns of growth for nonwhites largely reflect those of the country's Negroes.

Differences in patterns of growth resulted in a difference in age structure for the Negro population as compared with the white population. The Negro population was younger—approximately 37 percent were under 14 years of age, compared with 28 percent of the white population. Comparatively fewer Negroes were found in the oldest ages—whereas nearly 10 percent of the white population was 65 and over, only 6 percent of the Negro population was in this oldest age group.

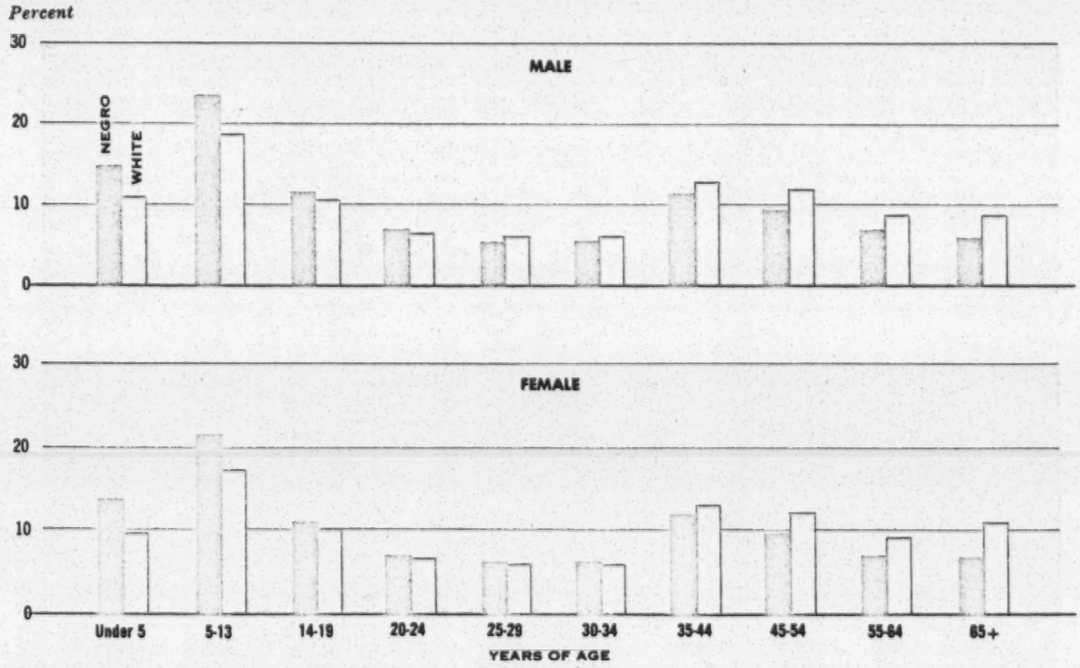
Geographic Differences in Population Growth

Geographic differences in population change during the first half of the 1960's were generally similar to those for the latter half of the previous decade. The West continued to be the fastest growing region, with an annual rate of increase nearly twice that for the country as a whole. Three of the four most rapidly growing States were in the West, with only Florida in the remainder of the country keeping pace with this rapidly growing region. Whereas all regions showed some gain in population in the 1960's, the Northeastern and North Central States increased at a rate below the national average and the South only a little above average. The rate of increase picked up somewhat in the South and decreased in the North Central region during the present decade, suggesting that net migration from the South has slowed considerably and that the northern industrial areas are not attracting inmigrants as they were in the 1950's. Nevertheless, the States along the eastern seaboard from Connecticut to Virginia, which include the greater part of "megalopolis," the metropolitan belt extending from Boston to Washington, continued to show increases well above the national average.

As a result of differences in rates of population growth, some States moved up in rank and others slipped to a lower position. Notable among such changes were the displacement of New York by California from the number one position, the ad-

Figure 8

Age distribution of Negro and white population, March 1965



SOURCE: Current Population Reports, Series P-20, forthcoming report.

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income came from such sources as pensions and welfare payments. Income was comparatively low for families with a woman as the head, partly because many of these women were part-time workers or were nonworkers dependent on other income and partly because of the generally lower compensation received by employed women.

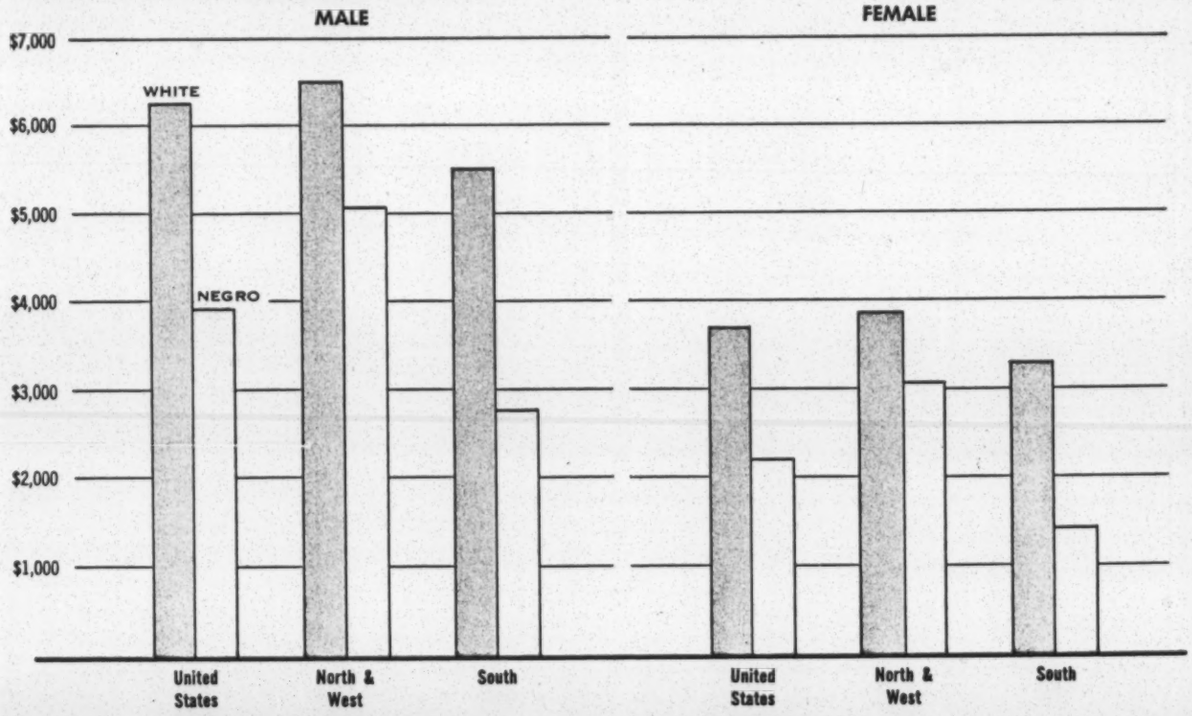
Income of Negroes

The lower level of income received by the Negro population is illustrated by figures on income of year-round, full-time workers. For all races, the median income of this group in 1963 was $6,100 for men and $3,600 for women. (The median is the middle amount, half the workers receiving more than this amount and half receiving less). Negro men who worked year round full time had a median income of only $3,900, about two-thirds the amount received by white men; and the median income of Negro women in this category was $2,200, about three-fifths as much as for white women. In all regions of the country, incomes were substantially lower for such Negro men, but the differences were most striking in the South. Negro women had incomes that were close to those of white women in the North and West; but in the South, where the majority live, their incomes were about half the amount received by white women.

The charts presented here have reflected some of the accomplishments of the American people in the last five years as well as some of the problems that still challenge the citizen and his government. The Bureau of the Census, through its current statistical programs, strives to report as promptly as possible the continuing changes in our population. For up-to-date descriptions of individual communities, however, we must wait for the next decennial census in 1970.

Figure 44

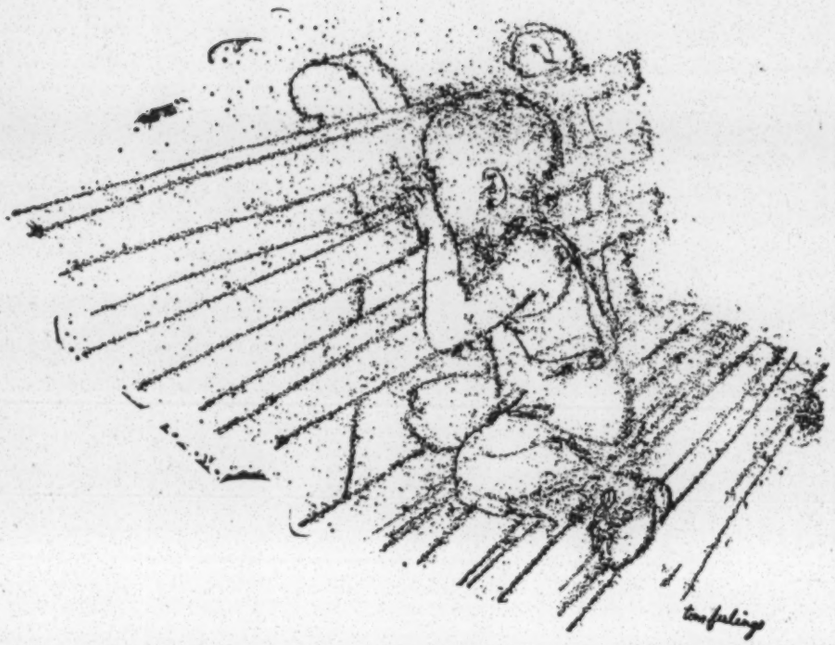
Median income in 1963 of white and Negro year-round full-time workers



SOURCE: Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 142.

POVERTY

Census + Pop
5-19-66



The Negro Response To Birth Control

HANNAH LEES

"CAN WE afford birth control as a minority group in the United States?" was one of the questions listed for discussion at a recent panel on birth control in a prosperous Germantown, Pennsylvania, church with a largely Negro congregation. Almost all educated and responsible Negroes would answer "Yes." They realize they cannot make progress without it and are taking constructive steps to promote it. But they are also aware of the charge from other Negroes that birth control is a concealed form of genocide.

At the all-Negro panel discussion, two participants out of seven—a city planner and a pathologist—spoke against it. "Until you bring together action and words, until you help people to be free, to maximize their potential, birth control is utter nonsense," the planner stated. "If we have an oversupply of food and there are empty areas in the world, where is the population problem?" the pathologist demanded. "This whole thing is the concern of people who didn't want too many of a certain race."

"The trouble is that this charge is either whispered or hurled as an angry accusation," I was told by Uvelia Bowen, a highly trained Negro social worker who has recently been appointed a consultant to the VISTA program. "The accusation has to be brought out in the open and discussed intelligently because the fear is certainly there, hidden in the thoughts of every Negro man and woman in the United States, whether they express it or not. It is too bad for America that the thrust for world population control should have come at the height of the civil-rights struggle. We are only twenty million, after all, only ten per cent of the entire population, and many of us feel our whole strength lies in numbers, in the power of the vote. Why did the Alabama Democratic Committee, for example, just now take that White Supremacy slogan off its ballot emblem? They were forced to by the growing number of registered Negro voters." Yet as she expressed these views Mrs. Bowen was sitting by me at a Philadelphia Planned Parenthood luncheon and has since become a board member.

"The highest birth rate, the most unwed mothers are in the poverty areas which are largely Negro," she went on. "And they're the target, aren't they? Negroes don't want children they can't take care of, but we are afraid to trust you when your offered help has so often turned out to be exploitation. Negroes are never going to accept birth control in any numbers from the hands of white people. You will have to find and train a great many more Negro workers if you expect to have any real impact."

The Growth of Acceptance

There is no question that the fear of exploitation is present in some Negro leaders. Few go so far as Philadelphia NAACP President Cecil Moore, who, at a public meeting of the local anti-poverty committee last fall, browbeat the executive director of Philadelphia Planned Parenthood for offering a program of family-planning education, calling it "replete with everything to help Negroes commit race suicide." The Reverend Henry H. Nichols, an eminent minister who tried unsuccessfully to supplant Moore and give Philadelphia's dwindling NAACP more constructive leadership, has told me he is unalterably opposed to any birth-control program until the youth have become moral enough not to use it for immoral purposes—even though the National Council of Churches, of which he was the Philadelphia president in 1963, has come out strongly in its favor.

The Reverend Leon Sullivan, who originated the Negro-operated job-training centers that are spreading across the country, will not even have Planned Parenthood literature—a logical aid to female self-respect and independence—available in the centers. He is not opposed to birth control, he has said; he just doesn't want to have anything to do with it.

That such sentiments are heeded was demonstrated last winter when the Pennsylvania Secretary of Welfare stated publicly that the time was not ripe for state-supported birth control; he cited the arguments of

Moore along with those of the Catholic Church. Later, however, he reversed himself with the announcement that the state would begin paying for family-planning services to welfare recipients.

Despite the attitudes of Moore and Sullivan, it is remarkable how far and how fast many Negro leaders, whatever their inner anxieties, are moving toward awareness that birth control is a weapon in their fight for equality. The number of Negroes on the national and local boards of Planned Parenthood is fast multiplying. Though this is partly because Planned Parenthood has learned to seek them out, their ready acceptance is significant. And there is some more concrete evidence of change.

As recently as four years ago, the National Urban League issued this guarded statement: "Every family has a right to be informed about all the resources in the community, including family planning and the various approved methods of birth control. Then it must be left up to the individual family, giving them freedom of choice based on their own values and religious convictions, which method, if any, is desired." In 1964, it issued a considerably more positive statement which said, among other things, that the organization would "attempt widespread publicity about available family planning facilities, services, and possibilities among the lower socio-economic groups likely to be cut off from such information from private physicians or regular educational channels." Now the Chicago Urban League has gone further and said, ". . . to fight poverty without birth control is to fight with one hand tied behind the back."

The Importance of Carfare

With Urban League co-operation, a group of Negro doctors and nurses —most of them doctors' wives—have for the past year been operating a volunteer birth-control clinic in Bell Center, a Cleveland settlement house, under the leadership of gynecologist Dr. Joseph Martin. This is not, of course, the only such clinic in Cleveland. Some are operated by the local Planned Parenthood organization, and others by the major teaching hospitals, but none were reaching the poorest Negroes.

Rejecting the popular circumlocutions, the clinic called itself the Birth Control Clinic at Bell Center, "so that," says Dr. Martin, "a less sophisticated clientele would not be confused by the title—and if this name could be used without engendering community opposition, it would make future disguises of the name in our town unnecessary." Thirty Negro doctors volunteered to staff the clinic in rotation. The only scarce commodity turned out to be patients.

Most women in the area, the doctors gradually found, simply didn't know about birth control. Others had been badly frightened by tales of embolism, cancer, or permanent sterilization, by what Dr. Martin calls "granny medicine." Many had no one to leave their children with or nothing "decent" to wear to the clinic.

At the end of the first year, the doctors at Bell Center had provided

contraceptive help to only two hundred women, but they had learned from the Bell social workers how to spread the word from door to door. In addition to preliminary education and even reassurance that anyone would be warmly welcomed whatever clothes she wore, the doctors now realized that they would have to provide baby sitters and even carfare for many women. But they had gained enough community support to get private grants of $12,000 for the next year. (One gift of $8 was donated specifically for carfare.)

A considerably more ambitious clinic has just been opened in Philadelphia by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Under the leadership of Austin Norris, a prominent Negro lawyer, and Philadelphia A.M.E. Bishop John Bright, the church has converted a bankrupt hospital into an old-age home and health center. The center, named the Sarah Allen Home, applied a short time ago to the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee for funds for what it cautiously called a Conception Regulation Clinic, though in its presentation it forthrightly declared its intention of giving service to all who came for help, including unmarried and adolescent girls.

SINCE anti-poverty funds could only be used for birth-control services to women living with their husbands, Planned Parenthood last fall proposed a purely educational program to the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Action Committee. It was turned down as much because some PAAC members thought it inadequate as because of Cecil Moore's accusations. This March, PAAC approved A.M.E.'s request, and then went on to endorse a greatly revised proposal from Planned Parenthood to provide services to each poverty area tailored to its individual needs and wishes over the dissenting votes of Moore and a Roman Catholic priest.

The Sarah Allen Conception Regulation Clinic did not wait for the anti-poverty funds, however, but opened in March in a separate building adjacent to the hospital with the help of a $20,000 grant from the national African Methodist Episcopal Church. Only one woman appeared the first day, though Bishop Bright had directed that the clinic opening be announced from every A.M.E. pulpit in the city. Austin Norris, a man noted for direct action, asked a well-known broadcaster to announce the clinic hours on the radio. He also had handbills printed and passed out giving the clinic's hours and address. The next week there were seventeen patients.

Because the Negro population is increasing at a rate of 2.4 per cent a year as opposed to 1.7 per cent for the white population and because its illegitimacy rate is so much greater, there is a widespread conviction that Negroes want more children than whites, or are simply more ir-

responsible about parenthood. Yet a 1960 study on the growth of American families found that most nonwhite wives wanted fewer children than white wives (2.9 children compared to 3.3). Middle-class Negro families are smaller, on the average, than comparable white families. In a Florida group of public-health maternity patients, mostly Negro, seventy per cent said they wanted no more children.

Chicago Planned Parenthood recently published a study of fourteen thousand low-income patients taking the pill, eighty-three per cent of whom were nonwhite and nearly half of whom had not finished high school. It revealed that thirty months after first coming to the clinic, about four out of five patients were still regularly taking the pill.

Freedom to limit family size was first called a basic human right only a year ago, in a report of the National Academy of Science's National Research Council. This was echoed by Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, the head of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in a speech last fall and recently by the Population Panel of the White House Conference on International Cooperation. But many Negroes are already adopting this point of view and beginning to see failure to provide birth-control services as a form of discrimination they must fight.

THEY ARE also becoming remarkably direct and clearsighted about the question of giving birth-control services to the unmarried and underage. Last year Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, stated: "Fortunately, the attitude toward the illegitimate mother is changing. . . . The thought that it is sinful and immoral to provide birth-control knowledge to unmarried mothers will hopefully be reevaluated throughout the country." His words were prophetic, for on March 31 it was made public that any birth-control program under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare would provide services to all women regardless of marital status—a revolutionary reversal of position that may soon affect the policy of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A Soviet Critique Of China's 'Total Strategy'

RAYMOND L. GARTHOFF

THE EXCHANGE of polemical letters and articles between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China has been highly revealing. It has, however, been a public polemic—fashioned with an eye to domestic consumption and on the Communist and "neutral" nations following the dispute abroad. Perhaps even more revealing are documents of an internal Soviet discussion on Chinese Communist politico-military strategy not intended to be made public. One such is an article called "The Peking Version of 'Total Strategy,'" which appeared in the Soviet General Staff theoretical journal *Military Thought* for October, 1963, and it is still both pertinent and instructive. This journal is marked "For Generals, Admirals, and Officers of the Soviet Army and Navy Only"—it was not intended to be read by Chinese (or American) eyes.

It analyzes Chinese Communist views on military theory and policy, and while it no doubt distorts the Chinese Communist position to some degree, it reveals a great deal both about the Chinese and Soviet conceptions. The current Chinese Communist view of military science is described as "facing the past, the Chinese past, not recognizing any experience other than the experience of China. . . ." This attitude, according to the Soviet critic I. Yermashev, leads to another and even more critical fault of contemporary Chinese military science: "It is simply obsolete. And it became obsolete not merely by itself but as a consequence of radical changes in many objective conditions, including the material base of war and above all of weaponry." Primarily, Yermashev comments, the Chinese exaggerate the significance of the political and ideological character of possible future war at the expense of evaluating realistically "the balance of real material forces"—that is, recognition of American military power. The Chinese Communists are said to bank on a protracted war, and on winning such a protracted war "even if at a given time—that is, speaking plainly, at the present time—the enemy is stronger, because in the course of the struggle the relation of forces will change to the advantage of the weaker." This the Soviet writer finds unconvincing: "It is absurd to suppose that a war of attrition will favor the weak and harm the strong," he writes. "In such a war, the weak will be exhausted before the strong."

"CHINESE MARXISM" (*Military Thought* put it in quotes) is said to make population a "decisive factor, along with political-morale factors, determining victory or defeat." The Soviet rebuttal not only cites the British conquest of India as an example where size of population was no index of strength but also pointedly recalls the defeat of China in 1895 by "little Japan." Similarly, the Chinese example of the defeat of Japan in China in 1945 as an illustration of victory in a "protracted war"—the cornerstone case for Mao Tse-tung's theories—is rejected as "unconvincing." The Chinese neglect to note that Japan was "tied down on many fronts in the Pacific Ocean," Yermashev says, and that "the anti-fascist coalition took the war to the Japanese homeland"—both rare, if indirect, Soviet credits to our role in defeating Japan. The author does not forget to note that "the Soviet Army dealt complete defeat to the Japanese Army in Northeastern and Northern China," without which "the might of Japanese imperialism would not have been broken." Both the historical role of the Chinese Communists and the theoretical underpinning of their present military doctrine and politico-

POVERTY

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POVERTY IN THE U.S.A.

BY J. STOUDER SWEET

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PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 398

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POVERTY IN THE U.S.A.

BY J. STOUDER SWEET

J. Stouder Sweet, of Northwestern University, has done extensive research and writing on crime and juvenile delinquency. He is a former assistant editor of the Encyclopaedia Britannica *and served, in the late 1950's, on the staffs of several U.S. Senate committees. . . . Charts by Visual Services, Inc.*

SOME MIGHT think it ironic that American concern about poverty should have reached its peak in today's affluent society. But it is not, perhaps, really odd that as America has become more prosperous it has become more aware that all Americans are not well off – in fact, that many are poor, by any standard.

It's been said that the poor of the 1960's are "invisible"– they wear cheap store-bought clothes that look like everyone's clothing, and they live in miserable housing, but in areas where most other Americans never go.

Who are these "invisible" people? They are: racially segregated, unemployed, underemployed, minimally paid, physically or mentally ill, those living a marginal existence on pensions, including among them men whose skills are technologically outmoded. They are: female heads of families, young people ill-educated for

today's urbanized and automated industry, and dependent children. They live in economically depressed parts of the country, in big-city slums, or in migrant worker camps.

Today's American poor may be out of sight, but they are often not out of mind. During the recessions of 1949, 1954, 1958, and 1961, the long-term unemployment rate was edging up. Clearly, many Americans were being shaken completely out of our affluent society – or had never managed to gain entry to it at all. Why? Geographical and technological changes in the economic structure made it difficult for millions of older workers and new job-seekers to get jobs.

Half a decade of unexampled and uninterrupted prosperity since 1961 has pointed up the contrast even more. Thus contemporary poverty is increasingly discussed in terms of paradox: nearly full employment, yet persistent unemployment; jobs going begging while millions of unemployed are untrained to fill them; jobless inhabitants of depressed areas who don't move to labor-shortage areas to get jobs.

changing attitudes toward poverty

In the United States the public attitude toward poverty has changed considerably during the past century. In 1893 President Grover Cleveland stated that "While the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their government, its functions do not include the support of the people." (A year later, the leaders of Coxey's "army" of unemployed, demanding a federal program of work relief, were arrested for walking on the Capitol grass.) In contrast, the Employment Act of 1946 declared, with qualifications, that it was the national purpose to create and maintain within the free enterprise system useful employment opportunities for those able, willing, and seeking to work. The 1946 Act, passed with bipartisan support, institutionalized a virtual revolution in American thinking by establishing a Council of Economic Advisers in the President's Executive Office and the present

Joint Economic Committee in Congress to study and recommend ways to maintain "full employment."

What are today lumped together as programs of health, education, and welfare, of course, might be considered part of a long-established, continuing "war on poverty." These go back to 1787, to the somewhat premature provision for public schools in the Northwest Ordinance (repeated in every statehood enabling act including that for Hawaii in 1959).

The focus of present anti-poverty action by the government may be found in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-452, August 20, 1964).

The 1964 Act authorized a variety of anti-poverty programs under the general supervision of an Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in the President's Executive Office:

1) a Job Corps for school dropouts aged 16 through 21;
2) a Youth Conservation Corps (the counterpart of the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's) within the Job Corps;
3) popular part-time "work training programs" for unemployed youth under a Neighborhood Youth Corps;
4) "work-study programs" for college students from low-income families;
5) "community action programs," including the highly popular "Head Start" program for pre-kindergartners from culturally deprived areas;
6) "adult basic education programs"—teaching the unemployed to read and write;
7) employment and investment incentive programs for small business;
8) "work experience programs"—providing citizens on relief rolls with experience and job training needed to get jobs;
9) special programs for rural areas;
10) Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a domestic version of the Peace Corps, staffed by low-salaried anti-poverty workers.

Wide World Photos

At mid-decade, the OEO directly administered only the urban Job Corps, community action programs, VISTA, and one of the rural programs for migrant workers. Other programs under the Act were administered by the departments of Health, Education, and Welfare; Labor; Agriculture; and Interior; and by the Small Business Administration.

Other anti-poverty legislation of the 1960's involved the passage of various area redevelopment acts (including acts authorizing developmental public works commissions in Appalachia and the Ozarks); the Primary and Secondary Education Act; the Higher Education Act; the Demonstration Cities Act of 1966; and acts establishing a National Teacher Corps, rent supplements for low-income families, and increased minimum wage rates and coverage.

Virtually all these programs were the subject of political controversy, and the necessity of obtaining annual Congressional

appropriations for them guaranteed continued controversy. One might, for instance, take the outraged denunciation of Horace Mann by mid-19th-century conservatives as characteristic of the heated comment any governmental anti-poverty effort usually arouses among some Americans. In getting laws taxing the well-to-do to send the children of the poor to school, Mann was frankly advocating using the wealth of the older generation to equalize opportunity for the younger.

Even today, many middle class people, because of their self-righteous attitude toward income as the reward for work, look down on the poor. And it's been suggested that the continued existence of an inferior, impoverished class gives the middle-income groups their sense of status and identity. Consequently, any significant effort to raise the status of the poor (getting them jobs and taking them off relief, for instance) would seem to some in the status-anxious and status-striving middle class to be a threat to their own position in society.

"the culture of poverty"

Social scientists have been emphasizing recently that there is a "culture of poverty," with an ethic different from the dominant middle class ethic of obedience to law, self-discipline, work, and putting off today's enjoyment to work toward a future goal. This viewpoint, for instance, is expressed in recent books by Oscar Lewis.*

The culture of poverty, Lewis says, transcends national boundaries. It exists in rural and urban settings. "Wherever it occurs, its practitioners exhibit remarkable similarity in the structure of their families, in interpersonal relations, in spending habits, in their value systems, and in their orientation in time." For in-

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**Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (1959), *La Vida, a Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty—San Juan and New York* (1966), and other publications.

stance, Lewis discovered that common-law marriages and households headed by women, found among many poor American Negro families, were also common among the poor in Mexico and Puerto Rico. Typical of this culture is a fatalistic, live-for-today, let-come-what-may attitude.

Lewis argues that not all the world's poor live in the "culture of poverty." Such a culture typically exists, he says, in a cash economy with wage labor, a profit system, long-term high unemployment and underemployment for unskilled labor, where there are dominant middle class values that the unemployed and underemployed don't feel will work for them.

A 1966 publication of the United States Welfare Administration, *Low-Income Life Styles,* summarizes recent United States comment on common social and mental characteristics among the poor. In it, the poor are found to be fatalistic, authoritarian in their attitudes to others, casual in the choice of marriage or common-law marriage partners, and emotionally isolated from the community and from each other. Men are believers in male superiority, but families usually center about women, who are frequently the main providers in one-parent families.

the "new school" study

Publication of John K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* in 1958 triggered interest at the New School for Social Research in New York City in a study that would break the traditional link in economic thinking between the poverty of nations and of individuals. Dean Henry David and Professor Oscar Ornati of the New School felt that poverty must now be studied in the context of an affluent society. The Twentieth Century Fund, which had been thinking along parallel lines, agreed to finance the project, and the Fund's book, *Poverty Amid Affluence,* is Dr. Ornati's report on that project.

As the New School research study pointed out, most students of the United States economy up to 1960 had given their prin-

cipal attention to growing productivity and the nation's general prosperity, ignoring a persistent number of Americans who were not sharing in the prosperity—who in fact were, and are, practically outsiders in our society.

WHAT IS POVERTY?

Just as there was no generally accepted standard for measuring employment and unemployment in the early 1930's—resulting in widely varying estimates of Depression-era unemployment—today there is no generally accepted method of measuring poverty. This is particularly evident in making time comparisons. You can be optimistic or pessimistic about United States progress in eradicating poverty, depending on what standards you use, and whether you compare today to yesterday using an old standard, or today to yesterday using a present-day standard.

As the New School report points out, most recent discussions of poverty have used a "poverty line" or "cut-off" concept—every family with less than a certain amount of family income is considered poor; every family with more is considered not poor. The income dividing line between poor and non-poor is the "poverty line" or "subsistence level."

Robert J. Lampman's 1959 study for the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress, for instance, used a cut-off of $2,516 for a four-person family—a figure which lies between the $4,000 "adequate standard of living" of the Bureau of Labor Statistics City Worker's Family Budget (1947) and relief budgets used in most states.

what "subsistence level" means in real life

Typical of 1960 subsistence budgets is a New York City budget requiring an income of $2,660. It provides for simple clothing to protect against the weather and maintain cleanliness. It leaves no room for impulse buying or fashion. It barely copes with the

problem of wear. A woman's coat, for instance, must last five years. Left-over food must be retrieved. There can be no error. A cup of flour spilled means no thickening of gravy that week; a blown bulb, no light for that month; and a chair broken in anger cannot be replaced for a year. The meat budget allows for stewing lamb, beef liver or heart, picnic shoulder, fillet of haddock, or perhaps a boned veal roast. No frozen foods are provided for. Compared to a 1935 subsistence budget in New York City, which provided $600 less in 1960 dollars, the 1960 budget emphasizes more fresh vegetables and high-protein foods. It still allows for only 520 carfares, as the 1935 budget did, and allows nothing for an occasional beer, tobacco, or telephone calls.

The budget assumes a small rented five-room flat (two or three rooms more than in 1935). The family living room might have two chairs. A mattress and spring on legs may serve as a couch. A drop-leaf table for eating and two straight chairs may be there. Linoleum may cover the floor, and there can be a lamp or two. Electricity is to be used carefully. An electric refrigerator and iron are allowed (neither was provided for in 1935). The family may listen to the radio an hour a day; but television is not included in the budget. There will be money to buy aspirin but none for "miracle" drugs. The husband may get a haircut once a month, and the wife a home permanent once a year. She can use a self-service launderette. There will be no money to buy the children candy or ice cream, or to go to the movies, or to offer a visitor a cup of coffee.

The U.S. Welfare Administration reports an aspect of poverty-level life style that the New School report passed over—what the relief and Aid to Dependent Children client actually does with the relief money.

It shows that low-income families generally buy necessities first and luxuries last—with exceptions. Notable was moderate overspending on large household appliances, radios, television sets, and phonographs. The low-income wife values the ap-

pliances as a means of being a more effective housewife—a role she accepts more willingly than some middle-income wives. Some poor Negro families may underspend on housing, food, and medical care, and overspend on fashionable clothes.

Low-income shoppers do not usually try to get the best quality goods for the lowest price. They lack extensive knowledge of quality features of the immense variety of goods available and of credit agreements and consumer rights. They also tend to prefer personal relationships with dealers and friends to depersonalized dealings in large chain and department stores. Budgeting may be limited to saving coins in a sugar bowl until there is enough there for a purchase. Low-income families don't make or repair much themselves—they usually don't have the know-how required for such work.

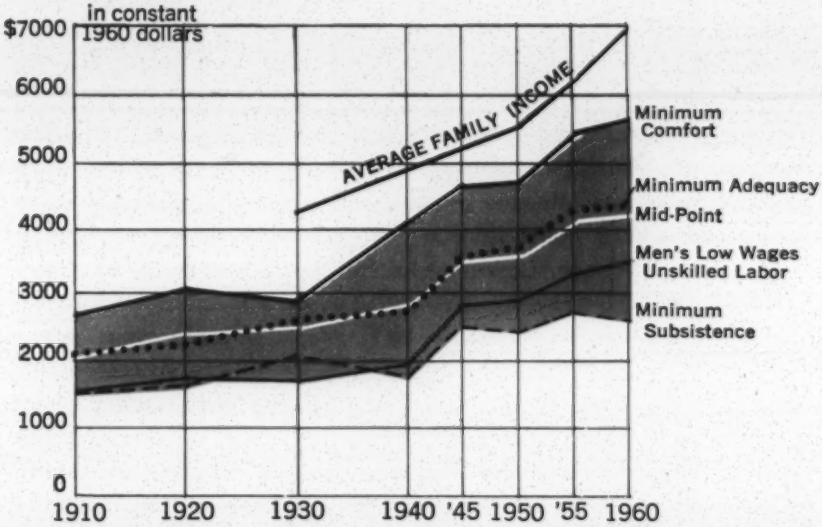
Low-income families also do not take much advantage of consumer education aids available to them, just as they don't take full advantage of health, education, and legal assistance they could get. People offering such information must usually go to them and make it easier for the poor to use it.

the "poverty band"

Instead of a single poverty line, the New School study used a "band" concept—e.g., when the income of a family of four fell below any point in a band ranging downward from "comfort" ($5,609) through "adequacy" ($4,348) to and including "subsistence" ($2,662) the family was classified as deprived or poor.

The New School staff used comfort, adequacy, and subsistence budgets prepared by government agencies, wage determination boards, charities, research foundations, and such organizations as the National Industrial Conference Board and the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California to trace the "poverty band" back to the early 1900's. The following chart, adjusted to 1960 dollars, shows how the standards have gradually risen throughout the years.

THE POVERTY BAND

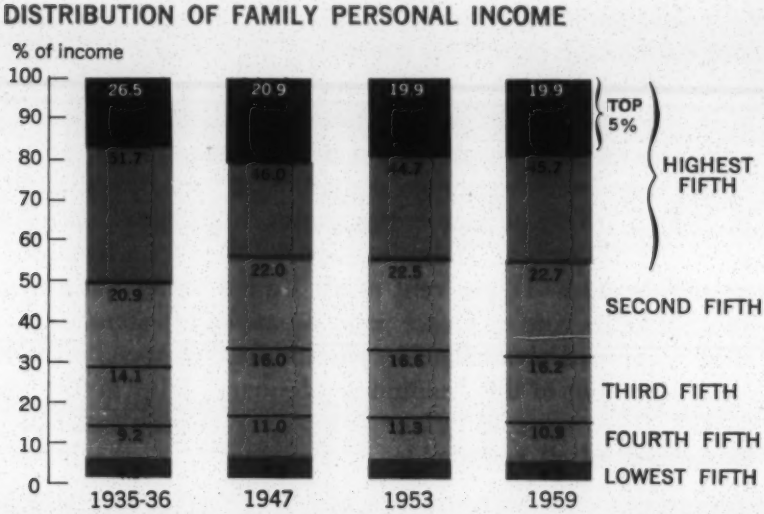


The subsistence budgets represent contemporary notions of rock-bottom poverty in America. Adequacy budgets represent the level below which United States social welfare agencies usually will provide free services such as medical aid. Comfort budgets represent current concepts of a comfortable or "American" standard of living: anyone living below this standard might reasonably feel he was living in "deprivation."

All three levels of the poverty band have gone up over the years—but comfort budgets have gone up fastest, being most responsive to rising expectations in the prosperous society. The subsistence budgets are generally tied to the bottom-most part of the labor market. They are currently lower than "men's low wages"—wages earned by unskilled labor.

poverty as inequality

The chart below depicts trends the New School study reported in U.S. income distribution between 1935 and 1959.



The lowest fifth (two out of ten Americans, coinciding most closely with the poverty group) got $4.10 out of every $100 of national income in 1935; $5 in 1947; and $4.50 in 1959.

The *combined* middle three groups (six out of ten Americans) got $44.20 in 1935; $49 in 1947; and $49.80 in 1959. The top fifth, consisting of wealthy and well-to-do Americans (the remaining two out of ten Americans) got $51.70 in 1935; $46 in 1947; and $45.70 in 1959.

All five groups have gained in real income; in their *share* of total U.S. income, only the middle three groups have gained over the years—at the expense of the poor and the well-to-do.

Some goods and services included in poverty budgets today—such as heat, electricity, running water—reflect the general rise in U.S. living styles, including those at the poverty level.

But no matter how much total United States income and consumer goods and services have improved, the low-income *share* of these has not increased but has decreased since World War II.

how many poor are there?

Asking how many poor there are at any time is about the same thing as asking how concerned the questioner is about poverty.

– Is he concerned about poverty as insufficiency, or as inequality?

– Is he concerned about American families living at the level at which they become eligible for relief or welfare payments? In 1960, a family of four living at this "subsistence" level received $2,660 or less. There were about 20 million individuals in such families—11 per cent of all United States households, an irreducible core of abject poor, by anybody's standard.

– Is he concerned about families eligible for free social services? A family living in this "minimum adequacy" level in 1960 got $4,350. There were 46 million individuals in such families, or 26 per cent of all households.

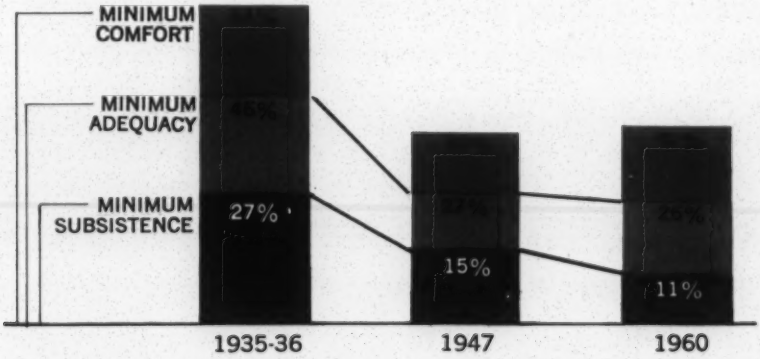
Wide World Photos

– Is he concerned about families living below a "minimum comfort" level—the level the Bureau of Labor Standards and most labor unions consider a normal "American" standard of living for a city worker's family? In 1960 this level required an income of at least $5,610. There were about 71 million individuals in families—or 40 per cent of all households—with incomes less than this amount. These people *feel* poor, or at least deprived, not fully sharing in the current prosperity.

Counting the poor only by *contemporary standards* and in terms of the three "lines" making up the poverty band, the New School staff projected its count to previous years.

It found:

LEVELS OF INADEQUACY *(% of households)*



Measuring poverty and deprivation *in terms of contemporary concern,* it will be seen that the high percentage of households in poverty and deprivation during the Depression of the 1930's finally declined during the World War II years. The "subsistence" portion of the band today is about half what it was, as a percentage, in the Depression. The band as a whole (all those

below the "comfort" level) has not improved since 1947; we continue to judge that more or less 40 per cent of Americans live in conditions most Americans consider as less than comfort, and 26 to 28 per cent at conditions considered less than adequate.

WHO ARE THE POOR?

Poverty and deprivation are the disproportionate lot today not simply of individuals but of certain population groups: non-whites, females, the aged, the young, rural farm dwellers, Southerners (particularly rural non-white Southerners), those with no work experience, the part-time employed, large families with numerous minor children, and those with little schooling.

The poor and deprived of today are increasingly not the victims of a Depression-era economy or of their own bad habits, but of membership in some of these ill-favored population groups.

Census data can be produced for these groups for 1960 and for the decades before. When the New School staff compared this demographic data with census data on income, they found the long-term trends show a close association.

In 1960 all of these groups had low incomes. Below the $4,500 level, the proportion of families with one or more of these characteristics was very high—close to half.

When a head of family has not merely one *but two or more* of these characteristics, the probability of poverty may be overwhelming:

Family Head	*Per cent below $2,500 in 1960*
Rural farm, non-white	78
Female, non-white	65
Aged, non-white	63
Aged, rural farm	55
Female, rural farm	55
Aged, female	37

The characteristics discussed here, of course, are not the only ones often associated with low income. Poor housing and poor health are also found to be closely associated with poverty. The New School staff investigated these along with other factors.

the geography of low income

Poverty, without a doubt, has a geographic dimension. Employment opportunities are not evenly distributed. They are few in an area of labor surplus, or where changes in technology have outmoded many people's job skills.

Farms and isolated small towns and cities are increasingly areas of labor surplus. Cities almost always have been the main centers of opportunity. As a result, a constant migration of rural and small town people to major cities and metropolitan areas has taken place.

While the big cities have more low-income people than other areas, there's less risk of being abjectly poor in a big city.

The larger the town or city, the less likelihood there will be of having an extremely low income. For instance, in 1960 the median family income in towns of 2,500 to 25,000 was $5,356; in towns of over one million it was $6,486. Thus in dollars there was *a $1,000 advantage* per family in the metropolis.

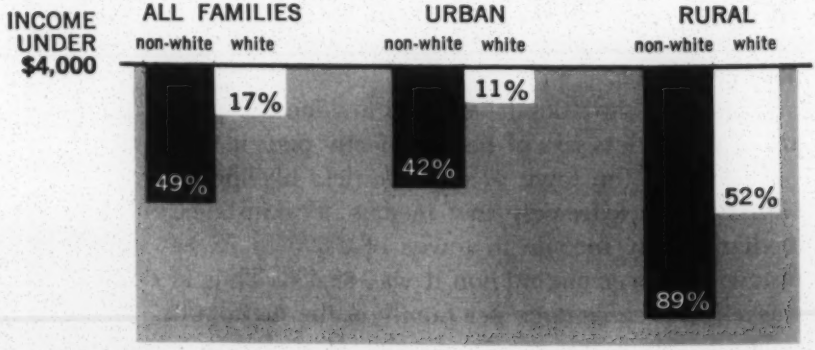
The South is at a special disadvantage. It has a large proportion of poverty-linked groups—non-white, rural farm, ill educated. Even eliminating non-whites and rural farm people from consideration, the urban South has a relatively low income compared to the North and West.

poverty among negroes

In the years since World War II, the economic gains of the non-white population (which is about 92 per cent Negro) have been less than those of whites. Further, among the non-white group those who have gained are in a minority, and the relative position of many non-whites has worsened.

At each level of low income, many more non-whites per hundred are poor or deprived than whites. Taking all families in 1960, approximately 49 per cent of all non-white families had less than $4,000 annual income, as against 17 per cent of all white families. In cities, the picture was little better—42 per cent for non-whites, 11 per cent for whites. Among the rural farm group, 89 per cent of all non-white rural farm families had income below $4,000, as compared to 52 per cent of all white rural farm families.

DIFFERENCES WITHIN LOW INCOME GROUPS



Negroes can almost always be found in lower-paid, less skilled occupations. Within the same occupations, non-whites are customarily paid less than whites, particularly where the education levels of both are above average.

Non-white women are handicapped in the type of work they can get. Ten per cent of non-white women working in 1959 were domestics as compared to only one per cent of working white women. Only 12 per cent of non-white working women were secretaries or clerks, as compared to 44 per cent of the white women who worked.

education

In theory, public education puts opportunity equally within the reach of all children. This is the ideal, but not the fact. Only recently has it been realized that the United States public school system acts as a "selecting out" mechanism. Behind the effort to maintain the appearance of equality of opportunity in school, a relentless competition goes on. For this competition the children of the poor are ill-fitted. By the time they have entered school, children from culturally deprived homes are already at a disadvantage. They get discouraged early and drop out much more readily than other children. It was this fact that sparked the Head Start programs.

Inadequate education has been part of the life style of the poor. This shows up early in poor reading skill. The pupil who has trouble reading seldom catches up. Parents, children, and teachers alike take it for granted that he never will.

About 40 per cent of all who started high school in the early 1960's dropped out before graduation. At a family income level of $9,000 the dropout rate was only 3.6 per cent a year; when family income went as low as $3,000-$5,000 the rate was 19.2 per cent a year.

Every school year completed brings measurable advantages in job opportunities. In 1959 unskilled workers (median earnings $2,834) had completed, on the average, 8.5 years of schooling; semiskilled workers ($4,101), 9 years; craftsmen and foremen ($5,272), 11 years; clerical workers ($4,691), 12.5 years; professional and technical workers ($6,287), 16.4 years.

home influence

A University of Michigan study found that education of the father was the most powerful predictor of income for the son. Having or not having money does not in itself preclude the possibility of getting a high school or even a college degree. Strong motivation to acquire an education generally comes from the

home. Lack of interest in education at home can completely destroy a youngster's interest in the advantages of education.

The desire for achievement seems to necessitate urging by parents to master skills early. At an early age, such skills may only be climbing, jumping, and sports. The mothers of boys with a low desire for achievement tend to impose more restrictions and do not expect their sons to show independence and mastery as early. The best time to encourage a desire for achievement is apparently between six and eight years of age.

Children from low-income families tend to score low on intelligence tests. In Harlem older children have actually tested lower in I.Q. tests than when they were younger. Most of these tests involve language ability, and low-income families are often less given to reading than others. The style of language in low-income families is usually concrete rather than abstract, making it more difficult for low-income children to understand what teachers are talking about.

housing

Hereditary poverty appears to be forged in a combination of inadequate education, poor housing, bad nutrition, limited knowledge of hygiene, and late identification of disease.

Good housing, though essential, will not solve all the problems of poverty. Good housing may provide a favorable physical environment. But it does not teach children to read, abolish discrimination, or provide jobs. Nor is bad housing exclusively, or mainly, urban. There is in fact more substandard housing outside than inside metropolitan areas, according to the 1960 United States Census of Housing. Of the 19 million occupied housing units outside the metropolitan areas, only 12 million were in sound condition and had complete plumbing facilities. In the urban areas, where housing conditions may be intolerably cramped, about 28 million out of 34 million units met these standards. However, of housing units occupied by non-whites,

in the non-urban areas only 17 per cent were in sound condition with all plumbing; in the cities 57 per cent qualified.

There is a direct connection between improved housing and education. Youths 14-17 years of age are more likely to stay in school if they live in public housing projects than if they live in the slums, even though the public-housing family's income may be slightly lower.

health and poverty

There is a clear-cut relationship between low income and poor health. The poor are particularly prone to certain diseases, especially those associable with poor housing or the lack of immunization. They are more likely to suffer from accidents which are characteristic of hazardous occupations and from mental disability. The United States National Health Survey, 1957-58, found that low-income sick people lost more days of work due to ill health, spent more days in the hospital, and had more days of bed disability and of restricted activity than higher income people.

Having less to buy health with, the poor have less health. Better health among the higher income groups may also result from better knowledge of hygiene among the educated. Or, to look at it the other way, ill and disabled persons are less likely to be able to earn a good living.

In addition to having poor health facilities, low-income people have a fatalistic attitude toward health that hinders them from seeking what health care exists and taking preventive measures. Curable conditions are often believed to be unavoidable. Dental decay and the loss of teeth are often considered as inevitable. Disease symptoms, such as discomfort, are not identified as illness. Only when a person becomes incapacitated do many poor people consider him "sick."

Poor people tend not to be affected by public health programs. Immunization for polio has been more readily accepted among

high- and middle-income families than lower income groups. The poor practice self-medication, and may consult friends and neighbors for advice about medical treatment rather than doctors. Although they are sick more often, low-income families spend a relatively small proportion of their means on doctor bills.

the "displaced" and "never placed"

The periodic recessions of the 1950's and the recession of 1961 brought mounting "structural" unemployment (joblessness resulting from lasting changes in the labor market). With it came growing awareness of a mounting level of permanent unemployment and of a class of seemingly permanently unemployed and unemployable people.

How does one become displaced in an affluent society?

Increasingly, unemployment in the 1950's and 1960's affected special groups—Negroes, the young, the aged, the unskilled, the poorly educated, and, significantly, factory workers. Technological unemployment was high in certain depressed areas. In Hagerstown, Maryland, for instance, the 1960 unemployment rate —one out of every six workers—almost matched the level of the Great Depression. (In 1961, the first of the recent federal "anti-poverty" programs, area redevelopment, was established to deal with this problem.)

The growing productivity of the United States economy, contrary to traditional expectation, had not by the mid-1960's remedied structural unemployment resulting from technological change or the structural poverty resulting from unfavorable geographic location. "Full employment" policies of the past had not proved to be enough.

Furthermore, making a living depends increasingly on ability to fill in questionnaires, to pass aptitude tests, to use the right words, and more important, on formal education. Entry to jobs may be affected by possession of training that may or may not be directly related to the duties of the position.

poverty and the labor market

Farmers and farm workers frequently have fared ill in the prosperous 1950's and 1960's. However, the statistics include as "farmers" many who have but a few acres from which they earn a little income. Thus, there were in a recent year at least 350,000 families on very small farms whose income from farm operations was primarily in kind and whose cash receipts, on the average, came mainly from off-farm work. As a group, these so-called farmers averaged about $450 during the year from the sale of farm products as well as a little over $500 in earnings from off-farm work.

While workers in industry generally fare better than farmers and farm workers, there are several industries whose wages over recent decades have hovered just above the "minimum subsistence" level. As a result, this has placed many of their workers squarely in the "poverty band." Poorly paid men and women workers in 1960 included employees of general merchandise stores, apparel and accessories stores, hotels, motels, and tourist courts, laundries, cleaning and dyeing plants, drug stores, limited-price variety stores, women's ready-to-wear stores, manufacturers of clothing and textiles, cigar manufacturers, and poultry dressing and packing establishments. Workers in these enterprises had an average hourly 1960 wage of between $1 and $1.50. Migrant farm workers constituted another very large group whose wages were even lower.

In the distressed areas there are too many people for too few available jobs. Older people, particularly, afraid of the risks involved in starting anew in strange surroundings at their age, tend to stay in such areas. These are frequently underdeveloped regions, very similar in their lack of public and private investment to non-industrialized nations of the world.

Few Americans are starving—although many suffer from malnutrition, unsanitary housing, lack of attention to health problems and inadequate education.

THE COMMITMENT TO REMEDY

What is being done to fulfill the historic United States commitment to remedy the inequities in opportunity and justice that remain in our national life?

the anti-poverty dollar

The New School staff estimated annual public and private "anti-poverty" expenditures in 1960 at about $52.4 billion. This total anti-poverty expenditure (spent for palliatives such as relief and for remedies such as social welfare services and education) exceeded 1960 national defense expenditures of about $46 billion.

The vast bulk of the $52.4 billion in "anti-poverty" expenditures was taken from people in the form of taxes. This totaled an estimated $49 billion in 1960. Some of this money – such as the amount used to provide Social Security pensions – represented in part a repayment of money contributed by the recipients. Much of it, however, actually constituted a redistribution of "other people's money."

Taxes themselves are, of course, redistributive so long as the taxpayer does not get equal value in return for the amount he has paid. So practically all public programs, including many not designated as an "anti-poverty program," involve some redistribution of income.

Of the estimated $49 billion public anti-poverty expenditure in 1960, the New School staff found about $37 billion were devoted to the prevention of poverty through various social security, health-care, physical disability, unemployment, and educational programs. Direct support of the poor accounted for about $9 billion, and support of those not officially declared poor (no "pauper's oath" required) accounted for about $2.5 billion.

In addition, the New School staff estimated that about $3 billion was spent by private organizations and individuals to prevent or alleviate poverty in 1960. This was somewhat less than

half of charitable giving in 1960. Not all expenditures of tax-free organizations, of course, are devoted to health and welfare programs that can fairly be designated as anti-poverty efforts.

how private and public efforts interact and overlap

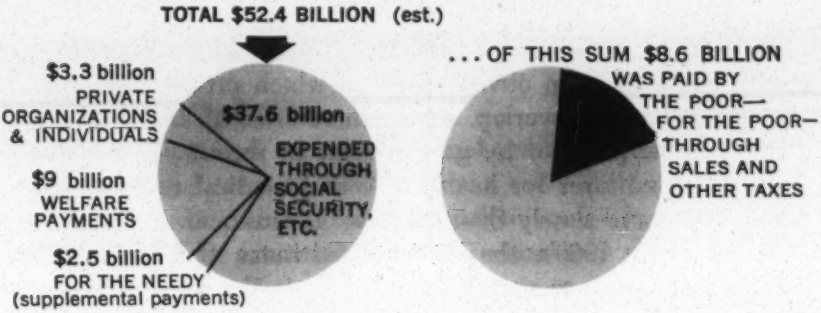
Health research is an obvious area in which private and public anti-poverty efforts overlap. About three-fifths of all medical research is now paid for by government. In recent years, philanthropic expenditures for health care and medical research have risen much more slowly than those by government.

By the early 1960's, the National Institutes of Health had a budget amounting to more than four times the total budgets of the 37 largest private national health agencies. One reason for this has been that voluntary fund-raising drives have increased public awareness of health needs, leading to demand for increased government research expenditures. For instance, the National Association for Retarded Children, which was formed in 1953, had helped by 1960 to direct federal attention to retardation, with a consequent marked increase in government expenditure. The government is also today a large-scale contributor to construction of private non-profit hospitals through the Hill-Burton Act. Private foundations and individuals also contribute some funds to publicly owned medical facilities.

how much do the poor pay for their own support?

Estimates by the New School poverty research staff indicate that *a larger proportion of the total anti-poverty tax burden is carried by those earning under $4,000 than by any other income class.* It consists of contributions to social security programs and those portions of sales and excise taxes used to finance anti-poverty programs. Sales and excise taxes, which fall on those who spend all their money rather than saving or investing part of it, strike lower-income people much more heavily than the higher-income persons who are savers or investors. The New School staff esti-

ANTI-POVERTY EXPENDITURES 1960



mated that *about $8.6 billion of the total $49 billion public anti-poverty expenditure in 1960 was paid by those earning under $4,000.* The under-$4,000 group also contributed about a half-billion dollars to private anti-poverty programs.

public assistance programs

The 1935 Social Security Act, in addition to establishing Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, also established three "categorical assistance" federal-state fund-matching programs: Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children (which was later expanded to Aid and Services to the Families of Dependent Children), and Aid to the Blind. Two other categories, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and Medical Assistance for the Aged, were later added. A sixth program, totally dependent upon state or local financing, is known as "general assistance" or "home relief."

The number of persons covered by these programs has changed sharply with the years. Of the shifts since 1936, the most dramatic have been:

1) The very sharp decline in those receiving locally-financed

general assistance. This reflects transfer of general assistance cases into "categorical assistance" programs.

2) The rise in the number of recipients of federal-state financed Aid and Services to the Families of Dependent Children.

The poverty of children, one of the less well-known aspects of the post-World War II "baby boom," has been a rapidly increasing fact of American life. Between 1947 and 1960 the average number of children under 18 benefiting from this program (2.3 million) almost equaled the number aged 65 or over who were completely dependent on Old Age Assistance (2.4 million).

But in addition to the "baby boom," the recent years have also been marked by an increase in the number of aged. The fact that 14 per cent of all those 65 and over in 1960 were completely dependent on Old Age Assistance shows that Social Security, Railroad Retirement, civil service retirement, and private pension plans have been far from universal or adequate in their coverage.

social insurance programs

The Social Security System, as the New School study points out, is based on the idea that an individual worker's income is to be spread over periods in which he does not earn, as well as over those in which he does earn. Thus it is a system deeply intermeshed with the labor market and with participation in it.

The major policy debates of the 1950's and 1960's have centered on coverage and the level of benefits of various social insurance systems. This is still the essence of the debate about minimum wages and unemployment insurance.

Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance now covers almost 95 per cent of all employees and self-employed persons. Yet those with limited employment experience are largely excluded. Social insurance financed out of paychecks does not help people who do not receive paychecks. The bulk of Social Security benefits – useful as they are – still goes to those who have worked steadily, and are not in the greatest need.

Most discussions of social welfare until the 1960's have bypassed entirely the actual problem posed by contemporary poverty. The efforts to extend Social Security have been designed primarily to cope with aberrations of the economic system. They have not been designed to bring the abject poor into the system.

THE FEASIBILITY OF PREVENTING POVERTY

The increase in the level of poverty-band budget standards over the years – including the low "subsistence" budget standards set for relief eligibility – poses a question. Are we not making the eradication of poverty impossible by continually raising budget levels?

The answer, says the New School report, is clearly no. It is no, the report explains, for the reason that the definition of poverty in each generation represents not only the contemporary life style of the low income classes; it also represents a life style below which society agrees that its citizens shall not be allowed to fall. Definitions of poverty therefore reflect not only habitual expenditure at the poverty band level but also reflect current social ideals.

If people are complacent about the living conditions of those within the poverty band, standards will not change much. If public opinion discerns great inequities in life styles on the poverty level, standards may improve. The test is whether people are willing to pay what it costs. Relief budgets, *Poverty Amid Affluence* reminds us, tell a great deal about United States ideals as well as the realities of life at low income levels.

Accepting it as possible (or probable) that the income share of those in the bottom 20 per cent of the United States income distribution will remain at about 5 per cent of total national income, it would still be possible to eliminate poverty up to the "subsistence" level, at least, by bringing national income up so that those in the bottom segment of the income distribution ob-

tain what society currently accepts as minimum "subsistence" standards.

The New School staff does not see new capital investment as a realistic means of attaining this goal. There is not sufficient private capital available to step up private investment from about $25 billion per year to the between $65 and $85 billion the New School staff thinks would be needed.

redistribution of 3 per cent

On the other hand, a redistribution of 3 per cent of current income or less – amounting in 1960 to $4.6 billion and representing a rise of less than 10 per cent in public anti-poverty expenditures – would appear to be not only feasible but easy.

Feasibility, of course, includes a political dimension. Although Congress in 1966 appropriated supplemental rental payments for selected low-income groups, it did so grudgingly. If Congress won't authorize such rent subsidies on the basis of low income alone, it is hard to see how it could be induced to authorize any other type of direct, broad-scale subsidy. Nevertheless, many serious students of the problem, including Barry Goldwater's 1964 adviser Dr. Milton Friedman, have proposed such subsidies, in the form of a "negative income tax." Some writers (such as Friedman) see this as a way of doing away with various welfare programs and eliminating large numbers of government bureaucrats. Others see them as an American counterpart to family allowances now being paid in some other advanced industrial nations.

Says the New School staff: "In the future as in the past, the final determination of what society must do will be made in terms of what level of living the United States 'ought' to consider minimal in terms of current possibilities and expectations."

Most anti-poverty programs existing or proposed in the early 1960's, as the New School report points out, centered on Social Security programs which largely exclude the poor. A true anti-poverty campaign would concentrate on those who are virtually

outside the economy. The efforts of the Office of Economic Opportunity are of this type.

a practical program

The New School report adds: "It is now widely accepted that differences in the rate of economic development of various societies can be explained as much by different amounts and rates of 'investment in human beings' as by investments in capital goods. Such investment in human beings might take one or more of the following forms: educational enrichment programs aimed at the very young children of the poor, adult literacy and retraining programs, specialized training for new entrants to the labor market, national health services financed out of general revenues, fair employment practices legislation, increased emphasis on public housing, and mass investment in the underdeveloped areas of the United States. Extension of minimum-wage coverage could be accomplished without extensive governmental expenditure.

"Private welfare agencies can pioneer in formulating new programs . . . as does the Ford Foundation in its 'Big City' programs of enriched education for deprived urban children."

The report concludes: "Although anti-poverty policies are necessarily linked, as a practical matter, to the gross national product, and specifically to the amount of it needed to prevent poverty, they should not be considered primarily a means of stimulating the nation's production. Present-day affluence makes it possible to do away with poverty. If we do not do so now, there is no way of knowing whether the problem will in the future be equally manageable."

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President's Welfare Proposals Branded 'Timid' and 'Toothless'

POVERTY 2/4/67

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3— A spokesman for a national organization of welfare recipients criticized President Johnson's welfare proposals today as "too timid, token, tardy and toothless."

George A. Wiley, director of the Poverty/Rights Action Center, made the statement at a news conference on the eve of a national welfare rights meeting here.

Mr. Wiley said he expected more than 200 delegates, representing welfare recipient groups in 21 states, to attend the meeting. After sessions tomorrow and Sunday, the delegates will lobby on Capitol Hill for stronger welfare legislation.

Proposals in the Economic Message of the President, Mr. Wiley said, are "not much encouragement to welfare recipients, who are among the poorest of all the poor people in the nation."

He said studies have shown that 95 per cent of welfare recipients were unable to work because of physical disabilities or because of child-care necessities and "not a single state's average welfare payment is as high as the poverty standard."

Definition of Poverty

The Federal definition of poverty is annual income below $3,200 for a family of four and $1,570 for a single person.

Mr. Wiley criticized President Johnson's plan to establish a two-year study commission to look into proposals for a "guaranteed minimum income." Such a step, Mr. Wiley said, would insure "that there will be no major steps to raise income for the jobless poor for at least two years."

He also criticized the proposal to require each state to set its welfare payments at a level that at least meets its own definition of need. He called the proposal a "sad substitute" for a national standard at least as high as the Federal Government's poverty standard.

Mr. Wiley praised the President's proposal to remove a part of what has been called a 100 per cent tax on welfare recipients— a reduction in public assistance of a dollar for each dollars of earnings — but he said the President gave no indication of the level of income exemption that he would propose to Congress.

Mr. Wiley noted that the President did not propose that the training program for unemployed parents be made mandatory for the states. Only 21 states participate in that program now, he said.

'Uncle Tomahawks'

MEMPHIS, Feb. 3 (UPI)— An Indian leader told the President's poverty commission today that Government efforts to help the rural poor were hindered by "Uncle Tomahawks."

Clyde Warrior, a 27-year-old Ponca Indian from Tahlequah, Okla., and president of the National Indian Youth Council, described "Uncle Tomahawks" as those Indian leaders allied with the Bureau of Indian Affairs who "say what the Government wants them to say."

Mr. Warrior was one of several persons heard at the second of three regional hearings held by the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty.

One hearing was held in Tucson, Ariz., last week and the third will be in Washington, Feb. 15-17. The commission will make recommendations to the White House.

Mr. Warrior advocated Federal aid without strings and an end to "paternalistic control." He said decisions on how to spend the money should be made locally.

POVERTY

Lag in Poverty Aid Not Blamed on War

Federal support for the poor has been falling off since 1960 and the war in Vietnam is not the reason why less money is available for the war on poverty, the former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers said here Wednesday.

Addressing a conference on welfare problems and public policy, Leon N. Keyserling said that state and local governments have actually done a better job in the war on poverty than has the federal government.

Keyserling said, "The truth is that the national government is not making a full effort in the poverty program."

He said that federally guaranteed full employment and minimum income are necessary if the War on Poverty is to be successful.

Keyserling said that the problem of poverty is not an economic one but is a "moral problem." He said that if the War on Poverty is in trouble, it is because of poor analysis of the fundamental causes of poverty and of the line that needs to be taken to correct the problem.

"There are two main reasons for poverty," Keyserling said. "First, the absence of adequate job opportunity and pay. And second, the absence of an adequate system to care for those who are unable to work for one reason or another."

NOT CORRECT

Keyserling said that current figures which set the nation's unemployed at 4 per cent are incorrect. He said, "This 4 per cent that you read about does not represent the same people all of the time. In other words, some people are unemployed at one time of the year and others are unemployed at another. The real unemployment figure is in the neighborhood of 7 to 8 per cent with 16 per cent of the people losing about one-fourth of the year in unemployment."

Keyserling suggested doubling the welfare checks of persons 65 and over.

Lisle Carter, assistant secretary in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, told the group that the United States has the resources to see that every citizen is housed, clothed and fed.

MONEY FIRST

Carter said that while we have the resources to reduce poverty substantially that it is "doubtful whether we have the commitment."

Carter, who is the highest ranking Negro in HEW, said that what the poor need first— before services — is "simply money." He added, however, that services should be made available whenever possible and should not wait until everyone has the money they need.

The HEW official said that until now welfare payments have been based on the character of the recipient. He said eligibility should be determined by need, not character.

AT PARLEY

2 Women Seek State GOP Votes

Both candidates for president of the National Federation of Republican Women politicked for the support of Georgia GOP women on the eve of a state convention here.

Gladys O'Donnell of Long Beach, Calif., who was nominated by the national nominating committee, and Phyllis Schlafly of Alton, Ill., who also seeks the presidency, were at a reception in Atlanta.

They will speak Thursday at the biennial convention of the Georgia Federation of Republican Women. The keynote speaker will be Sen. John G. Tower, R-Tex., one of the speculative prospects for second place on the GOP national ticket in 1968.

The two candidates failed to encounter each other directly during more than one hour at the reception. In separate interviews, each claimed solid records of supporting Republican candidates and shied from any labels.

Neither would venture any guesses about a presidential nominee for the party next year. "I hear talk," said Mrs. Schlafly, "but nobody seems to have come to any conclusions."

Mrs. O'Donnell said she did not believe in "hyphenated Republicans."

"Well, look what it did for us the last time," she said, referring to the divisive 1964 Republican campaign in which Barry Goldwater was defeated by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

The national federation will meet May 5-6 in Wasington for election of officers.

EMORY HAS A HAR

Census & Pop.

Birth Rate Lowest Since '36

M. Herald 3-6-67

WASHINGTON —(UPI) — The birth rate in the U.S. during 1966 hit the lowest level since 1936 and total births were the lowest since 1950, the Public Health Service (PHS) reports.

The PHS said the birth rate dropped to 18.5 births for each 1,000 population, continuing the decline from 1957, the most recent peak year, when the rate was 25.3.

Births totaled 3,629,000, down 131,000 from 1965, the PHS said.

The fertility rate also declined to 91.8 births for each 1,000 women, the lowest since 1957, but well above the 76-79 rate of 1933-39, the PHS said.

The only rising statistic reported was the number of marriages, 1,844,000 in 1966.

The health service said the declining percentage of women 15-44 years of age in the total population was one reason for the lower birth rate.

Another factor was the drop from an unusually high birth rate during the 1950's among women over 30. The high rates during the 1950's were attributed to the making up for births postponed during World War II and the late 1930's.

Another major factor in 1966 was the drop in birth rates among younger couples. The PHS said this was thought to be caused partly by a tendency toward wider spacing of births and a decline in the number of children desired.

The PHS made no mention of the effect of improved birth control techniques. It said the causes of the declining birth rate among young couples had "not yet been decided with certainty."

The increase in the number of marriages is the result of the large number of young people reaching marriageable age. These are the children born in the post-war baby boom, the PHS said.

The upward trend in the number of marriages should continue and cause a similar trend in the number of births, it added.

LEGAL AID TO POOR OFFERED FOR CITY

POVERTY

U.S. Approves New Plan to Cost $4-Million a Year—Court Must Also Act

5/28/67

By SETH S. KING

Another attempt to provide free legal service to the poor is to be made under a new program organized by the city and financed by the Federal Government.

Ten neighborhood law offices are to be established and coordinated by a central agency called Community Action for Legal Services.

In a joint announcement yesterday, Mayor Lindsay and Robert J. Mangum, Northeast Regional Director for the Office of Economic Opportunity, said that the $4-million-a-year program had received Federal approval.

But it still must be approved by the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court.

An earlier version of the program was rejected by the Appellate Division last November. The court called the plan "unworkable because of excessive layers of organization." It also said the program would compete too directly with anti-poverty law offices operating in the same areas.

New Plan Formed

However, the court made the rejection "with regret" and invited new proposals "free from infirmities."

Mayor Lindsay, in his statement yesterday, said that immediately after the adverse ruling the city's Community Development Agency had begun revising the original program. This was accomplished, he said, after extensive negotiations with city and county bar associations and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

"The new program is a milestone in our efforts to make

Continued on Page 31, Column 1

NEW PLAN OFFERS LEGAL AID TO POOR

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

equal justice a reality for all the people of the city," Mr. Lindsay declared.

The Association of the Bar of the City of New York announced yesterday it accepted the new program, as did the five county bar associations.

Russel D. Niles, president of the city bar association, said in a statement that the organized bar would have preferred "a simpler structure."

However, the bar associations would accept the plan with the reservation that they be free to recommend improvements later, he said.

"They will do everything that they can properly do to make the plan succeed," Mr. Niles asserted.

The revised program appears to meet some of the objections the Appellate Division had to the original.

8 More Groups Due

The Legal Aid Society and Mobilization for Youth are already providing legal services to the poor with Federal funds provided last year.

The new plan would join these two groups with eight others to be established by and directed through the new legal agency.

The court had objected to the extensive use of persons other than lawyers in the original plan. The revised plan calls for the staffing of the neighborhood law centers by full-time lawyers, with law students assisting them on a part-time basis.

As described by Mr. Mangum and the Mayor, the lawyers in the neighborhood legal centers would represent poor clients in civil and criminal cases. They would also appear for them at police stations and advise them before arraignment.

The legal centers would have funds to pay court costs for the poor and other expenses involved in cases.

In addition, the organizations would sponsor research, handle test cases, prepare and comment on legislation, and "educate the people of the community about their legal rights."

Maximum Income Set

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Maximum Income Set

To be eligible for free legal service under the plan a person must earn an annual base income of no more than $3,000, with an additional $500 for each dependent. However, in certain hardship cases, this maximum might be raised.

The statement outlining the new plan noted that its employes would be restricted in political activities and the neighborhood law offices would be forbidden to represent any political faction.

Whenever possible, the statement noted, investigators and other nonlegal personnel in the law centers would be recruited from the people to be served in the poverty neighborhoods.

Arthur Blaustein, director of public relations for the regional agency o fthe Office of Economic Opportunity, said a great deal of painstaking work had been done to meet the Appellate Division's objections.

"We hope to get a ruling before the summer recess, and if this is in our favor, we can start the program immediately afterward," he said.

Makeup of Agency

The board of directors of the new legal agency will consist of 20 lawyers and 10 lay representatives from the communities to be served. The latter will be chosen by the 10 legal groups under the over-all agency.

Among the 20 lawyers will be representatives from all the county bar associations and the minority-group bar associations. Also among the 20 will be two law professors and five lawyers chosen from the city at large.

Prof. Willis L. W. Reese of Columbia University and AssociateProf. Thomas M. Quinn of Fordham University have already been named as the faculty representatives.

The following five lawyers have ben named attorneys-at-large:

Robert L. Carter, general counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Burke Marshall, general counsel, of International Business Machines Corporation.

Orrin G. Judd of Goldstein, Judd & Gurrfein.

Edward V. Sparer, director of Columbia's Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law.

Theodore Pearson, of Kelley, Drye, Newhall, Maginess & Warren.

POVERTY

Sorry this is poorly written but I had no time to edit it - RMW

3 June 1967

Dr. Robert Coles
Coolidge Road
Concord, Massachusetts

COPY

Dear Bob:

Our report should perhaps be divided into the following general categories, although not necessarily in the order in which I have listed them:

(1) An account of the historical and philosophical background of FCM with particular emphasis on those qualities which separate it distinctly from its parent organization CDGM and its competitor MAP.

(2) A factual and rather detailed account of the medical, social, and economic problems that we saw on our visit to the homes and centers.

(3) Certain background information concerning the economic and political conditions and attitudes of the region.

(4) The acute and long-term medical needs of FCM and the recommended program of medical aid.

(5) Observations concerning the needs of the region with which we should immediately concern ourselves.

(6) Recommendations for the utilization of our report.

(1) FCM is an organization of poverty stricken, oppressed, and uneducated Negro people who have acquired a vision of how they can escape from their predicament through their own efforts to help their children despite great odds and pressures from many powerful sources. These people have held steadfastly to their belief that their children can best be helped, not by others, but by the efforts of their own parents. These parents believe that they must, at any price, preserve their right to decide every level what direction their program should take and who should administer it.

Here in six Mississippi counties, the American ideal of democracy was first encouraged, then ~~studied~~ stunted as help was withdrawn and self-determination denied. With unbelievable strength of conviction, the friends have stood together in the effort to maintain their rights of dignity, independence, and self-determination, knowing that their children can achieve these same values only if they first see them manifested in their parents.

We saw evidences of this inner strength and determination everywhere we went, in all types of people, but perhaps I remember best the purity of its manifestations in the face and voice and presence of Mrs. Burns in Belzoni.

The essence of the story of the Friends seemed to be encapsulated into those few tense moments as we stood on the tiny yard before the little tenant house in which she lived, and listened to this gray-haired, handsome, and poised woman tell us in measured, articulate words of her long fight to keep intact the children's center in her community.

Aligned against her were the hostility of the whites and the efforts of a stronger, better financed, and better equipped organization to take over. She seemed unaware of a sudden increase in numbers of passing automobiles filled with whites who slowed to stare and to hoot and to call out insults. As she talked, she communicated to all of us her strength, her fearlessness, and her determination that nothing would stand in the way of her effort to provide her children with what they needed most - care, affection, and an example of dignity from their own parents, not from outsiders, however well meaning.

(2) It seems most important that we describe in detail what we saw as we visited the homes of the parents and the centers which they are operating for their children.

Each doctor was taken separately into a number of homes from which came the young children who attended the centers. We saw the children, talked with the parents and gained a mass of information from which gradually emerged a pattern which seemed to fit almost every community we visited.

The homes were tiny, usually two or three rooms, mostly in poor repair, located on narrow alleys, and surrounded by accumulated filth and debris in which the children were forced to play.

Most houses had running water; few had inside toilets; many were without screens or adequate ventilation. The land allocated to each dwelling was so limited that the houses were oppressively close, no play areas for the children or stretching room for adults, and certainly no room for a garden through which a family might supplement its diet.

COPY

At one house which might have had enough space for a garden, the landlord had forbidden the occupants to have one. We were told that this was common practice both by landlords in town and also on the plantations, who take every possible measure to see that the economic bondage of the Negro is perpetuated.

This seemed to be borne out by our observation of the tenant houses on the plantations, where several houses were grouped closely together around barns or equipment sheds and where the crops were planted almost up to the doorsteps, leaving no room for garden, pig pen, cow, or chicken coop.

The houses were visited were usually occupied by worn mothers looking much older than their actual ages and children ranging in number from four to ten, most often there was no father and the explanation for the absence was either "we are separated" or "I don't know where he is". Although neat, the houses were pitifully bare and the children often poorly clothed and always barefooted in spite of a soil infested with hookworm, broken glass, and rusty tin.

When questions were asked about diet, the answers were always the same - a little rice or biscuit for breakfast, dried beans or peas with occasional salt pork for lunch - if lunch could be afforded, and for supper more rice or bread with occasional molasses or peanut butter. Only one family I saw ever had milk and this was reserved for the "sickliest" ones. The children "goes to bed hongry and gets up hongry and don't ever know nothing else in between".

In almost every household, serious illness of one or more of the children had occurred in the recent past and brought forth stories of no doctor available because there was no money to pay, refusal of hospitalization for the same reason, or in an occasional case, of a hospital bill owed by a mother who barely had enough income to subsist, but who was being required to make her weekly payments out of unbelievably small wages. One mother said to me that she only went to a doctor herself or took her child when she was convinced that not to go might mean death.

Running noses and legs covered with indolent sores was the rule rather than the exception,-evidences of lowered resistence to disease due to malnutrition and poor hygiene. Thin arms, sunken eyes, lethargic behaviour, and swollen bellies were everywhere to be seen. Even cursory examination of tongues, eyes, and nailbeds disclosed unmistakable evidence of anemia and vitamin deficiencies in many of the children.

An orthopedic surgeon in Jackson and a Negro physician in Yazoo City told me that almost without exception, these children required pre-operative transfusions before any surgery could be performed.

COPY

One survey by Dr. Murman in Lands County, Alabama, a county similar to these, the average hemoglobin level in 80% of the children was below 9.4 gm., a level incompatible with a state of vigor, with learning or with sustaining normally any kind of physical or mental activity.

Iron, vitamins, medicines were simply unobtainable for there was no money to purchase them.

The financial resources available to these families were so meager as to make it beyond my comprehension how they were able to exist. One young mother of five children worked ten hours per day, five and a half days per week, for $15.00 per week, as a domestic for a locally prosperous white family. Out of this she paid $8.50 per week rent and bought food and clothes with the rest.

Another mother managed to earn $25.00 per week, - unusual I was assured - by holding three jobs.

Others without a job or a child old enough to remain at home out of school and look after the younger ones, subsisted on surplus food and handouts and welfare checks large enough only to prevent total and immediate starvation, but not large enough to provide minimal subsistence.

The usual sources of support which one would expect to be available to these unfortunate people are almost non-existent and where they do exist, uniformally they are the enemy rather than the friend.

Time after time we heard stories of dehumanizing treatment or refusal of aid by welfare departments in the county. There seemed to be no pattern or standards by which one could determine whether he could receive welfare help. There did seem to be a pattern of active discouragement by the welfare department of anyone applying for help. Personal indignities, unexplained cuts in size of checks, outright refusal of aid, no funds for hospitalization or medical care, all of these were reported to us repeatedly.

One example is burned indelibly into my memory. A forty-nine year old woman with whom I talked was herself the mother of fourteen children, all of whom had died in infancy but one. Her husband was also dead.

A year ago her husband's nephew abandoned his three small children, ages three, four, five, leaving them with her and she resolved to give them a home. Uneducated, destitute herself, but full of love for these children, she spoke with ~~emotion the~~ strong feeling "Doctor, ever since I took these chillen on, my life has been hell", and then the story poured out.

COPY

She earns $5.00 per week working two days as a domestic. The welfare department supplies a maximum check of approximately $26.00 per month for aid to dependent children. Her rent is $8.00 per week for a tumbled down house.

Each month as she goes to the welfare department for her check, she is subjected to all sorts of personal indignities including pressing inquiries about her sex life and whether she has a man in the house. At regular intervals she is awakened at 2:00 A.M. or later by white male welfare department workers who demand that they be allowed to search the house for male occupant. On other nights she can hear them prowling around the house, listening at her windows for sounds inside to indicate the presence of a man.

Her check may be delayed for days or arbitrarily cut while "we make an investigation". Her neighbors have been encouraged to report her activities by the simple measures of threatening to withdraw their checks if they don't.

Yet this woman,threatened with loss of her financial support, harrassed at every turn by both her neighbors and her oppressors, remains strong in her determination to give these children a home, affection, and a chance in life. Every day these three children attend a Friend's Center.

This woman's story seemed so extreme that I questioned several members of the local county Council of the Friends about her reliability. They assured me that her story was not exaggerated.

The county health departments are only slightly less identifiable as the enemy as are the welfare departments and perhaps even less useful to survival.

They perform a few services such as tuberculin testing and innoculations for those parents who know about them and are able to get their children to the clinics. They do little else. They have formally and in writing refused to participate in organized immunization programs for the centers with the excuse that parents must be with the children to be instructed in possible reaction to the shots.

The parents tell us that there are no generally available programs in health education and sanitation. At the health departments, the Negroes are segregated, subjected to personal indignities, discouraged from using the facilities. I saw one little girl who had a nasty, partially healed laceration of her hand who had been carried to the health department for a tetanus booster. She was given the injection, but the nurse not only did not dress the cut, she refused even to look at it.

COPY

Occasionally, charity clinics are provided for sick children, but exams are brief and no follow-ups are scheduled and most important of all, no medicine is provided for people who have absolutely no chance of buying it.

Hospital facilities for the Negro poor are nearly non-existent. As one man said, "If you are not protected through an employer with hospital insurance and if you don't have the $50.00 down-payment, your only choice is to go home and die". Apparently, charity hospital funds do not exist except for a rare, unpredictable case which is, I assume, used for window dressing in the department report.

The administration of medical care is still on a strictly segregated basis. Negro doctors are not permitted membership in local medical societies. In communities where all Negro hospitals exist, such as in Yazoo City, white doctors refuse to serve on its staff. In Yazoo City, because of the refusal of the white doctors to go to the Negro hospital, one courageous and overworked Negro physician, the only Negro doctor in town, is forced to provide all of the hospital care for Negroes including surgery and obstetrics. Complicated cases beyond his ability, must be sent forty or fifty miles to Jackson regardless of how grave their conditions.

Proventive medicine, health education, basic sanitation, are nearly non-existent. I saw one alley, fronted on both sides by a number of small dwellings, used by a business backed up to the alley as its private garbage dump which was so labeled by large sign. This total absence of humanity on the part of the white man must strike rage into the hearts of even the mildest of those parents whose children must play around the garbage and among the rats and broken bottles.

No program of birth control is available to the poor although every mother with whom I talked expressed a desire for help in limiting her family. A few who did know about "the pill" had not been able to afford it. Maternal health care is available on limited basis at some of the health departments, but almost all the poor mothers have their babies at home, sometimes alone, sometimes with the help of a midwife.

Medicare, which would solve the problem of hospital care for at least the portion of the population over sixty-five, is of little help in Mississippi. Many of the white owned and operated hospitals have elected to retain segregation and give up their eligibility for Medicare payments.

To summarize briefly, the medical needs of the Friends encompass the entire range of our medical knowledge from nutrition, sanitation, and health education to the more technical and highly skilled services for acute medical care, birth control and hospitalization. They are without them all and they desperately need them all.

COPY

The pre-school centers, dotted about both the rural and urbnm areas of six Mississippi counties offer one an immediate and painfil distillation of all the despair and aspirations, the dignity and the pathos of these wonderful people and their children.

We visited a large number of them, some in churches, others in plain little wooden barracks-like buildings, and one in an American Legion Hut. The impact was the same wherever we went.

They were crowded, oppressively hot, and filled with lovely little children between the ages of three and five. All children were scrubbed and dressed in their best and all wore shoes. Mostly they were shy with strangers, but when unaware of observation, were smiling and obviously enjoying themselves. Some seemed healthy and sturdy, others weak and apathetic. Coughs and dripping noses were common and on several occasions acutely ill children were brought up to us by the teachers who had no place to turn for medical help. There were a significant number with congenital defects such as hairlips and cleft palates; a few were mentally retarded or exhibited evidence of brain or spinal cord damage. All of these should have qualified for special schools or institutional care or for corrective medical care.

The teachers were usually mothers of children of the Center, largely uneducated and somewhat superficially trained. Their devotion to the children and the pride in their work was unmistakable. Time after time we talked with a woman, uneducated, the mother usually of six to ten children, with no previous work experience except as a field hand or a domestic. Amazingly, these people were articulate, poised and competent in their roles as teachers. Through their love and concern for their children, they had acquired their very sense of self-respect, dignity, and independence which they so much desire to nurture in their charges.

Repeatedly, I asked what changes the teachers had observed in the children after they had been in the Centers for a few weeks. The answers were usually the same. The children, previously shy, withdrawn or apathetic, became cheerful, outgoing and active. They had learned to share, to participate cooperatively in group activity and to communicate with each other and their teachers. For the first time, many of the children experienced a relationship with someone who cared and to whom they could turn when troubled.

One teacher told me with pride how she had handled a youngster who had come to the school defiant, combative, overly aggressive and had been unable to adjust himself to the others in his group. Instead of punishment, she had given him simple tasks not assigned to the others and as he performed them, she rewarded him with praise and affection.

COPY

Many of us go to school for years to gain insights these teachers have acquired as they work with the children.

The Centers themselves were distressingly bare. There was never enough equipment. The few toys available were made by the teachers. Crayons, books, paper and musical instruments were hard to find.

Most distressing of all was the absence of adequate food. On the day of our visit, not a single center had been able to supply a full meal to its hungry children. Most had scraped together a few bites - a cookie and Kool-aid, but some had nothing. One teacher said to me - "The most difficult part of this program is when a child licks his plate clean and says "I want some mo'" and you look in the pot and there ain't no mo'".

After visiting the homes and centers for two days, we ended our stay in the Delta by attending a mass meeting of the Friends from Humphries and Leflore Counties who came primarily to hear their visitors tell what they had seen and felt as they had traveled around the communities.

Two hundred strong, they packed the tiny Legion Hut and it took only a short while for us to sense their need for hope and encouragement and for assurance that what they were doing was right and necessary and important, - not only for their children - but important in bringing new meaning to our concepts of democracy and human dignity.

We learned quickly that for too long they had experienced no contact with or encouragement from anyone outside their communities and that some were having doubts as to whether the difficult struggle was worth the pains and anguish it demanded of them.

Their responses to our words of sympathy, understanding and encouragement and our promises to try to bring help, were overwhelming in their emotional impact.

That hour of uninhibited exchange of thoughts and feelings between those parents and their only contact with a friendly world beyond, was an experience that will always live in hour hearts. We left there knowing that, with just a minimum of support from those who care, the Friends will never give up ther effort to build for themselves a more meaningful life.

(3) As a background for the recommendations of the report, certain information should be included concerning the economic and political conditions and attitudes which bear directly on the almost insurmountable difficulties that the Delta people have experienced in attempting to solve their problems.

COPY

During the past twenty years over two hundred thousand workers have been displaced from their jobs as farm workers due to mechanization of the huge plantation farming operations. With no other jobs available to them, the workers have been forced either to leave the state or to remain on the farm or in the towns, existing on private and public charity.

Unable to find a job and unable to provide for his family, many a worker has left his family in search of work outside the region. His absence at least gives his wife and children a chance to receive some aid from welfare sources which they could not receive if an able-bodied, even though unemployed, male remained in the family.

There are no industries in the Delta to which he can apply for a job. Service jobs, usch as janitors, porters, yardman, are almst non-existent. Credit is no longer extended at the plantation store and the man is not permitted to garden or have livestock if he lives on the plantation.

Sources of public charity are totally inadequate to provide even for survival. Dependent children receive payments amounting to approximately 25% of what the state of Mississippi estimates that it is necessary for minimal subsistence. These payments were reduced, I am told, after the Civil Rights demonstrations of 1964.

Provisions for food supplies by the welfare department and the USDA are totally inadequate. The family may use their welfare department checks to purchase food stamps, but if they do, no money remains for rent, medical care, and clothes. If they do not buy food stamps and subsist on surplus commodity hand-outs, this means attempt at survival on the most inadequate of diets, both in quality and amount. The commodities usually consist of fluor, dried beans, dried milk, and occasionally a little peanut butter or a can of meat. By almost unanimous agreement of the county/boards of supervisors, no county is permitted to have both the food stamps and surplus food programs. Neither is adequate alone to sustain life above the condition of bare existence.

There is little doubt in my mind that the situation as described represents an unwritten but generally accepted inhumane plan on the part of those in control of the state to eliminate the Negro Mississipian, either by driving him out or by starving him to death.

How else can one explain the denial of the tenant the right to have a garden and livestock, the prohibition of both food stamp and surplus food programs to the same person, the reduction in welfare help to the barest minimum, the absence of even the feeblest attempt to provide medical care to the destitute and sick, and the overpowering atmosphere of hatred which pervades the land?

COPY

We were told by knowledgeable people that there is organized resistence to industry coming into the Delta, more jobs were not wanted which would threaten the available supply of labor. We heard recurring rumors of unauthorized sterilization (when ~~they~~ we start cutting, they we start running) and we were told that the only assistance a Negro male could be certain of is a bus ticket out of the state if he goes to the White Citizens' Council.

The pattern seems to be clearly identifiable and my fears were substantiated by the opinions of others, both Negro and white, with whom we talked. The state of Mississippi is a vast concentration camp in which live a great group of poor, uneducated, semi-starving people, from whom all but token public support has been withdrawn. These people are completely isolated from the outside world who might care and help. They have no where to turn for material aid or moral support. They must have both in order to survive.

(4) Our Committee report should contain not only recommendations for medical needs of Friends, but perhaps it might be worthwhile to point out long-term measures, initiated on state or regional levels, which would bring significant and lasting benefits not only to the Friends, but to the poor wherever they are and whatever their color.

The most urgent and overriding need of the Friends is food. Any medical wants must be subordinated to the task of seeing that these children are adequately fed. The vary accomplishment of this would provide the single most important measure for maintaining good health.

The second greatest need of the Friends is adequate funds to maintain operation of the Children's Centers - money for minimal salaries, gasoline, and minimal equipment. Again, in my opinion, this need takes precedence over medical ones, for without the psychological motivation of both parents and children which the Centers are accomplishing, medical care would have little lasting value. The will to survive and to grow in self-respect and in independence must be maintained at all costs.

From a purely medical point of view, certain needs seem most urgent and most possible of accomplishment with the facilities available:

(a) Physical examination of each child to include blood count, urinalysis, stool examination, tuberculin rest.
(b) Follow-up treatment and/or referral as indicated.
(c) A vitamin supplement for each child. This need not be given daily as most daily vitamin preparations contain far more than minimal daily requirements. This requires no medical personnel to administer.

COPY

(d) Immunization program - could be done by nurse under supervision of medical director.

(e) Birth control information and medication. This program could be organized and donducted by the health counselor under supervision of medical director and would not require his personal attention.

(f) A fund must be available to buy medicine for those who cannot afford them.

(g) The above program would cost a minimum of $50.00 per child per year, perhaps more. In my opinion, the staff and board of F.C.M. are capable of organizing this program and getting it under way and of dispersing the funds as the needs arise.

(h) The above recommendations do not make provision for hospitalization of the children. Title 19 may offer the solution to this problem ultimately, but much depends on what each state is willing to do. A much wider definition of Crippled Children would offer hospital and physician's care to a larger number of children. Apparently, now in Mississippi, the Crippled Children's Funds will provide only for neurosurgical, plastic, and orthopedic surgical needs of children.

The state board could broaden that definition but has refused to do so and would probably need pressure put on it in the future to do so. This problem seems immediately almost insoluble given the apparent absence of Charity Hospitalization Funds and the state of public indifference to the health of the poor.

COPY

(5) Improvements in the welfare and health departments are urgently needed, but will certainly not come to pass unless the Federal government exerts the weight of its considerable influence:

(a) Increase in welfare payments to a realistic level.

(b) Employment of Negroes in the departments. I saw many Negroes capable of the kind of investigational work required to distribute welfare services.

(c) Prodding of local health departments to provide the public health services they are supposed to furnish.

(d) Again, desegregation of the department staffs would go far to assure that the departments are receiving proper information about the actual needs of the people, and at the same time, Negro employees would improve the image of the health departments among the Negroes.

(e) Food stamp program is inadequate and is helping only a very few people. The price of the stamps and the size of the welfare payments conspire to make the program of little value.

(f) The surplus commodity foods program seems to have the best potential for reaching and helping more people. It requires no complex rules of eligibility, compared to the food stamp program and is available to all people under specified annual income regardless of whether on welfare. Unfortunately, the food products are mostly carbohydrate and fail to provide a diet which contains enough protein and vitamins for maintenance of health.

The failure of Surplus Commodity Program to be available in counties where food stamps are provided, the inadequate food, and the alleged ineffectiveness of distribution to the really poor - all suggest the need for stronger, more effective program by the U.S.D.A. It seems tragically obvious that the past policy of the United States Government to utilize state and local people and local agencies to implement its programs, ~~have~~ has not been successful in Mississippi. Certainly in the fields of welfare, health and food distribution, more vigorous and direct government action is needed.

(6) We talked with Fred Mangrum, the young dedicated and talented Negro who directs the F.C.M., about the implications of the present situation for the future. What are the chances for long-term survival of the unemployed Delta worker with no new job in sight and no hope of help within his own state? What can be done now which might provide immediate jobs? His answers were thoughtful, brave, but not very reassuring to me.

Voter registration and voter education, in his opinion, are the keys. Political representation by the Negro will quickly mean better services, the encouragement of industry, the creation of new jobs. In the meantime, Mangrum points out that there are many hundreds of Federal programs, which, if properly implemented, could provide massive helpt to the area - self-help housing, on the job training, assistance to small businesses, training and employment of people in the social services - all are among the programs ~~elicited~~ listed. The programs are available. People of experience and dedication, in numbers needed to operate them, are apparently not available.

I mentioned guaranteed annual income and he was quick to agree that such a law would cut through the thickets of regulations, standards, and redtape, eliminating opportunities for foot dragging and discrimination - in a program designed to provide adequate financial aid quickly to everyone who needs it. We agreed that what we had seen in three days in the Delta was a powerful argument in support of such a law.

(7) The disposition of our report certainly depends upon who is willing to listen to us. I think it important that we present it to Senator Kennedy, Secretaries Gardner and Freeman, Sargent Shriver. I do hope that you and Bob Anderson will be able to find ways of distributing widely the story of this "Miracle of Friends".

COPY

The story needs to be told, not only for the benefit of The Friends, but because it should have meaning for America.

RMW

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/ac

COPY

POVERTY

The New York Times Magazine JUNE 4, 1967

It Isn't True That Nobody Starves In America

By ROBERT SHERRILL

HEYWOOD BROUN, watching a breadline in 1932, is said to have remarked with cynical sympathy, "Poor people wouldn't be such a bother if they didn't starve so publicly." Since the end of the Depression, and especially in recent years with the development of more sophisticated welfare programs, poor people have been much more discreet about their starving.

Occasionally, the public peace of mind is elbowed by a news story indicating that something may not be quite right—a Mississippi family is reported to have eaten a cat; some Kentucky coal miners are seen eating only potato peelings for lunch; in Washington, D. C., pensioners scramble for discarded lettuce and cabbage leaves behind one of the largest markets. But most poor people are not observed in their ingenuities, and, in any event, the Government lists only 1,279 deaths from "malnutrition" and 197 deaths from "hunger, thirst, and exposure" in 1965, the last year for which there are statistics.

This, coupled with the natural optimism of Americans, has pushed into public faith an almost religious tenet—a second miracle of the loaves and fishes—called Nobody Starves in America, with the alternate title, No Adult Is Completely Broke For Long.

As with most economic dogmas, both are false, yet the foundation heaves a bit when either is challenged. And this may account for the present unease and unhappiness among some high Washington officials as they observe the Senate Anti-Poverty Subcommittee going around the country holding meetings and reviving the political topic of hunger as it has not been revived since the nineteen-thirties. (When, on Senator George Murphy's motion, the subcommittee unanimously asked President Johnson to send emergency food to Mississippi to stop wide starvation, even the Office of Economic Opportunity jumped in to belittle the subcommittee's findings.) With all the powerful antagonisms the tour is arousing, its revival mood would probably not achieve much, except that one of the evangelists on the subcommittee happens to be Senator Robert F. Kennedy, whose disciples fill many a grotto and thrive on opposition.

THE problem that a majority on this subcommittee—Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, both Kennedy brothers, Jacob Javits of New York, *et al.*—is attempting to attack is illustrated perfectly in the two charity food programs administered by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

The older program deals in surplus commodities. The men who put it through Congress never posed as humanitarians—the basic purpose of the commodities program is to support and stabilize farm prices, not support and stabilize needy people. It distributes free food from a larder stocked with whatever the Government's price support program has piled up, and the major items include flour, cornmeal, rice, grits and dry beans.

None of this is expected to supply more than three-fourths of minimum diet requirements. The only meat, when there is any, is a canned variety which the department states in its literature is not expected to provide a family with more than one-seventh of its needs. Each member of the family gets about $5.50 worth of food a month, but the food never includes eggs, citrus fruits, green or yellow vegetables, potatoes, sugars or sweets.

A diet of nothing but "commodities" is guaranteed to produce physical lethargy, mental depression and frequent onslaughts of disease. But, after all, this is called a supplemental program, and the optimistic Agriculture Department assumes that there is other food in the house to be supplemented. As for the quality of the commodities, that is debated. I attended a welfare rights conference at which the delegate from New York City said the commodities are "not fit for pigs." This came as something of a surprise to the delegate from Mississippi, who pointed out that in those relatively few parts of the South which have permitted this Federal program to operate, thousands of Negroes live on nothing else.

The other Federal anti-hunger program run by the Agriculture Department is food stamps.

Enaction of this program was the first thing President Kennedy did in the White House. Today 41 states participate to varying degrees; all major cities are in it except New York and Boston, and New York may join if pending Congressional legislation increases its funds.

Theoretically, it is a gorgeous program, constructed around the notion that everybody spends something for food each month, but poor people just don't spend enough. Solution: Allow the poor people to pay the Department of Agriculture what they would ordinarily spend for food, and in return give them bonus stamps which are just as good as money for buying any U. S.-produced food in the stores. A scale had to be worked out arbitrarily to decide what people "ordinarily" spend, but the department had no trouble settling on a scale starting at $2 a head, with a maximum payment of $12 a month for the largest family with the lowest income. In exchange for the $12, the family would get $70 worth of tickets.

The assumption is that *any* adult breadwinner can manage to raise $2 for each member of his family once a month. For Congressman Jamie Whitten of Mississippi, chairman of the House Subcommittee for Agriculture Appropriations, this is more than an assumption; it is a certainty. Whitten is a powerful man in agriculture. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman sometimes says, "I have two bosses. One is President Johnson. The other is Jamie Whitten." So when Freeman wants to clear something important, he takes it to Whitten.

Recently he went to Whitten for a private consultation on the idea of lowering the food stamp prices, maybe to 50 cents for people with no income. After all, there was a lot of rumbling in Mississippi. There were rumors, even, that some Negroes were so desperate they were contemplating breaking into Government warehouses. Well, what did Whitten think about it? "Nonsense," said Whitten. "There's nobody in Mississippi who can't raise $2 a month. If there is, just bring me a list of them and we'll take care of them." Freeman left the proposal at that.

If he ever gets around to making up the list—which should be about the longest noncensus list in history—Miss Marian Wright, Jackson attorney for the N.A.A.C.P., will be glad

(Continued on Page 101)

ROBERT SHERRILL is the Washington correspondent for The Nation and author of "The Accidental President."

Starvation in America (Cont.)

(From Page 23)

to give him her file of several hundred sworn paupers. Gene Roberts, head of The New York Times bureau in Atlanta, can probably add plenty of names. He recently wrote of one Locket Mayze, 59, who said "he could not remember when he last had a dollar in his pocket or when—with the exception of a hog's head given him by a friend—his wife and eight children had eaten anything other than surplus farm commodities." A couple of weeks ago Jim Hyatt told, in The Wall Street Journal, of meeting Richard Bogen, 62-year-old Negro farmhand, in an Arkansas plantation store, where he sat "with cap in hand and tears filling his eyes" because "'Right now I've got just 2 pennies in my pocket.'" These people may be invisible to politicians, but any reporter who covers the South is constantly running into the Mayzes and the Bogens.

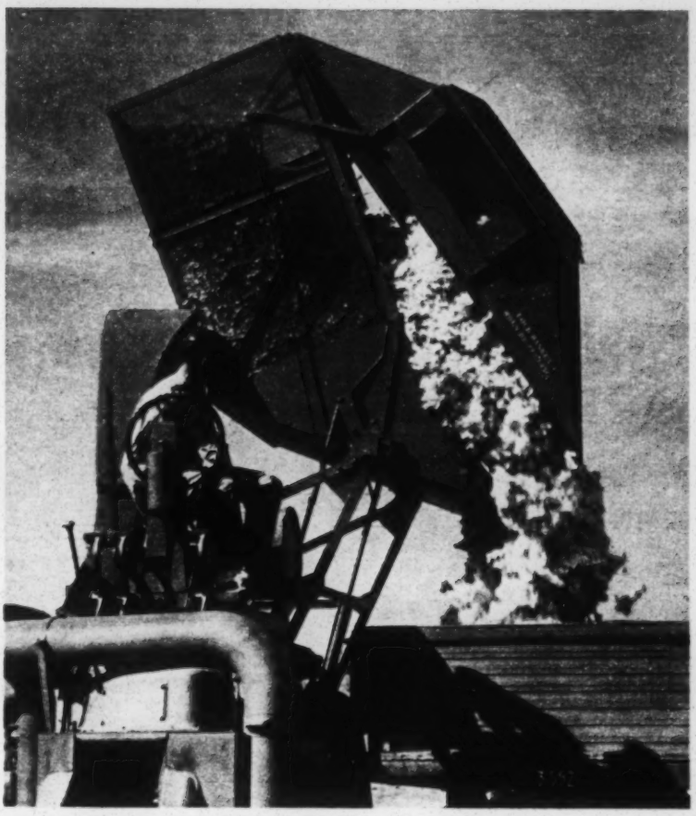
"Government administrators seem not to understand," Negro leader A. Philip Randolph told the National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, "that the poorest people simply don't have money." The South is thick with Negroes who live in a primitive world of barter. They work or they don't work, but when they do work it is for past debts or to establish future credit. No money changes hands. They wear cast-off clothes, they eat charity food. They buy nothing. The sharecroppers wound up the season last October either in debt to their landlords or coming out of the cotton year with, say, $50—which promptly went to pay debts in town. Their pockets have been empty for six or seven months, at least. To them, $2 a head—or even 50 cents a head—for the stamp program might as well be $2,000 a head. They simply can't raise it. If they could raise it, it would only be by borrowing from their landlords, who charge up to 50 per cent interest.

The best proof of the nonexistence of money in some areas lies in the Agriculture Department's own file cabinets, where records show that in eight Mississippi counties that changed over from commodities to food stamps (the department won't permit both programs to operate in the same county because, with its usual optimism, it assumes a family getting cheap food doesn't need additional free food) the list of participants fell off by 21,000—which can be presumed to be the number who did not have the money to stay in.

Although these two programs at present are social booby traps, with relatively minor adjustments they could be perfected and with even fewer changes could be spread. Agriculture officials concede that in the South there are 17.5 million people in poverty (nearly half the nation's total) but only two million are receiving Federal food.

Of the 283 poorest counties in 15 Southern and border states, 93 counties—the home of three million people considered poor by O.E.O. standards—have no form of food distribution whatever. In the other 190 counties live 7,100,367 poor people, but only 1,029,331 get food aid. There are several reasons the other six million may have been excluded: maybe they can't afford to pay for the stamps; maybe the commodities distribution center is too far from their home; maybe local welfare workers have not bothered to tell them about the programs or welfare officials have refused to qualify them for help. In some states it isn't easy to qualify. Department of Agriculture officials acknowledge, for example, that if a four-person family in South Carolina earns more than $1,400 a year it cannot qualify for the stamp program (the only aid available), although the O.E.O. rates nonfarm families of four

"The same people who were considered 'good ol' darkies' just a few years ago are now considered deadwood, hardly worth keeping alive."



TIMES CHANGE — Now that farming has become almost totally mechanized (right, a cotton-picking machine), field hands are, as one planter put it, "as useless as a mule."

as poor if they don't earn more than $2,250 a year.

Hard times aren't limited to the back country. Of the 310,000 persons living in Mobile County, Alabama, 99,000 are judged poor by Federal standards. None has access to either commodities or food stamps. Of the 67,000 poor in Pulaski County (Little Rock), Arkansas, only 3,483 get Federal food. In Harris County, Texas, location of the South's largest city, Houston, there are a quarter of a million poor people but only 20,000 get food aid, and only the commodities.

Unquestionably it is easier, however, to exist in the urban clumps. The odd job is easier to come by. Proximity helps—it is more convenient to send the children to a neighbor's table, or to borrow a dollar from a relative whose welfare check hasn't been held up. It is easier to wangle an Aid to Dependent Children check in urban counties because hunger is unsightly and the cities are more sensitive to esthetics these days.

The family living in the shanty on the "back 40" of the old plantation is out of sight, out of the county officials' minds, and therefore usually out of luck. In this respect, the forces squeezing the blacks out of the rural South and into the Northern cities may be nutritionally beneficial. The squeezing forces are fourfold: there's a cotton cutback in some areas; mechanization of many jobs is almost total; weed-killing chemicals are eliminating the need for a human being on the end of a hoe; and the $1-an-hour minimum wage that went into effect this year is re-hardening many a planter's heart. The same people who were considered "good ol' darkies" a few years ago are now considered deadwood, hardly worth keeping alive.

NOWHERE are the faults and the promises of the Government's food distribution program seen better than in Mississippi, which has one of the most complete programs in America. Every county in the state participates in some form of Federal assistance, which is rare not merely by Southern standards but by national standards. Nowhere else in the Bible Belt are poor folks given anything like a comparable amount of assistance.

One-fourth of all Mississippians (about 470,000) are eating federally paid-for food, more even than New York's charity food population (440,000). The food comes via Washington, but at least Mississippi lets it in. By comparison, South Carolina won't let the commodities program into the state at all and permits the stamp program to operate in only 10 of 46 counties; in only three of the 20 poorest counties are the stamps sold, and on such a tight basis that only 10,900 of the 715,000 poor in these counties are assisted. Virginia has food programs for only 1.9 per cent of its impoverished people; Texas covers only 5.6 per cent; Louisiana, 7.9 per cent. In the Deep South no state but Mississippi allows more than 10.9 per cent of its poor people to participate in food programs—and Mississippi offers them to 42.3 per cent.

Yet Mississippi is a laboratory of hunger and of Federal fumbling. On the Delta—that northwestern bulge of the state that arches along the river from Memphis to Vicksburg—one can stand on a steaming summer day and be persuaded that God created the world simply to give Adam a cotton allotment. There is big money here. Delta plantation owners will take out of the soil more than a quarter of a billion dollars this year, most of it in tax-supported crops. In the same area, because of newly mechanized farming techniques, Government officials estimate there will be between 60,000 and 100,000 unemployed hands by this summer. And, since Mississippi has no general state or local welfare programs, these people must depend on Federal largesse.

Choose any shanty; only the number of bodies inside will vary. Here is a mother and six children, residents of Washington County, against the river. Four of the children are asleep on the floor. They sleep most of the day as well as all night. Their lips and legs are covered with scabs and open sores. The youngest has a distended stomach and from it the umbilical knot sticks out like a valve from an inner-tube. Some days they eat nothing. Most days they have one meal, of cornmeal. Washington County quit the commodities program in March and went on food stamps. Left-

"A choice between not eatin' at all and eatin' so bad you wonder if that is an improvement"

over commodities are all this family has. Now, it is after 2 P.M. and they have eaten nothing, but the mother says she will cook "a little something" later on. She points to a bag on the floor by the stove; a couple of inches of meal are left of what has lasted them two weeks. When she runs out of cornmeal, she will borrow something from a neighbor. Yes, she nods, the neighbors are in bad shape, too. But she will get something.

This must be an extreme case, so drive on, northeast into the Delta's proudest county, Sunflower, home of Senator James O. ("Our Jim") Eastland, who operates a 5,800-acre plantation near Ruleville, which is also the home of Sunflower County's next best-known politician, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party. Mrs. Hamer used to be a sharecropper, but, like many thousands of others, she was chased off the land. Being well imbedded in the 32-million in this country officially designated as impoverished, Mrs. Hamer speaks empirically: "The main problem about bein' poor is that it only leaves you the choice between not eatin' at all and eatin' so bad you wonder if that is a improvement."

Although reared on a farm and now middle-aged, she has eaten turkey only twice in her life, once a couple of years ago when comedian Dick Gregory shipped a batch of the birds to Mississippi Negroes and the other time when she bought a turkey on the installment plan and paid for it at the rate of 70 cents a week. When the conversation turns to food, Mrs. Hamer will always mention those two turkeys, because otherwise she has nothing to talk about except the customary meat that gets on her table—meat that is thinly attached to hog neckbones (she broke off a front tooth discovering just how thinly attached). She is a big woman, built out in rings of starch—rice and grits and more grits and flour—held together by bean proteins. Perhaps once a year she eats fruit, but only if a friend who has moved to the relatively luxurious welfare rolls of the North sends it. She cannot afford it herself.

Even the little towns of Mississippi, places like Indianola, county seat of Sunflower, have their slums and they are full of farm hands who no longer have a farm to work on and have come into town to do their starving. I met a boy in Indianola who had had nothing to eat that day but a plate of butterbeans; the day before it had been bread and butterbeans; the day before that, again just butterbeans. Sometimes, he said, it was bread alone. One-course diets are commonplace. Kenneth Dean, executive director of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, who has moved among these people for many months, describes a typical hardship case:

"Breakfast will be grits, molasses and biscuit. For lunch, the adults will eat nothing, and the children who are at home will be given a piece of bread and a drink of Kool-Aid or water. The evening meal usually consists of boiled beans and cornbread." In the worst cases, which are not uncommon, "there is usually no table on which to eat, and what little food there is is eaten by hand out of a bowl or from a newspaper on the floor."

WITH hunger so abundant and easy to find, it might be anticipated that the Department of Agriculture would react to it in a dramatic fashion. But this has not been the case. Seventeen months ago, Congressman Joseph Resnick, Democrat of New York, made a tour of Mississippi and came back to Washington writing letters to all the appropriate Administration leaders about the "desperation point of . . . starving Negroes." Nothing happened.

A month later 35 Negroes invaded the abandoned Greenville, Miss., Air Force Base, and before a phalanx of troops was flown in to evict them they distributed leaflets explaining: "We are here because we are hungry and cold and we have no jobs or land." It made the front pages as a protest story, but their appeal for food somehow went astray. Last summer the Department of Agriculture's own Civil Rights Advisory Council held hearings in Jackson, Miss., and made confidential recommendations to Secretary Freeman that he act upon their "deep sense of urgency" that something must be done swiftly "before suffering, hopelessness and frustration make an evolutionary approach extremely difficult and infinitely more expensive, if not—for an interim — impossible." About the same time, across the Mississippi River, Arkansas State Welfare Director A. J. Moss was writing letters to Freeman, warning that thousands

SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES

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of families would soon be unemployed on the Arkansas Delta and that the food situation was critical. Neither warning disquieted the adamant Agriculture Department calm.

Then, in April, the Clark-Kennedy troupe hit Mississippi, accompanied by TV cameramen, journalistic jongleurs and the usual ballyhoo machinery. It made a difference. At this point Freeman began to move cautiously. He dispatched two of his aides—Howard Davis and William Seabron—to Mississippi for a confidential report. Davis and Seabron found, of course, what everyone else had been reporting for more than a year: many Mississippians are limp with malnutrition, many cannot afford to buy the food stamps, and some landlords are profiteering off the programs. Among the cases of suffering they cited a man in Winstonville, father of six, who got into the food stamp program only because "a New York A.B.C. newsman on assignment in Mississippi gave him $12 twice to buy food stamps. He does not know what he will do when his present commodities and stamp supplies are gone."

Another case: Mrs. Effie Mae Jackson of Billy May Plantation, mother of five, "has a problem of having the date to buy stamps come prior to receipt of her check from welfare. To meet this she borrows from her landlord the $22 each month, and when her check comes he charges her 50 cents on the dollar, which means she has to pay $33 for the stamps each month." This, plus her $10-a-month rent, means that she must pay $43 for food and rent out of the $55 she gets from welfare.

For some reason, the story Davis and Seabron brought back penetrated where others had failed. Freeman wrote Senator Clark that he was "deeply concerned about their findings" and that he might change the rules to make persons with no income pay only a fourth as much as at present. He said this before talking with Congressman Whitten. After the latest Whitten conversation, Freeman told Jack Conway, head of the Industrial Union Department of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and unofficial boss of Walter Reuther's Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, that he isn't going to try to cut the stamps' cost "until the department budget gets out of Whitten's committee."

AND that is where reform of the program stands today. It hasn't started.

Civil rights leaders damn Freeman for not opening his ears until two winters had passed since he was first alerted to the predicament of the foodless Southern Negro. But Freeman is not his own man in this dispute. In many respects he is the prisoner of the Southerners who command the agriculture committees and the agriculture appropriations subcommittees in both houses of Congress. As human-support programs, neither the free commodities nor the food stamps are popular with these groups. A bill is now being pushed by some House Southerners that would kill the food stamp program by making it prohibitively costly for many

"ANOTHER ONE-MEAL, BEANS-ONLY DAY"—Mealtime in a Mississippi shanty: "In the Deep South no state but Mississippi allows more than 10.9 per cent of its poor people to participate in Federal food programs—and Mississippi offers it to less than half."

It took two years for the U.S. to heed the Negroes' plight

states, particularly those states in Dixie with the highest concentrations of Negroes. Many farm-oriented legislators have a hoary suspicion that any give-away program promotes shiftlessness among the menials.

Nowhere is this attitude better seen than in Alabama, where the distribution of Federal food is made inversely to need, and also inversely to the concentration of Negroes. The 30 richest counties, in the top half of the state, participate in the free-food program; the 37 poorest counties in the bottom do not. Although not notorious for pampering Negroes, the Alabama administration nevertheless encourages the acceptance of Federal surplus foods by the counties because it is a sure-fire way of "beating" Washington. For a very small expense — about one or two cents a day per recipient —the counties receive a cornucopia of food. Montgomery County, for example, would pay about $15,000 a year as the cost of distributing almost $1,000,000 in commodities to its people.

But Montgomery County won't enter the program. Neither will other counties where most of the state's Negroes live. Tallapoosa County, home of the State Welfare Commissioner, refuses to pay the $10,000 required to distribute $700,000 worth of surplus foods. The Negro leaders of Hale County have been trying for two years to get county officials to bring in a food program. First the officials said it was too expensive, but when Washington offered to bear the total cost, they still refused. Agriculture officials refuse to fight this kind of local obstinacy. Secretary Freeman promised a commodities program for Hale last August, but he hasn't delivered it yet.

Could the Federal Government just send the food in anyway, without local approval, and have Federal workers distribute it or let the poor people distribute it themselves? Yes; for 30 years the Secretary of Agriculture has had power to distribute food where emergencies exist. And, when pressed hard enough, he will. When Negroes in Dallas County, already warmed up by the Selma civil rights activities in 1965, began demonstrating loudly because they wanted food, Federal officials told Dallas County leaders the food was coming in, and if they wouldn't distribute it, civil rights leaders would. Dallas County surrendered and took the goods, but the scope of the victory is disputed. Some say it only hardened the will of surrounding counties to resist.

THIS kind of tugging and heaving reveals the great weakness of the food programs: commercial interests of the South use them for reprisal and coercion. They are the political and social weapons of a region. Free Federal food was valued by the Delta planters for many years because, by allowing their hired hands to live off it through the winter, it became a kind of subsidy for the farmers. (Free commodities were never given to Delta Negroes after spring plowing time, because a little hunger was expected to make them eager to earn $3 a day in the fields.)

But now that farming has become almost totally mechanized, field hands are, as one planter put it, "as useless as a mule." They and their shotgun shanties only clutter the landscape, chafing the consciences and the pocketbooks of the region. Get rid of them. And what better way than to shift to a food program they cannot afford? Half of the Delta counties have already dropped the commodities and put in food stamps. "What does that mean?" asked Amzie Moore, a Negro leader from Cleveland, Miss. "That means starve or go to Chicago. Well, we're not going to Chicago. We don't want the stamps unless it's a free stamp program."

The angry Negroes have some support. That faint thunder in the distance may develop into a real challenge. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has circulated a memo implying that Freeman has ignored his obvious powers to bring relief. The commission urges free food stamps for the penniless and both programs operating simultaneously in the poorest counties. The leaders of Reuther's Citizens Crusade want to strip Freeman of his role in distributing food and turn the whole job over to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—which was in fact Senator John Kennedy's proposal in 1959. The Crusade is putting out some pretty snappish statements about the preeminence of nutrition over profits. And now Senator Javits has asked the Senate Executive Reorganization Subcommittee to consider the "strip Freeman" proposal.

If impoverished Southerners are judged strictly as an economic factor, more food to keep them alive can be viewed

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WASHDAY ON A FARM—"The family living in a rural area is out of sight, out of the county officials' minds, and therefore usually out of luck."

skeptically as merely a temporary solution to the problem of making them profitable. But for them temporariness has always been a relative matter, and they would probably just as soon be fed even on that basis—for, as one high Citizens Crusade official pointed out: "We've been keeping them alive on a temporary basis for 300 years." Something more permanent, he felt, is not wholly impossible and is "limited only by the amount of money that American capitalism, with its Dixiecrat-dominated agriculture committees in Congress, is willing to spend to create a 20th-century civilization in the South." The vagueness of the statement is important; here is a man who for a lifetime has been professionally concerned with labor and housing conditions of the Southern poor, and yet he has no specific plans to improve them, and the specific planners have not come much farther.

Many say that the salvation of the hungry Negro lies in modification of the agricultural South with industry. It is an old dream. Since the days of Gov. Hugh White's "Balance Agriculture With Industry" program a generation ago, Mississippi has been trying to bring in the smokestacks, and the same has been true for the South as a whole since the days of Henry Grady. Yet the skies over the South's vast boondocks are just about as blue and unsmudged as ever. Others, including such practical groups as the Southern Regional Council, are pushing for farm cooperatives to give the landed Negro independence from a repressive social structure. But this, too, though spottily successful, is something that has been tried off and on for years without more than denting the general poverty of the black farmer.

These efforts and failures are quite beside the point to the Negro who faces another one-meal, beans-only day. Very much to the point is the knowledge that his life can be changed, and immediately, by the simplest of Agriculture Department fiats.

If change does come, it will probably take some powerful motivating emotion to achieve it. But there is hope for that, too. When Robert Kennedy returned from his safari into Mississippi's shanty jungles, he told of seeing people who eat one meal every two days, but he described the results only as "extreme hunger." For politicians, "starvation" is a smut word. They don't like to come right out and say it exists in this country—so it becomes "hunger" or "malnutrition"—and even less do they like to *see* that which the taboo word describes; it embarrasses them. Testifying before a Senate group about swollen bellies and running sores and all the cottonpatch grotesqueries he had seen, Kennedy several times became so embarrassed he laughed. The last best hope of "extremely hungry" folks is that that discomfort will spread. ■

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U.S. Cuts Food Stamp Costs 50 Pct. for Mississippi Poor

POVERTY AG 6/27/67

(Copyright 1967 by the New York Times)

GREENVILLE, Miss. — The federal government has drastically revamped its food aid program in Mississippi in an effort to reach more poor people.

The program, which will be extended eventually throughout the South and the rest of the country, was in response to demands of civil rights groups and findings of hunger approaching starvation among hundreds of Negro children. It also comes in the face of mounting criticism against the administration for failing to overcome the hunger problem in the South.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman had approved the program worked out with state and federal officials. It includes:

1. Reduction of the cost of federal food stamps, which are used by poor families, to obtain more food and upgrade diets. Starting July 1, the cost of food stamps will be cut more than one half.

2. Coupled with the cut in the cost of stamps, is a reduction in the required minimum purchase by families from $2 per person per month to 50 cents per person. The maximum payment for a family of six persons with the lowest income will be cut from $12 a month to a maximum of $3. For $12 a family of six has been getting $70 worth of tickets to buy food at their local outlets.

3. State and local officials will seek to attack the problem of families that have no income and thus cannot buy stamps by endeavoring to get county boards of supervisors to underwrite the cost of minimum purchases.

4. Federal agency personnel will be increased in the South with trained workers to handle the increased efforts and to recruit, hire and train new "program aides," including Negroes, to reach more poor people.

5. Five new federal commodity marketing and service offices will be established by Sept. 1 in Mississippi to make a total of 10 in that state.

FOOD AID PLAN GROWS

7/2/67

South Puts Bread, Hope On Hungry Families' Tables

POVERTY

By WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

The South is beginning to put bread and hope on the tables of the poor and hungry.

To do the job, Southern states have participated more than ever in a U.S. Department of Agriculture program which can fight malnutrition in America.

The programs are not without bugs. They are administered on a county level by county officials, and there have been instances reported, particularly in Mississippi, where county officials have misused the program for political power.

But despite the cases of misuse, the food is going to the poor in general, and increases in participation by counties in the South indicate better days are to come.

ALMOST TWO YEARS ago, a combined edition of The Atlanta Journal and The Atlanta Constitution presented a bleak portrait of the South's attitude toward the poor.

Southern states, however gradually have increased participation in the USDA programs which allow counties to set up food distribution programs to the needy and food stamp programs to give poor people a balanced diet.

Criticisms of the program came during investigations in Mississippi where it was learned that some county officials were discriminating against Negroes who were sympathetic or active in civil rights activities.

Such discrimination, on the courthouse level, has been deplored by newspapers and persons working against poverty.

Under the rules of the two USDA programs, The Commod-

Turn to Page 20A, Column 4

PINEY WOODS PETE Says:

DEAR MISTER EDITOR:

Billy Graham is neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. Yet a passel of sober-thinking Americans will credit him with foresight for his London statement that "Britain and the United States are headed for some type of dictatorship, whether to the right or to the left."

With our inflation spiraling; demands for even higher pay for less work; with those living on pensions or savings getting pinched; the poor demanding and getting more handouts with little accomplished to cure their plight; with morality fading as a virtue, who can doubt something must "give"?

In Russia the dictatorship of the left took over. Elsewhere the affluent right continues in power. Billy keeps close to the Almighty and he just might know something that many of us only suspect.

Yours truly,
PINEY WOODS PETE.

FOOD AID PLAN GROWS

South Puts Bread, Hope On Hungry Families' Tables

Continued from Page 1

ities Distribution Program and the Food Stamp Program, counties must apply and administer the food plans for their poor. Sharp increases in the past two years have been noted in getting free food or food stamps to more people.

IN GEORGIA alone, participation by counties has increased more than 100 per cent since the summer of 1965. Other Southern states also have shown gains.

Under the Commodities Distribution Program, USDA supplies free food to counties that will pay the cost of distributing the food to the poor.

Many counties were eligible for almost total distribution cost through the Economic Opportunity program, but had refused to take advantage of the program.

In 1965, only 39 of Georgia's 159 counties had food stamp or food distribution programs. Today, a check with USDA shows, 88 counties are involved in the programs and nine more have been approved to come under the federal plan.

In Georgia today, there are 65 counties in the food distribution system. These counties set up food distribution centers where the surplus government food is stored.

Persons on welfare or those who would be eligible for welfare can go to the centers and get enough food to take the sting from their poverty.

THERE ARE 23 counties in the Peach State that have food stamp programs. Under this program, persons in need may purchase the stamps for token amounts and buy food with them in grocery stores.

The grocer redeems the stamps for cash at banks. The program is designed to increase the flow of farm goods through the free market. In food stamp pilot programs, retail sales increased an average of eight per cent.

In Georgia, 141,000 persons are participating in the free food distribution program and 18,000 in the food stamp plan.

In the other Southern states in the USDA region with headquarters here, 821,000 persons are in the food distribution program and 430,000 in the food stamp plan.

other states, is the formula states apply in determining who will get the food or the stamps.

In determining who will get under the program, welfare budgets are used. South Carolina's welfare budget is among the lowest in the nation, and other Southern states have low welfare budgets.

Seventy of Tennessee's 95 counties—74 per cent—are in the programs. In 19 counties, 27,000 persons get free food and 85,000 in 51 counties are in the food stamp plan.

This means that more than 1.2 million persons are under the programs in the nine Southern states.

ALTHOUGH COUNTIES can drop the total amounts of free food received by each case, the USDA allows these maximums per person:

A 29-ounce can of beef, 5 pounds cornmeal, 4½ pounds dry milk, 10 pounds flour, 2 pounds grits, 1 pound lard, a half pound of butter or margarine, two pounds split peas and 1½ pounds of cheese.

A State Department of Public Welfare official in 1965 said recent tests indicate that about 50 per cent of the cases of mental retardation are linked with malnutrition in mothers during pregnancy.

The figures indicate that about 50,000 persons in Georgia may have been condemned to a life with only half a mind are about 100,000 mentally retarded persons, some sources state.

TO PUT HOPE on the tables of the South, fear had to be overcome.

In 1965, Harold Parker, a welfare official, said some people had been afraid that poor people would not work unless hungry. Under both programs, however, extra income is needed to buy enough food.

Some county officials, he continued, had been afraid that if they passed out free food or food stamps, persons of low income would stampede into their counties.

None of these fears has panned out with the increase of participation in the programs, USDA officials said.

A USDA spokesman said that with 1.2 million persons in the program in the South, it is not unlikely that a handful of moochers have gotten free food. These cases are rare, he continued.

And state welfare workers, who certify the programs, are quick to bounce undeserving persons from the programs. State officials welcome information along this line from private citizens, for the last thing they want is a leech in the program, the official said.

GEORGIA COUNTIES not participating in either program but which will enter the plans soon are Appling, Bullock, Calhoun, Chatham, Dodge, Evans, Toombs, Treutlen and White, USDA records show.

Counties not in either program to feed the poor are:

Baldwin, Ben Hill, Carroll, Catoosa, Columbia, Crawford, Dawson, Decatur, Effingham, Elbert, Fayette, Forsyth, Franklin, Gilmer, Glascock, Gordon, Haralson, Harris, Hart, Heard, Irwin, Jasper, Jenkins, Johnson, Jones, Lamar, Lanier, Laurens, Lee and Lincoln.

Also, McDuffie, Madison, Meriwether, Montgomery, Morgan, Murray, Oconee, Oglethorpe, Paulding, Peach, Pickens, Pike, Polk, Putnam, Schley, Seminole, Sumter, Talbot, Tift, Towns, Troup, Turner, Twiggs, Union, Upson, Walton, Warren, Webster, Wheeler, Wilcox, Wilkes and Wilkinson.

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In the other Southern states in the USDA region with headquarters here, 821,000 persons are in the food distribution program and 430,000 in the food stamp plan.

States in the region, besides Georgia, are Alabama, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

VIRGINIA HAS the lowest participation in furnishing food for its poor. Of that state's 98 counties, only 12 are participating in the two USDA plans.

In Virginia, five counties are in food distribution and seven in food stamps. In food distribution, almost 8,000 persons received free food and 13,222 got food stamps.

It was announced this week that the cost of food stamps will be reduced 50 per cent. The maximum payment for a family of six persons that qualified for the program was $12 for $70 worth of stamps. The charge, under the new program, would be less than half.

The announcement stated the cost cut would go into effect in Mississippi, but it has been learned the cuts will extend throughout the South and eventually across the country.

Mississippi has more participation in the food programs than any Southern state. All 82 of the state's counties are under one of the other programs. In 47 Mississippi counties, 254,000 persons receive free food from distribution centers. In 35 more counties, food stamps are given for 141,000 persons.

In 1965, 64 of Mississippi's counties were under the programs. About 185,000 persons were reached.

IN ALABAMA, 33 of the state's 67 counties are in the programs. This is 49 per cent participation. In 27 counties, 98,000 persons received free food and 24,000 others got food stamps in six other counties.

In Florida, 121,000 get free food in 27 counties and nobody gets food stamps, because such a program does not exist there.

In Kentucky, 110 of the state's 120 counties are in the programs—56,000 persons get free food in 63 counties and 94,000 others in 52 counties are under the food stamp program.

In North Carolina, 59 counties gave free food to 114,000 people and food stamps went to 35,000 in 22 counties. A total of 81 of the state's 100 counties are in the program, representing an 81 per cent county participation.

ELEVEN OF South Carolina's 46 counties, for 24 per cent participation, are in the programs. None of the counties gives away free food, but 11 give food stamps for 20,000 people.

The rub in the South Carolina program, and well as in some

fare official, said some people had been afraid that poor people would not work unless hungry. Under both programs, how-

Twiggs, Union, Upson, Walton, Warren, Webster, Wheeler, Wilcox, Wilkes and Wilkinson.

POVERTY

IN GEORGIA

178,500 Needy Get Food Aid

By CONNIE CRUNKLETON

Nearly 178,500 needy Georgians received food assistance during the fiscal year ended June 30 from the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Consumer and Marketing Service.

The Consumer and Marketing Service's commodity distribution program aided almost 156,000 persons and its food stamp program helped approximately 22,500 persons. This was 59,900 persons more than the number that participated in these two programs during fiscal year 1966.

The incerased assistance to needy persons is attributed to the combined efforts of federal, state and county officials in administering these programs.

9 TO BEGIN

Ninety Georgia counties have either the commodity distribution or the food stamp program, and nine other counties are slated to begin one of the programs within the next few months.

Sixty-eight counties took part in the commodity distribution program during June, compared with 40 counties a year earlier. Twenty-two counties participated in the food stamp program, compared with 11 counties a year earlier.

Georgia's commodity distribution program is administered by the State Department of Agriculture, and the food stamp program is administered by the Department of Family and Children Services.

ANY COUNTY

Any county is eligible to receive food assistance from one of the Consumer and Marketing Service's food programs. Needy persons are informed of these programs through county extension or home agents, public health nurses, county welfare offices and school officials.

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The commodity distribution program ofers such foods as dry beans, margarine, corn meal, flour, lard or shortening, chopped meat, nonfat dry milk, peanut butter, rice, grits, raisins, rolled oats, rolled wheat and split peas.

USDA pays for these foods and costs of transporting them to state distribution points. During fiscal year 1967, nearly 36,374,600 pounds of food, valued at approximately $7,238,900 were distributed to needy Georgians.

OFFERS PAMPHLET

Each member of a household certified as needy received between 28 and 30 pounds of these commodities each month. As an aid to families receiving the commodities, C&MS has made available pamphlets suggesting ways to prepare these foods, and many home extension agents provide information on what additional foods are needed for a well-balanced diet.

The food stamp program operates through normal trade channels. Families who are certified eligible exchange the amount of money they would normally be expected to spend for food for coupons worth more. USDA pays for the difference between the amount each family pays and the total value of the coupons issued to the family. Families then spend the coupons at authorized food stores to buy any food produced in the United States for human consumption.

Besides helping low - income families improve their diets, the food stamp program acts as a boost to the local economy. During fiscal year 1967, approximately $850,000 was added to the economy of Georgia food stamp areas.

POVERTY

The New Y

7/13/67

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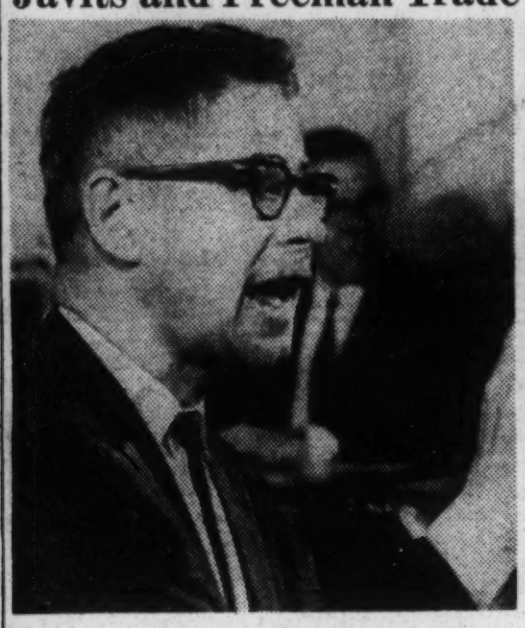
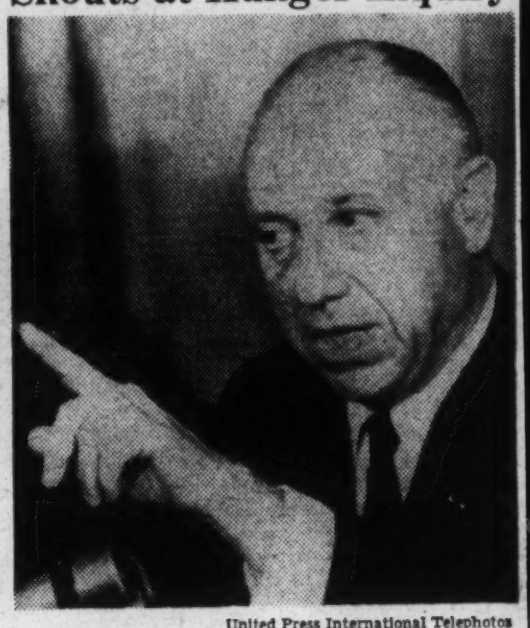
Javits and Freeman Trade Shouts at Hunger Inquiry





United Press International Telephotos

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman and Senator Jacob K. Javits at hearing

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 12—Senators of both parties accused the Administration today of being so bogged down in bureaucracy that it could not get food quickly to the hungry people in Mississippi and elsewhere.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman and Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, shouted at each other during a hearing on hunger and were gaveled down by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Clark, chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, which held the hearing, suggested that the two should either be "more mature about this" or settle their differences in the corridor.

But both Senator Clark and Senator Robert F. Kennedy, too, expressed belief that Mr. Freeman was not moving fast enough in Mississippi. The Senators and others have said they have personally seen hunger verging on starvation among poor Negroes there.

The Agriculture Secretary told Mr. Javits: "I resent the repeated use of the word bureaucracy as if we were sit-

Continued on Page 24, Column 1

2 SENATORS TRADE SHOUTS AT INQUIRY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

ting on our backsides doing nothing. I won't have it."

Mr. Freeman called Mr. Javits's demand that he declare a state of emergency in Mississippi "very intemperate, violent and emotional." He said the law inhibited him in distribution of surplus food without local authority.

"I don't apologize for my emotion," Mr. Javits said. "Perhaps a little more passion and a little less bureaucracy will help."

During the hearing Mr. Javits and two other Republicans on the subcommittee—George Murphy of California and Winston L. Prouty of Vermont—issued a statement charging that the Administration bureaucracy had "broken down." They said the United States shipped eight million metric tons of wheat to India last year at a cost of $520-million without adequately feeding all the American people.

Senator Kennedy demanded a Public Health Service inquiry into the number and condition of malnourished people in this country.

Dr. William H. Stewart, the surgeon general of the Public Health Service, acknowledged during testimony today that Americans knew much more about the hungry in other nations than about those in the United States.

"We don't know the extent of the problem or what needs to be done," he said.

Food Stamp Changes

Secretary Freeman discussed recent changes in the Government's food stamp program that will enable more poor people to eat better for their food dollar. But the real problem, he said, is that most poor people mistakenly believe the food stamp plan "will let them eat as poorly as they always have but for less money."

A "massive educational effort" will be required to get America's poor to improve their diets, now nutritionally unbalanced, Mr. Freeman said.

Among the food stamp changes was the reduction of the required minimum purchase by families from $2 a person a month to 50 cents. Most of the subcommittee wants the food stamps to be free.

Mr. Javits said it had taken Mr. Freeman "months to reach these decisions" to lower food stamp costs. The Secretary retorted that there were food programs in every one of Mississippi's 82 counties and "you can't say that about New York."

"Nobody's starving in New York," Mr. Javits snapped.

"Be careful. Be very careful. I'll find them for you," Mr. Freeman said heatedly.

The Secretary told the panel there were seven counties in New York where people were going hungry.

He said there were no food stamp programs or free distribution of surplus food in any of the seven counties.

A member of his staff said later that the counties were Dutchess, Putnam, Rockland, Orange and Sullivan in the Hudson Valley-Catskill region and Otsego and Chenango in central New York.

He said that an Agriculture Department survey last December had shown 35,000 people who would be eligible for food programs and that 10,000 heads of families were unemployed.

Both Mr. Freeman and Mr. Stewart praised Mississippi health and welfare officials for cooperation with Federal officials. Despite testimony on malnutrition described as "shocking" during two days of hearings, Mississippi leads the nation in number of counties participating in Federal food programs.

Guaranteed Annual Income Backed by 1,000 Economists

POVERTY

AC 5-28-68

By EDWIN L. DALE JR.

(Copyright 1968 by The New York Times)

WASHINGTON — More than 1,000 academic economists endorsed Monday "a national system of income guarantees and supplements."

The brief statement was sponsored by five well-known economists and was issued here and in Cambridge, Mass. It supported, by implication, the demand of the poor people's campaign here for a "guaranteed annual income."

The statement said the cost of an income guarantee or supplement plan would be "substantial but well within the nation's economic and fiscal capacity." It also said such a plan was "feasible and compatible with our economic system."

The five original sponsors were Prof. Paul A. Samuelson of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard, James Tobin of Yale and Harold Watts and Robert Lampman of the University of Wisconsin.

The signers were from 125 colleges and universities, with 10 universities having 15 or more signers.

The statement did not endorse any of the specific proposals for guaranteed income, such as a "negative income tax." But it said:

"A workable and equitable plan of income guarantees and supplements must have the following features:

1—Need, as objectively measured by income and family size should be the sole basis of determining payment to which an individual and/or family is entitled.

2—To provide incentive to work, save and train for better jobs, payments to families who earn income should be reduced by only a fraction of their earnings."

The statement said present public welfare programs "exclude millions who are in need and most inadequately the needs of millions more." These programs, it said, "all too often unnecessarily penalize work and thrift and discourage the building of stable families."

The economists specifically referred to the poor people's campaign, the report of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders, and a report by a group of 12 business leaders appointed by New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller. All have endorsed the idea of a universal guaranteed income plan.

CBS Epic On Hunger Denounced

POVERTY

AC 5-28-68

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

(Copyright 1968 by The New York Times)

WASHINGTON—Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman charged Monday that the Columbia Broadcasting System had aired a "biased, one-sided and dishonest presentation" of hunger in America and he formally demanded equal time on the network to refute it.

The secretary summoned newsmen to a second floor conference room at the Agriculture department to denounce for the better part of 45 angry minutes the CBS television documentary, "Hunger in America," shown on the network last Tuesday night.

'INDIGNATION'

In a letter expressing "my disappointment and indignation" to Dr. Frank Stanton, the CBS president, Freeman requested "equal network time to refute the errors of fact, the misinterpretations and the misinformation that were dispersed through 'Hunger in America' and to assure the hungry of this nation that the U.S. Department of Agriculture does care — that it is doing what it can for them — and that it wants to do a great deal more."

To reporters, Freeman declared that the broadcast had created disillusionment and restlessness and the general feeling that there is indifference and no one cares."

"The tube can get pretty careless," he said. "It can be a pretty miserable piece of business, and this program . . . was a pretty bad job, as bad as anything that I have ever seen in the time I have been in public life."

Broadcasting industry officials said they believe it was the first time a cabinet member had publicly demanded "equal time" to challenge a radio or television documentary. They also pointed out that Freeman's claim—if it were to be granted—would come under the "fairness doctrine" laid down by the Federal Communications Commission.

CBS STATEMENT

In a statement read Monday night on "The CBS Evening News with Walter Cronkite," Richard S. Salant, the network's president in charge of news, said:

"We have only heard of, and have not yet seen, Secretary Freeman's letter and so-called bill of particulars. They will obviously receive careful consideration when they arrive. Meanwhile, I have every confidence in the accuracy and responsibility of the CBS news personnel who worked over many months on 'Hunger in America,' of which we are all very proud."

Close-Up

POVERTY

Let a Man Dream

One of the nation's leading students of race relations once remarked that if you're going to discriminate against any race or group you'd better do a thorough job of it, or else eventually the repressed will revolt.

Thus slavery was more effective than mere segregation in keeping Negroes docile, and total segregation more effective than partial segregation. For once a downtrodden people catch the fever of equal rights, they become far harder to keep down. (Our forebears recognized this fact by passing laws in most Southern states making it a crime to teach slaves to read.)

Men can live in emotional and economic bondage as well as the statutory kind. If custom leads them to expect poverty and low status, it dulls their aspirations. They will come themselves to believe they are "shiftless" or "sorry."

The last few years' explosions in America's Negro ghettos, I am convinced, are directly traceable to expectations which rose more rapidly than real gains. Court decisions and congressional acts have broken the apathy of custom, and they indeed have resulted in tangible changes, particularly in the South. But they have not, instanter, led to vastly improved lives for the uneducated and poor. Thus frustrations erupt into senseless violence.

That this is not an uniquely Negro phenomenon is made eloquently clear in a survey by New York Timesman Ben A. Franklin, who reports white Appalachia on the edge of a "growing, rolling revolution."

An official of a citizens' group in the area contends that "the anger in the mountains comes from the process of the poor people learning their rights as citizens."

Appalachians are growing increasingly resentful, for example, of the absentee ownership of coal fields and the concentration of political power in a few hands. From VISTA and other volunteer workers, they are picking up and understanding such phrases as "the Establishment" and "the power structure."

People, said a crippled, pensioned coal miner before a Senate committee last week, "have made the mistake of looking at the poor as though they had some kind of sorriness." He might have added that until their hopes were kindled and their horizons broadened, many of the poor themselves accepted the epithet.

It is vital that comfortable, white America understand the phenomenon of hope o'erleaping reality. It is happening in the Negro ghettos. It is happening in rural white Appalachia. It is happening in the erstwhile colonies of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The affluent may cluck that Negroes are rebels without specific causes, that Appalachians are ignorant and unskilled, that the new nations lack the know-how and resources to survive. There is some truth in the criticisms. But the momentary excesses are symptoms of a healthy fever that created this nation.

Let a man dream, and he's never the same again.—BRUCE GALPHIN.

State Hunger Counties Qualify for Federal Aid

POVERTY

Agency Says 68 Areas Eligible For Grants and Business Loans

By WAYNE KELLEY
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON—Most of The Georgia counties denying a report of serious hunger problems among their poor citizens qualified Saturday for federal aid as economically distressed communities.

The Economic Development Administration said that 68 of Georgia's 159 counties would be eligible for public work grants and business loans in the fiscal year beginning July 1.

Only Kentucky placed as many counties on the EDA list. Georgia has more counties than most states, however, Puerto Rico, Guam, and American Samoa qualified in toto.

Three Georgia counties which had refused to establish federally financed food programs for the poor were on the list. They are Glascock, Schley and Webster.

A CITIZEN BOARD of inquiry April 22 issued a report pinpointing 256 "hunger counties" in the United States, including 47 in Georgia.

By last week health officials or their representatives from 22 of Georgia's "hunger" counties had written the House Agriculture Committee to complain that local starvation and diet problems had been exaggerated.

Nevertheless, 19 of the 22 complaining counties were listed by EDA Saturday as communities qualifying for federal grants because of "unemployment and low-income problems." They all qualified last year, too.

Ross Davis, chief of the EDA, said, "We are now getting to those places with the most unyielding problems and where solutions are several years off and will require sustained assistance over an extended period."

The letters to the agriculture committee and classification of the 16 counties as areas with "severe economic difficulties" were somewhat paradoxical in many instances.

"I DEFINITELY do not feel there is anyone in this county who is physically able to work who is suffering from hunger or starvation," said an official from Jasper County. "If there is its because they choose it."

The health director for a district including Morgan and Greene counties wrote that a high incidence of coronary heart diseases "suggest that a large part of our people are maybe over-eating."

Other counties disclaiming serious dietary problems but qualifying as economically distressed were Dooly, Irwin, Jefferson, Jones, Lincoln, Marion, Mitchell, Randolph, Screven, Seminole, Turner, Webster and Worth.

Since 1965 EDA has provided about $7 million in public works and business loan assistance to economically distressed areas, most of them in the rural South.

"WHAT MAKES IT urgent that we continue our efforts in these areas is that they are one of the major sources for the unemployed and unskilled workers who migrate into the central cities where the unemployment problem is already critical," Mr Davis stated.

The Georgia counties qualifying for EDA aid in the 1969 fiscal year are:

Atkinson, Bacon, Baker, Berrien, Brantley, Brooks, Bryan, Burke, Calhoun, Candler, Clay, Coffee, Crawford, (public works), Dooly, Douglas, Early, Echols, Fannin, Floyd, Glascock, Greene, Hancock, Heard, Irwin, Jasper, Jefferson, and Jenkins.

Also Jones, Lanier, Lee, Lincoln, Macon, Marion, McDuffie, Meriwether, Miller, Mitchell, Montgomery, Morgan, Murray, Oglethorpe, Paulding, Pierce, Pike, Quitman, Rabun, Randolph, Rockdale, Schley, and Screven.

OTHERS ARE Seminole, Stewart, Taliaferro, Taylor, Telfair, Terrell, Towns, Treutlen, Turner, Union, Walker, Warren, Washington, Webster, Wheeler, White, Wilcox and Worth.

Counties on the eligibility list for the first time are Meriwether, Walker, White and Crawford.

Those eligible this year but improved enough to be dropped next year are Banks, Dawson, Grady, Liberty, Long, Madison and Talbot.

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WIFE HELD IN HUSBAND'S TORCH DEATH

NEW YORK (UPI) — A woman has burned her husband to death during an argument by pouring lighter fluid on him and setting him afire, police said.

Police said Tillman Wheeler, 54, ran from the couple's apartment building, his clothing in flames, and collapsed 300 feet away. His wife Leslie, 51, told police she set her husband afire because he had been "bothering" her. She was charged with murder.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Goldwater Lands Crippled Plane

PHOENIX, Ariz. (AP) — Former Sen. Barry Goldwater's twin-engine Cessna 310 landed without incident with one engine disabled Saturday as fire department units lined the runway at Sky Harbor Airport.

Goldwater, who had an unidentified passenger aboard, was returning from Melbourne, Fla., where he delivered an address Friday to the graduating class of an academy.

Challenge

As this report is published, the Planned Parenthood movement nears completion of its first half-century of service: Margaret Sanger founded this nation's first birth control clinic in Brooklyn in 1916. Since then the cause of family planning has grown from the brave hope of a valiant woman into a deep-rooted tradition shared by most of our countrymen.

The pages that follow record the events and achievements of 1965. At the outset, I would like to set them in a perspective, as it were, not of the past but the future—of the task still to be done. The stark fact is that at least five million impoverished U.S. women need effective birth control help. The programs of Planned Parenthood Affiliates in 153 localities, now aided by the welcome growth of tax-supported family planning services in some places, still reach fewer than *one out of nine* of the medically indigent.

Field surveys and experience also show that a great majority of these Americans would like to have families as small or smaller than their more fortunate neighbors—and that they will indeed curb their fertility when offered the knowledge and the means.

During 1965 there was an exhilarating shift in U.S. public policy at all levels—federal, state and local—toward full affirmation of the

Planned Parenthood – World Population

Blacksar

right of access of all Americans who wish it to family planning guidance and help, in accord with their needs and beliefs. Likewise there was a continuing swing toward full acceptance of government responsibility for providing this health service to all citizens who lack private medical care. Yet only about *one out of five* local health departments had even begun to provide service of this kind.

In government, certainly the foremost spokesman for the family planning cause in 1965 was President Lyndon B. Johnson himself. He forthrightly called the growth of world population a "transcendent problem . . . second only to the search for peace." His administration moved with unprecedented boldness to define a broader governmental role for family planning assistance at home and abroad. But, the light dewfall of tax funds invested in fertility control research and services—less than $7,000,000 federal, state and local—seems hardly commensurate with the President's statement about the magnitude of the problem—especially when compared with the 9 billion dollars now being spent by all levels of government on health programs.

It is patently unwise and impractical to expect—or urge—that governments accept the full burden of responsibility, at home or abroad, for providing family planning help. A true partnership of effort is required—among Planned Parenthood, governmental agencies, and other research and action institutions. Indeed it is beginning to emerge already, as this report shows. Increasingly Planned Parenthood in this nation, and so many others, is being called on to organize professional leadership, to mobilize corporate and civic support, to furnish expert guidance, to expand its own medical service facilities, and to greatly accelerate programs of education about the values of family planning practice and the availability of family planning help.

This is the challenge for the balance of the Sixties, drawn from the experience of 1965. A.F.G.

Achievement

With so much immediately ahead to be done, it is especially gratifying that the pace of accomplishment notably quickened in 1965 throughout the whole field of family planning. Here are a few of the highlights:

» The number of couples who received fertility control help from U.S. Planned Parenthood centers increased 14 per cent over 1964.

» Over the past half decade, the number receiving family planning service from these centers grew more than 150 per cent.

» In 1965, the number of local Planned Parenthood committees in the U.S. affiliated with PPWP grew from 138 to 153.

» Meanwhile, contraceptive pills and intrauterine devices (IUDs) increasingly were found safe and effective—and were increasingly prescribed.

» Acting on a test case brought by the Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that state's birth control law unconstitutional and established a new "right of marital privacy."

» Eleven other states, with Planned Parenthood help, removed restrictions on birth control programs, or aided such programs with affirmative legislation.

» At least some localities offered tax-supported birth control services in 42 states—double the number in this category two years before.

» Sixteen War on Poverty projects, almost all initiated by Planned Parenthood, were approved with an investment of nearly $1 million in U.S. funds.

- The U.N. carried out its first mission on birth control, sending to India a team of experts headed by International Planned Parenthood's chief executive.
- The national family planning organizations of six more countries met the affiliation requirements of the International Planned Parenthood Federation—bringing total membership up to 42.
- In Rome, the Ecumenical Council took a great stride toward liberalizing Roman Catholic beliefs on birth control by elevating conjugal love to equal status with procreation as a purpose of marriage.

In all its work during the year, Planned Parenthood sought especially to emphasize and apply the individual and moral values of family planning. By Medical Committee and Board action, PPWP reaffirmed its goal of helping all couples, freely and intelligently, to make their own decision about family size and spacing. It was pointed out that family planning programs should not be measured in tax economies, however great they may be, but achieve their most fundamental and traditional goals through what they give to families in terms of lasting health, happiness and individual opportunity. Planned Parenthood also underscored its policy of providing a variety of family planning methods so that each couple can choose the one most suited to its personal needs and religious faith.

Population Pressures

While progress was impressive, needs remained vast and danger still acute—especially in the lands of "rising expectations"—the developing nations where population growth is greatest and fertility control least accessible. There the tragedy of human multiplication continued to cripple efforts for social and economic improvement. The continued advance of modern medicine reduced infant mortality and kept

people alive longer. But the resultant expanding census of human numbers brought the threat of famine to much of the earth.

In the U.S., the delay in offering adequate family planning to the poor, coupled with continuing high fertility by choice among the more affluent who already practice birth control, contributed to the problems besetting urban-suburban areas: crowded schools, festering slums, water shortages, pollution, traffic and housing shortages.

But the year saw one important change. Fatalism over impending catastrophe due to population increases began to yield to hope as programs of fertility control produced evidence of success.

In 1965, as never before, demographers gave high priority to weighing the impact of contraception on population trends. Many delegates to the United Nations World Population Conference in Yugoslavia, among them leaders of PPWP and the International Planned Parenthood Federation, brought direct field reports that energetic programs of voluntary family planning are curbing birth rates substantially in several countries.

President Johnson addressed a U.S. government pledge to the Conference of "wholehearted support" of efforts to "achieve a better world through bringing into balance the world's resources and the world's population." Earlier, addressing the U.N. 20th anniversary observance at San Francisco, the President urged all lands to "face forthrightly the multiplying problems of our multiplying populations." He added:

"Let us act on the fact that less than five dollars invested in population control is worth a hundred dollars invested in economic growth."

"I have four kids and I love all of 'em. The oldest is five and I've never been to a doctor. It's hard when you don't have the money."

PPWP Service Record

In this favorable setting, 1965 was another record year for U.S. Planned Parenthood. The national contraceptive caseload increased to 320,709—38,749 higher than 1964.

The number of *new* contraceptive patients recorded continued at very high levels, although this figure dropped slightly below the record levels achieved in 1964. The most striking gain was recorded among continuing contraceptive patients, with an increase of 36 per cent over 1964. Thus the rate of retention of patients at affiliated Planned Parenthood centers, increased substantially, due in large measure to heavy reliance on oral contraceptives.

Of every

100

Planned Parenthood
new patients:

63

had family incomes
of under $74 a week

35

were on welfare or
earned $50 a week or less

80

were less than
thirty years of age

21

were less than
twenty years of age

69

had fewer than
four children

From available data on methods chosen by patients, it appears that approximately 60 per cent of Affiliate patients chose the pill while the diaphragm, for decades the first choice of American women, was the method preferred by only 15 per cent. The intra-uterine devices (IUDs), offered in 1965 for the first time by many Planned Parenthood centers, were chosen by about 10 per cent of the patients.

With such a large percentage of patients on oral contraception, requiring more frequent check-up, patient visits swelled to a record 1,163,683—a gain of 16 per cent over 1964.

Partnership in the Communities

Experience in several communities suggested what may become a typical pattern of evolution between complementary tax-supported and voluntary birth control services. During the initial period of tax-supported service, it appears that both tax-supported and Planned Parenthood facilities add patients rapidly. Their educational efforts support each other and the spread of successful family planning practice in poverty areas evokes cumulative interest.

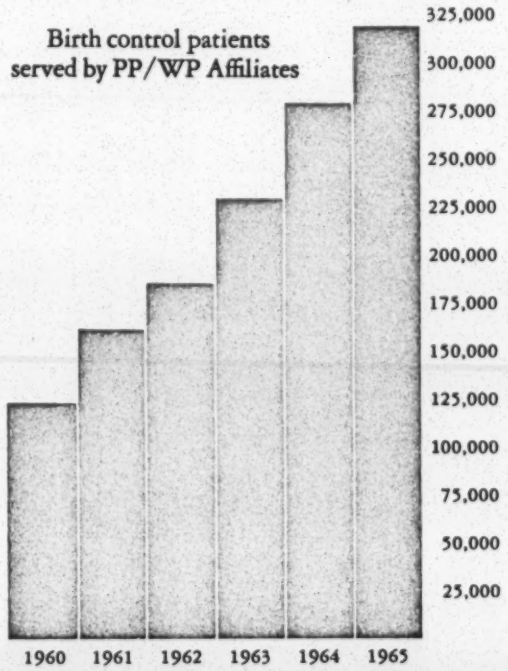
Public facilities usually establish eligibility requirements; by the same token they define ineligibility. The ineligible are referred to Planned Parenthood or come on their own initiative. Meanwhile PPWP affiliated centers for a variety of reasons are the first choice of many women who could use either service.

As tax-supported birth control services expand into major programs as they have in several cities, Planned Parenthood centers still appear to maintain the bulk of their patient load, and sometimes increase it while they also accelerate their educational efforts to stimulate patient use of both their own and tax-supported family planning facilities.

In New York, by the end of 1965, all 15 municipal hospitals with obstetrical services, plus nine Public Health Clinics and 25 private hospitals offered birth control help. The Washington, D.C., Public Health program expanded substantially. In Baltimore, eight private and public hospitals operated contraceptive clinics. In all three cities, Planned Parenthood centers continued to serve heavy caseloads.

In Chicago, where Public Health Department clinics began birth control service for the first time in 1965, Planned Parenthood achieved a striking 46.7 per cent increase in patients. From 23,689 in 1964, the citywide PP caseload rose to 34,422. Of these 7,000 were new patients.

Rising caseloads were also reported in other cities with tax-supported services. Indianapolis' PP roster rose to 4,592, compared to 4,046 a year ago, and Denver PP's patient rolls rose from 4,954 to 7,502, a rise of over 50 per cent.

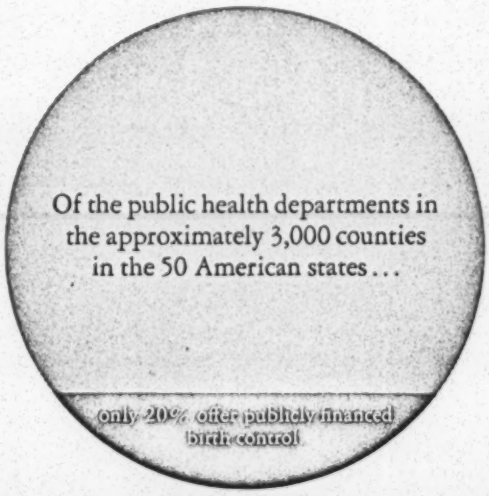


Announcing the findings at PPWP's Annual Meeting in October, Dr. Tietze commented: "This is an impressively high retention rate and should answer once and for all the question as to whether disadvantaged mothers will take the pill regularly and use it effectively."

Social Research

Planned Parenthood's Research Department during 1965 developed a simplified method of calculating the minimum potential caseload for subsidized family planning services for any community. Thus, tax and community-supported birth control clinics were provided with a yardstick to measure the extent to which their programs helped meet community requirements. During the year, this formula was used widely as more publicly financed family planning services were established in health departments and hospitals.

As part of its research program, PPWP in co-sponsorship with its New York City Affiliates, began a mobile service demonstration. Clinics served by the unit were established in six low-income neighborhoods to determine whether and to what extent low-income couples



would use birth control if it is convenient and in a familiar setting. Many experimental patient recruitment methods were initiated.

A household survey, conducted for PPWP by the National Opinion Research Center in connection with the demonstration project, disclosed that even in New York where 67 tax-supported and private facilities now offer family planning, 32.6 per cent of women who need and want birth control help still practice it ineffectively or not at all. This research survey was financed by the New York City Health Research Council.

Federal support of research in the area of reproduction and fertility control increased in 1965, but not to an adequate level. Despite the critical need for improved methods, the National Institutes of Health was supporting only 33 studies of various aspects of reproduction with total funds of under $6 million. Of this amount, only about $1 million was being spent for research "directly related to fertility control problems."

The Advisory Council to the National Institute on Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) strongly recommended expansion of these studies. Its proposal constituted the first acknowledgment by the government's official research establishment of an obligation to take the same kind of initiative in stimulating research in family planning as it has in the study of cancer and heart disease.

Under a $377,238 National Institutes of Health grant, a research team, headed by Dr. Charles Westoff, Princeton sociologist and chairman of Planned Parenthood's Social Science Committee, began to examine family planning practices of a national sample of more than 6,000 American married women aged 18-54. The study, the third in a series, will add to the *Growth of American Families* (GAF) research made in 1955 and 1960. This third installment will assess the impact of new contraceptive methods introduced since 1960.

Georgia Gets $1.8 Million To Aid Poor

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 25—The Johnson Administration's war on poverty will begin in Georgia in a big way with four projects costing $1,829,200. The two biggest ones are in Atlanta.

The $600,000 work experience phase of the program will be administered by the Fulton County Department of Family and Children Services and will be designed to train people who are on the relief roles for work.

Welborn Ellis, director of the department, said it will be financed entirely by federal funds. No local or state matching funds are required as in the other projects.

HE SAID he hopes about 600 people—400 women and 200 men—can be trained during the first year, 150 each quarter.

Mr. Ellis also said it is possible the amount of money will be higher than the announced $600,000 for the first year. The department had just finished preparing its application for the funds when the announcement

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JOHNSON'S WAR ON POVERTY COMES TO GEORGIA

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came Tuesday and they had expected to get $730,000.

Mr. Ellis said he hopes some of the persons trained under the program will be able to work in various departments of the county government while getting their on-the-job training. "If we're going to give them assistance," he said, "we should use them in some government activity." He said he plans to confer with County Manager Alan Kiepper about this.

Antipoverty chief Sargent Shriver announced the opening assault — a $35 million drive—late Wednesday in Texas after meeting with President Johnson at the LBJ Ranch.

OF THE 119 projects around the country, here are Georgia's four:

—A grant of $1,080,000 to the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Authority, the agency that outgoing DeKalb Commission Chairman C. O. Emmerich is to head. The emphasis will be on neighborhood action to combat poverty.

—A grant of $600,000 to Atlanta for a work-experience project, where unemployed persons will perform needed work that would not otherwise be done while training for regular employment. This is one of four such projects in the nation.

—A technical assistance grant of $132,500 to the State of Georgia to help communities plan local antipoverty campaigns.

—A grant of $16,700 to the Georgia Mountains Planning and Development Commission to plan antipoverty programs in 12 northeastern counties.

THE ANTIPOVERTY program stems from legislation passed by Congress this year. Ninth District Rep. Phil M. Landrum of Jasper sponsored the legislation in the House.

The Atlanta - Fulton County Economic Authority will get $200,000 of the $1,080,000 grant immediately to get started on the neighborhood service centers.

One already operating on the west side will be expanded, and others will be opened around Washington High School, Carver High School and East Point. Seven centers are planned.

THE ATLANTA agency also plans to develop an educational improvement program, vocational training for young people and adults. Long-range aims include health services, legal aid, welfare services, personnel counseling, homemaking and home management.

The $600,000 work-experience project in Atlanta will cover all of Fulton County and will employ about 600 parents. They will work under the auspices of public or other nonprofit agencies.

Men will be trained in building and ground maintenance, including carpentry, masonry, painting, landscaping and nursery work. Women will be trained to fill jobs as homemakers in families where help is needed because of illness or other reasons.

MAYOR ALLEN, in a statement issued to coincide with announcement of the Atlanta grant, expressed pride that "our community is one of the first in the nation" to receive such a grant.

The grant, he said, "will enable us to marshall all agencies and efforts, both public and private, in an all-out attack on poverty and its local causes."

He noted that while a majority of Atlantans "now enjoy unparalleled prosperity," there are many "deprived and disadvantaged citizens" who are held "in the grip of economic hopelessness."

The aim of the Atlanta Community Action Program, he said, is to provide disadvantaged families "with realistic opportunities for self - improvement and financial independence."

THE STATE will get $25,000 immediately of its $132,000 grant to get a start on planning and coordinating local antipoverty programs.

Mrs. Bruce Schaefer, state welfare director, also will head the Georgia Office of Economic Opportunity, which will administer the program.

Under the community action phase of the antipoverty program, both financial and technical aid for local communities are authorized in the areas of employment, job training, counseling, health vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, remedial education and other measures.

The 12 counties that will benefit from the $16,700 grant to the mountains commission are Union, Towns, Rabun, Lumpkin, White, Habersham, Dawson, Forsyth, Hall, Banks, Franklin and Stephens. All are in Rep. Landrum's congressional district.

IN EIGHT of the 13 counties, 50 per cent of the employed males earn less than $2,000 a year. Only one-fourth of the adults over 25 are high school graduates, and 25 per cent of the 16 and 17 year olds are out of high school

On a tour of the depressed Appalachian region last spring, President Johnson visited Gainesville.

The antipoverty program also includes a job corps, a work-study program for college students, a sort of domestic peace corps known as Vista Volunteers and neighborhood youth corps to help young people stay in school. Georgia has no projects of these kinds now.

MR. SHRIVER said that all antipoverty projects will operate "in complete conformity with the letter and the spirit of the Civil Rights Act—in the Deep South as well as elsewhere."

All announcements about Georgia projects carried the notation that Gov. Sanders has been notified of them and has, under the law, 30 days to disapprove a local program.

MEANWHILE, in Atlanta, Boisfeuillet Jones, chairman of the Atlanta - Fulton County Economic Opportunity Authority, said:

"The authority is greatly pleased that its successful program proposal places Atlanta and Fulton County among the first communities to receive support through the Office of Economic Opportunity.

"We shall now have substantial additional resources to augment our community effort toward elimination of dependency. We are determined that people in the Atlanta area now bypassed in our relative prosperity be provided such services as they want and need to become independent and productive members of our economy.

"More than 200 agencies, public and private, in the Atlanta area will be encouraged and expected to join forces in this drive toward economic opportunity for all. The grant of funds just announced for the first phase of our program will spur this effort.

(Advertisement)

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Report on Anti-Poverty Program

By DREW PEARSON

Washington.

WHEN SARGENT Shriver reported to President Johnson on the new anti-poverty program he told the President how Barry Goldwater's No. 1 supporter, Gov. Paul Fannin of Arizona, had walked into Shriver's office last week and handed him a letter.

Fannin is now senator-elect from Arizona, had been critical of the anti-poverty program. And since Goldwater had ridiculed it in speech after speech, Shriver figured he was in for a stormy conversation.

But the letter turned out to be an endorsement of the new anti - poverty program, and Arizona's acceptance of participation.

APPLICATIONS

Shriver gave the President a factual summary of progress during the 45 days since the anti-poverty bill received its congressional appropriation. Among other things, he told how in strife-torn Mississippi the town of Corinth had applied for a job training program on the basis of racial equality.

During the first 45 days of operation, 256 applications have come in from towns and cities ranging from Detroit to Los Angeles, New Haven, Conn., to Lafayette, La. Gov. Mark Hatfield of Oregon, a Republican, was one of the first to come in. Gov. John McKeithen of Louisiana, an unreconstructed opponent of Lyndon Johnson, also signed up.

But one of the most interesting applications came from a Catholic priest, Father Arcenaux, who flew to Washington on behalf of several southwest Louisiana parishes centered around Lafayette and wanted to start a school for drop-outs, together with an adult literacy training program.

Father Arcenaux was told by Shriver, himself a Catholic, that the anti-poverty program must include Protestants as well as Catholics, Negroes as well as whites.

Father Arcenaux went back, got the support of all those groups, as well as Mayor Ray Bertrand of Lafayette, and the Community Activities Program is now going strong in southwest Louisiana.

The way the anti-poverty program works out is briefly as follows: Name of the new bureau is the "Office of Economic Opportunity." Top man is Sargent Shriver, who doubles in brass as head of the Peace Corps.

Immediately under Shriver is the Job Corps, which in turn is under Otis Singletary, on leave as chancellor of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Another division of the Office of Economic Opportunity is the Community Activities Program under Jack Conway, an experienced executive of the AFL-CIO.

A third division is lumped under "Related Programs," which includes programs allocated to other government agencies. The Neighborhood Youth Centers, for instance, are under the Labor Department; educational jobs in universities are under HEW; while business loans are under the Small Business Administration.

EXECUTIVES

One reason Shriver has got off to a fast start is that he didn't follow the usual bureaucratic technique of trying to hog the whole show. His strategy has been to farm out as many activities as possible to other agencies, with the states and local communities deciding what they need most.

Another reason for Shriver's speed has been his ability to persuade live-wire executives to give up high-paying jobs and work for him.

Several of these men gave up salaries of around $60,000 a year to work for the government.

Shriver also reported that he had 50 camp directors screened, processed, and ready on Jan. 1 to open camps similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps of Roosevelt's day. The new anti - poverty camps, however, will go beyond teaching woodcraft and taking boys off the city streets. They will conduct night classes in everything from history to English to mechanics.—(c1964.)

U.S. Lists Georgia Among 10 Poorest

By MARGARET SHANNON
Atlanta Journal Washington Correspondent

WASHINGTON, Nov. 24—A federal report issued Tuesday pictured Georgia as one of the 10 poorest states in the nation, with almost half of its counties classified as poverty-stricken.

The definition of poverty used in the report is a family income of less than $3,000 a year. The report is based on 1959 figures.

Georgia, according to the report, had 338,100 families with incomes less than $3,000. That was 35.6 per cent of the families in the state.

The median income for all families in Georgia was $4,208.

COUNTIES in which more than half of the families had incomes of under $3,000 were classed as poverty-stricken.

On that basis, 75 of Georgia's 159 counties rated the poverty label. Most of them are rural, and most of them are in South Georgia.

At the bottom of the list, according to the report is Webster County, where the median family income in 1959 was $1,612, and where 88 per cent of the families had incomes less than $3,000.

MISSISSIPPI headed the list of the 10 states with the highest percentage of low-income fami-

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POOR

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lies. Georgia was ninth. The other states are Arkansas, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Louisiana, and South Dakota.

THE REPORT was issued by the Welfare Administration of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

According to the report, statistics show that the chances of being poor are "closely related to where one lives or whether one is white or nonwhite."

"The nonwhite family falls at the bottom of the income distribution pattern," the report said. "The urban nonwhite family has about the same chances for being very poor as does the rural white family."

The report warns that rural poverty is a problem likely not to get proper attention because of the clamor of cities for help and action.

"There is no one program which could be devised which would meet the need of these withering county units with their low gross population and low income," the report said.

BUT IT WARNS: "If the goal of abolishing poverty is to be realized, the planning called for in the anti-Poverty Program must encompass which will reach the poor in remote rural areas as well as in urban centers."

The Georgia counties classified as poverty-stricken were as follows:

Appling, Atkinson, Bacon, Berrien, Brooks, Bryan, Burke, Baker, Calhoun, Candler, Clay, Clinch, Coffee, Cook, Crawford, Crisp, Dawson, Dooly, Early, Echols.

Emanuel, Evans, Franklin, Greene, Hancock, Harris, Heard, Irwin, Jasper, Jefferson, Jenkins, Johnson, Lanier, Lee, Lincoln, Long, McIntosh, Macon, Madison, Marion.

Meriwether, Miller, Mitchell, Montgomery, Morgan, Oglethorpe, Pierce, Pike, Quitman, Randolph, Schley, Screven, Seminole, Stewart, Talbot, Taliaferro, Tattnall, Taylor, Telfair, Terrell, Towns, Treutlen, Turner, Twiggs, Union, Warren, Washington, Webster, Wheeler, Wilcox, Wilkes, Worth.

Poverty Lesson

IT IS going to take more than federally-subsidized industry to win any war against poverty in the Appalachian region. This is the first lesson learned the hard way in Varner, W.Va.

National Seating and Dimension Co., Inc., a federally-assisted effort to diversify industry has closed its doors. The 100 jobs it created have vanished. And now company officials are searching for a buyer who will get a built-in $675,000 tax write-off.

The company was organized to give employment to former coal miners. The product was finished parts for the wood furniture industry. Some $1.8 million was poured into the firm, primarily in the form of federal loans.

But there were problems.

Coal miners had to be retrained, for there was no similarity between mining coal and producing furniture parts. This was accomplished, but it proved expensive.

Coal miners, even unemployed ones, were not accustomed to working for a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour. They were not enthusiastic over this sort of return, even though wages in the furniture industry are not high.

There were virtually no profits from the endeavor, and after two years of effort the company has had to close down just ahead of creditors taking over.

This does not mean, of course, that the war on poverty in Appalachia has been lost. Far from it. But it is a significant development. The case here should be carefully studied by those who are responsible for pouring out federal loans aimed at reviving industry which, in turn, is supposed to revive a region.

The type of industry and its location; the type of labor available and its attitude; the potential market and its location; the type of men available for management — all of these are vital increments to any new company which is established as a blow against poverty.

There is a lesson to be learned in West Virginia.

New Yardstick Made for Poverty

Size of Families, Urban Or Rural Locale Considered

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Leaders of the federal government's war on poverty announced a new yardstick Sunday for determining just which U.S. families are really poor.

Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, announced the change while the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was challenging the government's present standard which says that any family earning less than $3,000 a year is poverty stricken.

Shriver said the new gauge will take into consideration the respective size of families and whether they live in urban or rural areas. It is based on the Agriculture Department's "economy level food plan" which figures a basic cost of 23 cents per person per meal per day.

A family of four with an annual income under $3,130 and an individual with income under $1,540 now would be classed as poor. Previously, the figures were $3,000 and $1,500. For families of two the poverty level would be $1,990, and for families of three it would be $2,440.

Shriver said the original $3,000 yardstick for all was set by the Council of Economic Advisers as a "rough rule for initial purposes and not intended for long-term planning of the anti-poverty program."

He said the new definition takes into account food, rent, other costs and the size and geographical location of poor families.

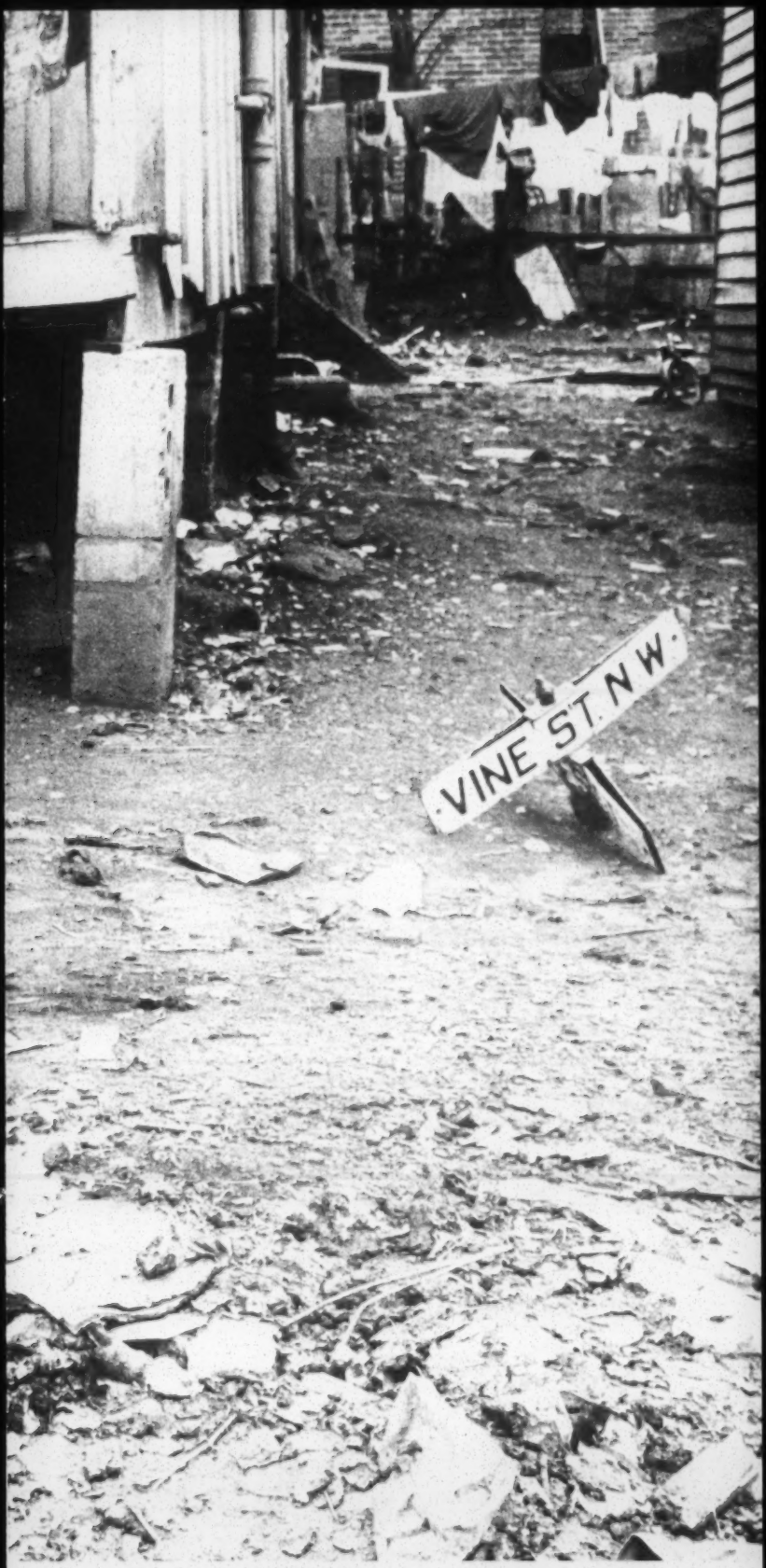
The big difference between the two standards, he said, is that the new method includes a larger number of children than the old—15 million instead of 11 million.

He said it applied to 34.6 million persons in the United States, 70 per cent of them white.

The Chamber of Commerce based its criticism of the old gauge on the fact that a small family living in a warm climate and growing most of its own food could live comfortably on $3,000 a year.

The chamber called on the government to replace its income measure of poverty with a "market-basket" standard that would gauge what it costs to live a decent life in different parts of the country and under different circumstances.

The recommendation is part of a report by the chamber's task force on economic growth and opportunity, a group of more than 100 business leaders, headed by Erwin D. Canham of Boston.



vine city: an experiment in self-help

the program
Experiments in Self-Help is for people in poverty-stricken communities. It aims to help them mobilize their forces in order to better control their lives and environment.

the policy
Experiments in Self-Help will go into any community whose people want assistance in mobilizing themselves for self-help action.

the project
The Vine City Project is our first; we proceed in the belief that outsiders can only help the community to articulate its problems and then to take action to remedy them.

the plan
Our plan is to help Vine City residents find ways to improve the conditions in which they live. Once mobilized, community residents can then select their own projects.

the promoters
Vine City residents and student volunteers staff the Vine City Project and an advisory committee of community leaders and students determines policy. Leaders in civil rights and human relations specialists comprise a resource committee.

the people
A man, his pregnant wife, and their six children all live in two rooms; he works for a downtown motel for less than $200 a month.

Six people live in three badly leaking rooms. A retarded child in the apartment has been turned away from a public school because it is over-crowded.

A family of eight has no income, yet they pay $70.50 a month for three rooms with holes in the floor. The family faces eviction for overdue rent.

the postscript
These are our neighbors, but we do not see them. They are real people, Atlantans, living in the shadow of Five Points, the heart of Atlanta. Because of foul housing, poor schools, no jobs or underpaid jobs, they cannot share and enjoy the protection and opportunities of affluent Atlanta. Why doesn't someone do something about it? Vine City residents and student friends intend to.

how you can help

- Inform your friends and recruit volunteers for Experiments in Self-Help.
- Give a Saturday afternoon to the Project; help clear a lot for a children's playground.
- Raise money for Experiments in Self-Help.
- Help at home—type, telephone, file.
- Join the Experiment's Summer Project and help with voter registration, neighborhood beautification, tutorials, and work, play and study clubs. We will arrange housing for summer volunteers.

the staff

Director
J. Otis Cochran

Coordinating Committee
Portia Randall
Steve Levy
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Kathy Johnson
John Harris
J. B. Butler
Gloria Wise
Linda Hayes
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Mickey Wells
Helen Howard
Amanda Jackson
Melvin Traylor
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Doris Reed
David Burney
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Bennie Smith

For additional information write :

Experiments in Self-Help
c/o J. Otis Cochran
149 Walnut Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Printed courtesy of Georgia Council on Human Relations.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

Subject: Community Action Program Grants

This is a brief guide to local communities interested in the possibility of obtaining aid under the Economic Opportunity Act.

Beginning:

1. Meeting of appropriate voluntary and governmental agencies and community leaders.
   A. Health B. Welfare C. Housing D. Education E. Employment to be included.

2. Assemble facts on Poverty in your area. Determine major characteristics.

3. Develop proposal and check local resources.

4. Set specific geographical area.

5. Form local Community Action organization. To include:
   A. Government agencies B. Voluntary Groups C. Business D. Labor & E. Civic Groups

6. Ask for Technical help in develpping program--if needed.
   Apply: Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity

7. Contact State Government agencies and programs for assistance and cooperation.

8. Develop projects in order of importance and ability to carry them through.

9. Apply: Community Action Program, Office of Economic Opportunity for detailed application forms.

POSSIBLE PROGRAMS:

1. Job employment services
2. Special and Remedial Education
3. Counseling and Guidance Services
4. After-school study centers; tutoring; extra academic classes.
5. Pre-school Nursery programs.
6. Adult illiteracy program
7. Special Education for migrant or transient families.
8. Improving living conditions for the elderly.
9. Health exams and education for school children.
10. Rehabilitation and retraining of physically and mentally handicapped persons.
11. Health, Rehabilitation, employment, educational and related services to persons refused by military services.
12. Community child-care and youth activity centers.
13. Improvement of housing and living facilities and home management skills.
14. Services to recently moved urban dwellers.
15. Recreation and physical fitness services and facilities.

Facts Needed Regarding Poverty:

1. Concentration of low-income families.
2. Rate of persistent unemployment and underemployment.
3. Number and Proportion of persons receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from pulic or private agencies.
4. Number of migrant or transient low-income families.
5. Number and rate of school drop-outs.
6. Military rejection rates and other evidences of low educations attainment.
7. The incidence of disease, disability and infant mortality.
8. Housing conditions; adequacy of community facilities and services.
9. Incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

Financing the Program:

Federal money will :
1. Help establish community action groups.
2. Assist in developing programs.
3. Support those programs
4. Provide technical aid.

The Federal Government will pay up to 90% of the cost for the 1st two years. The balance, furnished by the local Community Action Program Organization , can be in cash and/or service and/or facilities.

Further information is available regarding formal application for a grant when your group requires it.

ARKANSAS HOUSES TO HEAR SHRIVER

Faubus Requested Address Today on Poverty Fight

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 7—Sargent Shriver will explain the nation's antipoverty program tomorrow to a joint session of the Arkansas State Legislature.

This unusual action by a Federal official comes at a time when a neighboring state, Louisiana, is involved in a conflict with the Federal Government over the antipoverty program.

The Office of Economic Opportunity, which Mr. Shriver directs, is holding up a $132,000 antipoverty planning grant to Louisiana because of complaints over the racial stands of some state officials who would administer the program there.

Officials of the Office of Economic Opportunity said last week that the delay in processing the funds had been prompted by complaints that "at least two" of Gov. John J. McKeithen's appointments to the antipoverty posts in Louisiana were "segregationists" or "extremists."

Mr. Shriver's office is investigating the complaints. No decision has been announced.

This is the first time any antipoverty funds have been withheld because of the racial issue. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Federal agencies are prohibited from making grants or loans to state or local projects that discriminate on the grounds of race, creed or color.

It is believed that Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas, in asking Mr. Shriver to address the joint session of the Legislature, may be trying to head off trouble in the southern part of his state, which borders on Louisiana.

So far, there has been no conflict in Arkansas over the antipoverty program. The state has received a number of Federal grants.

A Federal Job Corps camp for the training of youths between the ages of 16 and 22 opened recently in Garland County, Ark. The camp, the second in the nation to be opened, is integrated.

Another Job Corps camp is scheduled to open later this year in Franklin County.

Among the Federal antipoverty grants to Arkansas are the following:

Adult basic education, $312,060; training of unemployed parents on relief, $15,300; community action program for Yell County, $49,980; training of men and women on relief in Yell County, $100,000.

ON 4 CITY FRONTS

Poverty War Tightens

By HARRY MURPHY

Atlanta's poverty fighters are attempting to bring health, education, welfare and employment services right down to the neighborhood level through four community centers.

The city's war on poverty gained momentum this week as the Atlanta-Fulton County Economic Opportunity Authority took over one community project and found temporary headquarters for another.

The authority took over the West End neighborhood center, which had been in operation under private sponsorship for about one and a half years.

THE PROJECT for the Nash Area, which is bounded by Northside Drive and Ashby, Simpson and Hunter Streets, will be temporarily headquartered in the Bethlehem Community Center. It will be headed by William Fowlkes, former managing editor of the Atlanta Daily World.

Other community centers will be located in the Price High School and South Fulton High School areas and headquarters for them are now being sought.

The community centers are designed to bring down to the community level services for health, employment, welfare, education and other things.

An attack on the causes and consequences of poverty in these four areas will be made, said Dan Sweat, authority associate director. He said $900,000 in federal money was received by the authority this week for this purpose.

C. O. EMMERICH, former DeKalb County commission chairman, is executive director of the authority. Mr. Sweat, formerly executive assistant to Mr. Emmerich in DeKalb, is one of three associate directors.

He handles administrative duties and the Job Corps. Dr. Tilman Cothran, former Atlanta University professor, is associate director for resources and

C. O. EMMERICH
Executive Director

will handle research and some education programs.

Dave Beecher, formerly with the Atlanta Area Community Council and director of the West End project, is the associate director for neighborhood services.

THE WEST END project contributed greatly to the development of the community centers, Mr. Sweat said.

This project evidenced the need for "restructuring" the delivery of existing services to meet the needs of the dependent family.

Under this restructuring, the offices of agencies aiding these people would be decentralized and branches placed in the communities they served.

The West End project determined that many of the residents had moved recently from a rural area to city and did not know community services for low-income people existed.

A LACK of knowledge of the operations and methods of urban life often confused them. Many did not know of state employment services. When they did learn of them, they often didn't have transportation or couldn't effectively communicate their skills and past work experience to interviewers.

If they got a job, it paid only about $50 a week. Parents weren't aware of the value of education.

An employment counselor from the State Labor Department was assigned to the neighborhood and overcame the accessibility problem.

The West End project might never help some adults, said Mr. Beecher, "but maybe with their children or grandchildren we can make some impact."

He said, "More funds will have to be spent to help disadvantaged people as well as build courthouses, stadiums, auditoriums, swimming pools and provide 'nice' services for our middle and upper socio-economic groups if the extent of poverty is to be controlled."

In all, 14 of the eventual 25 persons to be attached to the central staff in the 101 Marietta Street Building have been hired. Searches are now being made for the remainder. Each of the four neighborhood centers will have about 30 persons attached to it, including aides.

These aides will be people who reside in the neighborhoods where poverty is being attacked. They will be trained to assist in public health, welfare and other programs.

"We hope to start the neighborhood aide training program soon," Mr. Sweat said. The poverty "war" officially got started Jan. 1.

The Job Corps program is now well under way, he added "We've sent 32 boys in the last two weeks to camps in six states and we expect to send an additional 33 within three weeks.

"Our quota is now 65, but we expect it to be upped soon to 115."

The authority screens Job Corps applicants from the five Metropolitan Area counties, plus Fayette, Rockdale and Douglas counties. State offices screen applicants from the remaining counties.

THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

JOINT FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL PROGRAMS:

* The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), an Executive agency headed by a director reporting directly to the President, will have overall administrative responsibility for programs under the Economic Opportunity Act.
* However, participation at the local level in planning and operating the projects will be encouraged in all programs, required in most.
* Each governor will have 30 days in which to veto proposed Youth Programs and Community Action Programs in his state.
* Governor, by not acting within 30 days, may permit a project to begin.
* Governor may expedite project by giving his approval before the 30 day period is over.

YOUTH PROGRAMS:

** The Job Corps:

* Will enroll, in 1965 and 1966, up to 140,000 young men and women, ages 16 to 22, for up to two years service in conservation camps and training centers.
* Camps and centers will emphasize basic education, skill training, and work experience.
* Job Corpsmen will be recruited through U. S. Employment Service Offices, schools, churches, settlement houses, public and private welfare agencies, boys' clubs, selective service boards.
* Corpsmen will receive room, board, and travel allowances while in the Corps.
* Upon completion of their terms, they will be paid $50 for each month of satisfactory service.
* OR, Corpsmen may contribute to their dependents $25 per month (to which Government will add another $25), and receive $25 for each month of satisfactory service when separated from the Job Corps.

** The Neighborhood Youth Corps:

* A work training program for unemployed young men and women, ages 16 to 22, in public service projects such as at parks, playgrounds, hospitals, and libraries.
* Examples of work training include nurses', librarians', and teachers' aides; nursery school and playground attendants; hospital orderlies; assistant dietitians; mechanics' helpers; landscape assistants.

PAGE (s) MISSING

* Projects will be developed by state and local governments, and by private, non-profit service and welfare organizations.
* The agency developing the work training project will be responsible for recruiting the young people to work in it.
* Up to 200,000 young people will be enrolled in NYC each year.
* Enrollees will work and live in their own communities.
* They will be paid wages based on local rates for beginners in similar work.
* They will be encouraged to continue or resume their schooling.

** Work Study Programs:

* Will operate through, and be administered by, colleges and universities.
* Will provide on-campus and off-campus part-time work for deserving students selected by participating schools.

URBAN AND RURAL COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS:

* Locally planned, locally administered direct attacks on any poverty-promoting community problem.
* Will require comprehensive community action plans, developed by local community action organizations which may be formed by government agencies, private non-profit agencies such as volunteer or civic groups, or a combination of public and private agencies.
* Will emphasize programs designed to produce "a permanent increase in the ability of persons to deal with their problems without further aid."
* Examples of such programs include job-training, counseling, vocational rehabilitation, remedial education, home management, health improvement, family planning.
* Federal government will bear up to 90% of the cost during the first two years, 50% thereafter.
* Communities' contributions may be in cash, facilities, and services.
* Participants in the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Work Study programs will be available for work on community action projects.

OTHER ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT PROGRAMS:

** Grants and Loans to Combat Rural Poverty:

* Will aid low-income rural families and migrant workers.
* Will loan up to $2,500 to such families, payable within 15 years, for certain home and farm improvements, if they cannot obtain funds elsewhere.
* Will provide similar loans for local marketing and purchasing cooperatives.

** Voluntary Assistance Programs for Needy Children:

* Federal government will locate needy children, supply their names to persons who volunteer to give them financial help.

* No direct federal financial assistance to the children under this program.

** Adult Basic Education Programs:

* For persons with six years or less of schooling.

* Will teach adults basic reading, writing, and arithmetic, helping them to find and to keep jobs.

* Will be conducted at local level, under guidance of state department of Education.

* Federal government will pay 90% of cost during first two years, 50% thereafter.

** Volunteers in Service to America -- VISTA:

* A "domestic Peace Corps" whose purpose will be to improve the health, education, and welfare needs of the ppor in the United States and its territories.

* Will place special emphasis on aiding the mentally ill and the mentally retarded.

* Volunteers will receive allowances for living, housing, and travel expenses, and pay not to exceed $50 monthly.

For information on programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, write or call:

Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Job Corps
Washington, D. C.

Neighborhood Youth Corps
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

For advice and consultation on community action programs, write or call these state officials:

Alabama:

Claude Kirk
Department of Industrial Relations
Industrial Relations Bldg.
Montgomery, Alabama

Arkansas:

Ted. J. Morley
Executive Director
Arkansas State Planning Office
Little Rock, Arkansas

Florida:

Sam Hand
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Georgia:

Mrs. Bruce Shaefer
Technical Advisory Committee
State House
Atlanta, Georgia

Kentucky:

Felix Joyner
Commissioner of Finance
Capitol Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Louisiana:

Champ Baker
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Mississippi:

Gene A. Triggs
Mississippi Agriculture and Industry Board
Wolfolk State Office Bldg.
Jackson, Mississippi

North Carolina:

James White
Office of the Governor
State House
Raleigh, North Carolina

Oklahoma:

H. Dale Cook
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

South Carolina:

Edwin Culpepper
State Auditor's Office
Wade Hampton Building
Columbia, South Carolina

Tennessee:

John A. Dyer
Office of the Governor
Capitol Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Texas:

Larry Temple
Office of the Governor
State Capitol
Austin, Texas

Virginia:

Robert Kirby
Office of the Governor
State House
Richmond, Virginia

THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT--MDTA

The Office of Manpower, Automation and Training--OMAT:

* An agency of the Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor.
* Plans and evaluates training programs; programs are administered by state employment service offices and state departments of vocational education.

MDTA training and retraining programs:

* Are conducted only for skills which are in demand within the labor market area.
* Vary in length according to the skill being taught; maximum length is 72 weeks, or 52 weeks if no basic education is included in the trainees' programs.
* Are conducted at no cost to the trainees.
* Include on-the-job training, operating through the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training with the cooperation of employers and labor unions.

To receive MDTA training:

* A person must be unemployed.
* OR, he may be working less than full time in a skill that is becoming, or will become, obsolete.
* OR, he may be working below his skill capacity, that is, a job lower than his potential skills would qualify him for, if trained.
* OR, he may be a member of a farm family with less than $1200 annual net family income.
* OR, he may be over 16 years old but not yet 22 and in need of further schooling or occupational training.

Prospective trainees qualify for MDTA programs by:

* First, visiting their local State Employment Service Office.
* Next, being interviewed, tested, and counseled by the local SES to determine interest in, and suitability and aptitude for, job training.

Persons selected for MDTA training:

* Will be assigned to a specific training course.
* Will be expected to maintain satisfactory attendance, and to make satisfactory progress, in the course being taken.
* Will be assisted in finding jobs by the State Employment Service office upon completion of their course.

Trainees are eligible for training allowances:

* If they are the head of a household, and have at least two years experience in gainful employment.

* OR, if they are between 17 and 22 and are enrolled in a specialized youth training program.
* If they are employed while in training, they may receive a reduced allowance.
* AND, if training facility is not within commuting distance of their residences, they may also receive subsistence and transportation allowances.

For further information write or call:

* Local, or nearest, Employment and Claims Office, State Employment Service

* OR, OMAT regional field directors:

1) Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
   Atlanta, Georgia

2) District of Columbia, North Carolina, Virginia:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Vanguard Building
   1111 Twentieth Street, N. W.
   Washington, D. C.

3) Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Commerce Building
   1416 Commerce Street
   Dallas, Texas

4) Kentucky:

   Regional Director, USDL, OMAT
   Engineers Building
   1365 Ontario Street
   Cleveland, Ohio

* OR, write or call:

   Deputy Assistant Director
   Manpower, Automation, and Training
   Department of Labor
   Washington, D. C.

   Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
   Department of Labor
   Washington, D. C.

THE AREA REDEVELOPMENT ACT

The Area Redevelopment Administration---ARA:

* An agency of the U. S. Department of Commerce.
* Makes long-term, low interest loans to properly organized community groups establishing or expanding industry.
* Makes grants to communities for up to half the cost of building public facilities needed to attract and to aid new industries. Examples are roads, railroad spurs, dams, reservoirs, waterworks, sewerage systems, navigation channels, libraries.
* Retrains jobless workers and provides them with subsistance allowances during their training.
* Gives technical assistance to communities, helping them to survey, catalog, and assess the potential of their resources.
* Authority expires June 30, 1965, unless renewed by Congress.

To qualify for ARA aid:

* An URBAN area must have high unemployment--a current unemployment rate of 6% or more; OR, an annual average unemployment rate of 50% greater than the national average rate in three of the preceding four years; OR, 75% greater than the national average in two of the previous three years; OR, double the national rate during the preceding calendar year.
* A RURAL area must be one of low income and/or high unemployment--an area where farm-family incomes average $1170 or less annually; OR, where all family incomes average $1500 or less annually; OR, an area with a labor force of 15,000 or fewer where there has been persistent unemployment; OR, an area of "low production farming."

To receive ARA aid:

* A community must have been designated by the ARA as a "redevelopment area"--i.e., as meeting the above qualifications.
* A community must organize a local redevelopment committee, bbroadly representative of local groups, such as commerce, industry, agriculture, labor, education, local government, and ethnic groups.
* An Overall Economic Development Program--OEDP--must be drawn up, and submitted to ARA for approval and financial aid.

The OEDP:

* Describes the community redevelopment organization.
* Details and assesses the community's existing resources and facilities.
* Outlines the plans for improving the community's economy.

* Explains why ARA aid is necessary; that is, why the community cannot accomplish the proposed plan without ARA assistance.

ARA Loans:

* Can finance as much as 65% of the total cost of an ARA approved project.
* Require, in addition, a minimum of 10% investment from public sources and a minimum of 5% from private sources.
* Commercial and industrial loans carry an annual interest rate of 4% and can run as long as 25 years.
* Public facility improvement loans are made at 3½% annually for up to 40 years.

ARA job retraining programs:

* Are intended to attract new industry to labor surplus areas by providing a supply of skilled workers.
* Have included training for semiskilled factory workers, office workers, nurses aides, farm and construction equipment operators and maintenance men.
* Are similar to programs offered under the Manpower Development and Training Act (see page 6); maximum training period is 16 weeks.

For further information, write or call:

1) Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North and South Carolina:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations, Southeast Division
   Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

2) Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations, Appalachian Division
   Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

3) Texas and Oklahoma:

   ARA, Office of Area Operations
   Southwest Division
   Department of Commerce
   Washington, D. C.

For special assistance to minority groups on economic development problems in the Southeast Division, write or call:

Field Coordinator
Southeast Division
Area Redevelopment Administration
305 Bona Allen Building
135 Luckie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

SOME OTHER FEDERAL PROGRAMS

Rural Areas Development Programs -- RAD:

* Administered by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.
* Programs are "concerned with the total economic development of the rural community"; for example, industrial development, community facilities, conservation, and recreation.
* Programs are designed and carried out at the local level by county RAD committees composed of local businessmen and farmers, assisted by the local county agent and the Department of Agriculture.

For information write or call local county agent, OR:

Director, Rural Areas Development
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 (Public Law 88-210):

* Dollar-for-dollar matching grants to states to improve their non-professional vocational education programs.

For information write or call:

Division of Vocational and Technical Education
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

The Food Stamp Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-525):

* Distributes food coupons to needy families through state welfare agencies.
* Participants can exchange coupons at most grocery stores for any food for human consumption except alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and certain imported foods.

For information write or call:

Director, Food Distribution Division
Agricultural Marketing Service
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PRIVATE AGENCIES AND CITIZENS

For political as well as practical reasons, provisions requiring LOCAL INITIATIVE, LOCAL ACTION, AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION of "anti-poverty" programs were written into the laws.

This creates many community-service opportunities for private agencies in the welfare, health, housing, education, and employment fields, as well as for public-spirited private citizens. The first responsibility of every private agency and every concerned citizen is to be a source of information and publicity for the anti-poverty campaign. Agencies and individuals should learn about the various programs, should function as ready sources of general information to anyone who might inquire about "the war on poverty," should study all programs carefully to determine which ones are applicable to their own communities, and should know whom to approach for complete information. In short, they ought to serve as go-betweens for persons or groups who might give help and persons or groups who might need such help.

Civic, fraternal, and even religious organizations, if they are non-partisan and (in most cases)non-profit, are eligible for initiating and participating in most anti-poverty projects. The Office of Economic Opportunity, for example, requires only that the agency be "broadly representative of the interests of the community" and that the project be non-discriminatory as to race, color and religion.

The Economic Opportunity Act invites private agencies to participate in Community Action programs. Such agencies, either singly or in cooperation with other interested persons and groups, can receive federal help in developing remedial education classes, after-school tutoring and study centers, programs for pre-school children, rehabilitation programs for the mentally and physically handicapped, and even in setting up new industries to provide jobs for the unemployed. Private agencies can be especially helpful in assembling the income, unemployment, education level, drop-out, migrant family, health, housing, and other community data which must be gathered before any anti-poverty program can be developed or approved.

The county Rural Areas Development committees are good examples of local initiative groups. Any existing local private agency, or any group of community-minded citizens, with the cooperation of the County Agent, can establish a local RAD committee where none exists. (Most counties already have them.) Local private agencies should try to work with existing RAD committees in the interests of those whom the agencies represent.

Area Redevelopment Administration programs require local initiative and local community action. Any private, non-partisan organization is potentially the agency through which the community

redevelopment program can be initiated and carried out. If the program sets up a new industry, or expands an existing one, these may be operated for private profit. Although there are no provisions in the Act requiring equal employment opportunities in industries set up with ARA funds, such industries will be covered by Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, either initially or eventually, if they employ as many as 25 persons.

The concerned individual can be invaluable, not only in his own efforts, but in stimulating group action. The private citizen, living in a community where there is not now in existence either a private or public agency qualified to receive anti-poverty aid which may be provided to communities, can initiate an effort to have the necessary agency organized. He can approach local government officials and inform them of the aid available under anti-poverty programs, and work with them to secure such benefits for the community.

Working through existing agencies--and every community has some--he can seek the cooperation of school officials, parent-teacher associations, and religious, fraternal, civic, and social organizations, in order to secure the involvement of the total citizenry in planning and accomplishing community improvement projects. Together with other public-spirited individuals, the private citizens can secure appointments, at the policy-making and administrative levels, of qualified persons who represent all elements of the community. Further, he can monitor the actual performance of federally aided community improvement projects, seeking to assure that all elements of his community are properly benefited.

Job Corps Recruiting Drive Set

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18 (AP)—Shortly after Thanksgiving, the government will blitz slums in Baltimore and coal towns in Appalachia with posters, flyers and radio and television advertisements.

Thus will begin an appeal to young people to enlist in the job corps.

From this early effort in the Maryland metropolis and in depressed coal mining areas of Wise County, Va., and Letcher County, Ky., the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity hopes to find the proper means to recruit both urban and rural youths.

Hopefully, the analysis can be completed by the end of the year, for at the start of 1965 officials hope to launch a full-scale recruitment drive for about 30,000 youths.

The goal: To raise those who are deprived, illiterate or semi-literate to the point where they have the skills to be employed.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 25, 19

XERO COPY

LAS VEGAS'S POOR GETTING U.S. HELP

VISTA Volunteers to Work in Resort City in Spring

Poverty Prog

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 24 — Next spring, eight men and women will begin working quietly among the poor in a city noted for its big money. money.

Las Vegas is one of 28 cities and communities to which the first contingent of 99 VISTA volunteers will be sent under the Government's antipoverty program.

VISTA, meaning Volunteers in Service to America, is the domestic counterpart of the Peace Corps. Volunteers enlist for one year and receive subsistence and medical care. At the end of the year, they will receive $50 for each month of service.

The volunteers, who must be at least 19 years old, will begin training next month and will be in service by early spring.

They will be sent only to places seeking their services. To date, 231 cities, states, hospitals and various groups have applied for 3,080 volunteers. More than 4,000 persons have applied to become volunteers.

The eight assigned to Las Vegas will be working on a local program called Operation Independence. The volunteers will operate day-care centers for children, work with young people having difficulties in school and organize community centers.

Despite its glittering array of gambling casinos and resort hotels, Las Vegas has its poor, 20,000 of them, according to VISTA officials.

Group for California

A team of 23 VISTA volunteers will also be assigned to 10 migrant worker communities in the Central Valley and the Santa Maria and Santa Clara Counties of California.

There, they will give preschool English training to Spanish-speaking children, plan and organize the building of community centers, and initiate self-help housing projects.

Nine other volunteers will work with families of retarded children in San Francisco.

Three volunteers will spend a year working in poor neighborhoods in Hartford, Conn. Ten volunteers will be assigned to New Haven, Conn. to provide vocational training and counseling to teen-agers, operate a community school, organize civil and recreation groups and help students find jobs.

Four volunteers will go to Mountainous Yell County, Ark., to work with slow learners and school dropouts.

A preschool for children in Hayter's Gap, Va., will be established by ~~two~~ other volunteers. There is no kindergarten grade in Virginia's schools.

Fourteen volunteers will be sent to eight Kentucky mountain communities to stimulate interest in health, sanitation and modern homemaking. Three other volunteers will go to Knox County, Ky., to organize community councils in isolated communities.

Three volunteers will be sent to Ripley County, Mo., to teach crafts, job skills and physical fitness to children from poor neighborhoods.

Ten volunteers will be assigned to community centers in eight of Pittsburgh's poorest neighborhoods.

A program of vocational training in crafts and simple job skills will be conducted by 10 volunteers assigned to the Clover Bottom State Hospital and School for the Mentally Retarded at Donelson, Tenn.

Your United Appeal

by CHARLIE CLARK

Economic opportunity

(Editor's Note: Mr. Clark will be glad to answer in his column, any questions his readers might have. Mail your inquiry to Charlie Clark; United Appeal, 207 W. Market, Louisville 2, Kentucky.)

Title II of the Act relates to Community Actions programs.

Local citizens in states, counties, cities and villages throughout America will be able to effectively wage a battle against poverty. The planning and administrations of the programs is up to the citizens of the local community.

This community action program seeks to strike at the basic causes of poverty at the local level and to involve the maximum number of local residents and organizations in the fight. These Community action programs will involve activities in such fields as employment, job training, and counseling, health vocational rehabilitation, housing, home management, welfare, and special remedial and other educational assistance for the benefit of low-income individuals and families.

Adult education program grants will be made to states to help them initiate programs of instruction for persons age 18 and over whose inability to read and write is an employment handicap.

The voluntary assistance program for needy Children will allow individual Americans to participate in a personal way, by voluntarily assisting in the support of one or more needy children, in a program coordinated with city or county social welfare agencies.

Thirty five million dollars has been authorized to combat poverty in rural areas. It will be possible for the "poorest" rural families to make loans for the purchase of farm equipment — The improvement of land, — The purchase of livestock, etc.

Assistance to migrant workers will include housing, sanitation, education, day care for children.

Diverse programs readied for colleges and universities. The need for a sound education at the higher level is well recognized, and students and institutions will benefit from plans such as the Work-Study Program which will permit many students to continue their education despite financial problems.

Teenagers prepared to play active role in poverty war may apply for several of the programs if they meet other qualifications. The Job Corps, VISTA, Work-Training and Work-Study Programs all accept enrollees as young as 16.

Welfare agencies provide essential local programs. Funds will be provided by the Office of Economic Opportunity to local organizations to assist in furthering existing successful programs and to encourage local groups to develop new ones.

The public's role is the key to a successful poverty war, and not only will the public be able to help in a real sense in the War on Poverty, but it stands to benefit so much from it. Public works, conservation and badly needed recreation area work that might not otherwise have been undertaken will be started by Job Corps enrollees.

The public will indirectly benefit from the effect of opportunity extended to 140,000 impoverished youth in Job Corps camps and centers, and 200,000 others in Work-Training programs. The immediate effect will be felt by local welfare and health service organizations throughout the nation.

The ultimate goal of this sweeping program is to assist millions of people in breaking the bonds of poverty, with particular emphasis on the nation's youth where and when they may face a lifetime of economic blight.

Trade unionists are the public and a big segment of it. Therefore, it behooves all members of organized labor to concern themselves with this act - which will in no small measure instill in thousands of unfortunate citizens of our country and our community a respectable degree of human dignity.

Quiet, please

Minneapolis, Minn. (PAI
—Election night Bar
Goldwater retired early a
announced that he had
statement to make unti
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Vice President-ele
bert H. Humphrey,
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sleep, but we'r
a victory here

Look
the
UNION

Appalachia bill priority urged for new session of congress

Washington—The Appalachia bill, caught in the logjam of unfinished business at the end of the last Congress, should be a priority subject for action when Congress convenes in January, two House members asserted on Washington Reports to the People, AFL-CIO public service program, heard on more than 700 stations.

"This shall certainly be my objective," declared Rep. Pat Jennings (D-Va.). "I think it will be one of the first 'musts' since the governors of the 10 states (in the area) asked the government to act in this region as in the Tennessee Valley Area."

"We ought to get at this bill promptly after we come back in January," Rep. Robert J. Corbett (R-Pa.) said. "Resources of all kinds—human and natural—meanwhile are lying there going to waste in the midst of misery and poverty."

Jennings said that a special measure to cover Appalachia is necessary, in addition to the Economic Opportunities or Anti-Poverty Act, because specific activities are needed in this bypassed region between the prosperous East and Middle West. Roads are necessary, he said, to get goods and people in and out. Without them industry will not move in, although there is a huge labor surplus and agricultural goods cannot be taken to markets.

Unemployment in the area is highest in the nation, Corbett reported, because of the automation of coal mines and abandonment of timber and other farming. Housing and health conditions, as a result, he added, "are about the worst you can find anywhere."

Perhaps as many as three-fourths of the houses lack plumbing or have very inadequate plumbing," he said.

"To make matters worse, there is a shortage of doctors and dentists. Tuberculosis is widespread, communicable diseases of all kinds are well above the national average."

Jennings said the area has "some of the most beautiful scenery in the world, but there are no roads to get to it."

"Tourism could in itself be a profitable operation if we had arterial roads to bring visitors in, he maintained. "We're within one day's drive of the prosperous East and West."

Corbett said the rainfall in the area is the highest in the nation, but there is a need of dams, reservoirs and artificial lakes to store the winter fall. These, he believed, would add to the tourist attraction.

The town of Appalachia is located in Jennings' Congressional district, although the program is named after the mountain range that runs through the ten-state area.

MUST LEGISLATION before the 89th Congress should include the Appalachia bill to aid the 10-state area along the Appalchian range, Rep. Pat Jennings (D-Va.), left, and Rep. Robert J. Corbett (R-Pa.) declared on the AFL-CIO public service radio program, Washington Reports to the People.

Economic Opportunity Program

EXHIBIT II

State Officials with Technical Assistance Responsibilities

STATE	
Alabama	Claude Kirk Dept. of Industrial Relations Industrial Relations Bldg. Montgomery, Alabama
Arizona	Col. Harold Moore Office of the Governor State Capitol Phoenix, Arizona
Arkansas	Ted J. Morley Executive Director Arkansas State Planning Office Little Rock, Arkansas
California	Dr. Paul O'Rourke State Capitol Sacramento, California
Colorado	Lyle Lindesmith Office of the Governor State Capitol Denver, Colorado
Connecticut	Joseph P. Dyer Office of Economic Opportunity Hartford, Connecticut
Georgia	Mrs. Bruce Schaefer Technical Advisory Committee State House Atlanta, Georgia
Hawaii	William S. Richardson Office of the Governor State Capitol Honolulu, Hawaii

STATE	
Illinois	Thomas Jackson Office of the Governor State Capitol Springfield, Illinois
Indiana	Jacques LeRoy, Director Indiana Youth Council State Office Building Indianapolis, Indiana
Kentucky	Felix Joyner Commissioner of Finance Capitol Building Frankfort, Kentucky
Louisiana	Champ Baker Office of the Governor State Capitol Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Maine	Dean Fischer, M.D. Governor's Economic Opportunity Council State House Augusta, Maine
Maryland	Edwin Mester Office of the Governor State Capitol Baltimore, Maryland
Massachusetts	John Cort Office of the Governor State Capitol Boston, Massachusetts
Michigan	Malcolm Lovell Michigan Office of Economic Opportunity 7310 Woodward Avenue Detroit, Michigan

[Florida?]

This is a list of State Officials who have been appointed by Governors to direct State programs of technical assistance to communities preparing community action programs.

OEO advises contact with these state agents during planning of C.A. program by C.A. groups.

EXHIBIT II (continued)

STATE		STATE	
Minnesota	Joseph P. Summers 102 State Capitol Saint Paul, Minnesota	Oklahoma	H. Dale Cook Office of the Governor State Capitol Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Mississippi	Gene A. Triggs Assoc. Dir. of Mississippi Agriculture and Industry Board Wolfolk State Office Bldg. Jackson, Mississippi	Oregon	Dwight E. Haugen Office of the Governor State Capitol Salem, Oregon
Missouri	James Tice Office of the Governor State Capitol Jefferson City, Missouri	Pennsylvania	Daniel Rogers Dept. of Commerce Harrisburg, Pennsylvania
Nebraska	James Dunlevy State Capitol Lincoln, Nebraska	South Carolina	Edwin Culpepper State Auditor's Office Wade Hampton Bldg. Columbia, South Carolina
New Jersey	John C. Bullitt Office of the Governor State Capitol Trenton, New Jersey	Tennessee	~~Harlan Mathews~~ John A. Dyer Office of the Governor Capitol Building Nashville, Tennessee
New Mexico	John W. Flynn Planning Office 120 South Capitol Santa Fe, New Mexico	Texas	Larry Temple Office of the Governor State Capitol Austin, Texas
New York	Samuel Aldrich Office of the Governor State Capitol Albany, New York	Vermont	Paul H. Guare State House Montpelier, Vermont
North Carolina	James White Office of the Governor State House Raleigh, North Carolina	Virginia	Robert Kirby Office of the Governor State House Richmond, Virginia
Ohio	Arthur Giles Office of the Governor State Capitol Columbus, Ohio	West Virginia	Paul Crabtree Office of the Governor State Capitol Charleston, West Virginia

Memo from **AL ULMER**

OEO Advisor
Florida

Mr. Sam Hand
Dept. of Education
Tallahassee
Florida

will be moving (in) to
The Office of the Governor

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE ON
WAR AGAINST POVERTY

COMMUNITY ACTION MEANS OPPORTUNITY

What is Community Action?

The Community Action Program will provide technical and financial assistance for urban and rural communities to fight poverty. Individual communities will decide how to do the job with private and public resources that will be augmented by this new Federal assistance.

The problems of poverty are network of social ills like illiteracy, unemployment, poor health and dilapidated housing. To alleviate them will require a network of anti-poverty attacks that are varied while they are coordinated. This combination--fashioned by local talent and leadership-- is the major aim of the Community Action Programs.

Specifically, remedial reading, literacy courses, job training, employment counseling, homemaker services, job development and training, vocational rehabilitation, health services are only some of the individual programs that can be supported and coordinated with a detailed local anti-poverty program.

In the past, many of these separate programs have been scattered and uncoordinated. A remedial reading program, for example, has limited effect if there is no literacy course to permit the parent to guide and help his child. Both programs have limited effect if the parents have no marketable skills and live in squalor. A program that addresses all of these difficulties in a systematic fashion will truly help that child and his family to remove the shackles of poverty. And this is the intent of Community Action.

The Federal Government will help local communities to develop and support these anti-poverty programs. However, Federal assistance will depend on the community's determination to:

1. Mobilize its own public and private resources for this attack

2. Develop programs of sufficient scope and size that give promise of eliminating a cause or causes of poverty.

3. Involve the poor themselves in developing and operating the anti-poverty programs.

4. Administer and coordinate the Community Action Programs through public or private non-profit agencies or a combination of these.

In smaller communities and in those with more limited resources local leaders can begin a Community Action Program in stages. For example, a community might start with a pre-school coupled with a health service clinic for these youngsters. These would be followed by other specific programs all linked to each other in a coordinated campaign.

All local programs should use the talents of persons living in and affected by the poverty striken neighborhoods in planning and operating programs. As workers in projects, they could be used as aides to professionals, as recreational and day care assistants and as helpers in homemaker and health services. Some other examples are community research aides, library aides, tutoring assistants, probation aides and family service workers.

Further, Community Action Programs should see that existing local, State and Federal programs are linked to each other in a concentrated drive against poverty. Assistance now available to States and local communities under the Manpower Development and Training Act, the 1962 Public Welfare Amendments, vocational education and the various programs under the Housing and Home Finance Agency all should be joined with any total community anti-poverty effort.

Community Action Programs, in short, will fuse the old, scattered programs which providing the technical and financial assistance to initiate the new attack against the varied problems that have ensnared the poor.

What Kind of Programs Might be Developed?

Community Action Programs will vary as the needs of the people vary in different parts of the nation. They must be part of a total effort to help people escape poverty, not to make it more bearable. Here are some illustrations that might be part of a Community Action Program:

1. Service and activities to develop new employment opportunities;

2. Providing a special and remedial education, with particular emphasis on reading, writing, and mathematics;*

3. Providing comprehensive academic counseling and guidance services and school social work services;

4. Providing after-school study centers, after-school tutoring, and summer, week-end and after-school academic classes;

5. Establishing programs for the benefit of pre-school children;

6. Reducing adult illiteracy;

7. Developing and carrying out special education or other programs for migrant or transient families;

8. Improving the living conditions of the elderly;

9. Arranging for or providing health examinations and health education for school children;

10. Rehabilitation and retraining of physically or mentally handicapped persons;

11. Providing health, rehabilitation, employment, educational and related services to young men not qualified for military services;

12. Providing community child-care centers and youth activity centers;

13. Improving housing and living facilities and home management skills;

14. Providing services to enable families from rural areas to meet problems of urban living;

15. Providing recreation and physical fitness services and facilities.

*General aid to elementary or secondary education in any school or school system is prohibited by the legislation, and thus funds could not be provided for general reduction in class size, school construction, general teachers' salaries (as opposed to those of special remedial reading instructors), textbook acquisition, religious instruction, or the established curriculum.

How Do You Tell What Is Needed In Your Community?

The problems of the poor must be assessed in more than money terms. Simply enumerating the low income families will not permit you to select a priority list of projects. Here are some of the factors you should sort out:

1. The number of low-income families, particularly those with children.

2. The extent of persistent unemployment and under employment.

3. The number and proportion of people receiving cash or other assistance on a needs basis from public agencies or private organizations.

4. The number of migrant or transient low-income families.

5. School dropout rates, military service rejection rates and other evidences of low educational attainment.

6. The incidence of disease, disability, and infant mortality.

7. Housing conditions.

8. Adequacy of community facilities and services.

9. The incidence of crime and juvenile delinquency.

Who Will Pay For The Programs?

Federal money will be available (1) to help establish Community Action Groups, (2) to assist in developing programs, (3) to support those programs, and (4) for specialized technical aid.

The Federal Government will pay up to 90% of the cost of Community Action Programs in the first two years. The balance, to be furnished by local Community Action groups, can be in cash or in kind such as services and facilities, to support local programs.

How Do You Begin?

1. Bring together the appropriate voluntary and government agencies in welfare, health, housing, education and employment as participants in developing a Community Action program. Include leaders from the areas in which the program will operate.

2. Assemble all available information on the poverty problem. Identify the extent of poverty in the community and begin to determine major characteristics. List the problems in order of priority.

3. Development of a set of proposals to attack the causes of poverty. Determine what local resources are available to support such programs.

4. Decide on a specific geographical area for the program.

5. Form a local Community Action organization that includes not only government and voluntary organizations, but business, labor and other key civic organizations as well.

6. If technical help is needed in developing programs, ask for it from Community Action Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity.

7. Contact the State Government to determine how its agencies and programs can help and can be integrated into the total local antipoverty effort.

8. Develop projects in order of importance and ability to carry them through.

9. Apply to the Community Action Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity, for the detailed forms to submit you application.

(Reproduced by the
Federal Extension Service, USDA
by permission of the Office of
Economic Opportunity)

Office of Economic Opportunity
Community Action Programs
Washington, D. C. 20525

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E. Vincent Suitt	Industrial Employment Policy Specialist	USAF ATCMD - AFSC 526-6361 41 Exchange Pl., S.E. 522-4121. Ext. 6880 (home: 753-7568)
R. A. Thompson A Home: 1850 Penelope Rd., N.W. 794-8098	IRO - HHFA	50 - 7th St. N.W. Room 645 ~~876-3311, Ext.~~ 526- 5819
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Hubert N. Jackson	Chief, Intergroup Relations	Public Housing Administration 50 - 7th St., N.E., 721-A TR. 6-3311, Ext. 5293 (Home: 794-6129)
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Hugh A. Brimm	Chief, Equal Employment Opportunity Office	U.S. Army Materiel Command Atlanta Army Depot Forest Park, Ga. 366-5460, Ext. 8821 (home: 634-1359)
Waldo B. Starr	Asst. " "	" "
Horace A. Bohannon	Training Officer	Atlanta Regional Office Post Office Dept. Federal Annex 688-3517, Ext. 333 (home: 794-0403)

A Time for Tolerance

by KATE SMITH

America's beloved radio star

IT'S easy to be calm and collected when all goes well—quite another matter to remain calm in the midst of general panic. By the same token, it's easy to be tolerant in a quiet, easygoing period—quite another matter to remain tolerant in a time like the present, when storms of hatred and prejudice are sweeping through the world.

But it is precisely now that the challenge to our human decency is greatest. This is the time of the supreme test. If there is to be a future for civilized people on earth, we must remain immune to those storms. We must remember that they blow from the blood-mad land of the Nazis. We must remind ourselves that victory will mean nothing if we are infected by the germs of race hatred and group discrimination let loose by the enemy.

I wish it were as fashionable to practice tolerance as it is to talk it. The subject will be brought up at some social gathering, or at a luncheon meeting. Everyone will say the proper thing. Everyone will agree that tolerance is a noble virtue.

Then the meeting breaks up and some good ladies proceed to discuss "that awful foreign family" that just moved into the neighborhood. Were you to tell the muddled ladies that they are being intolerant and bigoted—that they are, indeed, a threat to American freedoms—they would deny it indignantly.

Unfortunately the fact that they are not aware of their intolerance does not improve the picture. On the contrary, it means that they have unconsciously become victims of the race and group propaganda to which all of us are exposed in a period like the present. The only safety lies in *conscious opposition to every preachment of intolerance*, whether it is garden-variety prejudice or disguised as super-patriotism.

Christ was "a foreigner" and His people were Jews. Except for the Indians, all of us are immigrants or the children of immigrants. No country and no people have a monopoly on virtue or culture or decency. These are truisms—but today, more than ever, it is well to keep simple truths alive in our minds and hearts.

Tolerance is a way of life. It is the American way. We cannot violate it without insulting America's past and poisoning its future.

If you think you're entitled to more than your neighbor you are intolerant.

If you have ever said of other human beings, "They're all right in their place," you are intolerant.

If you will not permit another human being to find a home in your community, you are intolerant.

If you will not permit other people to live their lives in their own way, so long as they do not interfere with your rights, you are intolerant.

I go further than that. I say that if you are content to remain passive and indifferent when others around you are intolerant, then you share their guilt. Intolerance, like smallpox, has a way of spreading. Unless you act to quarantine the evil, it will soon overtake you.

Ask yourself, in the still of the night: "Am I contributing to the fight against intolerance?" If the answer is in the negative, if you are one of the sympathetic but passive onlookers, the blood and the suffering that result from intolerance will be on *your* conscience as much as on those of the actively guilty.

I THINK I understand the heart of our America. I know it to be good and generous. That is evident in the songs Americans love. It is evident in the way they respond to every tug at their heartstrings. If they allow intolerance to make headway notwithstanding, it is largely through neglect and indifference.

Let's be intolerant—of intolerance. Apply yourself to a better understanding of your neighbor. Teach your children to respect other human beings, whatever their race or religion or national origin. If they repeat the clichés of intolerance, set them right at once, before prejudice takes root in another young mind.

All of us who have our eyes open know that intolerance is rife now in these United States. The hardships of wartime, the sacrifices and losses and discomforts, are always helpful to the salesman of divisive ideas. The more reason, therefore, for *raising your sales resistance to propaganda of group hatred.*

I don't call intolerance "un-American" because that is not a strong enough term. I call it inhuman. It cannot be fought with laws. It cannot be dealt with at conference tables. The place in which to combat intolerance is your own home, your own club, your own church, your own mind.

It's a challenge to you and to me, to every father and mother, to every teacher, to every community leader.

If we are to have lasting peace in the world, if we are to conserve those traditional freedoms we proudly call American, tolerance must prevail.

Of what use will it be for the lights to go on again all over the world—if they do not go on in our hearts?

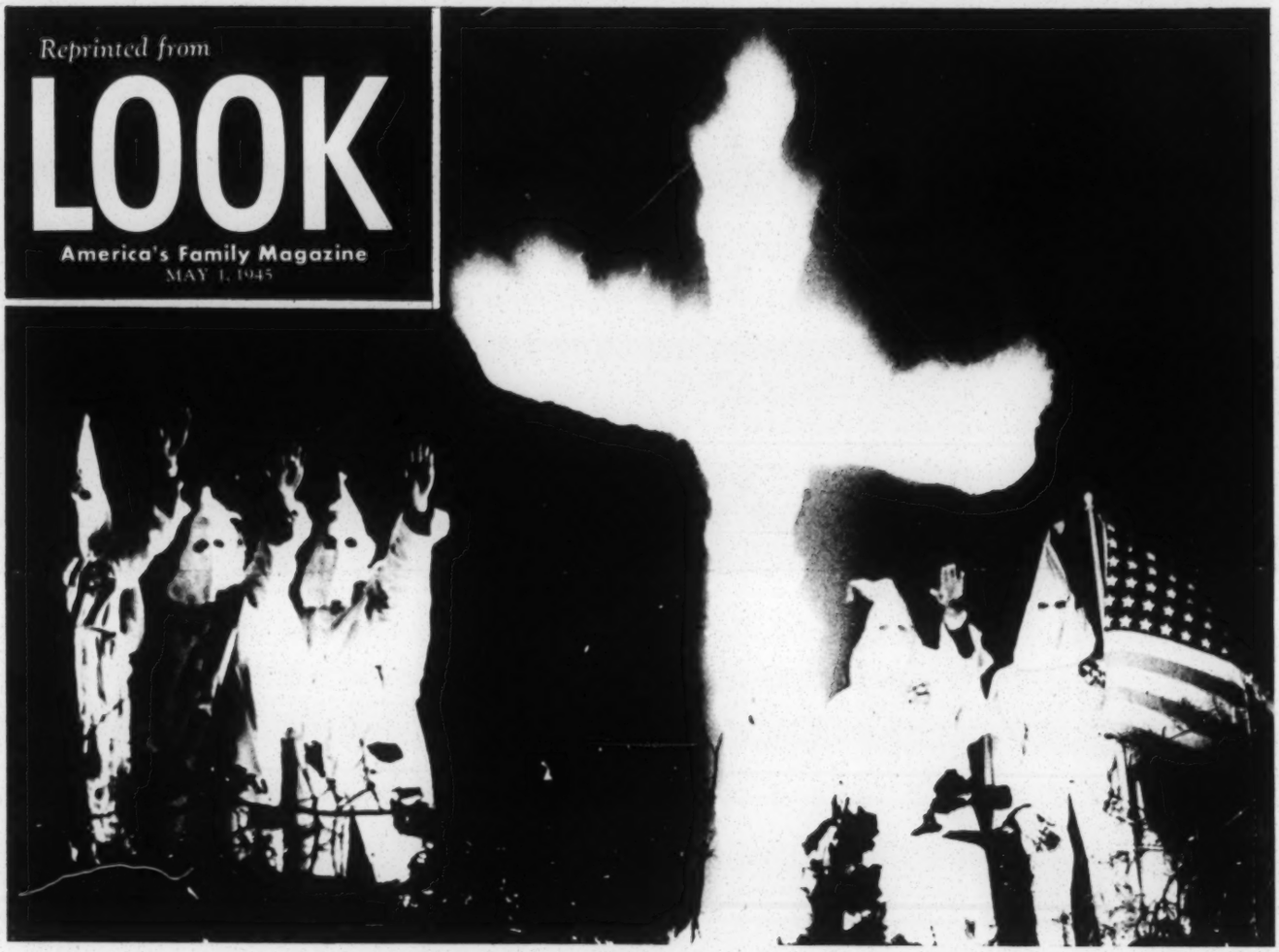
Reprinted from the April, 1945 issue of Pageant magazine.

Reprinted from

LOOK

America's Family Magazine

MAY 1, 1945



If the hate movement is revived, symbols of intolerance like this cross set afire by Tennessee Ku Klux Klansmen some years ago will soon blaze again in America.

Prejudice: Our Postwar Battle

When the overseas conflict ends, we face an internal war—unless racial and religious tensions are removed.

The architects of peace, gathering in San Francisco this month to blueprint a better world, probably have never heard the story of the Negro girl who was asked by her teacher to name a suitable punishment for Hitler. "Paint him black," was her bitter suggestion, "and bring him to America."

This has been a war of liberation for oppressed peoples all over the globe. Yet within the borders of our own nation, one third of the people—the minorities who constitute our second-class citizens—are still behind the barbed-wire fence of prejudice.

Hatred and suspicion divide America. On one side, generally, is the white, Protestant majority. On the other are the 17,000,000 "sub-Americans" of different races and colors—Negroes, Mexicans, American Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos—plus the 23,000,000 Catholics and 4,500,000 Jews who, because of religion, are sometimes shut out from main currents of national life.

The powder keg of prejudice awaits the spark that may detonate conflict. When restraints of war are off and demobilization, reconversion and lay-offs disrupt the nation, trouble is expected. Minorities will not easily accept "discriminatory discharges." Merchants of hate will exploit the friction.

Can the United States, dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal, ward off postwar catastrophe? An important, timely book—*One Nation*, by Wallace Stegner and the Editors of LOOK, to be published this fall by Houghton Mifflin—astutely analyzes the state of our prejudices. In the pages that follow, based mainly on *One Nation*, LOOK diagnoses this insidious illness which afflicts all America, and suggests some possible cures.

Underlying our prejudices, whether racial, religious or cultural, is fear—the fear of being overrun, changed or diluted, done out of our jobs or social positions. Thus prejudice is a defense of our particular status quo, our "pure" race, our "right" faith. Too many Americans who should know better shy away from people who appear to be "different" and deliberately or unconsciously wall them off.

Segregation—Shame of Democracy

Probably the most common symptom of our malady is segregation. The South's Jim Crow caste system, at odds with all democratic principles, separates the Negro on trains and buses, excludes him from parks, hotels, restaurants, beaches and schools frequented by whites, seats him in a "nigger heaven" balcony at the theater. Even in our armed forces, Negro enlisted men are often kept apart.

To a lesser extent, Filipinos and Mexicans on the West Coast are barred from "white" restaurants, segregated in theatres. Chinese are apt to be confined to "Chinatowns."

Advertisements for resorts or for the sale or rent of property often stipulate "Protestant Only" or "White Only" or "Gentile Only." Restrictive clauses in property deeds, agreements among neighborhood associations and real-estate agents set up the equivalent of a "No Dogs Allowed" ban against the unaccepted. Even wartime-housing projects are likely to discriminate. In Northern cities, colored ghettos have become worse, rather than better.

By-products: Disease, Poverty, Crime

One effect of physical segregation in slums and "shacktowns" is overcrowding, which in turn produces poverty, squalor, disease, crime and ignorance. Here, even such elementary needs as garbage disposal and fire prevention are generally inadequate.

Illness of almost every kind is pronounced in the Black Belts of virtually every city where Negroes have settled. Pneumonia and scarlet fever, for instance, hit their highest peak there. Infant mortality among Negroes in Chicago is twice as high as it is in the rest of the city. Among the *Hispanos* (Spanish-Americans) of New

(Continued on next page)

Prejudice in its ultimate form means violence—last resort of vigilante action and terror against our "second-class citizens." This Negro being assisted by two white men was stoned in a race riot by other white Americans demanding segregation at a Detroit housing project. In general, the process of intolerance may start with comparatively harmless social snobbery, give way to active denunciation of a minority group, and lead to serious street fights and riots.

THESE ARE THE EVILS: Segregation . . . Poverty . . .

Mexico, the tuberculosis death rate is about three times the national rate; in San Francisco's Chinatown, it is three times the city's average.

In supporting segregation, as *One Nation* points out, America is subsidizing social evils. When diseases in slums break away and become epidemic, when anti-social behavior created by slum living turns into a crime wave, or when race tensions explode into riots and bloodshed, the entire population pays the bill.

Wanted: Equal Opportunities

Reinforcing the fencing-in process, economic discrimination resists the efforts of our sub-citizens to rise out of their "class." A number of business firms will not employ Catholics or Jews. The South recognizes "white men's jobs" and "nigger jobs," the latter being the servile, the low-paid and the unpleasant. Thirty-two labor unions either exclude Negroes or shunt them into Jim Crow locals. Hate strikes have broken out against hiring and upgrading of Negroes, in the North as well as the South.

Highly trained Chinese and Japanese have been forced into menial jobs. Mexicans and Filipinos generally have been confined to back-breaking migrant labor. Although the manpower shortage and the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee have recently tended to even up work opportunities, widespread discrimination persists.

Schools Are Hand-me-downs

As with jobs and homes, education is offered to some minority groups only on inferior or separate terms. Certain colleges and professional schools have "quotas" for Jews and the colored races. The system of separate schools for colored children, prevalent in the South, shows signs of spreading to the North. Southern schools for Negroes are crowded, inadequately equipped; colored teachers draw salaries lower than those of white teachers. Mexicans in Los Angeles and other Southwest communities have similar educational hand-me-downs.

The Law, Too, Is Prejudiced

Inevitably, legal discrimination has become part of the pattern of keeping the sub-American "in his place." Police protection for minorities is frequently a farce. "Law and order" too often is applied according to the ruling caste, class, color and faith. When hoodlums attack a minority group, victims rather than aggressors are jailed—"for protection." Voting procedures like the poll tax in seven Southern states, or direct intimidation at balloting or registration

Loyal Japanese-Americans may now return to the West Coast states, but during their absence in relocation camps anti-Japanese feeling—as this sign shows—has grown worse. Jingoistic groups foment much of this hatred.

Hoodlumism may take the form of knocking over tombstones in a Catholic cemetery—like this one in New Jersey—or vandalism in synagogues and churches. Disagreement with any religious belief never justifies such action.

A Negro teacher in a classroom of predominantly white children, as in this New York school, should not be a rarity. Equal opportunity will lift the blight from the lives of minorities, give them a chance to develop as citizens. Not lack of ability but prejudice blocks them from economic, educational and social progress. Even under handicaps, Negroes, Jews, Catholics, other groups contribute much to American life——in science, business, education, medicine, arts.

Violence . . . Job Discrimination . . . Hate Propaganda

places, rob Negroes and others of their franchise.

The ultimate stage of the sickness known as prejudice is violence. It may take the form of hoodlumism, vigilante action or terror. Recent incidents directed at Negroes, Jews, Japanese, Mexicans and Filipinos have a clear relationship with the Nazi philosophy of hate; the difference is only in degree.

Hate Mongers Use Nazi Methods

Feeding these fires of discord is the slimy propaganda shoveled out by the demagogues who spread their lies via whispers, chain-letters, mass meetings, pamphlets and periodicals. Their poison infects all sorts of people. A decent, well-meaning American is likely to swallow the most whiskered myths and generalizations —canards about Catholic "opposition to scientific progress," Jewish "monopoly," Negro and Mexican "shiftlessness," the Filipino "threat to young American womanhood," unfair Chinese "competition with white labor."

The task of checking group tensions, before they break out into a postwar battle, is America's challenge. How can we meet it?

At no time in recent history have the American people been so conscious of racial and religious prejudice as they are today. Under the impact of war and its democratic aims, more has been done to combat discrimination in the past few years than in decades before. Over 200 interracial committees, created by public or private agencies, are tackling local issues. But the outcome of our civil war against intolerance must eventually rest with you, as a voting citizen, and with your community.

You can help bulwark your democracy against the enemy within. Here are some specific things you can do about it:

Facts Refute the Myths

1. Nail the lies. Refute the moth-eaten labels, libels and worn-out club-car jokes about members of minority groups. Generalizations about any racial or religious group are absurd. The Negro's achievements in the arts and science, in industry and on the fighting front, blast the myth that he "can't do skilled work," that he is "a child, with a child's emotional equipment and dependence." If the Catholic Church "in politics" scares some people, you can point out that Catholics in America are of virtually every political persuasion.

There Is No Composite "Character"

The Jews are neither a race nor a nation; they are so mixed that generalizing about them is impossible. There is a higher percentage of Jews in the armed services than

(Continued on next page)

Anti-Jewish feeling in America is not often violent, but prejudice in Nazi coloring crops out in such signs as this on a railroad underpass in New York City. They indicate youthful gangs have been infected by rabble-rousers.

Bad housing retards families such as these Mexican migrant farm workers. Segregation from "white" residential areas prevents the underprivileged from escaping the slum evils of disease, crime, ignorance, vice, delinquency.

God Bless America is sung by these children of 24 nationalities in a Los Angeles school. Youth holds the brightest hope for eradication of intolerance. Studies show children have no natural aversion to other races; they learn it, from parents and others. Education alone will not banish suspicions and fears; but it can bring home to American people the pressing need to improve our democracy on all fronts and help remove the threat to the future of our country.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: Expose the Lies . . . Legislation . . . Equal Opportunity . . . Education . . . Know Your Neighbor

in the general population. Election statistics prove the Jew is not a Communist. Nor does a study of bank directorates indicate that he is an "international banker." The composite Negro or Catholic or Jew does not exist.

2. Support legislation, both local and national, outlawing the evils of intolerance. Legislative firmness not only can curb prejudice; it can help break down that prejudice by making people learn that the thing they have feared is no more than an inflated bogey.

New York State has just enacted a law designed to prevent discrimination in employment. There is need for a permanent federal Fair Employment Practices Committee, a federal anti-lynching law, repeal of poll-tax statutes, a ban on discrimination in our armed forces, schools, trade unions, housing projects, medical care.

Give the Minorities a Chance

3. Help open up equal employment opportunity, in private industry and government. This can be a real contribution to economic security of minorities and to better harmony.

During this war, our second-class citizens have demonstrated their ability to handle any and all jobs, skilled or unskilled, if they are only given the chance of training and experience. If you're an employer, give them the same kind of chance in peacetime, too.

4. Participate, wherever possible, in educational campaigns to combat prejudice. Through our schools and churches, young and old must be made to see prejudice not as white versus black, or Protestant versus Jew and Catholic, but as democracy versus fascism.

Schools should become a social pilot plant for the understanding of races, cultures, heredity. In most young people, merely going to school together breaks down the worst prejudices, unless they are subjected outside to propaganda fomenting distrust, snobbery and hatred.

Needed: More Springfield Plans

Schools can actively educate for racial and religious democracy. An outstanding example is the Springfield (Mass.) Plan. A few years ago, this city found that soon its schools would be attended mostly by children of foreign stock, rather than by Yankees. In a decade, these "across-the-tracks" children, grown up, would run Springfield. Rather than look down on the "minorities," Springfield decided to make them full and equal Americans. So the school board revised the curriculum, launched an experimental program to meet the problem.

Under the plan, students are given practical experience in working together. Pride in their backgrounds is encouraged. The Negro, Jewish or Polish child gets a chance to learn, write and talk about the contributions his group have made to America. Parents get the same chance through forums and adult classes. The many kinds of people in Springfield have been welded into a community.

Other cities are studying and copying the Springfield Plan. You should try to interest your town in adopting it.

They, Too, Are Fellow-Americans

5. Know your neighbor. Nobody knows so little about a minority group as the average American who has lived near it for years. Since prejudice feeds on ignorance, any sort of contact, any breakdown of the segregation wall tends to weaken or destroy it. Take part in church, school and community-center get-togethers with people of varied cultural, racial and religious backgrounds.

6. Help marshal public opinion against intolerance. Get behind one of the many interfaith and interracial organizations, support your mayor's or governor's committee planning and promoting internal harmony.

Prejudice Endangers Your Own Welfare

You have a personal stake in a working democracy. Prejudice, through the evils it creates, undermines public health, public safety, religion, the home, business.

There is no magic formula to end intolerance in America. We can start with education, better jobs, better housing, more social freedom, more political freedom. Progress in one field advances others. But our basic, important mission is to guide the potential good-will of Americans into channels of working and living together as a nation united.

We agree with the editors of Look.

YOU CAN "help open up equal employment opportunity"! Write your Representative in Congress to vote for H. R. 2232 and your Senators to vote for S. 101—the bill to establish a permanent FEPC. Ask your friends to write, too!

For additional information, write

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR A PERMANENT FEPC

930 F STREET, N. W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

ARMY TALK

ORIENTATION FACT SHEET

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Prejudice!—Roadblock To Progress

PRACTICALLY everyone of us has prejudices. Some of us may shudder at the idea of eating frogs and other foods we've never tasted but which other people enjoy. Or we may be prejudiced against bow ties or purple shirts. But these are meaningless prejudices which don't hurt us. There are other prejudices, however, which affect our lives very much. A prejudice against a necktie because of its color is harmless—but a prejudice against a person because of his color, race, nationality, or religion can do plenty of damage.

A prejudice is an opinion or emotional feeling which isn't based on fact or on reason. It is an attitude in a closed mind. Prejudice has been used by the Germans and the Japanese to split nations wide open with hate and confusion. Recognizing how powerful is this weapon in the Axis arsenal, ASF Manual M 5, issued October 1944, declares:

"Enemy attempts to cause confusion in the U. S. through the spread of racial doctrines have made it particularly necessary that there be frank and objective discussion of this subject during the present War. The doctrine of 'Aryan' superiority has become one of the dominant factors in the present world struggle. Hitler has made this doctrine the 'reason' for untold aggression and devastation.

"Likewise, on the other side of the world," the Manual continues, "the Japanese have been trying to demonstrate their inherent superiority. . . ."

The magic of race prejudice, the Japanese discovered, had performed miracles in Europe. It had enabled the Nazis to get away with murder. If Hitler could seize Germany and disrupt Europe with the help of race hate, the Japanese saw no reason why they couldn't do the same thing in Asia.

About a week after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese were broadcasting: "How can America be fighting for racial equality when it does not exist in America?" During the 1943 race riots in Detroit, the Japanese propagandists had a field day broadcasting the news to hundreds of millions of non-whites in Asia and throughout the world.

Japan's "championing" of the Negroes in the United States has only one purpose—to divide us. Negroes, forming as they do about one-tenth of the American population, are an important minority, and Hitler has shown how minority problems can be exploited to the advantage of fascism.

"The man who spreads rumors," ASF Manual M 5 declares, "particularly race rumors, about any group —racial, religious, or national is doing Hitler's or Tojo's work. The Nazis assumed that in this country they would find antagonistic groups who would spend their time fighting each other instead of the German armies. Goebbels said to one of his confidants: 'Nothing will be easier than to produce a bloody revolution in America. No other country has so many social and racial tensions. We shall be able to play on many strings there'."

Any American who "plays on these strings" by spreading prejudices against minorities—Catholics, Jews, Negroes, foreign-born, and others—is, whether he knows it or not, playing the Axis game.

(The foregoing will help you to plan a brief introductory talk in your own words.)

Note For This Week's Discussion:

Points to stress in this week's ARMY TALK are: (1) Racial and religious prejudices are not only unchristian and un-American but are deadly weapons used by the Germans and the Japanese in their war against democracy; (2) All of us are members of minority groups which have been scapegoated at one time or another; (3) Once prejudice is used against any group it spreads to other groups; (4) Prejudice makes all of us poorer economically and robs us of the potential contributions of minorities; (5) Prejudice diverts attention from the real issues and prevents us from finding solutions to our problems; (6) Prejudice means disunity which postpones victory and endangers world peace.

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BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

1697 Broadway New York 19, N. Y.

How Prejudices Develop

1. *How do we get our prejudices?*

All of us inherit certain characteristics such as the color of our skin and the shape of our head. But we do not inherit our prejudices. When we are born we have only the *capacity* to develop love and hate and the other human emotions.

Whom we learn to like or dislike, love or hate, depends on our experiences—in our home, in our school, in our neighborhood—and the effect these experiences have upon us. The language we learn, our religion, ideas, feelings, and atttitudes, our manners and prejudices—all these come from our environment.

As children, we imitate not only activities of those around us, especially our parents, but also feelings, attitudes, and opinions. Prejudices, too, are absorbed unconsciously from our parents and other people in our environment.

By the time we have grown up we already have "pictures in our mind" of many people with whom we've had little or no contact. We may have a stereotyped picture of Negroes as lazy, stupid, happy-go-lucky; of Jews or Scots as stingy and money-mad; of Irishmen as hot-tempered, brawling, whiskey-loving. These stereotypes are being constantly reinforced through newspapers, movies, conversations and jokes, books and radio. A single story, comic strip, or movie may not make too deep an impression. However, when time after time the Negro is presented as a crap-shooting, shiftless character; the Latin as a gangster or racketeer; the oriental as a slinking, mysterious, and crafty person—then deep and lasting impressions are made which go to form attitudes and prejudices.

Errors Of Generalizing

There is another way that we get false ideas about whole groups of people. As youngsters we may have played games with boys in the neighborhood, and one of them, perhaps a Pole or an Italian, may have cheated. We then conclude that *all* Poles or *all* Italians cheat, and we carry this idea with us all through life. We conclude that because one member of a group acted in a certain way, all members of that racial, religious, or national group will act the same way. We usually make these false generalizations about any group but our own. If we're Protestant and a member of our group lies, we don't condemn all Protestants. If we're Catholic and one of our members steals, we don't say all Catholics are thieves. If we're Jewish and one of our group commits a crime, we don't say all Jews are criminals.

It is only natural and human to be curious about things or people about whom we know very little. Curiosity is wholesome, and when it leads a man to investigate honestly the thing that arouses his curiosity, he often finds something new and interesting. However, when he does not make the effort to look honestly into the thing that first called forth curiosity —when, instead, he lets the matter dwell and go unanswered—he closes his mind to healthy thinking, and trouble begins: Curiosity gives way to suspicion—suspicion quickly converts itself to fear—and fear grows into hate! One fears the thing he suspects, and hates that which makes him afraid. This fear of the strange and unfamiliar is called by a high-sounding name—Xenophobia. Primitive tribes usually feared and therefore hated a neighboring tribe because they didn't know them. Unenlightened people today have that same fear and suspicion of the unknown. Only when we've lived and worked with people of different races, cultures, and backgrounds, and *learned to know them*, can we really overcome these primitive fears.

Insecurity Breeds Prejudice

Prejudices develop, too, from a feeling of insecurity or frustration. We may feel uncertain about our ability or prestige. We may feel insecure in our job or our social position. To strengthen our own confidence and feeling of self-importance, we often search for someone to look down upon as "inferior" or some group to blame for our failure and misfortune. That is why there is more prejudice in times of social stress and economic depression. Depression brings insecurity—and insecure people begin looking around for someone or some group on whom they can pin the blame.

Prejudices are often deliberately exploited by some people to further their own purposes. The Germans used the "hate" technique to divide opposition, to confuse the real issues, to blame national or international ills on innocent scapegoats, and to gain a following by a common hate. "Hate the Jews!" they yelled. "Hate the Poles!" "Hate the Russians!" "Hate the Negroes!" "Hate the Catholics!" Hate them for their color—their religion—their politics—their nationality. Hate them for any reason—or for no reason—but hate them. For hate meant power—to the Nazis!

What Is A Minority?

2. *What do we mean by a minority?*

The dictionary defines a minority as less than half. But that doesn't quite explain the kind of minorities to which you and I and everyone in America belongs. If you're a Catholic, you're part of a minority, because Catholics don't number more than half of the people in this country. If you're a Negro, a foreign-born, a Jew, you're a member of a minority.

Now, if you're a Protestant, you're a member of a

Four Army Chaplains

Four Army chaplains—a Catholic priest, a Jewish rabbi, and two Protestant ministers—stood hand in hand on the deck of the sinking transport SS Dorchester in the North Atlantic one bitter winter morning. Struck by a U-boat torpedo, the ship was doomed.

Most of the men were rescued—but not the four khaki-clad chaplains. With utter disregard for their own lives, these four had stripped off their own life-jackets and given them to soldiers who had none of their own. Then, praying to God for the safety of the men abandoning the sinking ship, they remained steadfast on its deck until it plunged to the bottom.

Surviviors later told of having seen the four chaplains, Lt. Washington, priest; Lt. Goode, rabbi; Lt. Poling and Lt. Fox, ministers—praying together as the ship carried them to their death.

majority group in America—but Protestants include Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and scores of other minorities. And while a Protestant may be part of a majority group in one locality in the United States, he may be in a numerical minority in another locality.

America, like the rest of the world, is made up of minorities—religious, racial, and national. Let us remember that a minority group, like the Poles or the Negroes in America, may be a majority group elsewhere (say in Poland or Africa), and that a majority group today may become a minority group tomorrow—or vice versa.

All Have Been "Scapegoats"

In ancient days many people believed that their guilt and sins could be transferred to some other person, animal, or object. During rituals performed by a leader of the tribe, a goat was often chosen by lot and the sins of the tribe passed on to the animal. The goat was then driven into the wilderness or destroyed.

Today, when people blame their troubles or woes on innocent people, we call this unjust persecution "scapegoating."

3. *Have all minority groups been "scapegoated?"*

At one time or another, every minority group has been used as a scapegoat and has suffered from prejudice and persecution. If we go back deep into history, we find powerful leaders who covered up their own selfish motives by inciting people's emotions against "troublemaking" minorities. In the days of the Romans, Christians were blamed for all the troubles of the Roman Empire—including the burning of Rome—and for years they were persecuted.

Christians, in turn, have persecuted Jews. During the "Black Death" in the Middle Ages, when bubonic plague killed off one-fourth of Europe's population, responsibility was laid to the Jews who were tortured and oppressed, even though Jews were dying off as rapidly as Christians. In Spain, monarchists rode to power against the Jews. The autocratic empire of the Czars blamed the Jews for the abuses of the Russian feudal regime and massacred thousands of them.

In the eighteenth century, a large colony of French Hugenots lived in England. They were accused of being dirty, of reducing the standard of living, of depriving Englishmen of the jobs, and of reducing their wages. A flood of pamphlets issued against these Hugenots was reprinted a hundred years later with the word "Jew" substituted for "Hugenot."

In Hitler's Germany the Nazis began by persecuting the Jews, but eventually they turned upon Catholics, Protestants, Czechs, Poles—and the entire world.

Persecution In America

4. *How about America? Has our own history been free of scapegoating?*

America, too, has its shameful pages of persecution of minorities. Many of our early settlers who came here to escape religious prejudices and persecution denied religious freedom to others. Massachusetts expelled dissenters like Roger Williams, while in Salem hysterical witch hunts were pursued. In one colony or another, Catholics, Quakers, Jews, Lutherans, Moravians, Presbyterians, Baptists, deists, atheists, were deprived of political and religious rights.

In the nineteenth century, earlier immigrant groups began to discriminate against the "newer" immigrants. Feeling ran high against the "invasion" of the Irish who arrived in large numbers after Ireland's potato famine of 1846. Riots broke out against them in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. They were accused of introducing slums, crime, and of depriving Americans of jobs.

In 1850, the "Know Nothing" Party was formed to fight the Irish and Catholic immigrants, and the party remained a political force until the Civil War. They and their prejudiced successors yelled about "the flood of immigration sweeping its millions of foreign Roman Catholics over the land."

Eventually, most of this discrimination was turned against later immigrant groups—the Poles, Italians, Slavs, Jews, and Russians. When immigration was restricted to annual quotas for each nationality after World War I, preference was given to earlier immigrant groups. (Quotas were based on the census of

1910, then of 1890, then on the national origin of the white population of 1920.)

What many seem to forget is that we are all immigrants or the children of immigrants. No one has a right to complain about "foreigners" unless it be the American Indian. "Americanism," said our late President Roosevelt, "is not and never was a matter of race and ancestry. Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart."

True Democracy Gaining

5. ***Are there any signs that prejudices and discrimination are decreasing in America?***

While the democratic ideals expressed by the Founding Fathers, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution have not always been practiced, nevertheless, the liberties and freedoms which we share and which bind this nation together, are one of the glorious chapters in human history. We have gone further in the direction of equality of opportunities than have the people of most other countries, and we are continuing our progress in that direction. Through the years there has been a sustained effort to abolish discriminations and prejudices which deny a person his fundamental rights as a citizen in a democracy. Discriminations and prejudices are not products of—but rather challenges to—the American way of life. And each of us has a personal responsibility to see to it that the American way of life prevails.

From the time of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation to the present time, laws have been passed to carry forward the democratic principle "that all men are created equal."

When the Negroes were freed, 90 percent of them could neither read nor write. In 1940, according to the Federal Census, 18 of every 20 Negroes could read and write. Many states have already moved far toward equalization of educational opportunity for Negroes and whites. In a 25-year period, the registration of Negro college students showed an increase of 2,400 percent.

A great advance was made in June 1941 when President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 and declared: "It is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin." The order requires that in all war contracts there is no discrimination "because of race, creed, or national origin" and sets up the Fair Employment Practice Committee to enforce this provision.

At the same time, many Americans are beginning to realize that racial and religious prejudices menace our war effort and our hopes for world peace. More and more Americans are becoming convinced that every person, regardless of his race, religion, or national origin, should be judged on the basis of his own merit. They are beginning to see that much straight thinking is needed on the problems of minorities and that the solution of these problems has a great deal to do with the welfare of our nation as well as our own and our children's welfare. Many are learning that democracy cannot work for some unless it works for all.

Six Dangers Of Prejudice

6. ***Why is religious and racial prejudice a threat to all of us?***

(Suggestion: Write on the board or read to your group the topic heads in bold-face below. Then get as many of the answers as possible from the group.)

A. Prejudice Is Contagious. History has taught us that when we discriminate against one segment of the people, we set a pattern that may be used against other groups. Hitler's persecution of the Jews, trade unionists, communists, and socialists was later directed against Catholics, Protestants, liberals and eventually the people of the world.

In 1855 Abraham Lincoln understood this when he said: "As a nation we began by declaring all men are created equal. We now read it 'All men are created equal except Negroes.' When the Know Nothings get control it will read 'All men are created equal except Negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics'."

Consideration for the Negro, the Jew, the Catholic, the foreign born, or for any other minority group, rests not merely on the grounds of humanity and justice; it rests on the solid base of self-interest.

B. Prejudice Makes All Of Us Poorer. We can't have an enlightened democracy with minority groups living in ignorance. We can't have a prosperous democracy with minority groups so poor that they can't afford to buy the goods America produces.

If a minority is kept at a low wage scale in the same field or area in which we work, eventually our own wages will be reduced because of a smaller demand for consumer goods and the competition of cheap labor. Conversely, a higher standard of living for any group increases the demands for consumer goods and makes for a more prosperous country. Aside from the fact that it is Christian and democratic, it is also to our own selfish interest to help secure better housing, clothing, and nutrition for ALL our people.

As Eric A. Johnston, president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, recently declared: "Whenever we erect barriers on the grounds of race or religion, or of occupational or professional status, we hamper the fullest expansion of our economic security. Prejudice doesn't pay. Discrimination is destructive."

C. Prejudice Robs Us Of Minority Talents. Prejudice often prevents minority groups from de-

veloping their abilities and skills. It limits their achievements and deprives the nation of their genius. We are all poorer in America today because discrimination prevents members of some minorities from rising to their greatest possible achievements, thus lessening their potential contributions to the general wealth and welfare of America.

D. Prejudice Blinds Us To Real Situation. Prejudice makes impossible any real solution of economic, social, or personal difficulties. When we blame war or social and economic troubles on some innocent minority group, we are diverting our attention from the real causes. By blaming and hating some scapegoat for our misfortunes, we intensify rather than remove the difficulties. Social ills can only be remedied by all members of society accepting their share of responsibility and cooperating through democratic means to solve their common problems.

E. Prejudice Endangers Victory. Prejudice means disunity, and disunity plays into the hands of the enemies of democracy. National unity is just as essential to victory as battleships and flying fortresses. America can't give its maximum to the war effort unless we conquer the disrupting effects of prejudice on the fighting front and the production front.

The War Department (in ASF Manual M 5) recognizes that "discrimination on the basis of race or color . . ." is "fatal to military efficiency." And War Department pamphlet 20-3 states: "To contribute by act or word toward the increase of misunderstanding, suspicion and tension between peoples of different racial or national origin in this country or among our Allies is to help the enemy!"

The Detroit race riot of June 1943 and the Philadelphia transport strike of August 1944 offer two isolated but dramatic instances of the disruptive effects of discrimination on the production front.

The walk-out of 6,000 employees of the Philadelphia Transportation Company, precipitated by the assignment of eight Negroes to jobs as street-car operators, paralysed the city's vast transportation system. The six-day traffic tie-up kept thousands of war workers from their jobs, and four million man hours of vital war production were lost.

The two-day Detroit race riot cut war production 15 to 50 percent in some plants, and absenteeism ranged from 20 to 90 percent. A million hours of labor were lost.

F. Prejudice Endangers World Peace. Even more disastrous is the effect which news of race riots and discrimination against minorities has upon the morale of our fighting men abroad, and on the millions of people throughout the world, white and colored, whose loyalty and help are so vital to the allied cause. It has been powerful ammunition for the propagandists of the Axis in Europe, Africa, the Near East, and particularly the Far East.

Three-fourths of the people of the world are what we call "colored." These people naturally look to the treatment of our American Negroes to see what we really mean when we speak of democracy. Racial and religious prejudice alienates the confidence of the vast non-white populations as well as other peoples, thwarts their hopes and our hopes of peace and freedom, and ultimately creates the conditions from which future global wars can develop.

How we treat minorities is, therefore, more than a matter of mere domestic concern. Almost 13 million people in the U. S. were born in Europe, and 27 million have parents born in Europe. The mistreatment of some Mexicans in the U. S. echoes throughout North and South America; a race riot provokes discussions and resentments in Africa, the Philippines, and among the 800 million non-white people in China and India.

Throughout the world there are millions of people convinced that this is a total war against fascism and fascist ideas. Their concept of peace includes the hope—even the determination—that when this War is won, there will be no such thing as "superior" and "inferior" peoples anywhere in the world.

Story Of America Proves It

The story of America is proof that there are no "superior" or "inferior" people. Our country has been made great by people who came from every land under the sun—people with names like Carnegie, Sikorsky, Toscanini, Einstein, Osler—and thousands more. But it isn't only the big names, the Hall of Fame names, who have made America—any more than it is only the big names who are winning the War. We know that the biggest part of this War is being fought and won by the little names, by the millions of Joe Doakes who may never make tomorrow's headlines.

The men who built and are building America—who clear her forests, span her rivers, dig her coal, plough her fields, work her machines—the men who made America strong and free—and are fighting and dying to preserve that freedom on battlefields all over the world—are men of every race, color, religion, and nationality. Listen to their names at roll call. Read their names in casualty lists—like these from the New York Times of 29 March 1945:

Agostinello . . . Cohen . . . Curran . . . Grunwald . . . Hrubec . . . Ivanoski . . . Kuzian . . . Marshall . . . Thomas . . . Warblanski . . .

Were any of these "inferior?"

AIDS FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS

The following points of information are offered with the thought that they may be helpful to you during the discussion. They have no immediate place in the discussion proper, but they may prove useful should additional questions be raised by any members of your group.

Modern science has revealed that all human blood is the same whether it be the blood of an Eskimo, Frenchman, German, Englishman, or an African pygmy—except for one basic difference. If you look at the dog tags of the men in your unit you'll notice that there are four types of blood—O, A, B, AB—and it all has to do with the matter of blood transfusions. While blood type O can be mixed successfully with the other three, none of the other three can be mixed with one another without clotting.

Whites, Negroes, Mongolians—ALL races, religions, nationalities have every one of these blood types.

* * *

The "blood and race" theories of the Nazis have never been accepted by scientists and have more than been disproved by the War. It is true that years ago Germans were in the forefront in many fields of science. But today, the U. S.—a melting pot of all nationalities—leads the world in science. In the mid-nineteenth century it was the British, while in the seventeenth century it was the Dutch who were the most scientifically inclined.

Under future historical or cultural influences, the Chinese may again be among the most advanced technological people as they were at an earlier period in world history.

In the ninth century, Scandanavians were the feared, warlike Vikings; today they are a peaceful, non-aggressive people and chief advocates of co-operatives. For centuries the Japanese had a record of uninterrupted peace and non-aggression while today Japan is one of the most warlike of nations.

Immigrant groups coming to America have carried with them the special traditions, skills, and attitudes of the economic group into which they were forced. In feudal agricultural societies, the Jews, excluded from agriculture, were compelled to become the merchants and craftsmen. Thus Jews in America most commonly entered commerce and certain of the skilled crafts and professions. Italians are vine growers in California for obvious geographical and historical reasons. Poles entered the coal fields because many of the first and most enterprising immigrants from Poland were miners from Silesia who established centers of Polish population in America's mining regions.

The special skills which members of a group possess and the occupations in which they engage are the result of historical conditioning and not the result of any inherent traits.

* * *

The following excerpts are from ASF Manual M 5:

"Competent scholars in the field of racial differences are almost unanimous in the opinion that race 'superiority' and 'inferiority' have not been demonstrated despite the existence of clearly defined and tested differences between individuals within every race."

"Scientific knowledge does not support the idea of the inherent superiority of any one race over another. Students of history, psychology, biology, and anthropology are in general agreement that the progress of civilization has had little or no relation to alleged inborn, biological characteristics of particular races or nationalities."

"It is agreed also that most of the differences revealed by intelligence tests and other devices can be accounted for in terms of differences in opportunity and background. The important consideration at this time, then, is how to offer increased opportunities —both physical and cultural—to all handicapped groups, regardless of race, since these variables account in large part for poor performance and achievement in every group."

"Character and personality traits unsuitable in the soldier which may exist among your men are principally the result of environment, not of race."

"The Army cannot function efficiently on the basis of theories that individual capacities are definitely fixed by a man's race."

"The Army accepts no theories of racial inferiority or superiority for American troops but considers that its task is to utilize its men on their individual merits in the achievement of final victory. A realistic and impartial examination of the evidence on racial difference in ability supports this position."

* * *

The following are unofficial figures, compiled under the supervision of Louis I. Dublin, vice-president and

chief statistician of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company:

"Jews comprise approximately 3.5 percent of the population of the U. S. As of 1 March 1945, more than 500,000 Jews were in the armed forces. They constitute a little over 4 percent of the men and women in the service. It is estimated that on 1 March 1945 there were 35,000 Jewish casualties, approximately 7 percent of the Jews in service. Up to 1 March 1945, total casualties in the armed forces were 840,000 or approximately 7 percent."

* * *

For the past 100 years organizations like the "Know Nothing" Party have been asserting that a good Roman Catholic can't be, at the same time, a loyal American citizen. The Vatican, they maintain, claims absolute and unquestioning obedience in all things, and as an American citizen, a Catholic must support the Church against the State.

This slander assumes the existence of a Catholic political party in the United States. Of course, there is no such thing. Catholics, like every other group, are found in all political parties.

Religious bigotry reached shameful heights in the election campaign of 1928 when the late Alfred E. Smith, a devout Catholic, was nominated for President. Anti-Catholics maintained that in the event of Smith's election, the Pope would dictate to the President, and that the interests of the United States would be subordinated to those of the Church.

Alfred E. Smith stated his position clearly and unequivocally. He declared that no power in the Catholic Church could interfere with the operations of the U. S. Constitution or the enforcement of the laws of the land. He believed in absolute freedom of conscience for all men, and in equality of all churches, sects, and beliefs. He believed in the absolute separation of Church and State, and in the enforcement of the Constitution's provisions prohibiting Congress from enacting any law concerning an establishment of religion or preventing religion's free exercise. He believed in the common brotherhood of man and he fervently hoped that "never again in this land will any public servant be challenged because of the faith in which he has tried to walk humbly with his God."

* * *

According to an intensive study made by Fortune magazine, "there is no basis whatever for the suggestion that Jews monopolize U. S. business and industry. . . . The great mass of the 4,500,000 American Jews, like the great mass of American non-Jews, is made up of workers, employed and non-employed."

"First of all and very definitely," continues the Fortune survey, "they do not run banking. They play little or no part in great commercial houses like J. P. Morgan, National City Bank, Chase National Bank, Guaranty Trust Co., etc.

"Among the 93,000 bankers in the U. S., the Jews constitute six-tenths of one percent whereas the Jewish population comprises about 3.5 percent of the total number of inhabitants. . . .

"They have an even more inconspicuous place in basic industry . . . steel, rubber, automobiles, chemicals, coal, shipping, transportation, aviation, light and power, telephone and telegraph, engineering, lumber, mining, etc.

"In brief, Jews are so far from controlling the most characteristic of present day American activities that they are hardly represented in them at all.

"There is much Jewish participation in the textile industry as agents and jobbers, silk and cotton converters and in the manufacture of clothing. . . ."

The Fortune study concludes: "Jews do not dominate the American scene. They do not even dominate major sections of the American scene."

Supplementary Material

America The Hope Of Oppressed

"Evil doctrines of discrimination frequently imported from gangster nations plague certain areas in America. Racial and religious intolerance is being preached and practiced here by agents of our enemies, as well as by innocent victims of their propaganda. With relentless determination, our deadly opponents still seek to apply the ancient doctrine of 'divide and rule' in their drive for world domination.

"Unfortunately, propaganda poison is exceedingly difficult to remove from our national bloodstream. The after-effects of this poison may be felt for years to come, especially if we do not recognize its danger and actively combat its spread. No nation on earth is more vulnerable to intolerance and bigotry than America, for no nation is composed of more diverse races and differing creeds than this land of the free. America became great by being a secure haven for freedom of thought and action.

"We prove conclusively that people of *every* race and of *every* creed *can* dwell together in harmony. In fact, America has become the hope and inspiration of all oppressed people throughout the civilized world."

—*President Harry S. Truman*, 17 March 1945.

"The Mainspring Of American Life"

"The Founding Fathers of the United States drew up a Declaration of Independence proclaiming that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Once independence had been won, the framers of the Constitution secured these rights in law by incorporating them into a Bill of Rights guaranteeing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and equality before the law.

"This, the mainspring of American life, is what our enemies would have us destroy even while our armies are winning victories overseas. They would have us forget our belief in the equality of man and adopt their own false standards of race supremacy. They would see us divided against ourselves, our national strength consumed in racial and religious hatreds. The America our troops sought to preserve would then have been destroyed by our own hands.

"This attempt to bring about civil strife has met with more success than many of us care to admit. Propaganda aimed at setting one group against another has found its mark in many instances, and we have seen the sorry spectacle of religious bigotry and racial hatred rise where none had existed before. Or, where misunderstandings already existed, we have seen these misunderstandings somehow turned into animosities bitter enough to involve an entire city. And largely because a few hate-spreaders have accomplished their assignments."

—*Hon. Frank Murphy, Associate Justice, U. S. Supreme Court: Race Hate—The Enemy Bullets Can't Stop (Liberty Magazine 6 January* 1945).

Scapegoat Concept Violates Christian Code

"In truly civilized societies, where the rights and dignity of the individual are respected and economic opportunity is open to all according to their ability—in short, in a working democracy—these fears and hatreds have little to feed upon. They are dissolved by the forces of political freedom, universal education, and social welfare. Nothing is more undemocratic than hatred of other groups merely because they are somewhat different from our own. To condemn a whole class for the faults of one or two individuals is a sign of stupidity—or of knavery.

"Likewise, when the religion of the people is spiritually vital, prejudices against minorities do not easily take root. The concept of a scapegoat selected from weak and defenseless groups for cruel and unjust treatment violates the whole ethical code of Christianity: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' A religion whose foundation stones are the universal fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man must inevitably contradict any scheme of things that divides mankind into permanently 'superior' groups, mutually hostile. The greatest religious leaders of all faiths have, in fact, opposed these tendencies to set one race or class against another. Pope Pius XII, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the heads of the Protestant communions in America, and the chief rabbis of Judaism have all condemned racial and religious prejudices in outspoken and strikingly similar language.

"The scapegoats of history have suffered tragic injustice, but persecution has never destroyed them. But the bad effects of intolerance upon the intolerant themselves have been evident from Nero to Hitler. Mental specialists who have studied these subjects have found that extreme intolerance has a destructive effect on the mind, and often results in a condition similar to some forms of insanity. It undermines the personality and even physical health; it weakens the ability to enjoy normal life. In the long run, the hater is more to be pitied than the hated."

—*Kenneth M. Gould: They Got The Blame.*

Test Of Democratic Faith

"The peace, to which we now look, will further test our democratic faith. It will not be enough to stamp out anti-democratic practices in the lands of our enemies. The conditions which created fascism there must not pass unnoticed here. Their first, and most dangerous symptom, is always the same everywhere—an abandonment of equal justice to all—the placing of some groups in a preferred class of citizenship at the expense of other groups. True democracy must continue the war on all such beliefs.

"Like most of the great values of life, the ideals of democracy and peace can be won or maintained only by constant struggle. For democracy is a fighting faith. No man with a conscience can be so far removed from that struggle as not to feel the compulsion of joining in it. Each of us in our own way has a job to do. The principles of fascism, and all that fascism stands for with its barbaric denial of human values, must be obliterated and destroyed. To accomplish this there must be an emphatic reassertion of democratic values and a resurgence of democratic faith at home and throughout the world. And there will be."

—*Hon. Hugo L. Black, Associate Justice, U. S. Supreme Court.*

Prepared by Army Orientation Branch, Information and Education Division, ASF [A.G. 353 (16 Jan. 44)].

Prejudice

Doing Something About Prejudice

JULIUS SCHREIBER, M.D.

"No, I'm not *prejudiced*. It's just that I *prefer* a white stenographer. And that's all there is to it!"

But is that all there is to it?

What is a prejudice? It is an emotional blind-spot, an opinion or attitude which is actually a prejudgment, a conclusion formed without careful examination of the facts, an idea uncritically or inaccurately checked against reality.

In dealing with the problem of prejudice one often hears the word, "preference." A "preference" means a choice of one thing or person rather than another. Now a choice may be rationally or irrationally motivated. But all too often one finds an attempt to mask a prejudice by resort to semantic double-talk. "Preference" sounds so much better than "prejudice."

When I prefer to make friends with "white, Protestant, 100 percent Americans" *only*, my "preference" stems from irrational roots — just as any other prejudice does. For here we have a judgment which implies that a man's color or faith or birthplace or ancestry determines his actual worth as a human being. And that is neither sensible nor scientific.

Well, suppose it is a prejudice—what harm?

Let me try to be very explicit: Prejudicial attitudes and actions usually reveal a personality disturbance within the prejudiced individual. So long as the prejudice is not acted upon or does not lead others to follow in similar irrational behavior patterns (an optimistic and unreal hope), the tragedy and its consequences are a problem of the individual. But when prejudice is implemented—translated into some form of unfair discriminatory practice—it is no longer an individual problem: it becomes a social problem calling for social concern and social action.

If the selection of a "social companion" is based solely on the color of a man's skin, we have an act of prejudice which is admittedly between "me and him." Even this does not mean that prejudice so expressed is harmless.

But suppose we carry our blind-spots beyond the realm of social companionship, into the area of bread and butter, and refuse to hire someone who is clearly qualified for a job solely because we dislike his religion or color—what then? Here, there is a projection of our own emotional disturbances into the area of social relations to do violence to the rights of another individual. This is dangerous business.

Make no mistake about it. Prejudice undermines the mental health of all men—aggressor and victim.

Today, man holds a ticking atom bomb in one hand and a dim lamp of hope in the other. And while the seconds pass he must make what may be the last of his fundamental decisions.

Can he successfully cut through his blinding prejudices, his paralyzing greed, his irrational hates? Can he fully recognize the terrible implications of uncontrolled human hostility? Can he withstand this assault on his mental health?

Any answer less than a swift, world-shaking "Yes!" means the disappearance of the human race in an atomic puff.

Although we know more about prejudice today than we did know ten years ago, we are still in the simple arithmetic state. But of this much we are sure: no babe is born with a set of prejudices engraved upon his cortex. He has merely the capacity to develop them—or not to develop them. Later, he will become aware of some psychological insecurity. And his feelings of anxiety, frustration, hostility, guilt, and other expressions of intrapsychic conflict will be eased, at least temporarily, by a battery of irrational attitudes projected upon others. In the absence of some radical changes in the way man relates himself to his fellow men, that is what happens to people in our culture.

Very early in his life, a child becomes aware of "we" and "us" as opposed to "they" and "them." What "we" ("our family," "our group") say, do, and approve, is all right; what "they" do is open to challenge. "They," the "others," are not like us. They are strangers, outsiders, foreigners. And being different, they are, therefore, in some way inferior.

By the time we get into grammar school, the foundations have been laid for our general attitudes toward life and toward particular individuals and groups among our fellow men.

The feelings and conduct of our parents and of our relatives, friends, teachers, clergymen, neighbors influence our own feelings and conduct. All these people contribute to our stereotypes and generalizations about our fellow human beings. As we go through life, our stereotypes are reinforced by writers of fiction, by the movies, radio, theater, comic strips, and so on. And we use these stereotypes and generalizations to our own great disservice. We walk about with false mental images of what a Jew or a Catholic or a Negro "really is." Why bother to look upon each person as an individual when it is so much easier to lump all members of a group together and say, "They are all alike?"

We note discrepancies between what we hear in church, what we learn in school, what we read in our civics textbooks, and what actually goes on all about us. We listen to socially sanctioned double-talk. We see brazen hypocrisy condoned by a way of life which is shot through with ethical ambivalence.

We grow up prating highly patriotic and ethical phrases—"All men are created equal," "Love thy neighbor." Should someone take us too seriously, however, we are quick to add the handy phrase, ". . . but we have to be practical!" Our need to

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conform to the dominant *mores* of our particular group or society insures our uncritical acceptance of local prejudices.

But having been told that racial superiority is a myth and that an individual's intrinsic worth has no relation to the color of skin, to religion, sex, place of birth, or ancestry—having been given the facts, why do so many of us retain our prejudices?

HERE IS THE ANSWER: THE PREJUdiced individual needs his prejudices. He derives satisfaction from his expression of hostility. The prejudice itself is only a symptom of an underlying personality disturbance (ranging from very mild to very severe). The prejudice is used by the individual in his attempt to meet and solve his emotional problems.

The individual cannot relinquish his prejudices by virtue of having been told the "truth" because he is blind to the very facts presented. Having a need for his attitudes and actions, he "selects" from what he is told whatever suits his preconceived notions and rejects everything else as "propaganda" or "bunk." That is why he is easy prey for the hate mongers.

He is impervious to "appeals to reason" or "appeals to ethical values" because the need of his disturbed personality for a defense or outlet has compelled him to rationalize his prejudices and discriminatory acts. To him, these feelings and actions are both "reasonable" and "moral." He has to place laudable values upon them, for, in spite of his rationalizations, he is, as a rule, dimly aware of his self-deceit. Being even less able than others to control his feelings and actions by "reason," attacks upon his personality defenses in the form of "rational appeals" serve merely to accentuate the conflicts which gave rise to the prejudices in the first place.

Facts alone, then, cannot accomplish much, since prejudices arise from and are maintained by irrational sources. Facts, however, do have an extremely important part to play in an overall attack upon prejudice and discrimination, as we shall see later.

Let us return to the prejudiced individual. In some instances, his anxiety, frustration, resentment, and aggression result primarily from failure to cope with the distressing external pressures of our highly competitive society: he is unable to achieve the security and gratification which all human beings seek. Sometimes these emotional disturbances are primarily the result of inner personality conflicts. Usually, however, both processes are at work simultaneously.

The individual feels himself peculiarly vulnerable to unfriendly people or enemies that he believes are threatening him. From anxiety and frustration, there develops a series of mutually reinforcing and yet often conflicting feelings of inadequacy, superiority, hostility, aggression, submissiveness, self-hate, guilt, and other highly disturbing emotions. And if there is to be even a semblance of inner peace, the disturbance must be displaced, thrown out, projected from the disordered personality and fastened (blamed) upon some thing or process or individual or group that can be made the scapegoat for the individual's own difficulties. In order to make the projection stick, the rationalization mechanism works zealously and overtime.

The intensity and quality of prejudicial feelings and actions seem to have no relationship to the degree of personality disturbance. It should be remembered also that prejudice serves different individuals differently. For some, it is nothing more than a device to gain social acceptance; for others, it serves as a disguised outlet for primitive impulses or drives which society prohibits in their more open manifestations; for still others it serves to compensate for marked feelings of inadequacy, loneliness, or inferiority; or it may be a less subtle aggression against imagined sources of difficulties when in truth the source is within himself or his environment; and so on. While prejudice, therefore, is a symptom of a sick personality, it is, in the final analysis, a social problem.

IT SEEMS UNNECESSARY TO POINT OUT some of the tragic consequences of prejudicial actions. Millions of human beings, in each generation, suffer gnawing anxiety, shame, resentment. They see their legitimate aspirations and even modest hopes smashed by the deadly weight of prejudice.

In every land—including our own—millions of unfortunates have been made to suffer for the shortcomings and misfortunes of others. At one time or another, practically every group has been used as a scapegoat and in turn has fixed its prejudices on others.

Man has within him the talent and power to remodel the earth. He can perform miracles. He has moved himself forward and upward from the caves to the stars, from splitting rocks to smashing atoms, from beating message-drums to radio, radar, and television. And these man-made miracles came from the hearts and heads and hands of Jew and Gentile, black and white, Protestant and Catholic, native and foreign born.

A MAN'S WORTH, HIS SKILLS AND TALents, his thoughts and his feelings, his behavior toward his fellow men are not matters of "race" but of something else — the chance that society gives him to develop and flower. And when men choke off other men, when out of prejudice they condemn and destroy their victims, clearly they condemn and rob society itself.

What does all this do to the feeling, thinking, and actions of the victim? He may try to pretend that the problem does not exist. But this attempt to deny reality by flight into fantasy is unwholesome and dangerous. He may submit to the degradation which the prejudice imposes. He may say that "this world doesn't count, anyhow"—looking forward to the "next" as the place where "all men are brothers." He may identify himself more completely with his own group. He may develop a measure of self-hate and try to "escape" by agreeing with (or even joining) those who hate him. He may behave so unnaturally as to generate even more tension. He may try a little scapegoating himself—blaming his troubles on some other minority group. Perhaps best of all, he may decide to strike back at his tormentors and the environmental factors which feed their prejudices.

And that is an excellent idea. For while it is true that we need more information about prejudice and discrimination, what we need even more urgently is action — concerted, courageous, wise, honest action.

Millions of dollars are spent annually by hundreds of organizations to combat prejudice. From public platforms and from street car ads, from newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, and books, over the radio and on the screen, from billboards, comic strips, blotters, and match covers — from

About Prejudice

wherever the eyes and ears of demagogue, aggressor, victim, and innocent bystander can be reached—the messages of "tolerance" and "good will" pour forth. And what does all this accomplish?

In mapping an action program to counteract prejudice and discrimination, it is well to bear in mind three things:

HOW IT STARTS — Many (perhaps most) of our prejudices are acquired in childhood; they are reinforced by local *mores;* they are kept alive (often started) by frustration-aggression deriving from external pressures or inner personality conflicts, or both.

WHO IS INVOLVED — The significant people in a prejudice-discrimination situation are the demagogue, the prejudiced individual (who may or does follow the demagogue and whose prejudices may be strongly or weakly held), the victim, the non-prejudiced individual (not yet prejudiced, but potentially so), the anti-prejudice individual (concerned about prejudice and trying to fight it), and the growing child.

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE — Here are the major possibilities: Research (getting the facts); education (transmitting the facts); legislation (enforcing existing laws and seeking to establish new ones); action against demagogues and hate groups, modification of community *mores;* joint participation (common undertakings between members of various "racial" and cultural groups); action on social issues (housing, health, full employment, minimum wage, education and so on).

And what might be accomplished through these lines of action?

Research—

An anti-prejudice action program is worthless unless it is guided by facts and theories discovered and developed by scientific research. Typical of the hundreds of questions being studied today are these:

Why is the particular minority group selected as the target by the prejudiced individual?

What (if anything) is there about the selected victim that evokes or stimulates the prejudice?

What kinds of information and experiences cause or change prejudices?

What is the relative effectiveness of the various media of communication and methods of education in the reduction of prejudice?

How may an understanding of the dynamics of prejudice be applied to an understanding of international tensions?

Education—

Education is an extremely important weapon.

But what will presentation of the facts do to the demagogue? Not much—except, perhaps, enrage him. It may, however, inhibit him somewhat, since the spread of factual information can create serious obstacles for his propaganda steamroller.

As to the prejudiced individual, we have already pointed out that he has a need for his prejudices. However, the strength with which a prejudice is held varies considerably. Prejudiced individuals do relinquish their prejudices—it happens every day! In the majority of such instances, this is not due to the presentation of the facts, alone, but rather to developments deriving from such education — improved local *mores,* progressive legislation, alleviation of social, economic, and political pressures, participation on a positive basis with individuals against whom prejudices exist, attainment of a more satisfactory way of discharging frustration-aggression.

Needless to say, education is of prime importance in the prevention of prejudice in children and in non-prejudiced adults. Here the excellent programs of intercultural education play a significant role. But all such education should include "what to do about it"—an action program. Further, intercultural education in our schools requires non-prejudiced teachers, professionally competent to give such training. It must be a natural part of the over-all curriculum and not a special course stuck into the catalogue. Nor should such education be limited to the school. It is a task for the entire community, in which parents, clergymen, press, radio, theater, movies must all play their parts.

What does education do for the victims of prejudice and for the anti-prejudice individuals? It provides them with factual information and thereby enriches their armament for counterattack. Education can also help the victim to accept himself and identify himself with his group. Self-esteem and self-respect are essential to counteract the self-pity and self-hate which so many victims develop.

Legislation—

When considering legislation, one should think not only of desirable new laws, but also of the enforcement of existing laws; many communities and states already have laws which, if enforced, would prevent many unfair discriminatory acts on the part of prejudiced people.

It is often argued that proposed legislation such as the bill for a federal FEPC will not work because "You can't legislate *mores*!" This is easy to say, and it sounds profound. But no one contends that the passing of a law on Monday will change the *mores* of the people by Tuesday—assuming that the new legislation goes contrary to the dominant folkways. Yet customs do change. And many such changes were stimulated, or even started, by the educational process resulting from the passage of highly controversial legislation.

This author has stated elsewhere:

> If we are proposing legislation that seeks to make a practical application of a democratic principle, and if that legislation is a down-to-earth proposal that can actually work out in everyday life, and finally if it meets the needs of objective social conditions — there is no other course but to get behind it and push for it.

The purpose of such legislation is to alleviate the unhappiness of innocent victims of prejudice, but it is sure to make some people unhappy in the process. It must be recognized that if it is to work, it must have adequate administrative machinery; that while it may be backed up by punitive measures, it should operate, primarily, on an *educational* level; that it should not be limited to fair employment practices. Other problems calling for legislative remedy are: the poll tax, lynching, unfair discrimination in educational institutions, segregation.

Action Against the Demagogue—

Here is a place where we must walk warily. Occasionally, in our zeal to fight the demagogue, we violate the very civil liberties which we declare he is out to destroy.

To deny a scoundrel his right to speak is to controvene the basic concepts of a free America. Further,

many an obscure and utterly ineffective hate monger has been catapulted into notoriety by the attacks of outraged good citizens. Their efforts publicize him, build him up, give him unmerited prestige and a role all out of proportion to his real stature.

Occasionally such attacks upon the demagogue spread his lies much further than he can hope to do through his own efforts. That is why many a small-time rabble rouser welcomes (sometimes even stimulates) noisy brawls and attempts to deny him the right to speak.

Well then, when do we attack the demagogue? Each case is a law unto itself, but here are some useful guides: When it is clear that to leave him unanswered is to strengthen his case and spread his influence, then "throw the book at him"; particularly so, when he violates the law. If the demagogue is merely a loud mouthed puppet responding to hidden strings, he can be silenced most effectively by discovering and exposing his backers.

Local Mores—

Many prejudiced individuals are merely conforming to local *mores*. This calls for change in such community patterns. Non-prejudicial behavior on the part of community leaders is exceedingly important. When public officials, civic leaders, business, labor, church, school, press, and radio take the position that prejudicial behavior is un-American in spirit, that it is not the thing to do, there is enough twitching of guilt to cause many of the more mildly prejudiced individuals to reexamine their prejudices, or at least hesitate to implement them. Children growing up in a community where prejudicial feelings and actions are not part of dominant patterns are more likely to develop wholesome personalities.

Joint Participation—

Here is a tremendously important weapon. But mere physical contact with people of other groups is not enough. Prejudices are not diminished by the "rubbing of shoulders" on street cars or in crowded stores. The question is: What kind of contacts and under what conditions?

Special efforts to "get acquainted" usually have an air of artificiality about them, they are often marred by a "do-good" or patronizing attitude on the part of the comfortable majority toward members of the unhappy minority. Get acquainted by all means—but under the normal conditions of everyday life. The contact should provide a positive experience in a setting which is real.

A good start is made when we study our mutual problems together, make plans to solve them together, and actively work together, to carry out the solutions agreed upon. Small group discussion, properly conducted, is a major key to success here.

In such a face-to-face situation, important things take place. Many a prejudiced individual is drawn out of his isolation, his loneliness. In sharing the experiences of others, attempting to evaluate problems together, strong bonds of identification with the group are established. Participation in group discussion requires critical examination of long-held attitudes and opinions.

Group discussion gives everyone a chance to air his doubts, complaints and opinions. It provides a safety valve and opens up new and varied sources of information.

In group discussion, one learns to listen attentively to the other fellow, and one learns to respect his right to hold an opposing point of view.

But discussion is meaningless unless it is preliminary to constructive social action.

Cracking the Walls of Segregation—

Prejudiced people and non-prejudiced, but timid, souls behave as if anything from wholesale rape to atomic destruction must inevitably occur when white and black, for example, are permitted to work together in the same office or factory—or live together in the same apartment building or neighborhood. Yet the facts are that when people of different races work together or live together, and no one deliberately seeks to stir up artificial difficulties, there is no friction; on the contrary, inter-group understanding and cooperation ensue.

Experience suggests that the way to break down segregation is not to ask, in advance, "Will we have trouble?," but to declare there will be no difficulties, and none will be tolerated.

Action on Social Issues—

One of the great sources of frustration and aggression lies in the failure of the individual to cope with many of the pressing problems of a highly competitive society. Often these problems constitute a major threat to mental health. Elsewhere, the author has stated:

> Man—tossing about in the sea of his social environment—finds that his mental health is very much at the mercy of what goes on about him. Unemployment, discrimination, failure to share in the civil liberties guaranteed all citizens, price control, medical care, delinquency, housing, the threat of atomic war and world destruction—these are very real everyday problems. . . .
>
> For the social factors which gnaw at emotional equilibrium, which torment and frustrate even modest aspirations, which set man against man, which oppress, limit, stultify and crush—these are all of man's own making. They are born out of the struggle of conflicting interests, out of ignorance, and often out of shameless greed. But—they can be changed. It remains but to try. . . .
>
> Mental health needs an environment where the Four Freedoms are a reality and not merely four phrases. . . . Democracy in our textbooks merely raises questions. Democracy in practice—gives the answers!

To the extent that social problems are favorably solved, to that extent we lift a burden off the shoulders of many an individual who in his frustration has developed or found it necessary to retain prejudicial outlets.

And when young people cease to see glaring discrepancies between what is preached and what is practiced they will have their first real opportunity to see and say that democracy is sound and that it works.

There is no excuse for time consuming double-talk. Much remains to be learned about prejudice. But today we know enough to warrant a carefully planned all-out attack upon this destructive social illness.

WHO WILL CARRY THE FIGHT? IT IS not one man's struggle; it is a fight summoning men and women, young and old, of all creeds and colors.

Too many "respectable" folk brand as "radical" or "crazy" any serious attempt to change the way man relates himself to his fellow men.

It demands integrity and courage to combat this. Otherwise there are ideological seduction, flight, surrender.

We are challenged to an uncompromising fight for enlightened social change. In that victory lies much of the cure for man's problems—among them the crippling disease of prejudice and discrimination.

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COMMENTARY

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In "Good Stocks and Lesser Breeds" from the May issue of Commentary, Edward N. Saveth examines several of the textbooks designed for elementary and secondary school courses in American history, and finds in them a persistent tendency to disparage immigrants from South and South Eastern European descent as unassimilable, unpleasant and sometimes even racially inferior.

Dr. Saveth's charges are serious and merit serious consideration. We should like very much to have your opinions on this question for possible publication in our Letters From Readers section.

The Editors

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THE STUDY OF MAN

GOOD STOCKS AND LESSER BREEDS

The Immigrant in American Textbooks

EDWARD N. SAVETH

RECEIVED MAY 13 1949 Unesco Relations Counsel

IT IS scarcely in the nature of an exposé to point out that American legislation on immigration in the past quarter-century, up to and including the recent displaced-persons act, has pandered to the myth of "Nordic superiority." The wellsprings of mind and spirit which feed this myth we know to be as deep as they are dubious—economic competition, social exclusiveness, anti-Semitism, suspicion of the stranger, brute selfishness—and it is difficult to measure accurately the role of any single factor in fixing the myth in the public and legislative mind. Yet complex events may be the result of the coming together of simple forces. A textbook, for instance, of the kind used in an elementary or high school—what could be more simple?

Textbooks have recently been attracting a remarkable share of national and international attention. At the Unesco General Conference in Paris in 1946, a program was adopted for the improvement of textbooks as aids in overcoming international misunderstanding. Last year, the United States National Commission for Unesco sponsored a study by I. James Quillen which reviewed the history of textbook analysis and its influence on the evolution of the curriculum in American schools, and which set forth a plan for an international revision of textbooks. On March 15, the American Council on Education published *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials,* a report of a special committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Howard E. Wilson, which scrutinized 266 textbooks used in American schools (but, alas, refrained from mentioning titles and authors), in addition to other teaching materials, for their attitudes toward minority groups.

Immigration comes up for classroom discussion in the teaching of American history, economics, and civics. This is a large subject, with much ground to cover; the classes are overcrowded; the teacher is busy. More often than educators care to admit, both teacher and student become, without resistance, prisoners of the textbook. And these textbooks, in the great majority, proclaim the innate superiority of the "racial stocks" of Northwest Europe. Racism may be forbidden doctrine in our large newspapers and magazines, on the radio and in the movies. But in the public school—prime mover of the nation's mind—it is still rather comfortably at home.

IN 1930, Bessie L. Pierce published a study of textbooks "most frequently found in the schools," called *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks.* She discovered that the prevailing attitudes toward immigrants were, to put it politely, uncivic, uncivil, and untrue.

Waddy Thompson's *The First Book in United States History* (1923) asserts: "Immigrants that came from the Northern countries

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EDWARD N. SAVETH here examines the treatment of American ethnic groups in history and social science textbooks—many in common use in American elementary and high schools—and finds some unhappy facts. Dr. Saveth is the author of *American Historians and European Immigrants,* recently published by Columbia University Press. He has taught history at New Mexico Highlands University and now works for the American Jewish Committee, dealing with problems in the field of education. He was born in 1915 and earned his doctorate at Columbia University. Next fall he will teach a course in American historical writing at the New School.

of Europe are of a class that make good citizens, and as long as most of the immigrants were of that class all went well. But since the War of Secession most of the immigrants coming to this country have been from the lower classes of Eastern and Southeastern Europe, and they give much trouble. They are for the most part very ignorant, and, having been downtrodden in their homes, they have no respect for law or government. In fact, many of them would like to see the government of the United States destroyed." Many textbooks, in a dizzy flight into political propaganda, even took it upon themselves to urge the restriction of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

THIS rough handling of the "new" immigrants was in sharp contrast to the gentle treatment of those from the North and West of Europe who came to the United States mainly before the Civil War. Miss Pierce finds the Puritans variously described as "a God-fearing and industrious people," gentle, kind, possessed of good will toward all men, "even toward the cruel king from whom they had fled, and toward the savages of the forests. They valued so highly the freedom to worship God in their own way that they would not refuse the same freedom to others." The French Huguenots were "a particularly desirable class of settlers," and added "a very great contribution to the making of our country." The Dutch are noted for their "usual firmness," enterprise, and industry, and the Scotch-Irish are characterized by the author of one popular textbook as "that sterling, hardy race of men," the best of pioneers, who gave us "some of the most distinguished names in our history." The industry of the early German settlers is also emphasized.

The Irish, who came to American shores in large numbers only in the 40's and 50's of the 19th century, fared not at all well at the hands of textbook writers. Susan P. Lee, in her *Advanced School History of the United States* (1896), found them "wicked and worthless immigrants" who "often sought a hiding place in the large cities where they swelled the ranks of idleness and vice. . . . Their ignorance of all things American, their inability to distinguish between one state and another, and their want of interest or sympathy for the traditions of the past made them undesirable neighbors to men who loved their own states with a passionate devotion." But after the end of the 19th century, textbook writers ceased to accord the Irish special treatment in order to consider immigrants more simply under two headings: "old immigrants" and "new immigrants."

Cornish and Hughes, in their *History of the United States* (1929), characterize the early immigrants as "Good types of immigrants" but found it necessary to head one section: "The new type of immigrant creates alarm." Burch and Patterson, in *American Social Problems* (1929), instruct their readers that Northern Europe is, with the exception of France and Ireland, "Protestant and, generally speaking, accustomed to freedom," while "the southern area is Catholic in religion, and, as yet, not altogether accustomed to free institutions."

Blough and McClure, in *Fundamentals of Citizenship* (1939), decided that a clear-cut tabular presentation would be the most pedagogically efficient manner in which to establish the relative virtues of the two waves of immigration. Their table follow:

IMMIGRANTS	EARLY OR "OLD"	LATER OR "NEW"
Birthplace	Northern and Northwestern Europe.	Southern and Southeastern Europe.
Education	Mostly well educated, intelligent.	Not well educated; frequently unable to read and write.
Occupation	Merchants, farmers, skilled workmen, professional men.	Unskilled laborers, few merchants.
Location in which they settled	Rural communities and small towns.	Cities in slum areas.
Purpose in coming	To establish a permanent home; to escape religious persecution or harsh government control.	To gather wealth; to escape training in the army; to return later to Europe.
Kinds of groups	Entire families.	Unmarried individuals; few families at first.
Number becoming citizens	Nearly all.	Small part.

A final ironical accusation: discussing the new immigration from the South and East of Europe after 1880, Morehouse and Graham in their *American Problems* (1923) complain that one of its most deplorable aspects was the way in which it foisted race prejudice on the beautifully innocent native-born: "The races have brought over race antagonisms with them that introduce new discord into our national life."

IMMIGRANTS from the South and East of Europe do not lack for company as they run the gauntlet through the textbooks. A study of *The Treatment of the Negro in American History School Textbooks* by Marie E. Carpenter (1941) reveals attitudes toward the Negro, in books for Northern children, not markedly different from those L. D. Reddick* had found in Southern textbooks. The average history textbook of 1939 contends that the Negroes were generally well-satisfied as slaves, despite all the careful research which has revealed tremendous dissatisfaction on the part of the enslaved Negro population and a great number of slave revolts; they omit all mention of the half-million free Negroes in the United States before the Civil War; and, despite the mountain of research into the history of the Reconstruction period that proves the contrary, they continue to blame Reconstruction corruption upon the Negro's ignorance, unfitness to vote, and credulousness.

The Chinese, according to Timothy T. Lew ("China in American School Text-Books," *Special Supplement to Chinese Social and Political Science Review,* VI-VII, July 1923), are also treated as a "problem." "The Chinese were *willing* to live in cheap houses and amid poor surroundings," stated the late and venerable Charles A. Beard and co-author W. C. Bagley in *History of the American People* (1923). "This competition by workers who were *willing* to accept a lower standard of living was resented by American laborers." [My italics.]

This last statement by one of our foremost historians is a concession to that logic by which the evils of a young, expanding industrial capitalism are laid at the door of those who suffer from them. The immigrant, it would seem, came to America with the single-minded purpose of acquiring low wages, slums, poverty, corrupt urban political machines, class conflicts, and other embellishments of the "promised land." The Greeks and Syrians were reported to have very strong and morbid predispositions in this direction: M. K. Berry and S. B. Howe, in *Actual Democracy* (1923), told how, upon their arrival in America, "they go at once to the quarters of their fellow countrymen where congestion, disease, and poverty abound."

Thomas Nixon Carver and G. M. Adams, in *Our Economic Life* (1932), thought it obvious that the immigrant "does not require many of the comforts of life." Muzzey's popular *History of the American People* (1929), writes of the new immigrants as "content to work long hours for low wages, debasing the standards of the American laborer." The new immigrants, assert Beard and Bagley in *The History of the American People* (1928), "were willing to endure slums, long hours, and other conditions bad for their own health and morals and full of danger to the Americans about them." And if they were not willing to endure them?

TO FIND out where these strange notions come from, and their ultimate effect upon pupils reading these texts, would be an ambitious and long-term (and worthwhile) enterprise, in which a perceptive student might come up with some startling findings. But even a cursory glance at the *Zeitgeist* reveals some of the impelling factors at work.

It was during the 1920's and early 1930's that pseudo-learned books on the "race peril" by Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, extolling the virtues of the "Nordic immigrants" from the North and West of Europe and assailing the "Alpines" and "Mediterraneans" from Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe, as inherently inferior, had their vogue. At this same time, it will be remembered, powerful pressure groups such as the American Legion and the Ku Klux Klan were pushing their own ideas as to how American history should be written and as to the relative worth of the constituent ethnic groups of the American population. C. F. Horne, author of *The Story of Our American People,* published in 1926 and sponsored by the American Legion and thirty-three other patriotic societies, including the Daughters of the American Revolution, wrote of the new immigrants as learning "little of their debt to our government" and finding "little cause to love it." He continued: "We thought we were Americanizing the anarchists who came

* "Racial Attitudes in American History Textbooks of the South," *Journal of Negro History,* XIX (July 1934), pages 225-65.

here; we began to realize that they continued hating us."

While the Ku Klux Klan never actually sponsored a textbook (that at least was spared us), it had explicit and strong views on how American history should be taught: "When America became rich through commercial and industrial life . . . " we read in the "Educational Study for the Junior Citizen's Club of the Ku Klux Klan" (*Kourier Magazine,* January 1927), "it very naturally attracted to our shores a flood of immigration from the lands where poverty, tyranny, and ecclesiastical despotism hold sway. . . . This land of Liberty was to them a land of license. They were given the ballot almost before they got rid of the vermin they brought over in their steerage passage."

The role of sheer human ignorance, stupidity, and lethargy in promoting ethnic bias can hardly be overestimated. Textbook authors themselves are generally not scholars and are frequently unaware of the latest scholarly findings. It was as far back as 1909 that John Bates Clark, in his cogent introduction to the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society,* stated: "Americanizing goes on effectively when the economic conditions of this country are such as to ensure it. Conditions take precedence of racial qualities because the change in prevailing conditions is far greater than the changes of race. . . . It is an error to attribute the origin of the difficulty to the races represented by the immigrants or the conditions that prevail in the countries from which they come."

But many of the textbook writers of the following decades paid little or no attention to Clark, or to scholars of similar stature.

One can understand, then, how bias came to be "respectable" in America in the 1920's, and we know that its influence was spurred by depression and Hitler in the 30's. But in the 40's, after the war in which racist doctrines played such a crucial and disastrous role, one would expect a shift, especially in view of the striking change in broad public sentiment manifested among all classes of Americans in the postwar period. And one would certainly expect that in the larger metropolitan centers, like New York and Chicago, where a sizable part of the population is made up of later immigrants and their children, some concession might be made to their sensibilities—and to the truth.

By this time, too, such scholars in the field of immigration as Marcus L. Hansen, Carl Wittke, T. C. Blegen, Oscar Handlin, and G. M. Stephenson had demonstrated at length how primitive and uninformed the textbook writers were. The concept of the new immigrant as a purely "economic man" in contrast to the "idealism" of the older immigrants from the North and West of Europe was shattered by their findings, which pointed out that the economic factor has always been dominant in immigration, that the ebb and flow of the immigrant tide has always been considerably influenced by the trend of the American business cycle, that the Irish and German immigrants of the early 19th century were in their time also accused of being paupers, radicals, slum-dwellers, and of being difficult to Americanize, that the great mass of immigrants were not radical but conservative in outlook.

In order to obtain some idea of what the situation is today, this writer read through textbooks that have been approved for use in 1947 by the Board of Education of New York City for the day and evening high schools and vocational and trade schools of New York.

On the whole it must be said that the textbooks now in use in the New York schools are not quite so objectionable as those used countrywide a decade ago. Also these books devote less space to the subject of immigration in general than did the books published a decade or more ago—reflecting the fact that immigration, except in the past year or two, has not been a subject of vital public concern. However, the difference is of degree rather than of kind; by and large, this means only that the sharp edge of some of the more biting remarks has been removed. As far as the basic attitudes are concerned, there is no remarkable deviation from older patterns.

For example, James Truslow Adams and Charles G. Vannest, in *Record of America,* published in 1935 and used in schools in Brooklyn and the Bronx, reward immigrants from the North and West of Europe with the caption: "Our early immigrants come to find homes," while another caption goes on to say: "Our later immigrants come to find work." An unsuspecting outsider might be led to the belief that the "homes" first referred to were prefabricated.

Vannest and Adams believe that there are important "racial" differences between the people who came to the United States from the North and West of Europe and those who came

from the South and East of Europe. Is it only a quibble to demand today that textbooks use the term "race" correctly and in keeping with modern anthropological findings? No competent anthropologist would grant for a moment what the authors of this book would have high school students learn: that "in Europe the population of each nation is largely of one race." There is further confusion in the matter of race in Ralph Volney Harlow's *Story of America* (1943), where the author refers to the Italians, Hungarians, and Poles as "racial groups."

Louis Ray Wells's *Industrial History of the United States,* though published in 1922, is still on the list of books approved for classroom use by New York's Board of Education. It justifies the movement towards the restriction of immigration in the following terms: "We have now ceased to measure greatness by mere numbers, and have begun to examine into the qualifications of those who would seek our hospitality. There has dawned upon many a tardy recognition of the necessity of conserving our human resources with a view to the founding of a better and abler type of man." Not a superman, surely. . . .

Canfield and Wilder's *The United States in the Making* portrays the new immigrants as "willing to work long hours for low wages," and makes the further assertion that immigrants "who settled in cities tended to concentrate in wretched tenements and shanties, thus creating new slum areas." Finally, they quote Chauncey M. Depew as saying: "The ranks of anarchy and riot number no Americans. The [immigrant] leaders boldly claim they came here not to enjoy the blessings of liberty, but to destroy our government and cut our throats, and divide our property." Technically, of course, they are merely quoting "a point of view." One might expect, however, that they give some indication that the "point of view" is a rather wraped one.

It is easy to point an indignant finger at a board of education and a board of superintendents for permitting use of these texts. There is also the publisher's responsibility for the subject matter of the text, and the factor of the climate of opinion (or state of apathy) in the general community. But beyond this, however, there is the simple fact that well-meaning authors of textbooks (to give them the benefit of the doubt) seem to shed their professional competence when dealing with immigration. The writings of Turner on the frontier and Beard on the economic interpretation of history are, for some reason, more familiar to the man who writes a textbook than the no less significant findings of Marcus L. Hansen in the field of immigration. While this situation remains, the textbook writer will inevitably tend to substitute easy prejudice for the sober truth.

The social psychologist Otto Klineberg has written that to change group prejudices in children, "the only hope is to reach them early, and to give [them] habits of favourable reactions to other races which will stay with them through life." Our schools even today, by tolerating the kind of history and social science textbooks they do, seem to be doing just the opposite. It is less important to fix the blame for this situation than to work out ways of improving it. Certainly there is no excuse for complacency about this "mis-education by insult," whereby American children are systematically exposed to a racist evaluation of—in so many cases—their own parents and grandparents.

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MAN AND HIS PREJUDICES

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MUCH has been written about the threat of prejudice in undermining our democratic institutions. Specific instances can be cited in regard to the growth and magnitude of man's antipathy to man. It seems worth while, therefore, to analyze carefully the fundamental nature of these antipathies in order more sanely to comprehend these savage undercurrents in our daily lives and so attack the problem at its most vulnerable point.

The universality of men's aversion for one another is shocking in its implications. Negativism, once a problem relegated to the confines of early childhood, has become the order of the day among the adults of every nation. Group is pitted against group: the Protestant attacks the Catholic, the Catholic attacks the Jew, the Jew mistrusts the Gentile, the white persecutes the Negro, the Negro turns on his white enemy. Whatever the manifestation of these antagonisms—whether it be racial, ethnic, religious, or class—a common thread runs through the entire web of intergroup relations.

There are many general types of prejudices, but two loom largest on the horizon, dwarfing all others. The first of these is easily recognizable. It is the kind that expresses itself in overt forms of group opposition. It is the type of prejudice that keeps certain groups from living in designated areas of a city, bars them from schools, deprives them of voting privileges, and excludes them from hotels, clubs, theaters, and so on.

This sort of prejudice is vicious from the standpoint of democratic principles, but it is in a relative sense capable of being handled, since it expresses itself in tangible forms—usually in terms of ordinances and statutes. Given enough people who desire a change, the laws can be repealed. It would appear that there is an ever-growing number of people who are sincerely interested in effecting such a change.

Even if this overt form of prejudice does not express itself in law but in the form of a "gentlemen's agreement" to keep members of various minority groups from obtaining their rights of citizenship—in gaining admittance to hotels, schools, and stores—it is still concrete enough to allow for direct treatment. It involves specific persons who are *principally* responsible for this form of discrimination, and these, skillfully approached through influential community leaders who are truly desirous of mitigating the problem, can be made to modify their rulings.

Thus, by group action to change the law, or through the pressure of public opinion, some of these discriminatory practices may be obviated.

There is another type of prejudice, however, which is more basic and more insidious, difficult to rout from its hidden recesses, and almost impervious to any form of concrete action. It is subtle, covert, and noninstitutionalized. An illustration will serve to indicate the nature of this form of prejudice.

> I once boarded a city bus and chanced to sit next to two women, residents of a southern city. One lady was telling the other that she had just visited Mrs. R—— at the hospital.
>
> The other lady said, "Oh yes, I know who she is. She is your neighbor, isn't she?" "Yes," was the reply. "And she is a Catholic, isn't she?" "Yes," was the reply again. "And on the other side of you lives Mrs. S——, doesn't she? And I think she is a Catholic, too?"
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> "Yes, she is," the first lady replied. And then, with a sigh of resignation and suffering, she revealed her attitude by adding, "and you know what it feels like to be hemmed in by two Catholics."

No objective listener could deny that here at least was one prejudiced individual. It is true that this type of prejudice is unlike the first. The "hemmed-in" woman would probably not attempt to have instituted laws, ordinances, or even agreements that would keep her Catholic neighbor from visiting any hospital she might please. Their children probably play with one another; they may attend the same school. And one would not imagine that she would be ready to institute, or formally banish, the Catholic children from the neighborhood or theaters.

The revealed prejudice had not reached the form of outright discrimination, true. But prejudice was there. It was not formalized, but rather

it existed as a kind of folkway prejudice, a kind of "general feeling of againstness." It reflects the general folk atmosphere.

Although it is unlike the first type, sometimes, if not quite frequently, it may lead into the first type, given an economic or political crisis, when the general negativism might easily turn to outright discrimination, scapegoating, or persecution.

Nazi Germany has given us our best case in point. In the days of the Weimar Republic the Jews enjoyed legal freedom and political tolerance. Laws forbade educational, economic, and legal discrimination. Legal guarantees, however, were not safeguards against folk feeling. A preponderance of evidence exists to prove that many Germans continued to feel differently toward the Jew than they did toward the non-Jew. When a crisis situation arose and a skillful demagogue appeared on the scene who played on this submerged feeling of againstness, organized scapegoating and massacre were easily achieved. In other words, this type of folkway prejudice, which ordinarily appears merely silly, rude, unfair, unkind, or antidemocratic, holds within it a submerged threat for the future as well as unpleasantness—or worse—for the present.

Interestingly enough, it is the nature of folkway prejudice to be almost universal. Members of primitive tribes manifest a general feeling of againstness toward the "outsiders," those who are not members of their own group. The Caribs believe that they "alone are people." The Lapps call themselves "human beings," implying that non-Lapps are not. Literally translated, Kiowa is "real, or principal, people." The Greenland Eskimo believes that Europeans have been sent to Greenland to learn virtue and good manners from him. The highest form of praise that the Eskimo can extend to a European is that he is, or soon will be, as good as a Greenlander.

This feeling of superiority that people feel toward their own way of life and their own group is not limited to the primitives. The ancient Greeks referred to the non-Greeks as barbarians. It is of course true that the Greek word *barbaros* did not have the identical meaning that our own word "barbarian" has, but it definitely attributed strangeness, rudeness, and inferiority to the non-Greeks.

Nor is this feeling of superiority, or "ethnocentrism," the term coined by Graham Sumner, limited to ancient peoples. To the query "Who was the first man?" a youthful patriot answered "Washington." "No," said the teacher, "the first man was Adam." "Oh, I suppose he was," conceded this small isolationist, "if you are going to include foreigners." Among Western "civilized" peoples we hear the constant use of such terms as "chocolate drop," "du-donk," "nigger," "Dutchy," "flip," "greaser," "dogs," "wop," "kike," "coon," "chee-chee," and others too distasteful to record.

Commenting on the story of Jesus, the Jew, told to a Sunday-School class of ten-year-olds, a pupil declared that she had never known that Jesus was a Jew. After further elucidation by the teacher, this youngster declared that she had always known "that God was a Presbyterian, but not that Jesus was a Jew."

Thus it goes, from one end of the world to the other, even filtering down to the jingles of children at play. A Dutch nursery rhyme tells us that:

The children in Holland take pleasure in making
What the children in England take pleasure in breaking.

This strongly rooted attachment to one's own way of life and one's own people has been observed through the ages by poet and scientist, the widely traveled diplomat and the secluded scholar. As Oliver Wendell Holmes so aptly remarked, "The people in every town feel that the axis of the earth passes through its Main Street."

I

It is this very group consciousness, or ethnocentrism, which lays the foundation of group prejudice. If there were no strong feeling for one's own group, there would not be strong consciousness of other groups. An awareness of one's own group as an in-group and of the others as out-groups is fundamental in group relationships. Group tensions are manifested by a sense of distrust or dislike, not to an individual as such, but to an individual as a symbol of an out-group. It does not always follow that a consciousness of one's own group leads to distrust and disharmony with all other groups. The friendly rivalry that exists between athletic teams, or the competition between rival garden clubs, for instance, points to the fact that not all group relations give rise to group tensions.

There appears to be present in all types of group prejudice some degree, whether real or imagined, of struggle or threat. So much of group prejudice, however, is linked up with imagined threat rather than real that a challenge is offered in attempting to understand it. The very universality of group antagonism has led many laymen to accept the inherent, innate, organic nature of these prejudices. So strong was this belief that up to thirty-five years ago it was a valid fact to the psychologists. Psychologically speaking, it was regarded as but one more instinct, along with mother love, pug-

nacity, curiosity, gregariousness, self-preservation, and fear, to name but a few.

The doctrine of the instinctivists has been pretty well discarded in the light of further and keener psychological research. No longer can the student of human nature accept the thesis that any human attitudes are inborn. No aspect of man's human social nature is inborn. His wishes, his beliefs, his knowledge, and his values all come as a result of his association with other men. They are developmental, not congenital. Attitudes are nurtured, not natured. Prejudice is fostered, not fathered.

We inherit biological traits such as the shape of the skull, the color of eyes and hair, the potentialities of tallness, all of which are carried through the germ plasm. Prejudices—indeed all our attitudes, habits, and emotions—are not carried in the germ plasm. They are developed by the culture that surrounds us: in early years, chiefly through the family groups; in later years, through other institutions—the church, the school, business.

The first few years are the most impressionable ones of our lives. The young child learns primarily from his parents. Children repeat what they find about them rather than invent their own forms of behavior. Thus the child acquires early in life those collective, specific attitudes of prejudice that exist in the family. These tend to remain with him and are often deep-rooted and unconscious.

When these prejudices in the family become further re-enforced by the community, society in general, and later associates, it is easy to see how ingrained and well established one's prejudices can become. And the tendency for prejudices to persist thus becomes comprehensible. For those with prejudices give them to those without them and, once acquired, they become further indelibly stamped. It becomes apparent, too, why it is that for generation after generation prejudices toward certain groups and persons are perpetuated.

This tendency toward perpetuation of group prejudices becomes understandable if we are aware that it is the nature of these prejudices, as well as of most attitudes, to be emotionally loaded. Prejudice consists of a pre-existing emotional tendency to act negatively toward a particular group, idea, or value. The very nature of prejudice presupposes feelings about things. Usually this emotional core is primary in these prejudice tendencies. Often reason supplies the rationalizations for existing prejudices. Emotions lead; reason apologizes and defends the prejudice.

Because attitudes of prejudice are full of emotion, it becomes clear not only why they persist, but also why it is difficult to be emancipated from them. Many instances exist that show how difficult it is to overcome prejudices, even though one is aware of the lack of basis in fact for his prejudice. For example, an intelligent and educated woman in the late fifties, who was born in the South, told the writer that although she was aware that the antiquated notions about the innate inferiority of the Negro are false rationalizations—that shape of nose, texture of hair, and pigmentation of the skin have nothing to do with mental ability, human morals, and interpersonal etiquette—she just could not help herself. By this she meant that given the stimulus, "Negro," she gets an emotional negative reaction, which is not reasonable or planned but nevertheless manifested and real. Her prejudice toward the Negro is an emotionalized phenomenon which appears automatically as a result of the previously established attitude toward the Negro. Usually the attitude is developed quite early in life. It often persists in spite of enlightenment and knowledge. People may "know better" but still are prejudiced.

Before we suggest what can be done about these emotionalized prejudices toward specific groups, a further word must be said about another type of attitude that man is capable of developing. We have spoken about specific prejudices, specific attitudes— attitudes toward Negroes, the next-door neighbor, the child on the other side of the tracks. These are specific attitudes directed toward specific objects. But there is another set of attitudes that tends to govern man's behavior and often determines the type of specific attitudes he will develop. A person has an attitude toward a particular individual, and he also has an attitude toward people in general. Besides having an attitude toward a particular member of the opposite sex, one has an attitude toward members of the opposite sex as a group, or toward sex in general.

Sometimes one's attitude toward a particular individual may be the same as the more generalized one. Very often it is not. One may be sincerely fond of, and favorably disposed toward, a particular Negro and still possess race prejudice and be anti-Negro. A person may be in love with a particular member of the opposite sex, but may have prejudicial attitudes toward members of the opposite sex as a group. He may elevate the particular member on a pedestal of social superiority, act obsequiously to her, sincerely feel inferior. Still, if he be an employer, he may be prone not to hire women. He could think and believe that a woman's place is in the home, that this is, and should be, "a man's world."

We can generalize these attitudes even further. Besides having a certain attitude toward a par-

ticular individual or a group, one also develops attitudes toward people in general; or even toward life in general. What do we mean when we say a person is not sociable? Or that he is an introvert? Or a cynic? We do not mean that he portrays an attitude toward a particular individual or group, but that he has a *general* tendency to act in a particular way toward all people and all groups. A cynic is not one who distrusts an individual as much as one who distrusts all people. The same holds true for an introvert. He is not so much one who "turns inwardly" in particular situations as he is one who practices introversion in most of life's situations. A "prejudiced individual" is one who is generally prejudiced. He may manifest his prejudices toward particulars only; on the other hand, one who is generally prejudiced will act in a prejudiced manner in many of, if not in all, life's social situations.

General attitudes therefore exist and are real, too. How else are we to understand the frequency with which prejudices often come in clusters? An individual who is *anti* a particular group is also anti-group B, C, D, and so on. We find that a tolerant person is not one who limits his tolerance to particulars. Rather, his tolerance usually pervades most of his relationships and experiences. General attitudes are chronic attitudes. The more numerous the situations that arouse a particular mode of behavior, the more general and basic the attitude behind the behavior. One who dislikes Negroes, Jews, Catholics, and children has a tendency to dislike people in general. One who dislikes people is a hostile being. And a hostile person possesses a basic general predisposition of prejudice. How his hostility will express itself depends on the definitions of his society and group. If a community is anti-Catholic, this hostile person will be prejudiced (overtly) toward the Catholic. If the community is anti-Negro, a basic attitude of hostility will arraign him against the Negro. People are what their dominant basic general attitudes are, and people do what the community dictates.

II

Specific attitudes are formed all through life, but basic general attitudes develop quite early in life and are mainly motivated by the family and other primary intimate face-to-face groups, such as the child's play group and the neighborhood. Unlike the specific attitudes, they are less capable of change and alteration, once formed. As long as an attitude is localized, it is capable of change, given a new experience. A person may change his attitude toward a particular individual when he "finds out more about him." A hostile person is not hostile because of a particular experience, but rather because of the fusion of many experiences in early life, until his tendency toward hostility becomes dominant. He has a general tendency to interpret all situations in a hostile manner, and his basic general attitude is not limited to particular objects.

Here again we are faced with an extremely difficult problem if we desire to effect a change, primarily because these attitudes are quite fully developed during the first years of life and, second, because they, too, are emotionally charged. In what other wise can we understand the high incidence of recidivism among criminals and juvenile delinquents? Although antisocial criminal behavior is not inborn, unless powerful reformistic programs are undertaken in our corrective institutions—and even then—one with a criminal bent tends to remain that way. It has often been shown that juvenile experts have ceased trying to alter the basic general attitudes of the bully. Once this aggression-domination tendency develops in an individual, it appears exceedingly difficult to reduce its degree. Without question, it appears even more dubious that a dominating, aggressive individual can ever change fundamentally into a nonaggressive, submissive type. In fact, juvenile experts do not seek basic attitudinal changes. Rather, they seek to constitutionalize the bully. Instead of allowing his bullying to express itself in the unsupervised street-corner gangs, the juvenile gang leader is made president of a club, or the captain of a baseball team. His aggressive tendencies still prevail, but now they are channelized into more acceptable social behavior.

If society could find a way of channelizing the hostile prejudicial tendencies of some people by furnishing outlets for their basic attitudinal drives, we might avoid the group tensions and group antagonisms that have not, of course, a place in democratic societies. If the bigot could be given the opportunity to fulminate his hatred against war, poverty, and disease—against objects of societal disapproval—the villain might even become a hero in the eyes of society. This is a task for education. Education of construction, that is—not education to reform the basic personality, but to open areas and outlets of satisfaction for already developed basic attitudes.

A more important task for education, of course—and specifically for the family as an educational unit—consists in integrating and normalizing the personality while it is being formed, in supplying the child with primary attitudes of tolerance rather than prejudice, with security, sympathy, and the

other human virtues of love, pity, concern, and sociability. This task for the family is the greatest challenge. It is easier to form attitudes *ab origine* than to change them *post maturus*. Baldur von Schirach, the leader of the Hitler youth movement, made an interesting and significant comment when he told an Army psychiatrist at the Nuremberg prison that he believed German children under ten could be directed toward democracy as they were toward Nazism, but that those older than twelve could be considered absolutely lost to democracy. He believed that just as Hitler "pulled young people away from their non-Nazi parents, so American authorities must remove today's children from their Nazi-poisoned parents."

Nazism was a general way of life in addition to the specific modes of reaction to particular objects. Nazis possessed basic general traits of social hostility to the outside world, group conceit (extreme ethnocentrism), personal and group aggressiveness, personal and group paranoia, group militance, and a tendency to blame others for their own and the world's ills.

Where do these general tendencies arise so early in life if not in the family? Studies of the development of basic general attitudes suggest that they are not a consequence of immanent mental development, but have their origin in the parents. Toward adolescence, children lose awareness of these origins and often devise rationalizations to support them. A young child, finding that his mother is not on speaking terms with her neighbor, refrains from associating with the neighbor's children. He will often accuse them with words repetitive of his mother's condemnatory remarks. And so he will take over his mother's attitudes toward other people and objects. If the mother portrays a general hostile attitude toward the outside world, her overt acts and expressions gradually fuse in the mind of the child until the imitation of his mother's specific negative habits of behavior becomes a general tendency to behave in a hostile manner. The many acts have become a basic predisposition which is fundamentally the same as the mother's predisposition. As the child matures, this basic dominant trait will force and compel specific behavior in specific situations. In extreme cases he will even offend those particular individuals he sincerely loves. A general tendency to behave colors the specific act itself. Man does not evaluate every stimulus that confronts him; rather, the stimulus becomes for him what he makes of it. And he makes of it what his dominant basic attitudes are. "Children," says George Brock Chisholm, Director General of the World Health Organization, "must be taught to live harmoniously together or mankind will follow the dinosaur into oblivion."

In order for children to develop the "correct" attitudes parents must be made aware of their inherent prejudices. How can this be done? Some self-analysis becomes necessary. It should be pointed out to adults—and here the task for adult education becomes most significant—that persons coming from particular strata and segments in society tend to possess the interests and biases characteristic of that segment. Only the few are the exceptions. A white, urban, Protestant, wealthy, middled-aged, Northern male will not possess the same tendencies to act toward given values, groups, individuals—will not have the same interests, attitudes, and predispositions—as a colored, rural, Catholic, young, poor, Southern tenant farmer. Can these two possibly feel the same toward the question of social security, toward equal educational opportunity for all groups, toward taxation, and an endless variety of other social issues? Residence in particular segments of society bring pre-existent reaction patterns.

White persons must be on their guard to avoid slips of the tongue about Negros—especially in front of children. Protestants can exert special effort in not expressing or showing through divers manners their dislikes of Catholics or Jews—again, especially in the presence of their children. On the other hand, the adults comprising minority groups can minimize their feelings and attitudes of insecurity, withdrawal, resignation, and unnatural aggression by becoming aware of these tendencies.

Only in this way can we break into the perpetual cycle of those who have prejudices passing them on to those who have not, thus making an endless chain of hatred and antagonism among men. Adults can and should be made conscious of their predispositions so that their children need not duplicate their parents in this regard. If the adult avoids specific acts and expressions of prejudice, no groups will consequently become defined in the mind of the child as objects of antagonism. If no groups are thus ill-defined, the child will obtain nothing to integrate into a *general* attitude of prejudice.

People often ask whether there are not any *good prejudices,* such as prejudices against war, crime, and poverty. Prejudice means prejudgment. If one's beliefs and ideas result from prejudgments it is difficult to see that an attitude for or against any object, group, or value can be condoned. Absence of reason is a poor excuse for any judgment, even if it happens to further the good society. The good society can be and should be reasonable. It surely cannot succeed through capriciousness.

Prejudice

August 1953

Reader's Digest

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Prejudice Is Losing Out in San Francisco

By

John Gerrity

Here's a city that finds it pays to be color-blind

Prejudice Is Losing Out in San Francisco

Condensed from Collier's

John Gerrity

In San Francisco not long ago members of a Negro church, planning a tea for Negro school teachers, called on the associate superintendent of schools. Could he give them the names of Negro teachers?

"I'm afraid I can't," he replied. "I don't know who or where they are. However, I will give you the addresses of the schools and you can make a canvass."

The incident is not unusual in San Francisco, which has made astonishing progress in a scant six years toward equal treatment for minority groups. In the public schools whites are teaching Negroes, Negroes are teaching whites, Orientals are teaching both. In big stores like Macy's, The Emporium or Joseph Magnin's, Chinese clerks are shopping counselors to Nob Hill residents; Negroes and Orientals manage full departments, supervising as many as 25 white clerks; Japanese head sales-research sections; Filipinos are floorwalkers. Major hotels, like the Mark Hopkins and the Fairmont, are open to any reputable guest who can pay his bill.

This is not to say that instances of discrimination do not arise, or that San Francisco has never been cursed with racial animosities. Indeed, San Francisco might not have done so well with its racial problem if the problem had not been so bad to begin with.

At the end of World War II San Francisco found itself with the largest Chinese and Japanese settlements of any city outside the Orient, the third largest Mexican and Filipino populations on the West Coast, and a Negro population that had increased tenfold in six years, from 5000 to more than 50,000. Altogether, almost 125,000 members of racial-minority groups had chosen to live in this city of 750,000. It was a potentially explosive situation.

Civic leaders, industrialists, merchants, schoolteachers and social-service organizations went to work

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to end discriminatory practices. Their formula: "Discrimination is bad business and equality is profitable."

Seaton Manning and Donald Glover of the Urban League approached the city's top department stores. "We don't want you to hire Negroes or Chinese or Japanese because they are victims of prejudice," they said. "These people are your customers. We think they'll become *better* customers if you recognize their ability to sell as well as to buy."

Manning and Glover met all the standard replies: patrons might object, old employes would quit, separate rest rooms might have to be set up. But The Emporium hired its first Negro, and no customer complained, no employe quit. Next, a Filipino was placed in the store's haberdashery. Nothing happened. Two nonwhite women were hired for the hosiery department. None of the other women clerks was outraged — and hosiery sales kept up. Three months later The Emporium employment interviewers were told to make themselves color-blind or find jobs elsewhere.

Macy's also started hiring nonwhites, and neither employes nor customers showed any signs of being offended. Last Christmas Macy's sales were 20 percent higher than ever before, and one harried store official remarked: "Thank Heaven for the Japanese, Chinese and Negro students who worked as part-time clerks. Without them there would have been a lot of unhappy customers."

Today scores of stores, as well as insurance companies, automobile agencies, the privately owned gas and electric company and the telephone company have put hiring and promotions strictly on a merit and ability basis.

When word reached the president of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co. that a young Negro telephone operator's co-workers were snubbing her and making life almost unbearable, the president escorted the young lady to work one day and gave her and her sister operators a brief lecture on telephone-company economics.

"One out of every six calls handled in this exchange," he said, "is made by a Negro, a Filipino or a Chinese. If we lose that sixth call here, or anywhere else in the city, we stand to lose our jobs. At the very least, we will get (and deserve) a one-sixth pay cut. I'll leave it up to you ladies how you want to run your company." The once-snubbed young lady is now a supervising operator.

It was a long time before nonwhites were able to get skilled construction jobs where union labor was employed. But it was done. Leaders of the AFL building-trades union first admitted a few pilot craftsmen. No riots developed and contractors didn't seem to mind. Today there are nearly 4000 skilled nonwhite journeymen working shoulder to shoulder with whites, and a com-

parable increase has occurred among unskilled workers.

In 1947 San Francisco's school board hired a new superintendent, Herbert C. Clish. Clish insisted on having a free hand in hiring teachers, with professional competence the only requirement. A number of people winked indulgently. "Just the thing for an incoming school superintendent to say. Good public relations." But a few weeks after Clish took over, a vacancy in a principalship arose and Clish named Dr. William Cobb, a Negro, as the man best qualified for the job.

Every public swimming pool and playground in San Francisco is now nonsegregated. And this city was the first in the nation specifically to rule out segregation in urban redevelopment programs. Edward Howden of the city's Council for Civic Unity keeps watch, ready to howl if he spots a housing abuse — on free radio time the Columbia Broadcasting System gives him.

Four labor unions still exclude nonwhites. But these and a few diehards among the city's employers are fighting a losing battle. Most San Franciscans have decided it is more prudent to put plain, hard-headed business sense to work.

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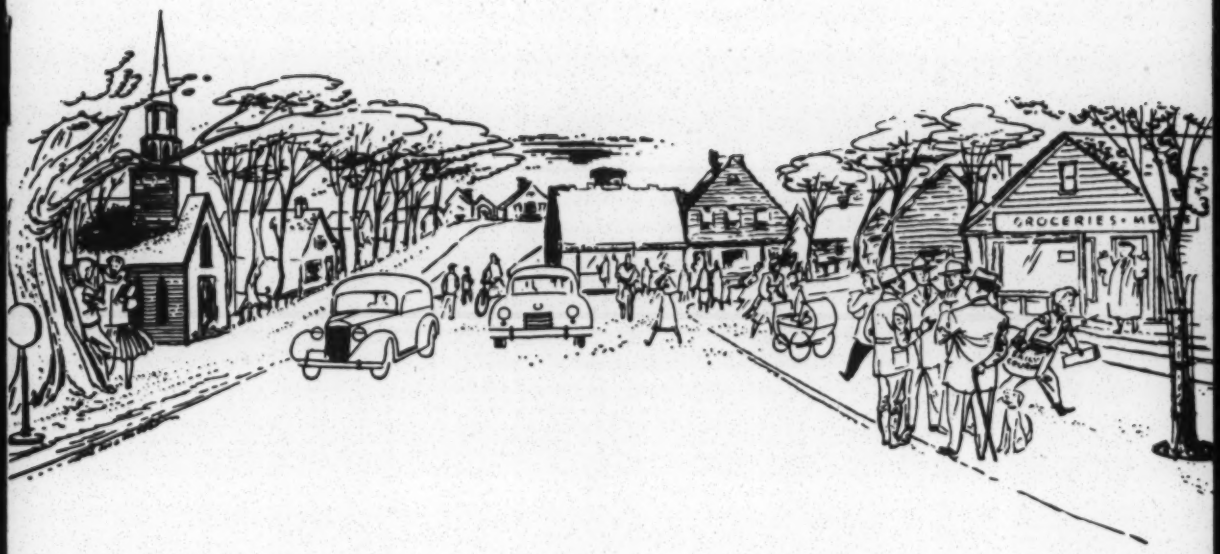
28. Prejudice, Racial & Rel



The Gentle People of Prejudice

H. A. OVERSTREET

About the author

THE AUTHOR: In a world of rampant specialization, Harry Allen Overstreet shines as an inspiring example of one who has succeeded in living out the life of the whole man. A far cry from the proverbial academic and theorizing prototype usually associated with the name, this philosopher not only has a continuing curiosity toward all facets of life, but constantly searches for the interrelationships which synthesize seemingly autonomous realms of knowledge. After winning his academic spurs from the University of California and Oxford at the turn of the century, Overstreet settled down to a ten-year stint teaching philosophy on the California campus. One year his students were astonished to discover that Professor Overstreet had joined the working class; in order to gather first-hand evidence of what life was like in an industrial economy, he spent a year making rubber shoes for the U. S. Rubber Company, polishing bearings in a machine shop, and sewing sacks for the Hawaiian Sugar Company. In 1911 the College of the City of New York beckoned, and there for many years he was head of the philosophy department. Since 1939 Professor Overstreet has devoted himself wholly to lecturing and writing ("Let Me Think," 1939, and "Our Free Minds," 1941). It is in this way, he feels, that he can best accomplish his life's purpose, which is to awaken adults to the need for continuing their own education and furthering their intellectual and emotional maturity. "Adulthood," he believes, "is the time for putting into effect a wisdom about life that childhood and youth are unable as yet even to possess." Too few adults take advantage of this opportunity, with results which are often tragic and sometimes alarming. "The most dangerous members of our society," he contends, "are those grown-ups whose powers of influence are adult, but whose motives and responses are infantile." Yet Overstreet is no apostle of doom; indeed, he radiates confidence in mankind. As one of his friends once observed, "To know Harry Overstreet is to know what a better world should be like."

DOROTHY BARUCH, in "The Glass House of Prejudice," tells the story of José Morales, a Mexican war worker in the Los Angeles area. José was proud of his war job. He had written his brother, who taught in the University of Mexico, that at last he had work in which he could use his knowledge and skill. One day, after finishing his shift, José took the bus home. When he got off at his street corner he saw some men standing waiting. "They were strangers to him. He had never seen them before, nor they him. . . . But they looked hard at him, and they saw under the light of the street lamp that he was slim and dark. . . .

"One of them cried, 'Dirty Mexican!' And then they were on him. They tore off his clothes. They beat him with chains and iron pipes. They left him naked and bleeding. His back was broken.

"The next morning he died."

A story like this leaves one bewildered. How could human beings do so cowardly a deed? They had never seen the man before. They did not know what kind of person he was. But to them, apparently, he was some form of evil. And that was enough. They killed him.

It does not answer the question to call them hoodlums. In a railway station, a ticket agent deliberately keeps the Negroes waiting until the last minute of train time while he first serves the whites and then sits at his desk chatting leisurely with a pal. He intends to be infuriating. He sees the Negroes at the ticket window, and he enjoys keeping them waiting. He knows they are bitter and relishes their bitterness. He feels big. He is a white man. "Let the damn niggers wait!"

A woman with rooms to rent slams the door in the face of an inquiring couple. "I don't take any Jews here!" She knows her words are an insult. She intends them to be. She feels important, righteous.

The terrifying thing about the cruelty of prejudice is that it justifies itself to itself. It was that way with Hitler's Nazis. To strike down an inoffensive old man, kick him, defile him; that was good, right, beautiful. It was what any well-disciplined Nazi ought to do. It was expected.

How do people get that way?

"Easy," said the poet, "is the descent to Avernus." The first slippery step down is the assumption of an unearned right.

The white man can eat where he pleases, live where he pleases, dance where he pleases, enter the occupation he pleases. He takes that right as his —an absolute one unrelated to his own merit or demerit. He does not need to give a thought to the fact that dark-skinned people do not have these rights, nor to the fact that they are denied them not because they are worse people but because they do not belong to the dominant group. They may even be better people—more intelligent, more reliable, more gracious and pleasant to have around. But the white man would be vastly surprised if someone were to say to him: "You cannot have those privileges of yours without earning them. It is on the record that you are an untrustworthy man; you are foul-mouthed and you beat your wife. You'll have to be put in a Jim Crow car."

JUSTICE is a relation between what an individual does and the rewards or punishments he receives. A culture begins to slip morally when it grants special privileges or denies them on grounds that have nothing to do with individual desert. An employer who gave higher pay to an incompetent official of the company merely because the two of them bowled to-

gether or hailed from the same town would be an unjust employer. Justice plays no favorites. The basic moral law requires that as a man is and does so shall he be judged.

Once the dubious principle is accepted that group privileges need have no relation to individual merit, the descent into immoralism is easy. The Nazis made that descent, with a cruel arrogance unmatched in history. No Nazi needed to give the slightest thought to the individual Jews he was herding into the freight car. They might be the noblest persons in the world or the most scoundrelly. So far as he was concerned, all human distinctions among them had vanished. "In the night," wrote Hegel, "all cows are gray." In the night of race prejudice all persons in the despised group are alike. When that happens there is no more morality.

Happily, not everyone who is afflicted with race prejudice goes as far down as did the Nazis. Most people who are prejudiced merely take this first slippery step down: as members of the privileged race they assume the right to have and to hold their special privileges irrespective of their own merit, and they deny these rights to others with a like disregard of individual worth. This may not seem a dangerous downward step to take since so many otherwise respectable people do take it. But note what it involves. Everyone who accepts for himself the special privileges that go with denying them to people of a subordinated race makes possible all the cruelties that arise out of such unjust discrimination.

THUS, for others less kindly disposed than himself, he makes possible the next downward step: scapegoating. A basic requirement of the moral life is to make sure that the person blamed is the person who merits the blame. Here again the Nazis were flagrant offenders. "It was the Jews who did it." That applied to all situations where the Germans, individually or collectively, had suffered frustration. Half-starved after World War I, unemployed, dispirited, ignorant of the reasons for their plight, bedazed by a mystic sense of their own greatness, Germans did not take the sturdy course of seeking out the real causes of their defeat and distress. Had they done so they might have found many causes within themselves. But it takes moral maturity to declare oneself in the wrong. The morally immature person finds it easier to put the blame on someone else. Children do this. "It was Johnny spilled the ink; he joggled my elbow."

Scapegoating is dangerous because it leads easily to violent acts. Where society condemns a certain group as inferior and rightless, it provides an area of permitted insult and cruelty. The man who has lost a business contract cannot go out and kick a white passerby; he might get kicked back. But in certain parts of America he can punch a Negro and call him a black bastard. The Negro has no right to hit back or even to answer back. So, in like manner, the poor white can take out his poverty-frustration on his more well-to-do Negro neighbor by joining with the night riders to burn the Negro's barn. The California "vigilante," burdened with his mortgage and his envy, can empty his revolver through the windows of the returned Nisei farmer. Scapegoating is a way of releasing our own hurt feelings onto someone else.

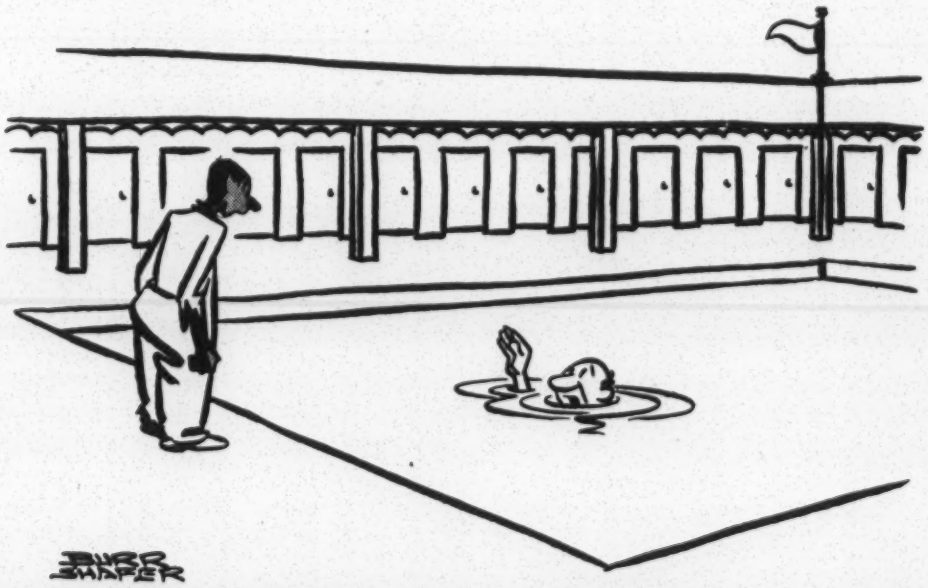
After scapegoating, the next step down is not difficult: justifying one's acts by lies. The Protocols of Zion were deliberately forged to prove the case against the Jews. To the Jew-hater, however, this was not dishonesty in the ordinary sense of the word; it was

"pious dishonesty." You *had* to make the people hate the Jews; so the end justified the means. But wherever evil means are used, no matter what the ends, they become a moral infection. The story of race prejudice is one long, sordid tale of the use of lies to support a hate.

THE prevailing stereotypes about the Negro—that he is by nature shiftless, lazy, mentally inferior, lawless, sexually unsafe to have around—have no basis in truth whatsover. The best that can be said against those who continue, in the face of disproof, to use these stereotypes is that they are self-deceived or ignorant or duped; the worst is that they are deliberate perverters of the truth.

Finally, the last slippery step down —and here again the Nazis provided us with the most shocking examples. This last step down is to make self-importance out of cruelty. It is bad enough for a person to be unjust, to take privileges for himself and deny them to others without regard to individual merit, to put blame on others when the blame rests elsewhere, and to justify all this by lies. But complete moral disintegration comes when to all this is added a glorying in cruelty and a sense of greatness achieved by inflicting it. The most nauseating parts of the testimony of the war criminals was their repeatedly expressed pride in what they had done. Low as men may fall, moral sensitivity remains as long as shame remains, but when, instead of shame, there is a glorying in foul deeds, the creature is no longer moral.

IT IS the willingness to hurt and be happy in the hurting that is the deepest condemnation of certain forms of race prejudice. The men who broke the back of José Morales and gloated in doing it were at the beast stage of



THROUGH HISTORY WITH J. WESLEY SMITH

"I'd *like* to save you, Mister Smith, but I ain't allowed to swim in this pool."

life. But one does not have to break a man's back to achieve moral degradation. The ticket seller who enjoyed being cruel and made importance out of it for his own ego was himself already well on the way.

All of this will seem to have nothing to do with ordinary, kindly people who happen to have a streak of the anti-Jew or anti-Negro—or anti-Japanese feeling in them. Such people would never for a moment descend so far as to do cruel things for the fun and the glory of it. Happily, these people are a majority even among the prejudiced. Why worry then? A little prejudice now and then might well be allowed the best of men.

Is the matter as unimportant as that? It might seem to be harmless enough for a man to say: "Well, I don't like Jews, that's all, and I surely have the right to choose the people I want to associate with, haven't I?" The answer to that, of course, is yes. The right to choose the people with whom we wish to associate is undeniable. But if we choose (and exclude) on a principle which, when magnified, makes not only for injustice but for inevitable cruelty, then we are helping to create an evil, and, as willing creators of an evil, we have evil in us.

When I say that I have a right to choose the people I want to associate with, I make a true judgment if I imply that I make my choice in terms of the qualities of those I choose. But when I say that I don't want to associate with Jews, I actually imply something quite different. I imply that I don't even stop to consider them as individuals. I shut my eyes and say: "The whole bunch is not for me!"

Magnify this: let every individual say to himself: "I choose my associates by first excluding a whole group of people whom I don't know and don't intend to know," and a cultural pattern is created that is fraught with the profoundest evil.

This is what ordinary, kindly people, with their seemingly harmless streak of racial prejudice, do: they permit the immoral principle *of condemning people in the mass* to take root in society. Once that principle takes root, other things inevitably follow. It becomes then a permitted thing to look down upon certain groups of people. When this permitted way of looking down becomes an established habit, the consequent habit follows: of regarding these despised people as permitted objects of insult and humiliation. Then the next thing follows: these people—because they are in effect rightless—provide an outlet for pent-up hostilities. They become whipping boys for those members of the dominant group who need to project their frustrations upon others. When society makes an area where hostilities can freely be vented on others it provides for its own moral disintegration.

He who permits evil commits evil. This is what makes for the haunting sense of guilt in our culture. Many a member of the dominant group will earnestly aver that *he* never intended it that Negroes should be insulted and maltreated on buses, in railroad stations, and on public streets; that *he* never intended it that Mexican-Americans should be brutally beaten up; that *his* heart is sore and ashamed when he reads of the defiling of Jewish synagogues by hoodlums. He did not intend these things. *But he created the social sanction for these things.* By adopting a twisted principle of human association he and the people like him opened the Pandora's box out of which have flown the intolerances and cruelties that have defiled our culture.

There is a deep wisdom in the negative clause of the confession: "We have left undone those things which we

ought to have done." The moral sickness that is in most prejudiced people of the dominant group is that they have learned to stand by and do nothing. They do not go to lynchings, but they do nothing to create a condition of human dignity that would make lynchings impossible. The reason why they do not create such a condition of human dignity is that in their heart of hearts they do not believe in the equal right of all human beings to human dignity. Deep and seemingly ineradicable in them is this twisted view of their fellow men. This is the intellectual and moral sickness in them. Out of this sickness comes their effortlessness, and out of their effortlessness come the revolting cruelties of our culture.

WE have become familiar through psychiatry with one peculiar pattern of inertia: the inertia that comes from two conflicting and compulsive drives which, because they are conflicting, make it impossible for the individual to do anything. The irresistible force meets the immovable body within a human mind that cannot seem to throw the weight of decision on one side or the other. Out of such inability to resolve a conflict comes one pattern of neurosis: neurotic inertia. If we look long enough at this pattern it may afford us a peculiar insight into the kind of social inertia we have just mentioned. This type of inertia cannot technically be called a neurosis, but, existent in multitudes of citizens, it pulls down the standard of their common behavior and makes for an increasing obtuseness toward moral values. Caught between ideals that they cannot give up and habits and practices that are equally entrenched, they develop a protective unresponsiveness to events within their society that should properly fill them with horror and induce action. But they do not know how to act nor what price they might have to pay for action. Hence they cannot feel an appropriate responsibility for action. Consciously or subconsciously, the sense of responsibility is dimmed out in them. The power to feel is blurred. The issue is befogged by rationalization. The more often this inertia-response is made, the more satisfactorily, in short-range terms, it reduces the conscious unhappiness and guilt of the person who makes it, and the easier it is to make it on the next similar occasion. So the guilt feeling is diminished on the surface, but the guilt remains and works its corruption at a deeper level of consciousness.

Thus it is the mild and gentle people of prejudice, with their compulsive effortlessness, who must bear the burden of the moral guilt. They have given the green light, and the legion of low hostilities has broken through on the run.

"The corruption of the best is the worst of corruptions." It is the college president who earnestly justifies the quota system who is inwardly corrupt, because, supposedly enlisted in the age-long struggle for human dignity (the Great Tradition), he rationalizes himself out of the struggle when it goes counter to the local mores and the prejudices of his board. It is the minister of the church who timidly suggests that Negroes go elsewhere who is inwardly corrupt, because he denies the Master he asks people to serve. It is the respectable people who would not dream of letting a Negro enter by the front door who are inwardly corrupt because they are willing to insult without even knowing that they insult.

What prejudice does to the prejudiced is, in subtler or in grosser ways,

to work this inner corruption. This is the image we need to build of the people who claim white supremacy and Christian superiority. They are intellectually and morally sick people. What is worse, they are sick people who try to make their own sickness the measure of their society's health.

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PREJUDICE

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DIFFERENCES CAN ENRICH OUR LIVES

Helping Children Prepare for Cultural Diversity

BY ANN G. WOLFE

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLET No. 399

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS IN AREAS OF RACE RELATIONS:

AN EXPLORATION

Submitted to the Southern Regional Council as a resource project by Daniel H. Pollitt, associate professor of law, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The Federal Government has an important role in the struggle for a more democratic America. It is the country's largest employer. It is the country's largest consumer. It is the country's largest purchaser. More importantly, the Federal Government, and its Chief Executive, the President, can provide leadership, precept and example.

"When Andrew Jackson was President Nullification reared its head. Old Hickory was quick to react. He told a South Carolina Congressman 'You may tell the Nullificationists for me that if they spill a drop of blood, I will hang the first one I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find.' Senator Hayne from South Carolina expressed some doubt that Jackson would go that far. 'I tell you, Hayne,' the congressman replied, 'when Jackson talks about hanging you can look out for rope.'" /33

President Theodore Roosevelt entertained Booker T. Washington in the White House during a racial crisis in Atlanta. Governor Hodges of North Carolina showed President Toure of Guinea warm and generous personal hospitality during a recent tour. Both are examples of executive action, personal in nature, which had profound effect.

"No president has a right to be above a national moral battle. His personal prestige and weight must be thrown into the scale. Lesser men take heart from his example. Courage travel by osmosis." /34

Perhaps "you can't legislate morality." Perhaps prejudice can't be eliminated from the hearts of man by signing a new document. But actions can be legislated, and behavioral patterns influence thought. This has been demonstrated time and again. In the Spring of 1960 it was almost universally assumed that the white Southerner would never break bread with a Negro at the food counters of the dime stores.[35] Yet integrated food service is now a fact which passes without comment in many Southern communities. It was a widely accepted doctrine that the Southern white youth would desert the Army rather than accept orders from a Negro non-commissioned-officer. The fact is that morale in integrated units is equal if not superior to morale in all-white units; and Southern youths who have served in integrated military units cannot appreciate the intensity with which their elders join the White Citizens Councils and other segregationist organizations.[36] No one would have imagined Mississippi voting funds to finance the erection of a thoroughly integrated Veterans Administration Hospital, but this is what happened when the VA threatened to build in Memphis, Tennessee.[37] Dr. Harold I. Lief, associate professor of psychiatry at Tulane University and a serious student of racial prejudice, reports that one of the most striking psychological facts demonstrated by school desegregation is that changes in behavior are in many places preceding changes in attitude. "This is the exact opposite of the old idea that one must change attitudes--perhaps through education --before one can hope to change behavior patterns, and it explains the many attitude changes to be found among teachers, school administrators, and parents who have accepted desegregation against their will only to become advocates of it in the process."[38]

The Judicial branch of the Federal Government has altered behavioral patterns with monumental decisions in areas of education, transportation, recreation, the franchise, etc. The Legislative branch of the Federal Government has contributed to the onward march of civil rights with two important pieces of legislation in an eight year period. The discussion which follows pertains to the Executive Branch of the Government--what it has done,[39] what remains to be done, and the techniques by which progress can be assured.

1. The Military Services

The American Negro dates his military service from colonial times and has been represented in each of our Nation's conflicts. The Negro particularly served well and in large numbers during the Civil War. Several Negroes rose to command rank, and one, Col. William N. Reed of the First North Carolina Regiment, was killed while leading his regiment in a gallant charge at the battle of Olustee, Florida.[40]

Following the civil war, Congress authorized four all-Negro units, staffed almost entirely by white officers. Segregation, thus established, continued until the end of World War II. During much of that conflict the Negro was allowed to serve only in the steward's branch of the Navy, and as truckdrivers or heavy manual laborers in the Army. The wartime experience for them was tragic. In October 1943, many Negro members of a Sea-Bee battalion were dishonorably discharged, mainly because they had protested against discrimination. In Camp Rousseau, California, in 1945, 1,000 Negro seamen went on a hunger strike in demonstration against Jim Crow practices and lack of promotion. In Guam, Christmas Day 1944, Negro

sailors were attacked by white marines.[41] Negroes assigned to combat did very well. More than 100 Distinguished Flying Crosses were recommended for Negro pilots during World War II. Officers and enlisted men in the all-Negro 369th and the 270th Infantry Regiments received numerous decorations and citations.[42] In the Winter of 1945, some 2,500 Negro soldiers from the supply services had answered a call for volunteers for front-line duty. These Negro volunteers were formed into platoons and assigned to white companies. The combat performance of these platoons effectively established the feasibility of integration at this level without difficulty. Three out of four white soldiers who served in this campaign said their attitude toward Negroes had changed after serving beside them in combat.[43]

Wy then, was the Negro serviceman so often segregated to a "service" or "manual" position? The answwr given in 1941 by a War Department spokesman to a group of Negro newspaper representatives is that "The Army...cannot be made the means of engendering conflict among the mass of the people because of a stand with respect to Negroes which is not compatible with the position attained by the Negro in civilian life...The Army is not a sociological laboratory."[44] Fortunately, President Harry S. Truman was not one to believe that integration in the military services is a process which must be carried out gradually over a long period of time.

A. Integration of the Armed Forces

In 1948 Executive Order 8891 declared it to be "the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin." "This policy," the President

directed, "shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."[45] By the same order, the President's Committee onEquality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (headed by Georgia born Judge Charles E. Fahy) was created. This committee recommended the elimination of segregated units and of a quota system in all branches of the armed services. After a survey in 1950, "The thing that most impressed the Committee about the Navy's experience was that in the relatively short space of five years the Navy had moved from a policy of complete exclusion of Negroes from general service to a policy of complete integration in general service...The Navy had found that Negro and white sailors would work together, eat at the same messes and sleep in the same quarters without trouble."[46] The Army expedited integration with an order that Negro soldiers with critical specialties be transferred to white units requiring such specialties.[47]

Civil rights organizations continue to receive complaints that military authorities of lesser rank frequently frustrate the policies set by their superiors[48] but the order of the day is that Negroes and whites in the Armed Forces eat, sleep, play, work, fight and die together without regard to race.

B. The Military Academies and ROTC Units

Contrary to earlier predictions, removal of racial quotas and other restrictions has not resulted in any imbalance of ratios of Negro enlisted personnel in the Services. In 1954 the percentage of Negroes in the enlisted ranks of the Army was 13.7%; in the Navy 3.6%, and in the Marine Corps 6.5%. Among Army re-enlistment data for 1954 it is found that the re-enlistment rate for eligible regular army Negro personnel is almost identical with that for all

personnel in this category.[49] The Negro officer, however, is not found in such large proportion.

In 1954, approximately 3% of the Army Officers were Negroes, and there were only a few individual Negroes (0.1% of the total officer force) serving in a commissioned capacity in the Navy and Marine Corps.[50] As the Fahy Committee points out, the two principal sources of naval officers are the Naval Academy and the Naval Reserve Officers Training Corps at 55 colleges and universities.[51] Unless Negroes are appointed to the Naval Academy, and the NROTC, the paucity of Naval officers will continue. Currently, there are seven Negroes enrolled in the Naval Academy. Similarly, there are only eight Negro cadets at West Point, and only three Negroes enrolled at the Air Force Academy.[52] The disproportionate few Negroes at the service academies may be caused by the small number of qualitied Negro applicants. It may also, however, be due to the fact that the greater majority of midshipmen and cadets, are nominated by Senators and members of the House of Representatives. As there are no Negro Senators and only three or four Negro Congressmen, most of the Congressional nominations (other than those made on the basis of open competitive examination) go to whites. The President, however, has the power to make a limited number of appointments, 89, for example, to West Point.[53] He can use this appointive power to ensure that qualified Negroes gain admission to the Military Academies.

Many Army officers come from the university ROTC programs. But there are at least three states, possibly more, where the Negro is barred by race from attending the state university and consequently from the potential of ROTC training. The President is directed by law to establish and maintain ROTC units, and may likewise

disestablish such units.[154] He can, if he will, inform the universities and colleges where ROTC units exist and which refuse to admit Negro students, that the ROTC unit will be disestablished unless the discriminatory admission policies are abolished.

C. The National Guard

The National Guard is part of the United States Army.[155] The composition of its units are required by law to be "the same as those prescribed by the Army."[156] The state units of the National Guard are financed almost in whole by the federal government,[157] and service in the National Guard is a statutory substitute for service under the Universal Selective Service Act in the regular Army.[158] The youth who enlists in the National Guard is released from a tour of extended active duty in exchange for 48 evening drill periods a year and two weeks of summer training throughout the period of his military obligation.[159] The opportunity, however, is not available to the Southern Negro, as the Southern National Guard units are "lily white". This deprives the Negro of opportunities available to the white; and, as pointed out by the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, "In times of racial tension, if the guard should be called out, it would be reassuring to Negro citizens to observe that members of their own race were on duty. Thereby would be implanted the justified conviction that the sole mission of the guard is to uphold the law."[160]

The President can change this situation at will. He designates the units of the National Guard;[161] and he prescribes the regulations and issues the orders necessary to organize, discipline, and govern the National Guard.[162] Violation of a Presidential regulation results automatically in a forfeiture of federal benefits.[163] This does not leave the state helpless to protect itself from internal disorder,

because, in addition to its National Guard, a state has Congressional authority to create and establish a "defense force" to be used within the state boundaries as the Governor considers necessary. This "defense force" may not be called into the armed forces; but a member of such a "defense force" is not exempt from service in the armed force, nor is he entitled to pay, allowances, and the like from funds of the United States.[64]

In short, a state can maintain a lily-white "defense force" at its own expense for operations within the state; but it cannot, if the President so wills, maintain a segregated National Guard unit as an integral part of the United States Army, paid for and supervised by the Federal Government.

D. Facilities on Government-owned Shore Stations and Military Posts.

The Secretary of the Navy, on August 20, 1953, directed the complete elimination of all barriers to the free use of previously segregated facilities on Government-owned Shore Stations of the Navy.[65] Similar regulations were issued by the Army and Air Force. The Commissaries, Post Exchanges, restaurants, swimming-pools, tennis courts, gold courses, and the like are now completely integrated. When there is a dance at the officers' club, Negro officers dance with their wives on the same dance floor with the white officers and their wives. What happens? Nothing. James McBride Dabbs, South Carolina planter, explains it this way: "We mingle with Negroes at games on government reservations because enforcement there is taken out of our hands; we are on federal property, we have no responsibility. Take Shaw Air Force Base, near Sumter, South Carolina, where at integrated athletic contests white citizens' council leaders may be seen sitting by Negroes and chatting with

them...A part of the South's present excitement over maintaining segregation is due to the fact that it senses how little it really cares, and is trying to whip up enthusiasm for an attitude no longer. deeply believed in." /66

In 1954 the Secretary of Defense directed " that the operation of all school facilities located on military installations shall be conducted without segregation on the basis of race or color." /67 This preceded the Supreme Court school-desegregation decision by four months. What was the result? Here is what Ms. Hazel Scudder, a native of Arkansas and superintendent of three grade schools on the post at Fort Benning, near Columbus, Georgia: "We lost three teachers. One objected to the new program, another felt her father would disapprove, and a third reported that her husband objected. We have seventy-two teachers, three fourths of them from the South. Some of those from the Deep South have changed their attitudes tremendously. Several have said that they like being here where this bridge has already been crossed. As for the children, there have been no problems at all. The parents have accepted it without question." /68

E. Off-Base Recreational Facilities

For the Negro serviceman stationed in the South, the short bus trip from base to town is a trip to a different world. In Europe, in Asia, in the North, he goes on leave with his white companions. In the South, he bids them farewell at the bus terminal, and looks for the places of public accommodation marked "colored." An official document of the Defense Department comments that "It is paradoxical that the Negro citizen in uniform has frequently been made to feel more at home overseas than in his home town." /69

Leaves, furloughs, passes, "liberty" are for the purpose of rejuvenating the spirit. Forcing a Negro soldier to forego either his pass or spend his off-time in a segregated atmosphere is obviously detrimental to his health and morale. The way to alleviate this situation is shown by the actions of the commander of the air base outside Grand Fords, North Dakota. Receiving complaints that some of the town's restaurants had refused to serve Negro airmen, the commander met with the local chamber of commerce and made clear that all airmen are entitled to equal treatment, that places discriminating against any would be declared "off limits." Chamber members carried his words back to the community and complaints of discrimination stopped.[70]

A commanding officers' authority to safeguard the "health and welfare" of his men has been held to justify putting a used car lot "off limits" to all military personnel after a lieutenant had complained of being defrauded.[71] The President, as Commander-In-Chief is thus clearly within his Constitutional obligation should he decide to put all places of public accommodation which refuse to serve Negro servicemen "off limits" to all servicemen.

FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

The success of integration in the Armed Forces--where men work, fight, and play together in crowded quarters and often under disagreeable conditions--would lead one to expect even greater and more successful integration in the Federal Civil Service; that Negroes, widely excluded from skilled, clerical and supervisory jobs in private business and industry, would be found in large numbers in the federal government. The facts are otherwise.

An official bulletin of the Defense Department discusses the Negro civilian employee in these terms: "the utilization of the individual Negro employee at his maximum potential often appears as a distant objective....measured against the Negro in military uniform, much remains to be done to accomplish full equity....The situation is not resolved by pointing out that conditions are not measurably better elsewhere."[72]

A listing of recent "breakthroughs" in federal employment serves only to highlight the federal discriminatory employment practices:[73]

Pine Bluff, Arkansas: Two Negro guards are employed by the Federal government at the Pine Bluff Arsenal.

Wilmington, Delaware: The first Negro is employed at the Delaware District office of the Internal Revenue Service.

New Orleans, Louisiana: A Negro is promoted to the job of general foreman in the office of the superintendent of the Postal Transportation Service.

St. Louis, Missouri: The Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis begins hiring Negroes for clerical as well as service jobs.

Oklahoma City, Okla.: Veteran's Hospital employs Negro Medical Technician and promotes him to highest technician grade.

Charleston, West Va.: The Social Security office hires two Negroes--a woman clerk, and a man as a claims investigator.

A recent study of the Negro employment in Federal agencies located in Atlanta, Georgia[74] shows that only 226 of the 2,369 Negro employees (less than 10%) were employed in "white collar" jobs. Only twelve of the twenty-seven agencies with "white collar" positions hired Negroes; and 194 of the 226 Negro "white collar" federal employees (over 80%) were in the bottom 4 of the 15 grades of job classification. (At Grade 5 the jobs begin to involve responsibilities of a technical, professional, or administrative nature.)[75] The "white collar" positions held by Negroes are described as Nursing Assistant, Soil Conservationist, Mail and File Clerk, Tabulating Machine Operator, Laboratory Animal Caretaker, Biological Aid, Messenger, Biologist, and Clerk-Typist; this in a community with six Negro colleges which in 1958 alone handed out 573 graduate and undergraduate degrees. The most recent report of the President's Committee on Government Employment concludes "That there is discrimination in Federal employment is unquestionably true." [76]

Discrimination in federal employment exists despite statutes and Executive Orders to the contrary.

In principle at least, equal opportunity for federal employment has existed since the Civil Service Act of 1883, which provided for open competitive examinations, with vacancies to be filled from the three highest scorers, "with sole reference to merit and fitness."[77]

In 1940, Congress amended the Civil Service Act to expressly prohibit discrimination on the basis of "race."[78]

In 1941, President Roosevelt established a Committee on Fair Employment Practices, which processed a total of 1,871 complaints during the war years, and found discrimination in 58 of them.[79]

After the war, Negroes in Federal jobs again found themselves in a precarious position, especially as the non-discriminating temporary war-time agencies and the FEPC were discontinued. In 1948, President Truman issued Executive Order 9980 ordering each department to consider only "merit and fitness" in appointing and promoting personnel. He further established a Fair Employment Board within the Civil Service Commission to police his regulations and report to him whenever a recommendation concerning employment practices was not "promptly and fully carried out."[80] The effect of this policy was that by 1952, one third of the Federal agencies had, for the first time in their history, hired Negroes as supervisors over integrated work groups, or as executives or in professional capacities.[81]

In 1955 President Eisenhower abolished President Truman's Fair Employment Board of the Civil Service Commission and created in its place the President's Committee on Governmental Employment Policy. In his order creating this Committee, President

Eisenhower stated that it "is the policy of the United States Government that equal opportunity be afforded all qualified persons, consistent with law, for employment in the Federal Government." He added that "this policy necessarily excludes and prohibits discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment in the Federal Government because of race, color, religion, or national origin."

Why, despite this long and unbroken policy against racial discrimination in federal employment, does such discrimination exist? Several lessons from the past are pertinent.

First, the Committee, Board or agency charged with the task of ending discriminatory employment practices never has been assigned sufficient manpower. With government employment in excess of two million, President Eisenhower's Committee was composed of part-time men[83] with a full-time staff of exactly three persons, one of them a stenographer.[84] A President bent on ending discrimination in federal employment must create a task-force commensurate with the job to be done.

Second, the entire system of ending discrimination depended on action initiated by the rejected employee. The procedure began with a complaint, and the complaint was normally filed with the agency against whom it was levelled. Moreover, the burden of proving that the rejection was based on race rather than on some other factor was laid on the complainant, who had no facts and no way of getting them.[85] A President bent on ending discrimination could himself initiate action. For example, he could keep track of the percentage of qualified Negro applicants referred to a given agency by the Civil Service

Commission, the percentage of qualified Negro applicants hired by the agency, and then put the burden of explanation upon the agency if and when the two percentages became disproportionate.

Third, those charged with enforcement of the Government's non-discriminatory policy did not believe it immediately possible of attainment. President Eisenhower's Committee asserted that its "most important responsibility" was "to conduct a long-range program of education and persuasion" with the purpose of eliminating, not discriminatory employment practices, but "those fears and prejudices that give rise to acts of discrimination."[86] Contrast with this "federal employment" "long-range" educational program to allay fears the Military crash program to eliminate segregation. The Army made no bones about its objective, and expedited its program by assigning qualified Negro soldiers to billets in white units even when equally qualified white soldiers were available.[87]

Finally, there have never been any sanctions for violation of the Government's policy. President Eisenhower's Committee has found individual and identifiable acts of employment discrimination, but if any one was discharged, or even reprimanded, it remains a secret. Contrast the statement of the top official of the Bureau of Internal Revenue when there were charges that revenue officials discriminated against taxpayers favoring integration: "...we don't allow personal feeling to enter into our work. Anyone found doing this kind of thing would be summarily dismissed. They all know that."[88]

In sum, a President can eliminate discrimination in federal employment, just as discrimination was ended in the military services, by appointing a Committee, adequately staffed, with

authority to initiate action designed to seek out and punish those who violate government policy from the inside.

FEDERAL CONTRACT EMPLOYMENT

Not only does the Federal Government discriminate against Negroes in its own employment policies, but it permits private firms holding federal government contracts to follow suit. This is most unfortunate, as goods and services furnished pursuant to federal government contracts constitute a major part of our economy.[89] The end of discrimination in these private firms doing business with the government would have a decisive impact on the employment picture of the United States as a whole. In hundreds of cities the federal contractor is the major employer, and his hiring policies set the pattern for an entire area. As in direct federal employment, discrimination by employers holding government contracts is contrary to our national policy.

In 1941 President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practice Committee and called for "full participation in the national defense program by all citizens regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin." Federal agencies were instructed to include in their contracts a provision requiring the contractor not to discriminate.[90] Since 1943 all government contracts have contained a "non-discrimination" clause.

During the Korean crisis, President Truman attempted to revitalize the non-discrimination provision by establishing a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, with instructions to study the problem and to recommend to agency heads measures to eliminate discrimination. The Committee reported that the non-discrimination clause was "dead and buried under thousands

of words of standard legal and technical language," that workers were unaware of its existence, and that government contracting agencies lacked machinery to receive and investigate complaints or to enforce compliance.[91]

In 1953 President Eisenhower established the Government Contract Committee (popularly known as the Nixon Committee) with the Vice-President as its Chairman, the Secretary of Labor as its Vice Chairman, and with prominent industrial, labor, and civic leaders among its membership. President Eisenhower's Executive Order[92] contains the following statements:

> "...it is in the interest of the Nation's economy and security to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower...."
>
> "It is the policy of the United States Government to promote equal employment opportunity for all qualified persons...because such persons are entitled to fair and equitable treatment in all aspects of employment on work paid for from public funds...."
>
> "...it is the obligation of the contracting agencies of the United States Government and Government contractors to insure compliance with, and sucessful execution of, the equal employment opportunity program of the United States Government...."

The private firm or corporation now doing business with the government agrees by contract to the following:

> "...not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color,

or national origin. The aforesaid provision shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post hereafter in conspicious places, available for employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the nondiscrimination clause.

"The contractor further agrees to insert the foregoing provision in all subcontracts hereunder, except subcontracts for standard commercial supplies or raw materials."[93]

The contractual provision is definitive and exhaustive--initial employment, upgrading, transfer, lay-off, training--every aspect of the employment relationship is covered. Yet discrimination against Negroes continues almost unabated. It is no secret that General Motors, one of the country's largest holders of government contracts, pursues such a policy in the South, for in 1957 the manager of its Atlanta assembly plant was quoted in the Wall Street Journal as saying, "When we moved into the South, we agreed to abide by local custom and not hire Negroes for production work. This is no time for social reforming in that area, and we're not about to try it."[94]

The extent of discrimination by government contractors is best illustrated by the Nixon Committee's "Examples of Progress" taken verbatim from its most recent report:

Kaiser Aluminum Company--Baton Rouge, La.--As a result of a complaint filed by an individual, there was a

general review of the company's employment policies by the cognizant contracting agency. The company hired 4 Negroes as supervisors and increased the number of Negroes in semi-skilled jobs from 5 to 26.

Bethlehem Steel Corporation--Sparrows Point, Md.--The plant employed more than 700 women employees in plant and white-collar positions. A complaint alleged that no Negro women were employed in the plant since World War II.

As a result of consultations with ranking officials of the Department of the Navy, two Negro women were hired as clerical employees.

General Dynamics Corporation (Convair Division)--Ft. Worth, Tex.--This company employs between 25,000 - 30,000 employees, including 200-300 Negroes in unskilled and semi-skilled positions. There were no Negroes in any white-collar positions. After Committee negotiations in September 1959, two Negro women were hired for clerical positions --one in the industrial relations department and the other in the accounting department.[95]

Racial discrimination in government contract employment exists today, not for lack of policy or lack of orders--both are well defined and clear cut. Discrimination exists because no one has taken action. The Nixon Committee lays heavy stress on education: making movies, sponsoring conferences and "equal opportunity" days, producing spot announcements, car cards, brochures, and newsletters.[96]

The President can end government contract employment discrimination by taking action along any or several of the lines

suggested by President Truman's Committee as it left office:[97]

1. Disqualification from future contracting. The old committee recommended that each agency establish administrative disqualifying procedures directed against irresponsible bidders whose past performance had been detrimental to the Government's interest. In practice, this sanction has never been used.

2. Termination of Contract. Each contract contains a standard provision that the government may terminate the whole contract or any part thereof if the contractor fails to perform under any provision and does not rectify the failure within a specified period of time. The committee called this the most potent sanction. No contract has ever been terminated for failure to comply with the anti-discrimination clause.

3. Liquidated damages. The committee suggested that liquidated damage provisions might be inserted in contract agreements, and that the violating contractor be required to pay a lump sum penalty for his violation. Liquidation damage provisions have been upheld by the courts many times where injury or the extent thereof is difficult to assess.

4. Injunctive relief. The government might sue for specific performance of the non-discrimination clause. The courts will grant equitable injunctive relief when the damage is not measurable in monetary damages.

5. Certificate of compliance. The contractor could be required to file a certificate of compliance to obtain payment. Execution of a false certificate is a crime punishable by a fine up to $10,000, or imprisonment up to five years, or both.

It is not believed that the Government need resort to criminal sanctions to achieve its stated policy. The termination

of a contract or the establishment of a "black-list" should do the job; and would be far more educational than all the movies, spot announcements, and car cards presently produced by the Nixon Committee.

IV.

OTHER FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS AND POLICIES

In addition to direct employment into the Federal civil service and to employment by private industry doing business under contract with the government, the United States of America has at least four other programs which influence employment patterns: vocational rehabilitation, apprenticeship programs, the job referrals by United States Employment Service, and the certification of labor unions as exclusive bargaining agents for all employees within the appropriate bargaining unit. As these programs are conducted with federal funds and under federal supervision, they fall within the command of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution prohibiting discrimination on racial grounds.[98] As the President of the United States takes an oath of office to support the Constitution, he is honor bound to stamp out federally financed and controlled discrimination where it exists.[99]

A. Vocational Rehabilitation.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare finances and over-sees an extensive program to restore handicapped persons to useful activity. In 1959 the total of Federal grants in this public rehabilitation program was $55,928,771[100] and the number of

persons benefited was 80,739.[101] There is no problem of racial discrimination in this program because in May of 1958 the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation issued an order that no state shall be eligible to participate unless its vocational rehabilitation program "will be applied without regard to sex, race, creed, color, or national origin of the individual."[102]

B. Apprenticeship Programs.

The Office of Education, also within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, finances and administers a vocational education program, at a cost, in 1959, of $40,888,412.[103] Entrance into these apprenticeship programs is essential if one is to lift himself out of the unskilled labor category. As of today, most of these apprenticeship programs exclude Negroes--the United States Office of Education has not yet seen fit to follow the lead of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in affording funds only to those programs which operate without regard to race.[104]

C. The United States Employment Service. (USES).

The states conduct employment reference service financed by the federal government and operated under the general supervision of the Secretary of Labor.[105] The USES "places" employees, offers employment counseling, provides special services to veterans, youth, handicapped; gives occupational testing; and provides technical materials concerning personnel management.[106]

The USES refuses to process discriminatory job orders by the federal government agencies, it refuses the "Caucasian-only" type of job orders in those states where local law forbids job discrimination; but elsewhere and otherwise it fosters and aids

the discriminatory employment policies of private employees, even those under government contract.[107]

The Secretary of Labor, on his own initiative, has refused the services of the USES to farmers seeking temporary seasonal help unless the farmer maintains minimum standards of employment practices.[108] In like fashion, he could refuse to process all discriminatory job orders: the "white only" variety. He would have no option in this matter should the President so direct.

D. Labor Union Certification.

The National Mediation Board in the transportation industries, and the National Labor Relations Board in all other industry, "certifies" labor unions (usually following a victorious election in the appropriate bargaining unit) as the "exclusive" bargaining agent for each and every employee in the unit. Federal certification carries with it the responsibility of representing the interest of each employee "fairly and impartially."[109] A decreasing number of labor unions limit membership to "white men" or to "white born";[110] and an additional number of unions relegate their Negro members to "Jim Crow" units represented at the bargaining table and in the grievance proceedings by officials of the "white" unit.[111] Negroes represented by these unions obviously do not get the equal representation that is their statutory right. A leading union attorney has put it this way:

> "No collective bargaining agent can possibly accord equal treatment to non-members in the day-to-day activities of the union. Non-members cannot attend meetings or participate in the decisional processes of the union; they cannot vote for those who will represent

them. The elected official of a union--and, like any other politicians, they are officials periodically up for re-election--can hardly be expected to devote themselves as wholeheartedly to the interests of those who cannot vote as they do to the interests of those who can."[112]

One would not expect federal agencies, charged with the task of ensuring equal representation in economic affairs, to subject Negro citizens to representation by white citizens under a system of racial paternalism. Such, however, is the situation.

The National Mediation Board actually mediated and countersigned the agreement by which the railroads and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen excluded Negro firemen from many jobs which they then held.[113] The National Labor Relations Board has consistently maintained that "Neither exclusion from membership nor segregated membership per se represents evasion on the part of a labor organization of its statutory duty to afford "equal representation."[114] The General Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board has the obligation to prosecute labor unions for "unfair labor practices." He has taken a consistent position that it is not "unfair" for a labor union to obtain the dismissal of a Negro from his job on racial grounds,[115] or to bargain discriminatorily and unfairly against excluded minorities,[116] as by assigning Negro employees into "non-promotable" jobs.[117]

Would it be worth the while to reverse these policies? Should the Labor Board refuse to certify a winner because of its racial policies, the result might well be no union representation at all, and experience does not suggest that an employer without a union

could be more impartial than one with a union contract. Nevertheless, a biased union might change its policies if it knew that notwithstanding electoral victory it could not become certified until it stopped discriminating. In some situations, where a discriminating and a nondiscriminating union are in competition and employees opposed to discrimination constitute a balance of power, fear of losing the election might stimulate changes in the attitude of the anti-Negro organization. This has been the effect in a few reported situations.[118]

The President has less power in this than in the other areas discussed. The National Labor Relations Board is an independent agency, and its members, once appointed and confirmed, are free from direct Presidential control. Nevertheless, the President can direct attorneys from the Department of Justice to intervene in Labor Board cases where this issue is involved; or to initiate an "rule making procedure" wherein the Labor Board is requested to refuse certification to labor unions which discriminate against those whom it has a statutory duty to represent. If these efforts fail, it would then be time to consider legislative proposals.

V. RECREATION

State-owned facilities are forbidden to discriminate by the Fourteenth Amendment and this includes parks, golf-courses, swimming-pools, tennis courts, and other recreational facilities. /119 Court decisions since 1955 have opened some park and recreation areas to Negroes, and stimulated voluntary action in other states and communities. Kentucky and Maryland ordered state parks and recreation sites desegregated. /120 Miami Beach opened its two golf courses to Negroes in 1955; as did a number of North Caroline cities. In Houston, Dallas, and Fort Worth, Texas, the golf courses were opened to Negroes; and in San Antonio and Corpus Christi, the swimming pools were made available to Negroes. In Austin, all public facilities were desegregated. /121 Generally, how ever, the Negro in the South is still denied access to public recreational areas; and a court order forbidding discrimination is apt to result in closing the facility. Montgomery, Alabama closed its parks; /122 Jacksonville, Florida sold its golf course; /123 Greensboro, N. C. sold its swimming pool; /124 and the legislatures in Arkansas and Florida recently authorized the closing or sale of all public recreational areas. /125 Danville, Virginia even closed its library. /126

The President has no direct concern with "local" recreation facilities; but he does have a concern with the recreational areas financed and/or operated by the National Park Service, The National Forest Service, and the Army Corps of Engineers. These federal areas of recreation take on additional importance with the closing of "local" facilities and the new leisure accompanying increased industrialization and automation in the South.

A. The National Parks

More than 58 million people visited one or more of the 181 park

areas owned by the United States.[127] These include National Parks (Yellowstone, Hot Springs, Shenandoah, Mammoth Cave, etc.); National Parkways (Natchez Trace, Blue Ridge, etc.); Monuments and Historical Sites (Abraham Lincoln Birthplace, Fort McHenry, Appomattox Court House, etc.); and Recreational Areas (Cape Hatteras National Seashore, Bull Shoals Reservoir, etc.). Management and control of the National Park Service is lodged in the Secretary of Interior[128] with authority to make rules and regulations for their proper use and management.[129]

The Secretary of Interior has made rules and regulations prohibiting segregation. All "concessioners" are required to agree not to discriminate because of race, religion, color, or national origin" in both (1) employment, and (2) service.[130] Violation of these regulations subjects the offender to a fine of not more than $500 or imprisonment for not exceeding six months, or both fine and imprisonment.[131] The non-discrimination provisions are enforced by the Park Rangers, who have authority to arrest for violation of the Secretary of Interior's rules and regulations.[132] There have been no reports of overt segregation or discrimination on the National Parks.

The Bureau of Land Management (in the Department of Interior) is authorized to sell, grant or lease public lands for recreation and public purposes. All sales, grants and leases contain a clause that any act of discrimination against a person in the use of the land or its facilities because of the person's "race, creed, color, or national origin" shall automatically result in reverting the title of the land to the United States[133] Nothing could be more automatic, swift, or certain.

B. The National Forests.

There are more than 151 national forests located in 40 of the

United States. In total, they aggregate approximately a third of the total land area of the United States.[134] Some of the better known National Forests are Sequoia, the Olympic, the Ozark, the Ocala, the Black Hills, and Bull Run.

The National Forests have parkways and trailways; hotels, motels, camp-sites, and even summer homes. The national forests contain a wide variety of recreational resources--Camp grounds, picnic sites, thousands of miles of fishing streams and most of the nation's big game. They are visited annually by millions of Americans.[135]

The National Forests are under the supervision and control of the National Forest Service, a division of the Department of Agriculture. In 1958, after correspondence with the Urban League and the NAACP, the Secretary of Agriculture adopted regulations modeled after those of the National Park Service.[136]

C. Federal Reservoir Areas

The United States, through the erection of multi-purpose dams, has created many reservoir areas. Some of these are: the Bull Shoals and Table Rock areas in Arkansas; the Allatoona, Buford and Clark Hill areas in Georgia; the Arkabutla, Enid, Grenada, and Sardis areas in Mississippi; the John H. Kerr area in North Carolina; and the Clark Hill Reservoir area in South Carolina.[137] These areas are widely used for swimming, boating, fishing, hunting, camping and picnicking; with attendant boat houses, restaurants, lodging, and the like. These reservoir areas are under the control and management of the Department of the Army Chief of Engineers. On January 27, 1958, he issued instructions that all licenses granted for concessions shall include the following non-discrimination condition: "That the licensee shall not discriminate against any

person or persons because of race, religion, color, or national origin in the conduct of its operations."[138] An immediate result of this was the statement by Georgia's Governor Griffin that if the Engineers insist on this point it means the end of any further development by the state of recreational areas around Federal multi-purpose dams. "We want the improvements," Griffin said, "and no one objects to Negroes paddling on the rivers--or governors either--but we're not going to have any integrated parks."[139] The state of Georgia had acquired areas in the federal area for recreational development.

D. Federal Beach Erosion Projects

The Chief of Engineers of the United States Army is authorized and directed by Congress to investigate and study effective means of preventing the erosion of the shores of coastal and lake waters.[140] The Chief of Engineers is authorized to enter into contracts with states and their subdivisions for the construction of works necessary for protection against erosion. One purpose of these projects is to prevent damage to the shores of the United States; the other purpose is to promote and encourage "the healthful recreation of the people." With approval of Congress, the Chief of Engineers can pay up to one-third of the cost. The projects approved by Congress generally contain a provision that the beach, when reconstructed and "nourished," will be utilized for "public use."[141]

Many beaches along the coasts and lakes have been repaired under this program. There are 26 such projects underway or just completed[142] Some of these projects are those at Rheoboth Beach, Delaware; Harrison County, Mississippi; and Waikiki Beach, Hawaii. Despite the federal support, the beaches in the South are generally off-limits to Negroes. In protest, Negro organizations planned a

"wade-in" movement for the summer of 1960, a project which failed to materialize. One reason, perhaps, is that when a group of Negroes went to the beach at Biloxi, Mississippi, they were attacked by a white mob with the encouragement of local law enforcement officials.[143]

The Department of Justice promptly filed suit in the United States District Court against the Sheriff, the Mayor of Biloxi, the Chief of Police, and others. Allegations were made that Biloxi had contracted to accept federal funds for a beach erosion project containing a "public use" proviso; and that the defendants "enforced and are enforcing a policy, practice, custom and usage of preventing and interfering with the free use of the Harrison County Beach by a certain part of the public, namely, persons of the Negro race." The relief requested was that the public officials in Biloxi be ordered to comply with the "public use" provision, i.e. ordered to refrain from preventing use of the Beach by Negroes.[144] If this suit is successful, the President can direct the Department of Justice to bring similar suits against all the governmental units which bar Negroes from their federally financed public beaches.

VI. HEALTH AND HOSPITALIZATION

The Federal Government is in the business of providing health care and hospitalization, and the business is extensive in terms of both program content and expenditures. The federal government provides these services directly, and indirectly through a system of state grants-in-aid.

Directly, the federal government provides hospitalization and health care for Veterans. In addition, the United States maintained

in 1959 over 16 hospitals, 26 outpatient clinics, and 99 outpatient offices for American seamen, civil service employees injured in performing their work, and retired members of the Uniformed Services and their dependents.[145] The United States maintains the National Institutes of Health in Bathesda, Maryland which both conducts and supports medical research and has a 516 bed research hospital.[146] The United States maintains the only hospital in the country devoted exclusively to the treatment and rehabilitation of patients with leprosy.[147] It maintains two hospitals for the treatment of narcotic addicts.[148] It maintains Freedmen's Hospital in Washington, D.C. which serves as the clinical teaching resource for medical students at Howard University.[149] The United States doctors in 1959 examined over two and a half million aliens prior to and upon arrival in the United States.[150] The United States provides health services for Indians, and four major hospital modernization projects were authorized in 1959 alone.[151] These are some of the major direct federal government health programs. The indirect health and hospital programs--through grants-in-aid--to the states--are just as varied and even more extensive.

Under the Hill-Burton Act[152] the Department of Health, Education and Welfare grants funds to the states for the construction of hospitals. Since this program began in 1948, over 4,625 projects have been approved for Federal assistance, with the average annual cost amounting to $104 million.[153]

The United States makes grants to the states for mental health programs;[154] for maternal and child health services;[155] to provide services for crippled children;[156] for aid to the blind;[157] and for programs designed to control tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, water polution and venereal disease.[158]

The general outline of these programs is that the appropriate state agency files a request for federal funds and attaches thereto a comprehensive plan of operations. The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare examines the state plan, and if he finds it adequate, makes the appropriations. With this degree of federal control and responsibility, it is surprising to find that most of the federally financed and approved health and hospitalization programs in the South are operated on a segregated basis. The Southern Negro is denied hospitalization and health services, or provided with these services on a segregated basis.

Most Southern states have provided by law that at least certain public hospitals (usually institutions for mental illness and, less often, tuberculosis) shall be solely either for Negroes or for whites or segregated. /159 Beyond this, segregation is a matter of custom. The extent of the segregation (and denial of services) is illustrated by the progress made in recent years: /160

Miami, Florida: Jackson Memorial Hospital (Dade County hospital) adds Negro doctors and staff members to treat Negro patients.

Volusia County, Florida: Negro doctors permitted to treat their patients in County Hospital for first time.

Kentucky: The United Mine Workers of America complete seven hospitals in Kentucky (as well as one in Virginia and two in West Virginia) to be operated on an integrated basis.

Louisville, Ky.: Marine Hospital admits Negro patients.

Mississippi: Negro doctors join the staff of a Mississippi hospital to treat Negro patients. Another hospital begins treating Negro children.

St. Louis, Missouri: St. Louis institutes a system in which emergency cases are treated at the nearest city hospital without regard to race.

Charlotte, North Carolina: Mercy Hospital, Catholic, begins admitting Negro patients following the request of Bishop Vincent Waters to superintendents of Catholic hospitals to open their facilities to Catholic Negroes. (Bishop

Waters' request also went, apparently unheaded, to St. Joseph's, Asheville; St. Luke's, New Bern; St. Joseph of the Pines, Southern Pines.)

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare need not approve grants to states whose plans authorize or countenance segregation or denial of service on the basis of race. Indeed, in at least one instance, the Secretary denied funds to Arizona because its plan of operations concerning aid to permanently and totally disabled persons discriminated against Indians living on Indian Reservations.[161] The Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act contains a racial equity formula which approves separate-but-equal facilities.[162] The statute, however, was enacted prior to and overruled by the Supreme Court's construction of the equal protection clause in the school-board decision of 1954.[163] Mr. Chief Justice Marshall pointed out over 150 years ago that "a law repugnant to the constitution is void; and that courts, as well as other departments, are bound by that instrument."[164]

VII. TRANSPORTATION

The yearlong Montgomery bus boycott[165] illustrates that Jim Crow travel is "resented more bitterly than most other forms of segregation."[166]

The Supreme Court had tried to end this discrimination. In 1941 the Court held that railroad passengers may not be denied pullman service even though it would be financially ruinous for the railroads to carry separate Negro Pullman.[167] In 1944 the Court held that state law could not require a bus company to force an interstate Negro passenger to move to the rear and give up his seat to a white passenger.[168] In 1950 the Court held that Negro passengers

might not be excluded from a railroad dining car.[169] In 1957 the Court held that state-imposed segregation in inter-city bus travel is unconstitutional[170] and in 1958 it made a similar ruling.[171]

The lower federal courts have issued similar rulings in suits brought to end desegregation in air transport.[172] and in air terminal restaurants.[173] The federal agencies have cooperated. In 1955 the Interstate Commerce Commission ordered the end of Jim Crow rail transportation, and ordered railroad terminals to take down WHITE and COLORED signs in the waiting rooms.[174] The Civil Aeronautics Administrator in 1956 ordered that no "Federal aid Airport Program funds will be made available for the development of separate facilities."[175]

Despite these Court orders and agency regulations, the Negro in many areas of the South[176] is assigned to segregated coaches, told to sit in the rear of buses, assigned to "Colored" or "Colored Intrastate bus and rail terminal waiting rooms, rest rooms and restaurants[177] and told to drink "Colored" water from segregated fountains. The reason: outright defiance of the federal law.

Following the Interstate Commerce Commission order requiring the end of discrimination in waiting rooms (which followed by 11 years the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation of interstate bus travel) the Southeastern Greyhound Lines company sent out a series of instructions to all personnel which reads in part as follows:

> "2. Intrastate passengers may be courteously requested to comply with the law of that particular state, but if passenger refuses to comply, then no further action should be taken.
>
> "3. Existing signs and separation of waiting rooms and restaurants will be maintained as at present, but station personnel must not take any steps to enforce segregation in the use of these facilities.

"I know you can be depended upon to handle this delicate situation with tact and understanding..." /178

Others were not so tactful. Governor Kennon of Louisiana announced his intention to enforce segregation on carriers. The Mississippi Public Service Commission announced a similar intention and when carriers took down the segregation signs in Jackson, the city put up fresh ones. In one Mississippi city the police arrested Negroes who entered the "White" station waiting room, kept them in jail overnight, and released them next day if they pleaded not guilty. /179 Just recently, in the summer of 1960, a federal court decided a case involving the arrest of Negroes for refusing to move to the rear of a Birmingham, Alabama city bus. /180

The law is clear, the violation is plain, what can the President do about it? There are several obvious remedies.

First. The Interstate Commerce Act makes violation of Interstate Commerce Commission orders illegal, punishable by a fine of $5,000 for each day of violation. /181

Second. The Civil Rights Act of 1960 /182 makes it a crime punishable by a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both, for anyone to "prevent, obstruct, impede, or interfere with, the due exercise of rights or the performance of duties under any order, judgment or decree of a court of the United States."

Third. Relegating Negroes to a segregated area is a denial of their civil rights /183 and when done under color of state law, is a federal offense punishable by a fine of $1,000 or a year in jail. /184

In 1956 the Department of Justice called a conference of United States Attorneys in the Southern states to consider what measures would be appropriate for the department to take in secur-

ing observance of the United States Constitution and laws, by common carriers of passengers.[185] It appears that no departmental action ensued. A new President could well call another such conference with an eye toward his Constitutional obligation to "take care that the Laws be faithfully executed."

VIII.

HOUSING

"It would be an affront to human dignity for any one group of Americans to be restricted to wearing only hand-me-down clothing or to eating the leftovers of others' food. Like food and clothing, housing is an essential of life, yet many non-white families have no choice but secondhand homes." So speaks the United States Commission on Civil Rights.[187] Jackie Robinson adds that "For many, charity begins at home. So do hate, hostility, and delinquency, especially when the home environment is a slum, lacking adequate space, lacking facilities, but not lacking for high rentals."[188]

The problem of housing grows acute, as Americans steadily leave the farm for the town; especially the housing of minority groups as the whites flee to the suburbs and more and more Negroes move into the already crowded "Black Belts" of the old city. "This leads to the most tragic part of the vicious circle. The effect of slums, discrimination and inequalities is more slums, discrimination, and inequalities. Prejudice feeds on the conditions caused by prejudice. Restricted slum living produces demoralized human beings--and their demoralization then becomes a reason for 'keeping them in their place.'"[189]

The official United States policy is "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."[190] To achieve this goal, Congress enacted long ago that Negroes shall enjoy "the same right in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed

by white citizens thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property."[191] The Supreme Court has sought to achieve this goal by striking down racial zoning ordinances,[192] by prohibiting judicial enforcement of racially restrictive covenants, i.e., agreements not to sell to Negroes,[193] and by holding damage suits for breach of the restrictive covenant agreements impermissible as indirect methods of enforcement.[194] The role of the Administrative branch of the Federal Government is equally important, as the programs described below make possible much of the building programs in the United States.

A. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA).

The FHA is the oldest of the federal housing agencies. It was created in 1934[195] to relieve lending institutions of the risk involved in private home mortgages. If the borrower defaults, the FHA makes good the loss. Since its creation, the FHA has insured more than 33 billion dollars worth of mortgages involving millions of homes. Fortune magazine has said that "Government guarantee of mortgages, which has cost the taxpayer nothing so far, has done more than anything else to make possible a million or more new houses a year."[196] But unlike Congress and the Supreme Court in the actions noted above, the FHA has done little to end segregated housing.

For the first 16 years of its life, FHA actually encouraged the use of racially restrictive covenants. Its official Underwriting Manual warned field agents against insuring mortgages on property that would be used by "inharmonious racial groups,"

and the Manual contained a model restrictive covenant which FHA strongly recommended for inclusion in all sales contracts.[197]

Since the 1948 Supreme Court restrictive covenant decision,[198] however, the FHA has done an about face. In 1948 the FHA eliminated the model restrictive covenant from its literature.[199] In 1950 it announced publicly that it would no longer insure mortgages on property whose deeds contained restrictive covenants.[200] In 1951 FHA announced that all repossessed FHA insured housing would be rented and sold on a non-segregated basis.[201] In 1952, FHA attempted to encourage the building of "minority housing" and local insuring officers were given annual goals in order to spur them to encourage private loans to minority groups. This program was abandoned shortly after it began.[202] In 1954, FHA officials began to encourage "open occupancy" projects through private conferences. By 1957 there were 41 such projects with FHA insured mortgages totaling $53 million.[203] Finally, in 1957, the FHA entered into agreements with states that have enacted anti-discrimination housing laws whereby the FHA refuses to do business with any home builder or developer who has been found to have violated the States anti-discrimination housing law.[204] Elsewhere, however, the FHA continues to finance the "private" developers who, such as Mr. Levitt of the various Levittowns, advertise that none of their homes will be sold to Negroes.[205]

B. <u>The Public Housing Administration (PHA)</u>.

The PHA administers the low-rent public housing program authorized by Congress since 1934.[206] By 1958 more than 2 million people lived in more than 2,000 low-rent housing projects

in 44 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.[207]

Public housing usually is owned by local housing authorities. The role of the Federal government is to lend the local authority the money to get the project underway, and to guarantee payment on private loans made to the local authorities. The bonds and notes issued to private lending agencies are tax exempt, and Federal control of these local housing projects is thorough and significant. The PHA will not issue a loan until it reviews and approves various aspects of the proposed project such as site, rentals, size and cost of construction contracts and budgets.[208] A default in any of the approved conditions of the loan gives the PHA option to repossess the property.[209]

The PHA takes no stand on integration, insisting only that Negroes be given "separate but equal" treatment on the basis of number and need.[210] The result is that in 1958 approximately 35% of the local projects (including those in Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Wilmington, and St. Louis) had an "open occupancy" policy; the others were segregated.[211] The comments of some of the State Advisory Committees to the Civil Rights Commission are interesting:[212]

> Wilmington, Delaware: The housing projects are integrated and there have been few if any serious racial incidents.
>
> Chicago, Illinois: Public housing programs have tended to become segregated as a result of the site selection process. No public housing project has been built in a white or racially mixed area since 1954.

Lexington, Kentucky: There are currently 1,200 apartments in the public housing projects. These 1,200 apartments are allocated evenly between the races, i.e., 600 apartments for colored and 600 apartments for whites. There is complete segregation in the project.

Las Vagas, Nevada: The city of Las Vagas Housing Authority has maintained the policy of segregation in some of the authority's projects. This is done as they feel that integration of all their projects would be dangerous to the program as a whole.

C. Urban Renewal Administration (URA).

The Urban Renewal Administration was established in 1954 to help the cities eliminate slum and blighted areas. The essence of the scheme is that the Federal government pays two-thirds of the cost of acquiring slum areas, the existing buildings are then razed, and the property is sold to private developers for the erection of new neighborhoods. Before a city can take advantage of this program, it must submit a plan of operation, complete with details as to need, size, future land use, and care provided for existing occupants. As of June 1959, the URA had approved projects in 877 localities.[213]

The occupants of the first 347 areas approved for renewal aid were approximately 55% Negro and 45% white.[214] The slum areas were "integrated," especially in the South where Negro housing has traditionally been interspersed among white dwelling.[215] In the North, the occupants of the sites approved for "renewal projects" were largely Negro, and the "slum clearance" programs

as well. Almost a third of the Negroes displaced by renewal projects move into public housing (usually segregated), so one result of these two Federal programs (Urban Renewal and Public Housing) is to initiate or accentuate segregated neighborhood patterns.

The reports of the state advisory committees to the Civil Service Commission tell a graphic story:[216]

> Kansas: Urban Renewal will tend to create more pressures and problems for minority group members. A large percentage of the people to be relocated are in minority groups. When relocated they will more than likely be relocated in segregated areas, thus re-enforcing the segregation pattern and creating greater pressure in those areas to "break out."
>
> New York: The fact is that the Title 1 (Urban Renewal) program is geared to producing luxury or semi-luxury housing or non-housing reuse of the land, therefore, in effect, depriving the vast majority of the displacees from the benefits of this Federal government program. Although renewal programs are meant to clear slums, their net result has too often been the transfer of slums to adjoining areas.
>
> Philadelphia, Pa.: Mayor Richardson Dilworth has declared: "Urban renewal cannot and will not work within the framework of a racially restricted housing market.
>
> Pittsburgh, Pa.: A study of a mixed area already overburdened by a heavy Negro influx from a section undergoing redevelopment showed sharp increases in conversion

to smaller units accompanied by increases in overcrowding. Areas thus overcrowded soon deteriorate thus requiring additional redevelopment.

In January of 1960, the United States Housing Administrator notified purchasers of land in urban renewal programs that they will be denied the right of future participation in the event they violate local laws forbidding racial discrimination in housing.[217] There is no requirement that private contractors who acquire land (purchased and cleared at government expense) in states lacking anti-discrimination housing laws adopt a non-discriminatory policy of sale and rental.

D. The Veterans Administration.

The GI Bill of Rights[218] authorizes the Veterans Administration to make loans outright to veterans for the construction of homes, and to guarantee loans issued by private sources. The extent of this program is illustrated by the fact that in 1954 and 1955 nearly 30 per cent of all new urban dwelling units were built with the help of VA loan guarantees.[219]

The VA policy is to make its services and programs available to all qualified veterans without inquiry into the race, creed, or color of the applicant. Moreover, the VA deprives the private lender of his right to convey defaulted property to the VA if the property is encumbered by a "restrictive covenant."[220] The loss of this option has the effect of causing the lender not to make loans on racially restricted property. The VA reported to the Civil Rights Commission that "So far as we know, no loan has been guaranteed on a property covered by the proscribed restriction."[221] In addition, the VA regulations provide that

in the event racial restrictions are ever imposed upon the property, the private lender can declare the entire mortgage debt due and payable immediately, and failure to do so results in loss of VA supports.[222]

Under its regulations for direct loans, the VA will not deal with the purchaser of a house with a "restrictive covenant,"[223] and putting a restrictive covenant on the property after the initial loan is transacted results in a default of the mortgage obligation which requires the owner to either pay the whole sum immediately or turn the property over to the VA.[224]

The VA will suspend any builder from its program if the builder violates the anti-discrimination housing laws of New York, New Jersey, Washington and Oregon. Violation of these state laws is considered "an unfair or prejudicial marketing practice" under the terms of the GI Bill. The United States Civil Rights Commission comments that if such discrimination is covered by the federal law when it occurs in these four states, it is difficult to see why discrimination is not also an "unfair or prejudicial marketing practice" in the other states as well.[225]

E. Army Sale and Furnishing of Utilities.

The Secretary of the Army is authorized to sell or lease to private contractors within the immediate vicinity of Army posts "surplus utility services" such as water, sewage service, electricity, sanitary services, fuel, heat and the like.[226] These facilities are sold or leased to housing developments even

though the developers refuse to sell or lease the housing to Negroes stationed or employed at the nearby base.[227] "It is the Army's view generally that a product or service is being sold. The Army does not make it a policy to police the use."[228]

* * * * *

A California court recently enjoined an FHA guaranteed builder from refusing to sell to Negroes with these words: "When one dips one's hand into the Federal Treasury, a little democracy necessarily clings to whatever is withdrawn."[229] A President who shares this sentiment can direct the Housing Authorities to require all participants in their programs to agree to an "open occupancy" policy; and to enforce this policy with (1) a regulation baring all violators from future participation in federally financed housing operations, and (2) a provision in each contract giving the government the right to declare the entire mortgage debt due and payable upon breach of the agreement. A policy of "open occupancy" is meaningless if the housing development is located deep in either a "Negro" or "white" residential district where members of the other race doubt their welcome; The President could direct the Public Housing Authority and Federal Housing Authority, when asked to approve the "site" of a public housing project or of an FHA insured apartment development, to give priority to those located in "mixed" neighborhoods, or on the fringe areas of a racial neighborhood. The President could also direct the

Housing Authorities to give careful study to the experimental "scatteration" programs of local public Housing Authorities, i.e., a program wherein one or two large, institutional-type projects are shunned in favor of many small projects scattered throughout a metropolitan area. The President might also direct the attention of the Federal Housing authorities to the experimental programs in Sacramento, New Haven, and elsewhere wherein public housing was assigned on a "benign" quota basis; and to the public housing experiment in Pittsburgh wherein white applicants were solicited through advertisements directed at university students, faculty, foreign language and other white groups whose members may be eligible on the basis of income.[230]

Federal action or inaction alone is far from the sole cause of racial patterns in housing, and Presidential action alone cannot end them, although this contribution is not to be minimized. The lower level of Negro income and the scarcity of housing (both public and private) damp the effect of any legal rule designed to assure equal access to living accommodations; but the Presidential attitude and actions set a standard for the nation which over the long run probably will be effective.[231]

IX. VOTING

The studies of the Commission on Civil Rights reveal that "many Negro American citizens find it difficult, and often impossible to vote." "This is accomplished," states the report, "through the creation of legal impediments, administrative obstacles, and positive discouragement engendered by fears of economic reprisal and physical harm."[232] The details are spread on the pages of many publications.[233] Suffice it to repeat here the conclusion of the Commission on Civil Rights that there is a "moral gap" "between our principles and our everyday practices. It spills over into and vitiates other areas of our society. It runs counter to our traditional concepts of fair play. It is a partial repudiation of our faith in the democratic system. It undermines the moral suasion of our national stand in international affairs."[234]

The Civil Rights Act of 1957[235] authorized the Attorney General to institute civil suit in the federal court to prevent the denial of voting rights. The Civil Rights Act of 1960[236] provides that if in any such suit the court makes a finding that the denial of voting rights is "pursuant to a pattern or practice," the court may appoint "voting referees" to register qualified persons denied this right by local election officials. The denial of the right to vote to these persons so registered by the court appointed "voting referees" "constitutes contempt of court and is punishable accordingly.

The vigor with which the President directs that these Civil Rights Acts be applied will significantly affect the extent to which voting-denial practices will continue. In this connection it is well to note what has been in the past an important hurdle to implementation of the Civil Rights Acts.

General supervision of the Civil Rights Act and its implementation rests in the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. Department of Justice organization, however, requires that such cases be processed through the office of the United States Attorney in the district where the prosecution is to be brought. It is to be remembered that the United States Attorney in a given district is a local lawyer appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, for a term of four years. To him is entrusted the task of prosecuting Civil Rights litigation. This often places him in the unenviable position of having to take a public stand in court against the ingrained prejudices and mores of his own community. There have been outstanding examples of United States Attorneys, whatever their personal beliefs, courageously and vigorously assuming this position. There are others who have not done so. Witness the following examples given by President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights.[237]

> "...in a case in which a local constable had brutally killed a Negro, the local United States Attorney was asked for his views, after an F.B.I. investigation had been made. He expressed grave doubts as to the advisability of proceeding under Section 52 (the Civil Rights Act). In the same letter, he expressed his personal belief that Section 52 was unconstitutional, quoting liberally from the arguments of the dissenting justices in the Screws case.
>
> "In another case involving the killing of a Negro by a deputy sheriff, the Civil Rights Section sought the advice of the United States Attorney on July 30, and referred him to the F.B.I. report of its investigation in the case. On September 13, the Section again asked for the advice of the United States Attorney. On October 10, it repeated its request for the third time. ...On October 17, he advised that he had received the report and he thought the matter should be closed. He gave no reason for his opinion. The Civil Rights Section closed the case, apparently because the Civil Rights Section attorney in charge reported that "X will not go on anything."

A President who wishes to push forward in the voting area must staff the Civil Rights Division with a sufficient number of able

and energetic and enthusiastic lawyers, and give it authority to by-pass the office of the local United States Attorney whenever this is necessary to save the local repute of that office.

X. EDUCATIONAL

In 1954 the Supreme Court held in Brown v. Board of Education,[238] that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" and that state compelled or permitted segregation deprives Negro students of the "equal protection" guaranteed them by the Fourteenth Amendment. In 1955, after hearing argument on effectuation of its decree, the Supreme Court remanded the Brown and companion cases to the trial courts where they had originated with instructions to require the appropriate school boards to admit the Negro children "to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed."[239] In 1958, in the Little Rock case, the Supreme Court held that "chaos, bedlam and turmoil" in the school room did not justify the postponement of school integration.[240] Thus, the law is clear.

Six years after the Supreme Court decision holding segregated school illegal, the picture is somewhat as follows. All Negro children attend non-segregated schools as a matter of course in Wilmington, Delaware; Baltimore, Maryland; Washington, D.C.; Louisville, Kentucky; St. Louis, Missouri; and other areas in the "border states." A handful of Negro children attend non-segregated schools in the states of Texas, Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, and most recently, Louisiana. No Negro children attend non-segregated public schools in South Carolina, [illegible] Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi.

The South has fought the Supreme Court decision with more than 200 legislative acts, ranging from "Interposition and Nullification" to resolutions calling for the impeachment of all Supreme Court justices. /241 The most effective Legislative resistance has been the so-called Pupil Assignment Plan. Under this scheme, each school board is required to assign each school pupil to a given school on the basis of designated criteria. Race is never a criterion, but the results of the assignments are, almost inevitably, that Negroes are assigned to Negro schools, and whites to white schools. The Negro child dissatisfied with his assignment is given the right to petition for re-assignment. If the petition is denied, he can request a formal hearing before the School Board. If the School Board rules against him, he can then go to court. In the courts, the School Boards assert all manner of procedural defenses to avoid decision on the merits. If the initial trial court rules for the pupil, the defendant school board almost always appeals. Many cases have dragged on so long that they become "moot" before final decision, i.e. the student graduates, or his parents succumb to economic pressure and withdraw the transfer application.

What can a President do to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision? At least three types of actions have been suggested.

A. Intervention In Pending Court Cases.

A little used statute of the United States permits the Attorney General to send any officer of the Department of Justice to "attend to the interests of the United States in any suit pending in any" court, federal or state. /242 It has been suggested that the Attorney General is authorized by this section to direct the appearance of a United States attorney in any civil suit between private persons in which interest of the United States are involved, and

that he is authorized to determine what interests of the United States are actually involved.[243] The value of such intervention is illustrated by the many instances in which the Supreme Court has requested the Department of Justice to file "amicus" briefs in "racial" cases; and by the fact that the District Courts during the Little Rock and New Orleans crises requested the United States to intervene in the pending school-desegregation cases. School Board attorneys can ride high when their only opposition is underpaid Negro attorneys representing unpopular causes. The situation changes drastically when the United States of America enters the fray.

B. Withholding Of Financial Support

The federal government now finances in large part the segregated school system of the South. More than $2 billion a year of Federal funds go for educational purposes to the nation's colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher learning.[244] At the primary and high school level, the Federal government in 1959 paid approximately $150 million to local school districts under the program whereby the government supports "federal impact" areas, i.e. areas with large numbers of federal installations and federal employees. These school districts had an estimated total enrollment of 9.5 million children, or about one-fourth of the enrollment of all children attending public elementary and secondary schools.[245]

The Commission on Civil Rights investigated this problem and three of the six Commissioners recommended that at least in the area of higher education (where there are no reasons for "gradual elimination" of racial discrimination): "Federal agencies act in accordance with the fundamental constitutional principle of equal protection and equal treatment, and that these agencies be autho-

rized and directed to withhold funds in any form to institutions of higher learning, both publicly supported and privately supported, which refuse, on racial grounds, to admit students otherwise qualified for admission."[246] Commissioner George M. Johnson points out that "The achievement of equal justice under the law and equality of opportunity should not be left to the Federal judiciary." He therefore recommends the withholding of Federal educational funds to schools at all levels until there "be some indication of good faith compliance with the constitutional requarement of desegregation with all deliberate speed."[247]

C. The Exercise of Moral Leadership

It is well to re-examine the situation immediately following the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Harry Ashmore, then editor of the Arkansas Gazette, describes it as follows: "Most Southern newspaper, while deploring the decision as premature, counseled calm and indicated reluctant acceptance. A good many churchmen spoke out approvingly from their pulpits, and the organized denominations formally endorsed the decision as morally correct. While no one on the white side of the color bar regarded May 17, 1954, as the day of jubilee, and the leaders of both races recognized that monumental practical problems lay ahead, there was almost a feeling of relief. For better or worse, the other shoe had finally dropped.[248]

The day after the 1954 decision Governor Francis Cherry of Arkansas announced that "Arkansas will obey the law. It always has." In Florida, Senator Spessard Holland said: "No matter how much we don't like it, we must not have false ideas of the seriousness," while Representative Charles E. Bennett said, "I think the federal government should be required to take all necessary steps to make the states carry out the ruling." Governor Boggs of

Delaware told his state board of education that it would be the policy of the state "to work toward adjustment of the United States constitutional requirements," and Maryland's Governor McKeldin said his state "prides itself upon being a law-abiding state, and I am sure our citizens and our officials will accept readily the United States Supreme Court's interpretation of our fundamental law." Similar statements were heard from Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and West Virginia.[249]

Where segregationist opposition was checked firmly, as in Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Clinton, Tennessee, plans for desegregation moved forward. Where the first tentative steps of opposition to the Supreme Court went unchecked or even encouraged by high officials, the steps grew longer and bolder until a situation was created where members of school boards feared to end desegregation without benefit of protective federal court order. "When responsible men default, irresponsible men take power."[250]

A ringing expression of national indignation; the creation of a feeling of inevitability about compliance with Supreme Court orders, would mark the effective beginning of a new day in school desegregation. Only the President can sound the alarm and end the conflagration now raging.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Nation faces an acute problem of securing the full rights of citizenship to those Americans who are being denied vital recognition of human dignity and the equal protection of the laws because of their race.

The steps toward ending discrimination and desegregation need

not be taken at snail's pace. Experience in the integrated Armed Forces, in the integrated Veterans' Administration hospitals, teaches that "actions" can be legislated and that behavioral patterns influence thought.

The Executive branch of the federal government encourages Jim Crow in some areas, in other areas it encourages the end of Jim Crow, in all areas the President can move the country forward.

1. The Military Services

Integration is a fact, with nothing but favorable consequences, in the enlisted ranks of the Armed Forces. The number of Negro officers, however, remains disproportionately few. The President can remedy this situation by Presidential appointment of qualified Negroes to the service academies. The National Guard units in Southern states, component parts of the Armed Forces, limit their membership to whites. The President can end this discrimination by withholding federal financial support.

Recreational facilities on Navy shore stations and Army posts are integrated. "Private" places of public accommodation outside many Army bases are segregated. The President can terminate this discrimination against some American soldiers by putting "segregated facilities" "off-limits" to all American soldiers.

2. Federal Employment

The federal "policy" of employment is equality of opportunity without regard to race. The federal "practice" of employment is discrimination and segregation. The President can effectuate federal policy and terminate federal practice by summary dismissal charges against those practicing discrimination and by putting the burden of proof on those who visually discriminate against Negroes in employment and promotion.

3. Federal Contract Employment

Here again, Federal policy and federal practice are entirely dissimilar. Those who contract with the government agree not to discriminate in employment opportunities, and the contractual obligation is widely and openly violated. Practice can be made to conform to policy by the imposition of sanctions: disqualifying violators from future contracts; terminating the existing contracts of repeated violators; seeking injunctive relief, etc.

4. Other Federal Employment Programs

There is no segregation in the federally financed vocational rehabilitation programs, as the federal government requires the end of segregation as a condition of receiving federal support. There is segregation in the federally supported apprenticeship programs, because there is no similar requirement. The solution is obvious.

The National Mediation Board and the National Labor Relations Board continue to "certify" Jim Crow unions as the exclusive bargaining representatives for Negro employees. The President, through the Department of Justice, can request the federal agencies to put a stop to this practice.

5. Recreation

The federal government operates extensive recreational programs and facilities through the National Parks Service, the National Forest Service, and the Corps of Army Engineers: none are segregated. The National Parks Service, for example, requires all "concessioners" to agree not to discriminate in employment and service, and these agreements are enforced on the spot by the Park Rangers. Many "municipal" beaches, however, built with federal funds and under agreement that they will be maintained for "public use," are segregated. A current suit to enjoin interference with

the right of Negroes to the "public use" of the beach at Biloxi indicates the techniques available to the President to end segregation on government subsidized recreational areas.

6. Health and Hospitalization

The federal government makes grants-in-aid to the states for hospital construction, mental health programs, maternal and child health services, aid to the blind, and for programs designed to control tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, etc. Some states deny these federally financed facilities and services to Negroes entirely, or offer them only on a segregated basis. A few years back the federal government denied further aid to Arizona under one of these programs, because Arizona discriminated against Indians living on Indian Reservations: a guide available to the President.

7. Transportation

Segregation in inter- and intra-state rail, air, and bus transport has now been held to violate the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, yet in some areas Negroes are relegated to segregated waiting rooms and told to ride in the rear. Enforcement of three federal criminal statutes, covering the varying conditions of discrimination, is a step available to a President desiring to effectuate the law of the land.

8. Housing

The federal government now finances, and sometimes initiates, segregated residential patterns. The government can terminate its financial support to the large contractors and developers (both public and private) who refuse to adopt an "open occupancy" policy; and the federal government can take affirmative action through a policy of control over "site" selection for the construction of public housing projects and large apartment developments.

9. Voting

Many qualified Negroes are presently denied the right to vote and thereby participate in our governmental affairs. A recently enacted statute, if given proper effectuation, might go a long way in ending this situation.

10. Education

Six years after the Supreme Court declared segregated public education unconstitutional, segregated public education exists openly, even proudly, on large scale. The President has at least three avenues open to effectuate the Supreme Court decision and thereby perform his sworn duty to "take care that the Laws be faithfully executed." 1) He can order the Department of Justice to intervene in all pending school integration court cases. 2) He can withhold federal funds from the schools of higher education (estimated expenditure--$2 billion a year in all) that refuse admission on basis of race to qualified Negro applicants, and he can withhold funds from the primary and high schools (approximately one-fourth of the school enrollment is in districts receiving federal support) which fail to indicate compliance with the constitutional requirement of desegregation with all deliberate speed. 3) He can provide moral leadership for those who would comply with the Constitution.

FOOTNOTES

33. Executive Action in the School Crisis, address by Marion A. Wright before Senator Kennedy's National Conference on Constitutional Rights at Park Sheraton Hotel, New York, New York, October 11, 1960.
34. Ibid.
35. See Pollitt, Dime Store Demonstrations, Vol. 1960 Duke Law Journal 315.
36. "Through integration, our mighty defense machinery, with all its potential for destruction, is sowing seeds of brotherly love and understanding among Americans. Some of the yield is already in.
"According to Maj. Gen. Harvey Fischer, a West Pointer and Korean veteran: 'Heart is heart, blood is blood, muscle is muscle-- what difference does color make'
"And according to Negro Navy Lt. (j.g.) L. E. Jenkins: 'After awhile you start thinking of whites as people.'" Morton Puner,"What the Armed Forces Taught Us About Integration," Coronet Magazine, June, 1960.
37. Harry Ashmore tells the story this way. "The issue was the proposed erection of an $11,000,000 Veterans Administration Hospital at Jackson, a facility that would accept white and Negro patients alike and house them together without distinction. 'Well, we've got the tiger by the tail,' Governor Coleman said. 'We either accept an integrated facility, or we deny our Mississippi white veterans medical services they need.' With only one dissenting voice the (State Sovereignty) Commission voted to donate state land for the hospital." An Epitaph for Dixie, pp. 131-3 (1958).
38. Quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 42, (1958).
39. There is some evidence that the Federal government actively and positively has aided and abetted the segregationist cause. The NAACP has filed with the White House affidavits accusing federal financing agencies in Mississippi of discriminatory practices in the denial of loans to Negro NAACP leaders in that state. Id. at p. 48. An informal survey of thirty-four white and Negro Southerners prominently identified as opposing segregation shows that 59% of them had their federal income tax returns audited within the past four years--a rate almost four and a half times the normal rate. The damning fact about this is that only one of the twenty individuals audited had an income which could be considered high enough to subject him to an automatic audit, while most had modest or even small incomes, from which little in the way of additional taxes could be expected, however ruthless the auditor's disallowances. Id. at p. 263. While it is possible that the audit of Dr. Martin Luther King's return may have been motivated by the fact that he had recently become an officer of a group involved in raising money, there is clearly no explanation for the methods used by the auditor. King was asked, "How much did you pay for your Cadillac?" and "Who air-conditioned your home?" -- insulting questions, considering that Dr. King owns no Cadillac and that the only air conditioning his home has ever had resulted from a bomb which exploded on his front porch. Id. at 264. The Internal Revenue top officials denied any harassment and one said, "If the charge is true, we certainly want to stop it....It's part of the tradition of the Service that we pay no attention to names, that we don't allow personal feelings to enter into our work. Anyone found doing this kind of thing would be summarily dismissed. They all know that." Id. at 265.

40. "The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces of the United States of America," Bulletin of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, July 4, 1960, p. 1.
41. Morton Puner, "What the Armed Forces Taught Us About Integration," Coronet Magazine, June, 1960.
42. "The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces," note 40, supra., p. 3.
43. "Freedom to Serve," Report of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (1950), p. 53.
44. William Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 142 (1958).
45. 13 Fed. Reg. 4313 (1948).
46. "Freedom to Serve,"Report of the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services (1950), pp. 23, 33.
47. Id. at p. 62.
48. Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, p. 1450 (2nd Ed., 1958).
49. "Integration in the Armed Services," Bulletin of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (1955), p. 4.
50. Ibid.
51. Note 46, supra, at p. 25.
52. "The Negro Officer in the Armed Forces of the United States of America," Bulletin of the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (1960), p. 22.
53. 10 U. S. C. sec 4342.
54. 10 U. S. C. sec. 4382.
55. 10 U. S. C. sec. 261(a)(1), 70A Stat. 10 (1956).
56. 70A Stat. 598, 32 U. S. C. sec 104(b), (1956).
57. The Federal government pays 96.29% of the cost of maintaining the North Carolina National Guard. The National Conference and the Reports of the State Advisory Committees to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights (1959), p. 298.
58. 50 U. S. C. A. App. sec. 454(b).
59. Walter Millis,"Individual Freedom and the Common Defense," p. 22 (Bulletin published by the Fund for the Republic, 1957.)
60. Note 57, supra. at p. 299.
61. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 104.
62. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 110.
63. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 108.
64. 32 U. S. C. A. sec. 109.
65. "Integration in the Armed Services," note 49, supra., p. 3.
66. The Southern Heritage, quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 143 (1958).
67. "Integration in the Armed Services, note 65, supra. p. 2.
68. Quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 144 (1958).
69. "Integration in the Armed Services," note 65, supra. p. 7.
70. Morton Puner, "What the Armed Forces Taught Us about Integration," Coronet Magazine, June, 1960.
71. Harper v.. Jones, 195 F.2d 705 (10th Cir. 1952); Note, 66 Harvard Law Review 350 (1952); 20 Fordham Law Review 321 (1951).
72. "Integration in the Armed Forces," note 69, supra. p. 7.
73. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," pp. 72-77 (The Fund for the Republic, 1956).
74. "Characteristics of Negro Employment in Federal Agencies in Atlanta, Georgia," Press Release of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, October 24, 1960.

75. "Trends in the Employment of Negro-Americans in Upper-Level White-Collar Positions of the Federal Government," Press Release of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, September 28, 1960, p. 2.
76. Third Report of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy (1959), p. 17.
77. 22 stat. 403, sec. 2.
78. 5 U. S. C. A. sec. 1074.
79. Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, p. 1447 (2d Ed. 1958).
80. 13 Fed. Reg. 4311 (1948).
81. Emerson and Haber, note 79, supra. p. 1448.
82. Executive Order 10590, 20 Fed. Reg. 409 (1955).
83. The Chairman, Archibald J. Carey, Jr., never left his law practice in Chicago. The Vice-Chairman, Branch Rickey, maintained his principal interest in the Pittsburg Pirates.
84. Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 253 (1958).
85. Regulations and Procedures of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, reprinted in 1 Race Rel. L. Rep. 786.
86. "The Policy of Non-Discrimination in Employment in the Federal Government," p. 1, undated pamphlet published by the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy.
87. "Freedom to Serve," note 46, supra., p. 62.
88. Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 265 (1958).
89. Nearly 3,000,000 persons are employed by private business under contract with one government agency-- the Department of Defense. The Federal Loyalty-Security Program, Report of the Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, p. 4, (1956).
90. Executive Order 8802, 6 Fed. Reg. 3109.
91. "Equal Economic Opportunity," Report of the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance, p. 3 (1953).
92. Executive Order 10557, 19 Fed. Reg. 5655 (1954).
93. Ibid.
94. Quoted in Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 261 (1958).
95. Sixth Report to President Eisenhower from the Committee on Government Contracts, pp. 10-14 (1959).
96. Peters, The Southern Temper, p. 259 (1958).
97. The following discussion is based on Jack Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, pp. 189-190 (1959).
98. Bolling v. Sharpe, 347 U. S. 497 (1954).
99. A statute being unconstitutional, and, "having regard to his official oath, he rightly may refrain from effort to enforce it." Ex. Parte La Prade, 289 U. S. 444, 258 (1933). Compare Ex Parte Young, 209 U. S. 123, 159 (1908).
100. Annual Report of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, P. 231 (1959).
101. Id. at p. 217.
102. 45 C. F. R. sec. 401.14(a)(2).
103. Annual Report, note 100 supra., p. 143.
104. A New York statute suggests (but does not require) that apprenticeship agreements contain a provision forbidding racial discrimination; and the Cleveland Board of Education has prohibited discrimination in apprenticeship programs operated in the city schools. See Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 155 (1959).

105. 29 U. S. C. A. sections 49d., 49g.
106. 20 C. F. R. sec. 604.
107. Greenberg, note 104, supra., p. 165.
108. 41 Op. Atty. Gen., July 2, 1959, following 29 U. S. C. A. sec 49k.
109. Steele v. Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, 323 U. S. 192 (1944); Wallace Corporation v. NLRB, 323 U. S. 248 (1944).
110. Joseph Rauh, Jr., Civil Rights and Liberties and Labor Unions, 8 Lab. L. J. 874, (1957).
111. Note, Railway Labor Act--Rights of Minority Groups to Membership in Labor Union Acting as Statutory Bargaining Agent, 37 N.C.L. Rev. 509 (1959).
112. Rauh, note 110, supra. at p. 875.
113. Id. at p. 877.
114. National Labor Relations Board Tenth Annual Report, p. 18 (1945).
115. Rauh, note 110, supra. at p. 877.
116. Ibid.
117. Greenberg, note 107, supra., 182.
118. Id. at p. 183.
119. The cases are collected and discussed in Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, pp. 1419 ff. (2d Ed. 1958); Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 91 ff. (1959).
120. Loth and Fleming,"Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," p. 87 (The Fund for the Republic, 1956).
121. Id. at pp. 88-90.
122. Gilmore v. City of Montgomery, 176 F. Supp. 776 (M.D. Ala. 1959).
123. Hampton v. City of Jacksonville, 4 Race Rl L. Rev. 973 (Fourth Judicial Circuit, Duval County, 1959).
124. Tonkins v. City of Greensboro, 175 F. Supp. 476 (M.D., N.C., 1959).
125. 4 Race Rel. L. Rep. 772 (1959).
126. 5 Race Rel. L. Rev. 528 (1960).
127. 1959 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, p. 329.
128. 16 U. S. C. A. sec. 2.
129. 16 U. S. C. A. sec. 3.
130. Section 21 of the "Standard Concession Contract"; 36 C.F.R. sec. 1.60.
131. 36 C.F.R. sec. 1.91.
132. 16 U. S. C. A. sec. 10.
133. 43 C. F. R. sec. 254.10.
134. United States Government Organization Manual 1960-61, p. 266.
135. In 1935 there were 58,000,000 visitors. 11 Encyclopedia Americana 481.
136. Copies of correspondence are on file at the University of North Carolina Law School Library.
137. 36 C.F.R. sec. 311.1.
138. Copies on file at the University of North Carolina Law School Library.
139. Washington Post, Feb. 8, 1958, p. C-12, col 1-2.
140. 33 U.S.C.A. sec. 426.
141. 33 U.S.C.A. sec. 426e.
142. Letter from office of Deputy Director of Real Estate of the Office of the Chief of Engineers on file at the University of North Carolina Law School Library.
143. Southern School News, September 1960, p. 14, col 3.
144. United States of America v. Harrison County, United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi, C.A. No. 2262.
145. Annual Report of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1959, p. 96.

146. Id. at p. 78.
147. Id. at p. 97.
148. Id. at p. 97.
149. Id. at p. 100.
150. Id. at p. 102.
151. Id. at p. 104.
152. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 291.
153. Annual Report, note 145, supra. at p. 109.
154. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 273.
155. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 701.
156. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 711.
157. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 1201.
158. Annual Report, note 145, supra. p. 140.
159. The statutes are collected in Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 373 (1959).
160. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," pp. 81-82 (1956).
161. State of Arizona v. Hobby, 221 F. 2d 498 (D.C. Cir. 1954).
162. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 291e.
163. "In the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs...are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 495 (1954).
164. Marbury v. Madison, 1 Cranch 137, 180 (1803).
165. Peters, The Southern Temper, pp. 178 ff. (1958).
166. Gunner Myrdal, An American Dilemma, p. 635 (1944).
167. Mitchell v. United States, 313 U.S. 80.
168. Morgan v. Virginia, 328 U.S. 373.
169. Henderson v. United States, 339 U.S. 816.
170. Browder v. Gayle, 352 U.S. 903.
171. Evers v. Dwyer, 358 U.S. 202.
172. Fitzgerald v. Pan Am. World Airlines, 229 F. 2d 499 (2d Cir. 1956). "Even to the orthodox there was doubtless something slightly incongruous about requiring a Jim Crow compartment on a Lockheed Constellation." C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, 103 (1957).
173. Nash v. Air Terminal Servs., 85 F. Supp. 545 (E.D. Va. 1949).
174. NAACP v. St. Louis-San Francisco Ry., 297 I.C.C. 335.
175. Airports Policy and Procedure Memorandum No 41, April 6, 1956. He also ordered the end of segregation and discrimination in the facilities at the airports in Washington, D.C. and in Anchorage and Fairbanks, Alaska. 14 C.F.R. (1952 ed.) sections 570. 126, 580.126.
176. There has been much progress. In Arkansas, all railroads complied with the ICC order and removed segregation signs. In Jacksonville, Florida, airport facilities were desegregated and taxicabs began transporting Negroes. In Durham and Greensboro, the city buses ended segregation, as was true in many Texas cities. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, A Progress Memorandum," pp. 84 ff. (1956).
177. The Supreme Court now has before it a case involving the arrest of an interstate Negro bus passenger for refusing to leave the Richmond, Virginia bus-terminal restaurant for "White" passengers. Boynton v. Commonwealth of Virginia, No. 7, October Term, 1960.

178. Quoted in Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, p. 124 (1959).
179. Id. at p. 126.
180. Boman v. Birmingham Transit Company, 280 F. 2d 531 (5th Cir. 1960). See also, Henry v. Greenville Airport Commission, a case decided by the Federal Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit on April 20, 1960, enjoining a South Carolina municipal airport from assigning Negro passengers to the "waiting room for colored folks." 5 Race Rel. L. Rev. 453 (1960).
181. 49 U.S.C.A. sec. 16(8).
182. Public Law 86-449, 86th Cong 2d Sess., set forth in 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 237 (1960).
183. Boman v. Birmingham Transit Company, 280 F. 2d 531, 533, fn. 1 (5th Cir. 1960).
184. 18 U.S.C.A. sec. 241.
185. N.Y. Times, Nov. 20, 1956, p. 1.
186. United States Constitution, Art. 11, Sec. 3.
187. Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights 1959, p. 534.
188. Id. at 386.
189. Testimony of New York Justice Polier before the Civil Rights Commission. Id. at 392.
190. Housing Act of 1959, Public Law 171, 81st Cong.
191. 14 Stat. 27 (1886), 42 U.S.C.A. 1982 (1958).
192. Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917); Harmond v. Taylor, 273 U.S. 668 (1927); City of Richmond v. Deans, 281 U.S. 704 (1930).
193. Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948); Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 (1948).
194. Barrows v. Jackson, 346 U.S. 249 (1953).
195. 12 U.S.C.A. sections 1702 et seq.
196. "The Insatiable Market for Housing" Fortune magazine, February 1954.
197. Report, note 187 supra., p. 464.
198. See text at fn. 193, supra.
199. Report, note 197, supra. at 464.
200. Ibid.
201. However, it has no anti-discrimination clauses in its contracts with the brokers who act as its sale and rental agents. Id. at 469.
202. Id. at 469.
203. Ibid.
204. Id. at 465.
205. Id. at 465.
206. 12 U.S.C.A. sections 1702 et seq.
207. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, 473 (1959).
208. Id. at 487.
209. 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 501.
210. Report, note 187 supra., 475.
211. Id. at 476-7.
212. Id. at 477-80.
213. Id. at 481.
214. Id. at 484.
215. Loth and Fleming, "Integration North and South, a Progress Memorandum," p. 78.
216. Report, note 187 supra. 489-92.
217. 5 Race Rel. L. Rep. 562 (1960).
218. 38 U.S.C.A. sec. 694 et. seq.
219. Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959, 497.

220. 38 C.F.R. sec. 36.4320(h)(5).
221. Report, note 219, supra. 497.
222. 38 C.F.R. sec. 36.4308(e).
223. 38 C.F.R. sec. 36.4515(e).
224. Report, note 219, supra. 498.
225. Id. at 499.
226. 10 U.S.C.A. Supp. 111, sec. 1269.
227. See Hackley v. Art Builders, 179 F. Supp. 851 (D. Md. 1960).
228. Letter from office of the Deputy Director of Real Estate, Office of the Chief of Engineers, on file at the University of North Carolina Law School library.
229. Ming v. Horgan, 3 Race Rel. L. Rep. 693 (Super. Ct., County of Sacramento, 1958).
230. Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, 291-2 (1959).
231. Id. at 311.
232. Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959, 134.
233. The most recent and most complete account is that of the Commission on Civil Rights, Id. at pp. 55 ff. See also Greenberg, Race Relations and American Law, pp. 133 ff; Emerson and Haber, Political and Civil Rights in the United States, pp. 142 ff.
234. Report, note 232, supra., p. 135.
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238. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
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240. Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1 (1958).
241. Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights 1959, 233 ff.
242. 5 U.S.C.A. sec. 316.
243. People ex rel. Woll v. Graber, 394 Ill. 362, 68 N.E. 2d 750 (1946).
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245. Annual Report of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1959, 178.
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247. Id. at 556.
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249. Peters, The Southern Temper, 60-61 (1959).
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1962.

MINISTER WRITES 3 ANTI-BIAS PLAYS

Wayne State Chaplain Says He Aims to 'Disturb'

By DAMON STETSON
Special to The New York Times

BLOOMFIELD HILLS, Mich., Nov. 25 — The Rev. Malcolm Boyd, the Protestant Episcopal chaplain at Wayne State University, has made an unusual attack on racial prejudice in three one-act plays that have been presented here during the last three weeks.

The plays, written and produced by Mr. Boyd, have been put on before interracial audiences at the Will-O-Way Theater in this wealthy Detroit suburb. They represent a frank attempt, the author says, to disturb audiences and puncture smugness about human injustice.

"I've written these plays," Mr. Boyd said, "because I believe that the most powerful sermons of our time and culture are to be found in the theater, the novel and occasionally in the medium of film. I have something to say about race—or, as I prefer to call it, human—relations. Many people do not attend a church or synagogue; some persons who attend seldom listen in depth to sermons, or are seriously moved by them. I've employed the medium of the theater to speak about race, or human, relations."

Participating with Mr. Boyd in the plays are Cliff Frazier and Woodie King Jr., both Negroes, who are active in Detroit theatrical productions.

In the first of the plays, "They Aren't Real to Me," the audience is projected into the future. There has been a revolution, following centuries of enslavement of the whites by the Negroes, and the whites are finally free.

Mr. Boyd played the role of a white man who is one of the first of his race to qualify for an executive post in the new order. He works with two Negroes, one of whom is a moderate and sympathetic to his housing problems and the discrimination he faces every day from the dominant Negro group.

'Dirty Whiggers'

The other Negroe has a pathological hatred of whites and refers to them as "dirty Whiggers." He worries about white teen-age crime, whether the white race isn't biologically inferior and how best to preserve the purity of the Negro race. The reversal provides a simple yet thought-provoking impact.

In the second of the plays, "The Job," Mr. Frazier played a Negro celebrity hired by a white Hollywood producer to exploit race angles for promotion of a new movie about the Negro in America. This is a pointed satire aimed at the use of race as a "gimmick" with which to sell movies, plays, books or articles in magazines and newspapers.

The third play, "Study in Color," presents another reverse twist. Mr. Boyd, who is white, plays a Negro, and Mr. King a white man. They discuss color in separate soliloquies and then put on masks of colored stripes and colored polka dots in an effort to depict the absurdity of color as a criterion of knowing or classifying a man.

"The three plays," Mr. Boyd explained, "represent an attack on racial prejudice and the use of color as a means of labelling a man and thereby dehumanizing him. Too, they are designed to disturb audiences out of complacency about human injustice, to raise sharp questions about anthropology and the existential human condition and to harass an oversimplified commercial exploitation of race."

Served as Ad Man

Mr. Boyd was ordained a priest of the Episcopal Church after 10 years in Hollywood and New York in advertising, public relations, motion pictures and television. At Colorado State University, he organized and participated in several "espresso nights" as an expression of Christian evangelism on the campus.

In September, 1961, he joined 27 other Episcopal priests as a participant in the "prayer pilgrimage" which began in New Orleans and moved through Jackson, Miss., Sewanee, Tenn., and Dearborn, Mich. and wound up at the 60th general convention of the Episcopal Church, which was meeting in Detroit. He also participated in a sit-in in a segregated restaurant in the South.

In Detroit, Mr. Boyd has worked closely with Negroes and whites at Wayne State and has been outspoken in his attacks on housing discrimination and racial prejudice. In commending Mr. Boyd's direct approach to the problems of people in today's world, the Right Rev. Richard S. Emrich, Episcopal Bishop of Michigan, said:

"The danger of the church today is certainly not that it is too daring, too creative in its methods; but rather that it is too 'proper,' too 'respectable,' too cautious and even sometimes too stuffy. The simple fact is that it does not make contact with millions of people. . . . the church is for vast numbers an irrelevant holdover from a former age, an aloof group in the side-street of life, while the new life of a desperate world goes down the main street."

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. . . Lee Ivory, Tribune

"THE BITING WIT AND SATIRE IS INDICATIVE OF CHAPLAIN BOYD'S SENSITIVITY . . .
The field of race relations gets solid dissection with Chaplain Boyd's deft 'pen-knife' . . . The reactions have ranged from noticeable discomfort to electric enthusiasm."
. . . Mike Wahls, Michigan Chronicle

Three Plays About Race

WHAT ARE THEY? STUDY IN COLOR includes three one-act plays designed to be performed together. They are They Aren't Real To Me, The Job, and Study in Color, for which the series is named. Described in greater detail in a NEW YORK TIMES story reprinted on the reverse side of this leaflet, they have been selected for inclusion in the Off-Broadway section of Best Plays of 1962-63, edited by Henry Hewes for publication by Dodd, Mead and Co., New York. They were originally produced in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, in the fall of 1962. Excerpts above are from reviews appearing in Detroit area newspapers.

HOW MAY THE PLAYS BE USED? Civic organizations, human relations agencies, Little Theater groups, or parish drama groups and other church organizations will find the production of Chaplain Boyd's plays to be an arresting and unique means of focusing on aspects in the field of race relations needing attention. "They are," in Boyd's words, "designed to disturb audiences out of complacency about human injustice, to raise sharp questions about anthropology and the existential human condition, and to harass an oversimplified commercial exploitation of race."

OTHER USES: While prepared in a fashion suitable for use by groups producing them, the scripts offer thought-provoking reading in themselves. Tape recordings of the original production (not for radio broadcast) may be used as the basis for a program-discussion, as well as a guide to the local production of the plays.

Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!

Saturday Review

APRIL 20, 1963

Press, Radio, T.V. & Movies

PROBLEMS OF THE NEGRO WRITER

The American Negro author has traditionally concerned himself with themes based specifically on his experience as a Negro: his alienation from society, his anger as a victim of injustice and hypocrisy, and the futility of his search for the good life. With few exceptions, these themes have sustained a "Negro literature" that has tended to exclude itself from the central community of American letters. There have been recent signs, however, of a major shift in Negro writing from a crippling racial provincialism toward a wider involvement in American life. The dimensions of this shift and the attitudes behind it are explored here by Langston Hughes, poet, playwright, translator, and short story writer; LeRoi Jones, poet, and author of "Preface to a Twenty-Volume Suicide Note"; and John A. Williams, author of "Night Song" and "Sissie."

1. The Bread and Butter Side

By LANGSTON HUGHES

THE NEGRO writer in America has all the problems any other writer has, plus a few more.

I have been writing books for more than thirty years and have had the good fortune to be published by some of our major houses. During that time it has been my observation that publishers will bring out almost any book they believe is salable regardless of the race of the author. They will frequently even bring out a book they simply consider good. I doubt that a book by Willard Motley or Frank Yerby or James Baldwin would be turned down on account of the author's color. But if James Baldwin wrote six books a year and all six were about the Negro problem, I think perhaps some of them would be rejected—on the grounds of subject matter.

Just as a firm with two Japanese novels on their list might not wish to publish another in the same season, so prolific Negro authors who write exclusively about Negroes may find their acceptance limited. Shortly after his wonderful Negro story, "Health Card," in *Harper's* two decades ago, Frank Yerby decided he did not wish to be limited by racial subject matter. He extended his range. Result: a best-selling novel almost every year since then, plus numerous movie sales. However, until recently, novels by and about Negroes had almost no takers in Hollywood—a factor that helped to make publishers chary of such works unless they were sensational or of unusual quality.

Until 1962 there were no major publishers appealing directly to a Negro reading public. The Johnson Publishing Company, owners of *Ebony* and *Jet*, have now set up a branch specializing in books by and about colored people. The titles on their first list are selling well, so that house would not turn down a good Negro book just because it already has a couple in its catalogue this season. Johnson knows how to reach the Negro market; through their widely selling magazines, the company has the necessary publicity and promotional facilities. White publishers, as a rule, do not have the same know-how and have not much cared. But bias is not involved.

Where prejudice operates most blatantly against the Negro author is in the areas peripheral to writing: Hollywood, radio and television, editorial staff positions, and lecturing. Take lecturing, a lucrative field for famous (or even fairly well-known) white writers. Because many women's clubs and forums booking lecturers have teas or receptions following the programs, nine times out of ten, Negro speakers are not invited. Teas are social events: Negroes are not wanted, not even as star names. Many college lyceum programs, too, are booked by not very broad-minded officials. Not only in the South, but in the West and Midwest as well, there are campuses that have never yet had a Negro novelist or poet as a speaker.

For a long time not a single major publishing house in the United States had on its staff any Negroes except occasional clerical workers. It is only in these ever more democratic days since the Second World War that even clerical help has been employed. But now in a few publishing houses in New York there is a handful of Negroes working in capacities above the level of ordinary office routine. In radio and television, however, there are so few Negroes who are not janitors that one hand might have enough fingers to count them. When an author of color sells a novel to Hollywood, if ever he does, he is seldom called to California to work on the script. Almost all well-paying jobs in the mass media are still reserved for whites, no matter how celebrated the Negro author may be.

Everybody knows it is hard to make a living from books alone. Most Negro writers have been teachers. That is as near to a position related to writing as they can get. But a white writer with only an unprofitable first novel to his credit can usually get a fairly high-salaried job in publishing, radio, or TV without half trying. Thus he can make enough money in a little while to compose his next novel. Most Negro writers have to create at night after correcting a hundred student papers.

Added to job difficulties, the Negro writer, of course, suffers from all the other prejudices color is heir to in our USA, depending on what part of the country he lives in or travels. In New York, a Negro going to a downtown cocktail party given for a white fellow-writer may be told by the apartment house doorman, no matter how well

dressed the guest may be, "The servants' entrance is around the corner." Such occurrences seem incredible in Manhattan today, but they are not. In the South, on the other hand, nothing boorish is incredible.

Once on a lecture tour I had hardly crossed the Potomac into Virginia when I stopped my car to buy some sandwiches and Coca-Colas. I knew I, a Negro, could not eat sandwiches inside the little roadside lunchstand where I had parked, but I thought I could at least enter and buy some to take out to the car. When I went to open the screen door, a man held it shut. "We have a hole cut for you folks around on the side," he said through the screen. Out of curiosity, I went around to the side of the wooden building. Sure enough, there was a square hole cut there with a sign over it: COLORED. But this is a dissertation on the problems of Negro writers, not of Negroes in general. Writers do have a few little special problems. Negroes however, have a great many more that are too omnipresent to be special.

2. *The Myth of a "Negro Literature"*

By LeROI JONES

THE MEDIOCRITY of what has been called "Negro literature" is one of the most loosely held secrets of American culture. With a few notable exceptions, in most fields of "high art" in America the Negro contribution has been—when any existed at all—one of impressive mediocrity. Only in music, and most conspicuously in blues, jazz, and spirituals—"Negro music"—has there been a significant contribution by American Negroes.

The most persistent and aggravating reason for the absence of achievement among serious Negro artists is that generally the Negroes who have found themselves in a position to pursue some art, especially the art of literature, have been members of the Negro middle class, a group that has always gone out of its way to cultivate *any* mediocrity, as long as that mediocrity was guaranteed to prove to America, and recently to the world at large, that they were not really who they were, *i.e.*, Negroes. Because it drew its strengths and beauties out of the depths of the black man's soul, and because to a large extent its traditions could be carried on by the lowest classes of Negroes, and simply because the bearers of its tradition maintained their essential identities as Negroes, Negro music alone has been able to survive the constant and wilful dilutions of the black middle class.

Phillis Wheatley and her pleasant imitations of eighteenth-century English poetry are extreme and, finally, ludicrous departures from the huge black voices that splintered Southern nights with their *hollers, shouts, arwhoolies,* and *ballits*. The embarrassing and inverted paternalism of Charles Chesnutt and his "refined Afro-American" heroes is a far cry from the richness and profundity of the blues. And there has never been an equivalent to Duke Ellington or Louis Armstrong in Negro writing; even the best of contemporary literature written by Negroes cannot yet be compared to the fantastic beauty of Charlie Parker's music. In fact, it is only recently that formal literature written by American Negroes has begun to approach the literary standards of its model, the literature of the white middle class. Even so, only Jean Toomer, Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, and James Baldwin have managed to bring off writing in this genre that could succeed in being regarded as "serious" writing, in the sense that, say, Somerset Maugham is serious writing. That is, serious if one has never read Melville or Joyce.

Literature, for the Negro writer, has always been an example of "culture." The Negro artist, because of his middle-class background, carries the artificial social burden of being the "best and most intelligent" of Negroes, and has usually entered into the arts to exhibit his familiarity with the social graces—as a method or means of displaying his participation in the serious aspects of American culture. To be a writer was to be cultivated, in the stunted bourgeois sense of the word. It was also to be a "quality" black man. It has had nothing to do with the investigation of the human soul. It has been a social preoccupation, not an esthetic one.

High art, first of all, must reflect the experience, the emotional predicament of the man, as he exists, in the defined world of his being. It must be produced from the legitimate emotional resources of the soul in the world. It can *never* be produced by evading these resources or pretending that they do not exist. It can never be produced by appropriating the withered emotional responses of some strictly social idea of humanity. It must issue from *real* categories of human activity, *truthful* accounts of human life, and not fancied accounts of the attainment of cultural privilege by some willingly preposterous apologists for one social "order" or another. Most of the formal literature produced by Negroes in America has never fulfilled these conditions.

Where is the Negro-ness of a literature written in imitation of the meanest of social intelligences to be found in American culture, the white middle class? How can it even begin to express the emotional predicament of black Western man? Such a literature, even if its characters are black, takes on the emotional barrenness of its model, and the blackness of the characters is like the blackness of Al Jolson.

If he wanted to tap his legitimate cultural tradition, the Negro writer should have done so by utilizing the entire spectrum of the American experience, from the point of view of his own emotional history in this country—as its victim and its chronicler, a man existing outside the boundaries of commercial diversion or artificial social pretense. But without a deep commitment to cultural relevance and intellectual purity this was impossible.

The Negro, as a writer, has always been a social object, whether glorifying the concept of white superiority, or crying out against it. He has never moved into the position where he could propose his own symbols, erect his own personal myths, as any great literature must. Negro writing has been "after the fact," based on *known* social concepts within the structure of bourgeois idealistic projections of "their" America, and an emotional climate that has never really existed.

In general, the most successful fiction of Negro writing is in its emotional content. The Negro protest novelist postures, and invents a protest quite amenable within the tradition of bourgeois American life. He never reaches the hard core of the America which *can* cause that protest. The intellectual traditions of the white middle class prevent such exposure of reality, and the black imitators reflect this. The Negro writer on Negro life in America postures, and invents a Negro life, and an America to contain it. And even most of those who have tried to rebel against that invented America have been trapped because they had lost all touch with the reality of their experience within the real America, either because of some hidden emotional allegiance to the white middle class, or because they did not realize where the reality of their experience lay. When the serious Negro writer has disdained the middlebrow model, he has usually rushed headlong into the groves of the academy, perhaps the most insidious and clever dispenser of middlebrow standards of excellence under the guise of "recognizable tradition."

There has always been a border beyond which the Negro could not go;

there has always been a possible limitation to any dilution or excess of cultural or spiritual reference. The Negro could not ever become white, and that has been his strength. At some point, always, he could not participate in the dominant tenor of the white man's culture, yet he came to understand that culture as well as the white man. It was at this juncture that he had to make use of other resources, whether African, subcultural, or hermetic. It was this boundary, this no man's land, that provided the logic and beauty of his music. And this is the only way for the Negro artist to provide his version of America, from that no man's land outside the mainstream. A no man's land, a black country, almost completely invisible to white America, but so essentially part of it as to stain its whole being an ominous gray.

Were there really a Negro literature, now it could flower. At this point when the whole of Western society might go up in flames, the Negro remains an integral part of that society, but irrevocably outside it, a figure like Melville's Bartleby. He is an American, capable of identifying emotionally with this society, but he is also, forever, outside that culture, an observer.

If there is ever a Negro literature, it must disengage itself from the weak, heinous elements of the culture that spawned it, and use its very existence as evidence of a profounder America. But as long as the Negro writer contents himself with the imitation of the useless, ugly inelegance of the stunted middle-class mind, academic or popular, and refuses to look around him and "tell it like it is"—preferring the false prestige of the "black bourgeoisie" or the deceitful "acceptance" of buy and sell America—he will be a failure; what is worse, not even a significant failure. Just another dead American.

3. *The Literary Ghetto*

By JOHN A. WILLIAMS

ALMOST without fail, a novel written by a Negro is said to be one of anger, hatred, rage, or protest. Sometimes modifiers are used: "beautiful" anger, "black" hatred, "painful" rage, "exquisite" protest. These little tickets deprive that novel of any ability it may have to voice its concern for all humankind, not only Negroes.

After the labeling, and sometimes with it, comes the grouping, the lumping together of reviews of books by Negro authors. *Sissie*, my new novel, was officially published March 26; it has had four reviews like this already, three with James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* and one with John Killens's *And Then We Heard the Thunder*. I was hard pressed to discover who was being reviewed—Baldwin, Killens, or me. I had the same difficulty when I encountered reviews written only about *Sissie*, but whose leads almost invariably began with some reference to Baldwin. [EDITOR'S NOTE: See *SR*, March 30.]

Negro writers are nearly always compared to one another, rather than to white writers. This, like labeling and grouping, tends to limit severely the expansion of the talents of Negro writers and confine them to a literary ghetto from which only one Negro name at a time may emerge. Today it is unmistakably James Baldwin; no Negro writing in America today can escape his shadow. He replaced Richard Wright, who, in turn, may have replaced Langston Hughes.

Editors, too, have been guilty of labeling, comparing, and grouping. "Negro stuff is selling well!" I heard an editor say. So publishers have hastened to sign up Negro writers whose best qualification, often enough, was that they were Negro. Publishing has had its homosexual phase, which dies hard; its gray flannel-advertising phase, its war phase, its Jewish phase. It is now in its Negro phase. To illustrate shifting trends, six years ago an editor whose house is now the hottest because of its Negro talent, said, in essence, in a note to my agent (which was passed on to me—a sign of how grim the business of selling "Negro" books was) that it would be wiser if I were to set aside the obviously personal experiences of being Negro. Financially at least, the change in his point of view has been good for him.

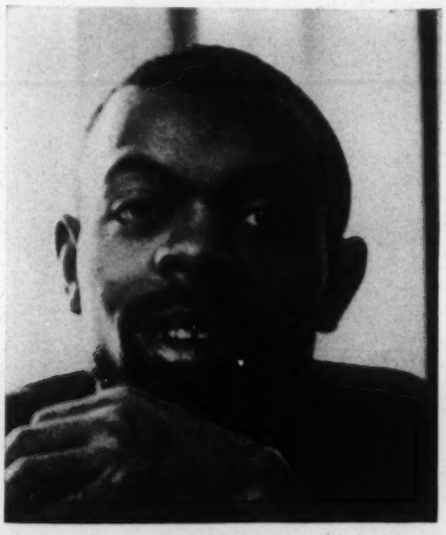
The current trend toward more publishing of books by Negro authors, brought about by national considerations, has been beneficial to black writers. Nevertheless, much comparison of their work still exists in the editorial offices. This comes from my files; it is part of a report, dated seven years ago, on a book that I have since published elsewhere: "Mr. Williams is in the vein of Chester Himes, and to my mind achieves a similar power."

Excluding riding the trend, the other attitudes—labeling, grouping, and comparing—provide the biggest block to the expansion by Negro writers of themes and techniques (cared for so little by reviewers today). Perhaps that is the reason for the existence of these attitudes. They are automatic and no one thinks about them much except Negro writers. Either consciously or unconsciously, this kind of bigotry tells more about the reviewer than it does about the book he's reviewing.

A more specific example: In a recent

(*Continued on page* 40)

John A. Williams



LeRoi Jones

Langston Hughes

Negro Writers

Continued from page 21

article a writer discussed James Baldwin and me; we were said to be in midstream and about to drown. In our attitudes, I guess. The man did a thorough job, having researched magazines and brought what I had written in some of them to bear upon his subject, my novel *Night Song*. I was impressed. The white woman in the novel, Della, is a social worker who, after her day at the office, comes to the coffee house owned by her lover to help out. But, in view of the crisp way the writer handled his article, I could only conclude that he saw Della merely as a *waitress* because her lover was Negro.

The relationship between mixed couples is always more graciously accepted by the reviewers when related by a white author than by a Negro. Jack Kerouac's one-dimensional Negro girl and her white lover, John Updike's quiet, fleeting references to the same combination, and Robert Gover's hilarious team of Kitten and James Cartwright Holland are a few examples. But

would *One Hundred Dollar Misunderstanding* have been quite so well received had Kitten been a Negro social worker instead of a whore, and the inability of man and woman, black and white, to communicate been put on an altogether different symbolic level?

I wish white writers would stop pretending they just can't reach Negroes; I want Philip Roth's little Negro boy in the Newark Public Library to be real, not a symbol of God only knows what, besides guilt. I want Pete Washington in Dennis Lynds's new novel, *Uptown Downtown*, to stop sitting around with his little Italian Catholic girl bemoaning to the point of being a bore the racial situation in America.

For I can smell the *illusion* of concern as quickly as I can smell a phony, and from the same distance. When you do me, do me *right*. Then some of the barriers to the expansion of America's Negro writing talent may fall.

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, APRIL 23, 1963

Press Story

Radio, T.V. & Movies

JAMES A. WECHSLER

In this season of press conventions, crowded with discussion of "the people's right to know" and the perils of "news management," it may be in order to talk about the state of journalism in the state of Mississippi, and especially about the adventure of two 21-year-olds publishing a weekly in Jackson called the Mississippi Free Press.

The paper, founded a little less than two years ago, has been coming across my desk through most of that interim. It is largely devoted to reports on the efforts of disenfranchised Negroes, in Greenwood and other battle fronts, to challenge the local oppressive despotisms under which they live. It also seeks to offer some enlightenment on the organizing campaigns of labor unions among the state's lowly paid working people.

For many months the paper's staff has consisted of Charles Butts, a former Oberlin College student (and son of an Oberlin faculty member) and Lucille Komisar, who attended Queens College here. Both cut short their college careers to run this enterprise, which provides for many of its 6,500 readers the first newspaper of any kind they have ever read.

* * *

The non-newspaper-reading populace of Mississippi is the largest in the land. In part, of course, this reflects the vast illiteracy rate. But it also dramatizes the alienation between the state's large Negro segment (about 43 per cent) and most of the Mississippi press. Only 12 per cent of the people of the state, Negro and white, read any daily newspaper. If the Free Press could achieve its present goal of 20,000 additional readers, it would become the fourth largest journal—daily or weekly—in Mississippi.

The problems of the two young people in charge seem far removed from some of the solemn subjects that have recently occupied editors and publishers; yet, in another sense, they go to a central question. For the truth is that "the people's right to know" and other variations on that theme require a journalistic revolution in Mississippi (and in some areas not a million miles from here). This is not to deny the existence of newspaper oases in the state—such as Hodding Carter's Delta Democrat and Ira Harkey's Pascagoula Chronicle, which recently became a daily (as well as that lively, intermittently issued commentary called Petal Papers, published by P. D. East).

But the existence of these scattered voices does not alter the basic condition of newspaper isolation from the lives of great multitudes of underprivileged Negroes and whites who comprise the bulk of the state's population.

That is the condition the Free Press is trying to remedy. The economics of its effort are both painful and simple. Mr. Butts and Miss Komisar draw salaries (irregularly) of about $20 a week, which partially explains how each edition can be published at a total cost of about $250. Many prospective readers simply cannot afford the yearly rate of $1 ($4 per year out of state); the two publishers-editors-reporters-managers have been trying to raise funds to underwrite subscriptions.

* * *

Over the telephone from Jackson yesterday, Butts talked animatedly and hopefully about the future of the project.

"We're finding many people in Mississippi who want to see a change," he said.

"The big lack has been a unifying voice.

"We don't want to be considered a Negro paper—and we don't want to be a charity paper. There is tremendous potential in Mississippi—it's like frontier land, and we want to be a part of the change.

"We are trying to overcome the idea that politics is 'white folks' business.'

"We're trying to tell Negroes how they can play a major role in the state. We're also trying to educate the people about trade unions; for we believe that is the key to raising the economic level here. In addition, a strong labor movement could be a significant political force in the state."

* * *

Butts believes the hope of change in the state hinges primarily on the pace of voter registration, and that this in turn will be decisively affected by the pace and intensity of federal support for the drive.

"Too many Negroes still remember how people were shot between the eyes when they tried to register," he says.

Neither Butts nor Miss Komisar feels any self-consciousness about their Northern origins in this deep Southern setting. They have encountered quiet congeniality among numerous whites in Jackson; they feel they are doing what many inarticulate Mississippians have wanted done, and that they are establishing communication with people to whom the printed word has long denoted either outright hostility or indifference. They also sound as if they are having a degree of excitement too many pillars of modern journalism no longer enjoy. They do not use the language of martyrdom.

When I asked Butts whether there had been any attempts to curb or harass his enterprise, he replied promptly that they had been remarkably free of trouble. Then he added:

"I guess those could be famous last words. I suppose something could happen tonight."

The American not only has to be successful; he must also be right. His striving for virtue through success leads to moral conflict, because of the need for conformity. Those organization men who conform against their will must suffer a deformation of the spirit; and they are inclined to attribute their distress to a lack of a sense of identity.

And when they declare their need for a sense of identity, ignoring self-contradiction, they merely compound their difficulties. For a preoccupation with one's identity can lead to a distressing self-dissatisfaction that cannot be resolved. He who asks himself, "Who am I? What am I supposed to be?" is likely to become aware of defects, real or illusory, that he feels no hope of changing. For what can he do — will into existence a quality he thinks desirable? If I tell someone to be strong, he right away feels weak; and if I tell him to be bold, he thinks himself timid. Even if he should carry out my command, his act will lack authenticity and have the quality of play-acting.

People sometimes pine for a desired state of existence, and it is astonishing how crippling this can be. One fellow I know wanted to be a "nice guy," and fell into a paralysis of action for fear of *not* being a nice guy. (One cannot *be* a nice guy, for that is a judgment, and for it to have significance it must be made by others.)

People sometimes set impossible standards for themselves and thereby bring about their own defeat. A friend of mine — also given to pining — wanted to be a musician, but gave up music because he knew he could never compose as well as Brahms. Another friend of mine yearned to be a writer, and I never knew why he didn't write until I learned that he wanted to be a *great* writer.

Such are the obstacles that arise when the self is conceived statically. Yet one is constantly subject to change at all levels of his being. His organic processes change him; his experiences change him. His life in society involves him in changing situations, and his responses are not fixed; though habit looms large, they are variable. His changing responses are felt subjectively as choice and freedom. And his choices will change according to his view of his situation and the possibilities he sees within it.

My conclusion is that it is useless — nay, harmful — to try to *be* anything; that is, to strive for a definite identity. A preoccupation with identity can lead to doubt, fear and depression, if not play-acting, pretension and absurdity, based on fantastic notions of what one is or should be. Action is what is needed, practical action, something well within the scope of one's powers. And perhaps in the end one can do more than he thought — and people may call it creative.

The Metatheatre 4/27/63

Theatre of Politics: the Negro

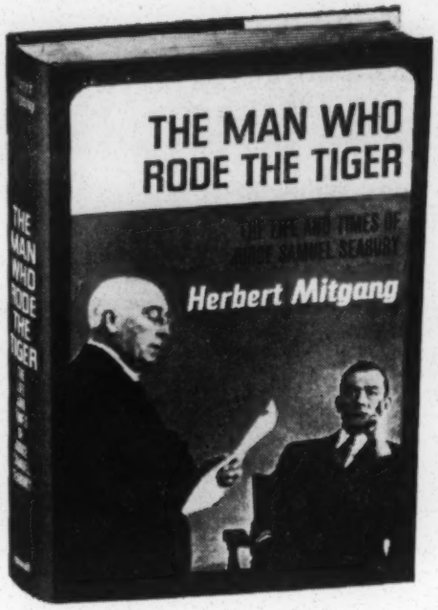
Lionel Abel Press, Rdio, Movies, TV, etc.

In the sixteenth century a play could be political—to some extent, at least —if about a king. For the love affairs of a king, in that century, had political, as well as romantic reference. Our age is quite different: it is practically impossible to conceive of a politician, a President of this republic, a leader of the CIO or of the British Labour Party, even thinking of himself as a lover. And if modern politicians do have personal feelings, these are bound to be without political reference. Does this mean that political plays in our time will have to be expressly and intentionally political? Not necessarily. But I think genuinely political plays can be written only when preceded by a political movement.

Of course there are now on our stage revues which touch sarcastically on contemporary facts, even political facts. I am thinking of *The Premise*, *The Establishment* and *Beyond the Fringe*. But if Vice President Lyndon Johnson can be enthusiastic about *The Premise*, how enthusiastic should we be about that revue's political bite and sarcasm? The Establishment is evidently quite happy about the success of *The Establishment*. And it is a sign of being well within the fringe to be seen at *Beyond the Fringe*. I do not mean that the politically sharp comments in these revues are not to be valued — only that they are without much political effect.

What else is of note—politically —in the theatre? There is Genet's new

Lionel Abel is a playwright and critic whose book, Metatheatre, *is recently published (Hill & Wang). His new play,* The Next Golem, *will be done next season under the direction of Wynn Handman.*



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play, *The Screens*, already in English and about to be produced, which treats of the war in Algeria. But this play is anti-political, since Genet's point of view is that the degradation of the Algerian masses can never be redeemed by any kind of political action—even revolutionary action. What about Genet's *The Blacks*? Some insensitive observers have taken this for a political play akin to the kind of expression about the Negro problem we have gotten, and are likely to get for quite a while still, from Mr. James Baldwin. But *The Blacks* is about a black mass—the only real event in it is the ritual killing (symbolic, to be sure) of a woman. Moreover, the blacks in *The Blacks* are only symbolically black—perhaps to Genet this means they are the only real blacks—and though all the parts in the play are acted by Negroes, some wearing white masks, I think those actors not playing the parts of whites should be masked too, for to Genet, black against white means mask against mask. In any case, however enthusiastic about life or about death *The Blacks* may have made Negro audiences feel, it is certainly not a political work.

Probably the last truly political play seen in Europe or in this country was Sartre's *Dirty Hands*, and even that play was only partly political. In what sense? There were two main characters in it, and audiences were at liberty to decide which of the two main characters was the play's real protagonist. Jed Harris, who directed *Dirty Hands* on Broadway, elected for the Communist bureaucrat Hoerderer, casting Charles Boyer for the part. But Jean-Paul Sartre told me that he considered the real hero of the play to be the young bourgeois intellectual, Hugo. In any case, a judgment as to which character in the play is its true protagonist is not imposed by the play's own structure. And there is something else to be noted: Hoerderer, the Communist leader, is presented in political terms, that is to say, in terms of his political role. Hugo, the bourgeois intellectual, is presented in psychological terms, that is to say, in terms of his desire to play a political role. The same kind of dramatic analysis cannot be applied to both characters. Hoerderer is analyzed politically; Hugo is psychoanalyzed. So I should say the play is not thoroughly political, and yet it is unquestionably the closest to a really political play we have seen in almost twenty years.

The explanation, of course, lies in the lack of political movements in recent times of the kind we witnessed during the thirties. However, there have of late been political events that give promise of future effects—political and theatrical. For if there is no labor movement or Socialist movement on the march in this country, there are two new political developments: (1) the peace movement and (2) the movement for Negro liberation, which has expressed itself in the separatist trend of the Black Muslims and in the integrationist trend of the NAACP.

Of these, the Negro movement seems to me to be by all odds the more interesting. The peace movement, as some of its own leaders have admitted, lacks intellectual coherence. If you are concerned about the security of the people of this country, then you have to be worried about the possibility of Russian military superiority. And if you are indeed worried about that, you cannot be part of a peace movement. But if you refuse to be worried about the possibility of Russian military superiority, then how can you honestly represent yourself as being concerned with the security of the people of this country? The peace movement so far has not been able to resolve this contradiction.[1]

The Negro movement for liberation is something else again. The alternatives presented to Negroes by that movement—the separatism advocated by the Black Muslims and the integration drive headed by the NAACP—both have plausibility and interest and force. I can very well understand how difficult it must be for a young Negro to decide under which banner to march. The Muslims have a real appeal when they say: Let's not beg the whites to accept us—let's reject *them!* But one does not see clearly the values in terms of which Negroes could reject whites. Malcolm X has singled out New York's Chinatown as the type of nonintegrated community Negroes should aim at forming. But American Negroes cannot, I think, achieve any separation from American whites comparable to that of the Chinese, who probably never even thought of keeping themselves separate. The Chinese have their language, their customs, their manners, their holidays, their history—the greatness of China—to differentiate them from white Americans. Certainly the Chinese in Chinatown are not held together by hatred of the white race. And what but hatred of the white race could keep Negro communities separate from whites with whom they share the same language, customs, holidays, manners and history? Here, I think, is the weakness of the Muslim movement, and I do not believe it can endure, however strong its present appeal to the dignity and pride of young Negroes who do not want to wait indefinitely for just treatment.

But this is not the place to argue the merits of political tendencies in the Negro movement. My point is rather that both trends are important to dramatization of the American Negro, who in the last few years has taken on the stature of a truly historical figure. What pose will the

[1]Does the fact that the peace movement lacks intellectual coherence mean that it cannot have some inspiration for the dramatist? I think so. For the peace movement presents itself as a movement of reasoned opposition: It is composed in the main of talkative women and not of wild men. Its most distinguished representative, of course, is Mr. Bertrand Russell, who did not have to get himself arrested (protesting American missile bases in Engand) in order to become dramatic. Bertrand Russell always was.

Natural History

If, at the bottom of the sea, the whales arrange
Collectanea of human relics,
Bones all barnacled and the hearts by those slow strange
Deeps coralled in their spiny cases
To show life's prolix range of norms and features
With lightning-eels to shine on the drowned faces
Set, in the brine, in the taut grimaces

Of creatures who enact their inmost natures,
What, then, could the educative sign
In whale-calligraphy on harpoon handle inked
Say but, "This unfinned sport with little spine
Was fierce as froth asnarl on the crest of the surf is.
Habitat: Found only on the surface.
Tried beyond its depths to spout; believed extinct."

Daniel Hoffman

American Negro finally assume? This he himself has not yet decided, but it is very important for all of us what that pose will finally be. In any case, the Negro has become a dramatic figure, and there should be more good plays about him.[2]

A playwright recently remarked to me that the only kind of play treating American life which could have a structure not determined by Freudian concepts would have to be a play about race relations. For the issues between Negroes and whites are not Freudian issues — although Freudianized or Reichianized white intellectuals have tried to interpret them as such; cultural psychology is not the same as clinical psychology. There are political and social issues between Negroes and whites which it will take a long time to resolve, and only after these have been resolved would it be even possible to understand Negroes in Freudian, Reichian—or going still further back—in Ibsenian terms. The Ibsenization of the Negro is something which may take place in the future; I do not expect it to happen in our time.

I speak of Ibsen here because the American realistic theatre from O'Neill to Edward Albee was founded and determined by Henrik Ibsen. In fact, I think the American realistic theatre, apparently so dependent on Freudian concepts, would have developed exactly as it did even if Freud had never existed. Ibsen's own plays would have been quite sufficient to make Eugene O'Neill write *The Iceman Cometh*, Arthur Miller *Death of a Salesman* and *A View from the Bridge*, Tennessee Williams *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, and Edward Albee *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* I recently reread *The Wild Duck* and was astonished to see how much that play is determined by concepts I would have thought derived from Freud, except that Freud and his concepts came along a good while after the play. The characteristic emphases of Freud are to be found in Ibsen's masterpiece. There is the shameful fact suppressed in the subconscious of Hjalmar Ekdal; there is the revelation of the shameful fact to him by the idealistic and not too conscious Gregors Werle; and there is the cynical observation of a doctor — Doctor Reller — that it is not always wise to tell suffering people the truth about their sufferings.

The major emphases in *The Wild Duck* are point for point the ones made many years later in *The Iceman Cometh*, and the only superiority in the later work is that O'Neill's dramatic analyst, the salesman Hickey, is more interesting than Ibsen's fatuously high-minded Gregors Werle. If we are inclined to attribute to Freud some measure of influence on O'Neill's work — and there is little doubt that Freudian ideas did influence *Mourning Becomes Electra*, *Strange Interlude* and *The Iceman Cometh* — I suggest this qualification: if O'Neill was influenced by Freud it was because of Ibsen. Perhaps one could put the matter thus: Ibsen exposed O'Neill to Freud's ideas.

Ibsen had a similar effect on Arthur Miller and on Tennessee Williams. The more interesting case is that of Miller, insofar as this playwright at one time was committed to definite social and political views (I do not know Miller's views at the present time). Yet Miller, even when he was attracted to the political Left, made the dynamic and organizing ideas of his two most famous plays, *Death of a Salesman* and *A View from the Bridge*, not social or political ideas, but psychological notions derived from Freud. Since Miller's plays seem to have social meaning, even though organized on psychological lines, they lack the unity and definiteness of Williams' works, which are frankly psychological, openly Freudian.

But perhaps I should have said that Williams' plays are Ibsenian. For there can be little doubt that Ibsen outlined the fundamental horizon for any kind of drama in which the family unit is the widest collectivity envisaged. Now when a dramatic action is conceived in such terms, psychology is bound to be the privileged method of analysis. And since Ibsen himself did not need Freud to do the very things his successors in the American realistic theatre have done, we are entitled to think that his successors did not really need Freud either. So recent a play as *Virginia Woolf* is fundamentally an Ibsenian play, though perhaps Albee's is a negation, even a caricature, of this kind of play. The widest collectivity envisaged in *Virginia Woolf* is still the family; the only novel thing

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[2] I did not see *Fly Blackbird!* when it was playing in New York; but I am told that, in addition to its air of exuberance, it had a social impact far exceeding that of the revues I mentioned above. Its "book" was about a freedom march, and the relevance, not to say hazards, of that form of political protest was undoubtedly what gave the show its bite.

The Materials

poems

by George Oppen

"This book, because of its excellence, and because it bears so directly on the concerns of young poets today, should remind us that the history of our poetry has yet to be written"—Harvey Shapiro, *N. Y. Times Book Review.*

"The precision with which Oppen sets down the images that inform these poems is like the articulation of form in cliff-flowers and shore-growing pines" — William Meredith, *N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review.*

"Now these clean constructions move me again. They fulfill what he has promised to do with the poetic line, to keep it clean and succinct. He has never varied in his direct approach to the word as the supreme burden of the final poetic image" — William Carlos Williams.

"Oppen is among the handful of craftsmen writing verse in our time . . . The entire book resolves itself into a remarkable achievement in clarity and precision" — Gilbert Sorrentino, *Kulchur.*

"Oppen's lines are as strong and unadorned as steel girders. His constructions with words are as solid as stone or brick"—Dennis Powers, *Oakland Tribune.*

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in Albee's work is that it is not about a real family, but about a couple who have failed to form one.

What Ibsen's plays lack, and what makes them essentially nonpolitical and ultimately middle class, is something that has been called "the consciousness of the forum." This kind of consciousness, which presupposes a wider collective unit than the family, has to be expressed in any truly political play; moreover, this kind of consciousness cannot be analyzed in Freudian or psychological terms. And it is this "consciousness of the forum" which society now lacks; it was supposed to be supplied in our time by the proletariat. Nowadays, members of the proletariat are very probably in the process of being psychoanalyzed. But a "consciousness of the forum" is surely present among the American Negroes; it is imposed upon them by their situation. Even if American Negroes would prefer to understand their feelings in terms of psychoanalytical — I almost said bourgeois — notions, I think history will not permit them such a luxury. They have to think — and are thinking, in fact — in much more political terms. The Negroes have to act upon the whites and on themselves, and this is something quite different from going to a doctor to be cured of one's irrational drives. While American whites have been lying on the couch, American Negroes have been asked by history — theirs and ours — to stand up.

A different kind of play from the Ibsen play is now possible to American dramatists, even to those who would like to deal with American life realistically. The kind of play I have in mind will be concerned with the actions taking place among American whites and blacks in the North and in the South. And let no one think it a small matter to be able to escape the influence of Ibsen in writing a realistic play. Consider that when so modernistic a playwright as Jean Cocteau wanted to write a play about a real family, he wrote, despite his insistence on "poetry of the theatre," and all the tricks of *avant-gardism*, what is an Ibsen play, *Les Parents Terribles* (*Intimate Relations*), which happens to be his best work.

But if it is almost impossible to get away from the Ibsen form when you are dealing as a dramatist with the family, very different forms become possible as soon as a wider social unit is envisaged. Chekhov's plays are different from Ibsen's, not merely because of the very different sensibilities of the two dramatists, but also because of the Russian playwright's special concern for the fate of the Russian intelligentsia and of the Russian aristocracy; these groups could not be represented in tightly knit structures like the plays of Ibsen. Inspired by the progressive and radical politics of the thirties, Clifford Odets found a model in Chekhov's plays, and was able to dramatize conflicts wider than those immediately felt within the family. Odets' *Awake and Sing* owes as much to Chekhov's *Ivanov* as O'Neill, Miller, Williams and Albee owe to *The Wild Duck*.

My claim is that the existing movement for Negro liberation has again made political plays possible; moreover, these possible plays might have some form other than the Ibsenian plays with which we are only too familiar. Now this is an interesting fact indeed. Some years back there were many Negro writers — James Baldwin was one of them — who resented the claim made on them by Negroes to use their literary talents in propagandizing for Negro rights. I think I understand why Negro writers resisted this claim on them; they felt it as limiting the kind of art they wanted to produce. But at the time I am speaking of there was not in evidence any new artistic possibility in the dramatization of Negro problems. What is new in the present situation, as a result of what Negroes have achieved in the North and in the South, is that the individual Negro, representing his fellows, has become dramatic, a historical figure.

By one of those unexpected ironies of history (which keeps it, by the way, from becoming uninteresting) the American Negro has suddenly acquired some of the characteristics — and value to the dramatist — of the sixteenth-century European king. Almost everything Negroes do or want to do, even the irrational things, have political meaning today. If a Negro falls in love with a white girl, politics is there; if a Negro elects to believe in Allah rather than in Christ, politics is present, possibly of a very drastic kind; when Mr. Meredith decided that he wanted to be educated at the University of Mississippi, we almost had a television rerun of the Civil War; two men are dead already, and no one knows what the consequences of Meredith's deciding to be educated at a very poor school are finally going to be. Practically everything Negroes do will have political meaning, and possibly grave consequences. For this reason alone Negroes cannot fail to be interesting now to sensitive dramatists, white or black.

Poets Without Prophecy

Hayden Carruth

Beginning with whom? — not Eliot — with Arnold perhaps? — well, beginning rather long ago the meaning of the words *poem* and *poet* shifted finally from a matter of substance to a matter of technique. Today we can find vestiges of that older way of speaking. In the country where I live people still say, "Oh, that's poetry," when you tell them a lie; and I suppose somewhere people may still exclaim, upon seeing a sunset, "How poetic!" We do not say these things. We consider them offensive. For us a poem is a work of art, a composition of verbal materials, a thing, and the poet is the maker who makes it.

Hayden Carruth's poetry has been collected in several volumes, most recently in The Norfolk Poems (*Prairie Press*) *and* Journey to a Known Place (*New Directions*). *He has completed a novel for publication by Macmillan and is at work on a book about Camus under a Bollingen grant.*

I don't want to suggest that we are wrong; certainly I don't want to excuse the sentimentality and unctuousness which were the end products of the old view. But I would like to point out that these end products were a long time in coming — centuries, in fact — and that there distinctly was something grand and ennobling in the idea that a poet was to be known not by his art but by his vision; something more than grand and ennobling, something essential. And we have lost it.

I don't know what to call it, precisely. It's hard to move back into that area of old custom without falling prey to the soft, foolish terms it spawned so readily toward its close. But let's extend to one another the charity of understanding and agree on an acknowledged orotundity: the "larger vision of humanity." Once the poet was our spokesman and not our oracle, our advocate and not our secret agent, or at least he was as much the one

Press, Radio, T.V. & Mag

Joe,
If possible, file this periodical whole. Might come in handy if we ever do report on Negro press.
Thanks,
SB

NEW YORK CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST
May 6, 1963

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The Community Information Committee
Robert L. Pelz, Chairman

Co-Editors
Mrs. M. J. Kleinfeld Mrs. Louise Levinson
Mrs. Marilyn Gilbert, Contributing Editor

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST

Statement of Purpose

The Negro Press Digest is published for the purpose of providing its readers with news and views of Negro newspapers and news magazines circulated in New York City. The Digest is not intended to present a cross-section of the content of the publications it reviews but focuses upon articles dealing with such matters as civil rights, civil liberties and intergroup relations. Emphasis is given to articles of local interest and national consequence.

News that has been adequately treated, in the judgment of the editors, in the daily press or on the broadcasting media is not duplicated in the Digest unless the Negro press reports such news from a distinctly different point of view.

The New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee hopes that this publication will help fill an important need in intergroup relations, which is: improved communications bringing fuller knowledge of the problems, aspirations and frustrations of the Negro community as expressed in their press. This periodical, therefore, is designed to foster greater understanding and thereby further the development of truly effective human relations efforts. With this Digest, the New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee fills a gap in local informational services even as the national American Jewish Committee's Yiddish and Christian press digests accomplish this purpose in other areas.

-- Robert L. Pelz, Chairman
Community Information Committee
New York Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

BLACK MUSLIMS

FINDS NEGROES PREFER INTEGRATION TO MUSLIMS

Chicago Daily Defender (March 28)

An Urban League official said that "The Black Muslims, like the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society and the White Citizens' Councils will make the headlines..but they will not capture the hearts of the nation's..Negroes." However, the existence of the Muslims should warn us that if Negroes are persistently denied equal opportunity in all sector of life, they will begin to fight hatred with hatred. Most Negroes do not want a separate society in America.

THE GIANT KILLERS

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (April 6)

Week after week a Negro leader will go on a radio or TV program to destroy Malcolm X but the result is always the same. Malcolm X comes out looming bigger while the Negro leader is himself demolished. These "giant killers" are not really as silly as they appear to be when they argue the white man's point of view against Malcolm X.. but they are fighting the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time. It is folly today for one Negro to declare war on another. It is the common enemy who must be fought.. the white men who deny black men the right to first class citizenship.

BUSINESS & BOYCOTTS

TWU OPPOSES AIRLINE MERGER

Amsterdam News (March 9)

TWU lawyer Clayton Sinclair said thousands of Negroes employed and living in norther cities would be forced to transfer to cities where racial discrimination is the tradition if the proposed merger of Eastern Airlines with American Airlines is approved by the Civil Aeronautics Board.

THE CHANGING SOUTH

Amsterdam News - Along This Way, Column by Roy Wilkins (March 16)

The acute problems resulting from Negroes fleeing the Southern Way of Life may be eased if the South heeds Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina. He says his state has realized the importance of opening new economic opportunities for Negro citizens. He criticized the South for its failure to utilize the Negro's assets.

WIN $50 MILLION PLEDGE FOR NEGRO HOUSING

Chicago Daily Defender (March 26)

A group of Chicago Negro mortgage bankers obtained $50 million for Negro housing after a conference in New York with some big banks and insurance companies. It will be divided among 50 Negro mortgage firms throughout the country. The group didn't have much luck with insurance companies.

URBAN LEAGUE COLD-SHOULDERS WALDORF ASTORIA - Chicago Defender (3/27)
NEGROES BOYCOTT WALDORF - Amsterdam News (March 30)
BOYCOTT STAYS - New York Courier (April 6)

While New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel is being picketed by the Congress of Racial Equality, the NAACP as well as the Urban League of Greater New York cancelled plans to hold fund-raising dinners and chose other hotels for the functions. It is charged that the Food and Beverage Department of the Waldorf practices discriminatory hiring. Out of 400-500 employees in that department, there were only three Negro waiters.

NEGRO FIRMS URGED TO EXPAND MARKET - New York Courier (4/3)
U.S. TELLS NEGRO BUSINESSMEN TO STOP BIAS - Jet (4/4)

According to a report released by the U.S. Department of Commerce (Problems and Opportunities Confronting Negroes in the Field of Business), Negro businessmen should set their sights on broader horizons in the mainstream of American business instead of operating in a racially restricted market.. change their concepts, attitudes and locations.. employ whites.

CHURCHES & RELIGIONS

MISSISSIPPI METHODISTS VOTE FOR SEGREGATION

Jet (March 21)

Supporting continued segregation, the Central Mississippi District Layman's Fellowship of the Methodist Church voted overwhelmingly for a resolution "to preserve each race in its rightful place before God".

INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (March 30)

Monsignor Adamo, Executive Editor of the Catholic Star Herald, granted permission for the reprint of his article in which he wrote: Today it is the Government, rather than the Church, which leads the way in dealing with the race issue.. but the Government will never venture into what is the heart and soul of the issue.. intermarriage.. the real acceptance of the colored. Marriage integrates as nothing else can. While no one would urge mass intermarriage, such marriages are moral and laudable. It is time to dispel the prejudices.

RULE NEGROES TRESSPASSED AT WHITE ALA. CHURCH

Jet (April 4)

Gerald Johnson, Lillie Montgomery and Donald Duncombe who tried to worship at a white Talladega, Ala. Methodist Church last April were convicted of tresspass.

CALLS RACIAL BIAS CALL TO CONFESSION

Amsterdam News (April 6)

Bishop Joseph H. Hodges of Wheeling, West Virginia, stated before the National Council of Catholic Women that unjust treatment of Negroes by Catholics is a matter for confession.

ALL MEN EQUAL, POPE JOHN XXIII TELLS WORLD - Chicago Defender (4/11)
POPE REASSERTS HIS BELIEF IN BROTHERHOOD - N. Y. Courier (4/20)

Pope John declared in his Holy Week encyclical that racial discrimination can no longer be justified doctrinally or in theory. He called for the elimination of every trace of racism. Pope John re-emphasized his frequently expressed statement that "all men are equal by reason of their natural dignity."

A NEW DAY IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Amsterdam News - Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (4/20)

Recently Pope John struck out at racism in his encyclical when he said racial discrimination can no longer be justified. This is what civil rights forces in this country have been saying even before the Civil War. Catholic, Protestant and Jewish churches are becoming more and more active in the field of human rights.. and enactment of fair employment laws. The Jews have a long history of assistance over a wide area in the civil rights field, not only preaching the moral truth from their synagogues, but working day to day on problems at hand. Protestant colleges are slowly opening their doors. Now the spiritual head of Catholics the world over has reiterated and elaborated upon the racial and human stand of his Church. Let Greenwood, Mississippi, Birmingham, Alabama, and their police dogs hear.. Let the filibusters in the U.S. Senate hear.. Let the racists, white or black give ear.

CUBANS

CUBAN REFUGEES TAKE JOBS OF FLA. NEGROES - by John Britton, Jet (3/21)
NEGLECTED AMERICANS - Amsterdam News, Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (March 21)

Nine years after the Supreme Court's Decision more than 2 million Negro children are still attending segregated schools. The Federal Government is aiding the State of Florida to educate thousands of Cuban refugee children in a program costing more than ten million dollars. For foreign children, there has been money and a solution to their problems. For American children who happen to be black, no help whatsoever. Parents and voters will not forget. In Miami, thousands of Cuban refugees are given jobs once held by or denied to Negroes. Miami admits that thousands of Negroes are unemployed because their jobs are given to Cubans who work for lower wages.

THE WORLD TODAY - N. Y. Courier, Column by George S. Schuyler (3/30)
HISTORY SHOWS - N. Y. Courier, Column by J. A. Rogers (4/13)

A Negro labor leader of Florida told on a television program of the hardships imposed upon Negroes by the flood of Cuban refugees. Negro unemployment has more than doubled. A Florida Negro mother with one child gets $32 a month on relief, while the refugees with no dependents get $60. The Negroes are reported as bitter.

EDUCATION

COLLEGE MEN NEEDED

N.Y. Courier - Column: My View by Benjamin E. Mays (March 16)

At present sixty percent of Negroes in college are women and only forty percent are men. More Negro men must be encouraged to attend col-

lege. Or, in the future, the more highly trained women will be bringing some higher pay checks than the men.

MANY HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS FOUND WEAK IN HUMAN RELATIONS

Chicago Daily Defender (March 20)

A study of more than 1000 teachers in Midwest high schools found that many teachers, well-prepared academically, are inadequately fitted to meet the problems of human relations in the classroom. Some teachers have negative attitudes toward all minority groups, are distinctly aware of social and class differences and allow their own prejudices to become apparent in handling school problems.

FIND VA. NEGRO TEACHERS BETTER TRAINED THAN WHITES - Defender (3/20)

VA. NEGRO TEACHERS BETTER QUALIFIED THAN WHITES - Jet (4/4)

The Virginia Education Association reports that Negro teachers in Virginia are better trained than white ones. Many more Negro teachers hold regular and advanced degrees. A high school graduate in Virginia can start teaching at once and take 20 years to get a college degree. Lax certification and low salaries also contribute to poor calibre of teachers.

NEGRO, WHITE TEACHERS SEEK MERGER PLAN

New York Courier (March 23)

Money is one of the difficulties in consolidating the separate white and Negro Teachers Associations in Dade County, Florida, into one organization. The Negro group has more money in its teasury and owns property.

A VISIT TO GOD

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James Hicks (March 23)

NOT THE ANSWER - Editorial, Amsterdam News (April 6)

From the way people act when the Board of Education in Brooklyn is mentioned, God must live there. I wonder if he knows that New York State schools rank 35th in an illiteracy scale of the 50 states.. that in a study of adults in the nation who have completed high school or more, New York is AT THE BOTTOM half of the list.. that in 1961 every fifth New Yorker appearing before the Selective Service boards FAILED THE MENTAL TEST.. a rate exceeded only by the southern states and Hawaii! In the Presidential election of 1960, we ranked 32nd in a listing of presidential votes cast as a percent of the number of persons of voting age. It's time we got results for our money.. well trained boys and girls with better education. Until we get our dollars worth of the 647 million dollars yearly spent on education, neither this paper, nor any we have noted, will rally round our schools.

SPACE CITY FACES SCHOOL SEGREGATION SHOWDOWN

Chicago Daily Defender (March 28)

Two Negro technicians who work at the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center have applied under a Federal program to take courses at the Huntsville, Ala. unit of the University of Alabama. They were rejected for the spring term and have reapplied for summer session. The uni-

versity is under Federal court injunction to admit qualified Negroes, but the Governor has vowed to stop all desegregation in his state.

JIM CROWED STUDENTS WON'T GO TO SCIENCE HIGH SCHOOL

Amsterdam News (March 20)

Not a single student from Harlem's two all-Negro junior high schools qualified for admission to the sought after Bronx High School of Science, but 14 Negro students attending integrated schools in the area have qualified for the science school.

CHARGES FLY IN FREE TUITION FIGHT -- DEM SENATORS FLAY CARLINO, STATE SCHOOLS

New York Courier (March 30)

Senators Watson and Thaler have challenged Assembly Speaker Carlino's statement that two percent of New York City's free tuition college students are Negro and Puerto Rican. They contend that his figures are manufactured or unlawfully obtained since the Civil Rights Law expressly prohibits any inquiry into a student's religious or social background. They also contend that the imposition of tuition in these colleges will sharply reduce the number of minority group students, as these are the ones least able to afford to pay.

SLUM TEACHERS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (April 4)

It was socially offensive and educationally unsound to offer New York teachers a $1000 bonus to teach in slum schools and the United Federation of Teachers showed social responsibility in rejecting the proposal. Their alternative proposal was to use those funds for 10 pilot schools with small classes and extra services. Some schools operate successfully in slums; take a close look at how they do it.

NEGRO SCHOOL HEAD BLASTS BIASED THEORY

Chicago Daily Defender (April 8)

A Chicago school principal has blasted the theory that a Negro could not administer an all white staff in a predominantly white school. He has had no difficulty, even when he had to call in parents concerning problems with their children.

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS

CATERING TO MISSISSIPPI - N. Y. Courier (March 9)

U.L. TO PROPOSE 6 TRAINING PROJECTS UNDER U.S. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT ACT

N. Y. Courier (March 16)

U.S. SUBSIDIZES SEGREGATION - Amsterdam News, Column by Jackie Robinson (March 21)

REPORT ON MANPOWER PROGRAM - Chicago Defender (March 21)

Proposals by Urban Leagues in six cities for establishment of federally-sponsored training and re-training programs in their communities, under provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1961, are nearing completion for submission to the U.S. Labor Department while

that Department announced the graduation of first 38 trainees under the Act. Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary, however, bitterly denounced New York State for lagging behind in its use of the Federal program. Jackie Robinson chided NAACP and Roy Wilkins for allowing Government use of Negro taxes and Federal funds to underwrite segregated training programs in Mississippi. Washington Branch NAACP registered protest with Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz for his approval of a Negro training center, pointing out this jimcrow program violates the fifth and fourteenth Amendments, and stressed that the standards are not even up to the now illegal doctrine of separate but equal.

RANDOLPH WARNS OF NEGRO JOB LOSS DUE TO AUTOMATION
Amsterdam News (March 23)
"ECONOMIC DISASTER" - New York Courier (March 23)

A. Philip Randolph, Negro vice-president of the AFL-CIO, warned that the economic health of the Nation's Negro community is extremely grave and shows signs of developing critical complications due to automation. He predicted an economic disaster for Negroes, a rise in unemployment which is already out of proportion with the population, and he urged Negroes to move President Kennedy to a deeper sense of the urgency of the economic plight of the Negro community.. move Congress to act upon the President's Youth Opportunity bill and federal fair employment practice legislation.

URGE JFK TO END RACIAL BIAS AT CAPE CANAVERAL
Chicago Daily Defender (March 25)

The NAACP has filed an affadvit with the President's Committee on Equal Housing Opportunity charging discrimination in the Cape Canaveral -Cocoa area of Florida and also filed complaints with the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity charging job discrimination there. As a result of discrimination, it is charged, Negro citizens there are forced to endure substandard living, working and housing conditions.

WARNER BROS. FIRES NEGRO PRESS AGENT - Chicago Defender (March 27)
LAWYERS FLAY CONGRESSMAN KELLY FOR FIRING SECRETARY
Amsterdam News (March 30)

Two Negro "firsts" in their respective jobs have been fired. The Bedford-Stuyvesant Lawyers' Association, headed by George M. Fleary, has taken to task Congresswoman Edna F. Kelly for firing Mrs. Marjory Jackson, "the only Negro on a Congressional level" on her staff as of January 31. Vince Tubbs, who chalked up a "first" when he became press agent for a Hollywood studio has been "let out" by Warner Bros.

ORDERS END TO JOB BIAS IN WORK AT HOWARD U - Chicago Defender (3/27)
TICKER TAPE - CONFIDENTIAL -- Jet (April 4)
D.C. URBAN LEAGUE SEEKING QUALIFIED FINDS IT 'TOUGH' - Courier (4/6)

Students at Howard University discovered that contractors building a gymnasium there with Federal financing had not employed a single Negro workman. The Secretary of Labor ordered the employment of qualified Negroes within ten days. The shortage of skilled Negro workers is the result of jim crow apprenticeship policy of the unions, especially bad in the District of Columbia area.

THERE IS EVIDENCE

N. Y. Courier - Column: My View by Benjamin E. May (April 6)

The color bar is not as tight as it once was for the Negro college graduate. The competent student, who strives for excellence can find jobs in universities, industry and government.

NEW FRONTIER PUSHES FIGHT ON U.S. JOB BIAS

Chicago Daily Defender (April 9)

The Bureau of Printing and Engraving and the Treasury Department have developed a six-step program for further elimination of discrimination in employment: use of promotion registers to list those eligible for upgrading, posting of vacancy announcements, training to raise eligible workers to level of higher performance, non-competitive examinations where minimum qualification is sole requirement, monitoring of promotion practices in areas sensitive from a race relations viewpoint, prompt filling of vacancies.

ENTERTAINMENT & SPORTS

NEGRO BARRED -- NO 'GOLDEN GLOVES' IN TEXAS, SUH!

New York Courier (March 9)

The winner of the San Antonio, Texas Golden Gloves Boxing Tournament was barred from competing in the state-wide competition because he is a Negro. local custom has been to conduct the competition on a segregated basis, according to its sponsor, the Fort Worth Star Telegram. The local regional secretary of the NAACP hopes to prevail upon the national sponsors of the tournament, the Chicago Tribune, to reject fighters from any state which would bar any boxer because of race.

OLYMPICS AND RACE BIAS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (March 13)

The International Olympic Committee has proposed that recognition be withdrawn from any nation practicing political, racial or religious discrimination. What purpose does athletic prowess serve if distortion of the mind becomes part of the cult?

OSSIE DAVIS SEES FUTURE MILLIONS IN PRODUCTION OF NEGRO MOVIES

Chicago Daily Defender (March 26)

Ossie Davis, who is filming his own "Purlie Victorious" says that the Negro market alone could recoup the negative costs on a Negro film and the art audience is also a potential market. Although there have been good films which dealt with the Negro situation, he feels the Negro can't identify with what he usually sees on the screen, where events are often treated in a heavy-handed manner.

COZY COLE'S CREW COPS KUDOS

N.Y. Courier - Article by Adolph Slaughter (March 30)

State Department officials were jubilant over the success of the jazz revue tour of a 14-man interracial group in fourteen African countries headed by drummer Cozy Cole.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

N. Y. Courier - Column by George S. Schuyler (April 6)

Although historically the Negro played a big part in the winning of the West, only one Negro appeared in the picture "How The West Was Won", and he appeared as a bartender. Negroes were trappers, cowboys and soldiers. One must then conclude that the Negro was purposely left out -- again.

FOREIGN NEWS

WHY AMERICAN NEGROES ARE NOT GOING TO AFRICA

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by Homer Smith (March 11)
THE PEOPLE: REFUTES SMITH ARTICLE - Chicago Defender (March 20)

Africans wonder why American Negroes don't come over and help them. Before independence American Negroes couldn't get visas to African states. Now all they have in common is color, for American Negroes have a new language, culture, religion and mores. African countries need their skills but living standards in Africa are so low, payment for services so inadequate and investment opportunities so impractical that the improving environment for Negroes in America looks much better to American Negroes. In a Letter to the Editor, one reader insists that if blacks in America had enough money to take their families, they would rush to Africa since they are losing their love for the white man here.

AFRICAN AND AMERICAN NEGROES TRADE IDEAS

New York Courier (March 16)

At the Howard University Alumni Club of New York, a panel discussion on "Better Communication between the African and the American Negro Community" agreed that true African history should be taught in schools, that speakers from African embassies should be invited to talk about Africa, and that newly arrived Africans should be helped to get settled.

ASIAN STATUS IN AFRICA IN DOUBT - Chicago Daily Defender (3/20)
REPORT SUDANESE ATTACK NEGROES, CHRISTIANS - Chicago Defender (4/3)

Both Europeans and colored Asians are targets for the sharp upsurge of African nationalism. Indians have been told to become naturalized African citizens or pack up and return to India. Non-Africans must adjust to the changing order, African leaders say. In Sudan the Moslem-controlled regime is discriminating against both the Negro minority and Christians, according to a report to the UN Human Rights Commission. "Tens of thousands" of them have fled to neighboring countries, it is said.

U.S. NEGROES, AFRICANS PLAN STRONGER LINK - Chicago Defender (4/8)
'SAVING' THE AFRICANS FIRST - Editorial, N. Y. Courier (4/13)

The committee of American Negro leaders whoorganized the Arden House Conference last fall met with a representative of the African UN delegations to plan organization and financing of a new group to heighten the U.S. Negro's interest in African countries as part of the U.S. role

in Africa. The Courier feels that this Save-Africa-First group might as well realize that the gravy train is slowing down as U.S. taxpayers see 6,000,000 unemployed in our midst, most of which are Negroes.

KENNEDY & CIVIL RIGHTS

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE HAILS JFK'S CIVIL RIGHTS MESSAGE, BUT ---

New York Courier (March 9)

NUL'S Whitney Young praised President Kennedy's Special Message on Civil Rights as the most comprehensive statement on the subject and one which reflects the urgency of time. However, it was viewed with some concern that there was no legislation recommended in the area of racial discrimination in employment to strengthen the program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

JFK'S PROGRAM HAILED - Amsterdam News (March 9)
TAKES 1 HOUR TO REGISTER 1 NEGRO - Amsterdam News (March 16)

While some civil rights leaders hailed President Kennedy's civil rights program asking for new powers to safeguard Negro voting rights, Negro leaders were less enthusiastic. NAACP's Roy Wilkins said the document, although admirable, did not go far enough. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said the message is contradicted by what is being done by the Federal government in impacted school areas in the South where the government is going along with segregation on off-post military base schools. Frank Robinson, CORE field secretary, recently shed light on some tactics employed in Kingstree, South Carolina, which pointed up the immediate need of governmental aid in helping the Negro attain his voting rights. Negroes are kept waiting for exasperating lengths, given difficult tests and are asked questions which violate their liberties.

MR. WILKINS REGRETS

N. Y. Courier - Editorial (March 16)

NAACP's Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, while praising "admirable" aspects of Kennedy's first civil rights message to Congress, regrets "serious omissions" which he says weakened the over-all impact. The Courier also regrets the President's failure to ask Congress to do something forthright about civil rights especially discrimination in federally assisted housing both new and old. Representative Lindsey of New York said it was nearsighted to believe that discrimination will be solved in four years and that it is self-defeating to limit the Federal Civil Rights Commission's life to a period so short as to discourage able persons from seeking employment with the Commission.

JFK HAILS NEGRO PRESS' 136TH ANNIVERSARY

Chicago Daily Defender (March 19)

In a tribute to the Negro press on its 136th anniversary, President Kennedy declared that in spite of hardships Negro newspapers have "never stopped working toward the goal of equal opportunity".

A GOOD MOVE

Amsterdam News - Editorial (March 21)

President Kennedy is pressing in the right direction with his aid to medical education bill. Today the Negro population numbers twenty mil-

lion.. has less than 5,000 Negro doctors and approximately 2,000 dentists. When one considers the strict segregation pattern followed in both Northern and Southern communities, the great burden on this handful of Negro doctors becomes apparent.

HISTORY SHOWS

N.Y. Courier - Column by J. A. Rogers (March 23)

In his special message to Congress, President Kennedy showed he fully realizes that Negroes are robbed of their rights. If the same conditions existed in a foreign land, this nation would rush to the rescue with funds. But there are political forces more powerful than he that prevent the solution here.

MISSISSIPPI

PENALIZING MISSISSIPPI

New York Courier - Editorial (March 23)

Although the NAACP has urged the President to withhold Federal funds from Mississippi - and this ought to be done - everybody knows it is not going to be done because Mississippi is a Democratic state and no Democratic administration can attempt it. But there is nothing against demanding such drastics.

TERROR IN MISSISSIPPI

Amsterdam News - Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (April 6)

With guns, police dogs and arson, Mississippi white people are forcing their peculiar way of life upon Negro citizens who try to exercise their rights. The Federal government ought to step in, enjoin or arrest officials who interfere with vote registration, free registration workers who are jailed. For 100 years Mississippi has been telling the government and the Negro to go to Hell.. It's time a stand was taken.

NAACP

NAACP FIGHTING ITS CRITICS - Amsterdam News (March 30)

PREDICTS FAILURE FOR POWELL'S NAACP BOYCOTT - Chicago Defender (3/27)

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, predicted failure for Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's call for a boycott of the NAACP, because American Negroes know full well that the NAACP has been the principal factor in achieving substantial progress in race relations.. that white people who feel an obligation will continue to work with the organization for a just solution.

A GRAIN OF TRUTH

Amsterdam News - Column: White-on-White by Gertrude Wilson (April 6)

I am a Life Member of NAACP because I think it is one of the greatest organizations in the country.. represents democracy fighting for its life. Few people realize that segregation is a two-way street, and I do not want my children brought up in a false concept of what the world really is. It is not totally white; it is integrated, and in fighting

for NAACP, I fight for my children. Although I regret Powell's criticism, I cannot understand why there has not been a Negro president of this organization in 54 years and I hope notice will be taken of the grain of truth which lies behind the accusations.

NATIONAL NETWORK OF PICKET TEAMS SET BY NAACP

Chicago Daily Defender (April 9)

The NAACP has called for the establishment of a nationwide network of picketing and demonstration groups ready to go into immediate action on word from national and regional offices.

WILKINS RAPS SOUTH FOR ITS POOR DESEGREGATION RECORD

Chicago Daily Defender (April 8)

Speaking in Greensboro, N. C. NAACP's Roy Wilkins said that school desegregation since 1954 has proceeded at a rate of less than 1% a year and will take 99 more years at this rate. He also said that Adam Clayton Powell's proposal to eliminate white membership in NAACP asks the Negro to do to the whites the very thing he complains was done to him.

NATIONAL NEWS

SIGNIFICANT COURT DECISION

New York Courier - Editorial (March 9)

Will the United States Supreme Court rule as generously in the cases in Albany, Georgia and elsewhere as it did in Columbia, South Carolina, where it ruled that Negroes were unjustly convicted on breach of peace charges in 1961 for demonstrating against racial discrimination?

NEGRO POLITICAL STRENGTH FINALLY ALIVE IN LOS ANGELES

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by A. S. "Doc" Young (April 3)

From 60,000 in 1940, Los Angeles' Negro population has grown to over half a million and Negro voters have sprung to life as a result of the swelling population, the large percentage of home ownership without a ghetto, growing maturity, and the emergence of capable Negro leadership. Numerous elective and appointive offices are theirs in Los Angeles with more to come since the power of Negro voters is snowballing under united leadership.

RUSSIAN FLAY TRAVEL CURB TO MISSISSIPPI

Chicago Daily Defender (April 10)

The Soviet newspaper Tass quoted a dispatch from its New York agency, saying "Racists continue terrorizing the Negro population and its leaders in the South". It concluded by stating that American authorities do not allow Soviet correspondents to visit the South because political terror there contradicts attempts of American propaganda to present the U.S. as a model democracy. A State Department official said travel restrictions are imposed on Russians in strict reciprocity for restrictions imposed on our newsmen in the USSR.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP

IS WEST COAST NEXT OBJECTIVE OF KING? - N.Y. Courier (3/9)
SELECTIVE BUYING PROVES SUCCESSFUL - Amsterdam News, Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (3/16)
ST. PETE MINISTERS PLAN SELECTIVE BUYING DRIVE - N.Y. Courier (3/23)

Dr. Martin Luther King and Ralph D. Abernathy spent the opening week of the Western Christian Leadership Conference in Los Angeles to help familiarize community leaders and the public with the selective buying concepts of the organization. Meanwhile, in St. Petersburg, Fla., a group of local ministers is organizing a "selective patronage" campaign to be evoked after fruitless negotiations with top management in the soft drink, dairy and baking industries. The Tampa-St. Petersburg area has an estimated 100,000 Negroes yet not a single firm in the three industries hires a Negro in sales, public relations, promotions or merchandising. In a recent column Jackie Robinson quotes from a confidential market letter sent as a service to marketing and media executives; gives sensational proof of selective buying programs which have changed hiring patterns in such companies as Gulf Oil, National Dairy Products, Tasty Baking, Pepsi-Cola Metropolitan Bottling, Sun Oil and A&P. He also stated that, although all the Philadelphia newspapers refused to carry accounts of the boycott against the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, that paper was forced to improve its hiring practice. He credited ABC's Jim Haggerty with waging a one-man campaign to break the color line in TV.

LETTER TO FLOYD PATTERSON

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (3/16)

In a letter to Floyd Patterson, James L. Hicks described a $50-a-plate dinner for the benefit of the Wiltwyck School and the Floyd Patterson Halfway House. Out of 300 diners about 158 of them were Negroes willing to carry their share and show support for the school which has proved invaluable to the less fortunate children of New York.

SELFISH LEADERSHIP

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (March 27)

George Washington University law professor Monroe Freedman in an address on the Howard University campus assailed Negro leaders for failing to take stands on civil liberty issues which do not directly involve race relations. He singled out opposition to the Supreme Court prayer decision and noted that the Negro can depend upon the Jewish community for help, as one Negro leader said, but the Negroes would not support the Jewish Community when it asked for an end to prayers in public schools. While there may be extenuating grounds for this ethnic selfishness, Prof. Freedman's observation is relevant, and we should examine our position in this matter.

A CUTE TRICK

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (April 13)

Robert Weaver, the former chairman of the board of NAACP, and Jack Wood, Jr., the NAACP's special assistant on housing, will be on the same speakers program where they will have to perform a cute trick of

double talking. Both will represent opposite viewpoints, both will keep from putting one another on the spot, both will protect their bosses or respective organizations. The whole thing is wrapped up in a letter NAACP sent to President Kennedy about the 1,000 Negroes in the Cape Canaveral-Cocoa area who have no decent place to live despite the fact that there are 300 vacant unused homes in the area which were financed by the FHA.. and Weaver is the head of FHA.. but he is also the fair-haired boy of NAACP.

NEGRO PRESS

THE NEGRO MARKET

New York Courier - Column by Claude Hall (March 9)

Negro newspapers, with some exceptions, are hard-pressed for survival. The fault is partly their own, not all being paragons of journalism. However, a greater measure of local and national advertising would advance the cause of the Negro market.

THE SHARPER SIDE OF NEW YORK

New York Courier - Column by Hazel Sharper (April 6)

Now that the newspaper strike is over, it would be a fine time for Macy's Department store to include the Negro Press in its advertising schedule as part of the concern Macy expressed for newspaper workers.

PERSONALITIES

CHARLAYNE HUNTER TO JOIN STAFF OF NEW YORKER - Jet (March 18)
NEW YORKER HIRES GA. NEGRO COED - Chicago Defender, Column by Ben Burns (March 21)

After her graduation in June from the University of Georgia where she was the first Negro coed, Charlayne Hunter will join the staff of The New Yorker Magazine. She will have earned her B.A. degree in journalism at the University.

WHITE STUDENTS' PROFANITY SURPRISING TO MEREDITH - Amsterdam News, 3/30
A LETTER TO MEREDITH - Column by Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., Amsterdam News (March 30)

At the University of Mississippi, James Meredith, while commenting on the profane language hurled at him before white teachers, parents and other adults, claimed he is perhaps the most segregated Negro in the world. In his column, Dr. Luther King Jr. reminds both Negroes and whites that Meredith's ordeal still drags on while he demonstrates the inexorable course democracy must take if it is to survive. Dr. King suggests that a flow of letters would show he is not alone in his loneliness.

WHITE LEADER IN THE NAACP

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by Morton Cooper (April 2)

Jack Greenberg, head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, was one of those on Adam Powell's griddle. He was chosen for his job by Thurgood Marshall when Marshall was appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals. To

critics of his choice of a white lawyer, Marshall replied: "As those who are fighting discrimination, we cannot afford to practice it." Under Greenberg's aegis the Defense Fund has not lost a single case in the higher courts. He sees law as a religion and says that without lawyers there are no civil rights. He has represented Negro plaintiffs in every kind of civil rights case.

GREGORY VERSUS MISSISSIPPI

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by Betty Edwards (April 10)

On his return from Mississippi, Dick Gregory addressed 200 Baptist ministers in Chicago. He told them that when dogs were used to keep Greenwood Negroes from registering, a minister had to be imported from New York to help fight for the vote. A local white minister addressed Greenwood Negroes pleading: "God didn't intend for us to mix... but God loves us all". Gregory called Chicago the most racially tense city in the country and told the ministers they were the only Negro leadership left because the others had been bought by the white man downtown.

PHILLY LAWYER

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (April 13)

Philadelphia Tribune publisher, E. Washington Rhodes, brings to our attention the remarkable history of David Levinson who has been a practicing attorney for 59 years. He has had cases in eight southern states in defense of the Constitutional rights of Negro people and has never accepted a fee for his involvement in fighting their battle. Mr. Levinson has clung to the belief that, in fighting for the Negro, he fights his own battle as an American and a member of a minority group.

POLITICS

CAPITAL COMMENT

N.Y. Courier - Column by Lynn Williams (March 9)

The Negro struggle for full citizenship has been rendered less dynamic by the unprecedented number of appointments of its leaders to high level government positions. It is ridiculous to consider, as in the past, that these tan appointees were selected because they became too influential and troublesome to those in power. Optimistically it may reflect the possibility that we are nearer our goal.

GOVERNORS CAN END BIAS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (March 20)

A private research group in Washington, D. C. says that a state Governor can take effective action to end racial discrimination even if his legislature drags its feet, provided he has strong backing from the public. The question is how far and how effectively state officials will use their authority.

GOP AND THE SOUTH

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (March 25)

Pennsylvania's Governor Scranton admonished the GOP not to throw in its lot with the segregationists, since "the guarantee of human and civil

rights is a moral issue". Ignoring his wise counsel, GOP leaders of reactionary stripe, ridicule the importance of the Negro vote. In the last election they left the impression that they were more committed to segregation than any rabid Democratic racialists. For the Republicans to abandon the party's historic tradition of equal justice is to commit hari-kari.

LEGISLATIVE SNAIL'S PACE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (March 28)

There is a large majority in the Senate in favor of an effective civil rights bill. How can the 18 filibustering Senators keep them from imposing cloture and forcing a vote? The liberals do not fight hard and long enough; they make unnecessary concessions. At this snail's pace it will take a millenium to achieve equity and justice.

POLL TAX AMENDMENT - Chicago Defender, Editorial (April 2)

9 STATES NEED RATIFY ANTI-POLL MEASURE - N.Y. Courier (April 13)

Only nine more states need to ratify the anti-poll tax amendment to make it the 24th in our Constitution. President Kennedy has urged 23 Governors to press for legislative approval before the 1964 national elections. The revocation of this undemocratic practice would add meaning and reality to the concept of a free society.

WILKINS SEES NEGRO SHIFT TO GOP UNLESS DEMS SPEED RIGHTS AID

Chicago Daily Defender (April 3)

Speakers addressing the National Civil Liberties Clearing House conference called for a variety of measures by the Federal government to uphold law and order in Mississippi. Roy Wilkins said Negro voters may shift their support to the Republican party unless the Democratic administration speeds things up - or the Negroes may even go it alone politically in order to get their needs met.

DEMS BLAST ROCKY FOR HIS JFK BLAST

Amsterdam News (April 13)

Governor Rockefeller was accused by three Negro Legislators of criticizing President Kennedy on civil rights to cover up his own dismal failure in the field of civil rights and economic discrimination.. also pointed out that Republicans in the Legislature had voted solidly as a bloc opposing motions by 3 Negro Democrats to bring bills out of Committee to give SCHR power to initiate industry-wide complaints.. accused Rockefeller of failing to take full advantage of Federal Retraining program.. imposing tuition fees in universities and city colleges.. suggested he buckle down to his own responsibilities.

NEGRO VOTE WON ELECTION FOR DALEY, EXPERTS AGREE -Chicago Defender, 4/4

CHICAGO NEGROES SHOW VOTE MUSCLES IN MAYORAL RACE - Jet (April 18)

Political pros admit that only the Negro vote relected Democratic Mayor Daley in Chicago's recent election. Daley's margin of victory was 137,531 votes - 103,547 of which came from predominantly Negro precincts. The losing Republican candidate failed to campaign in the colored community and came out against open occupancy.

POWELL

"UPPITY NEGRO" - Amsterdam News, Column: White-on-White by Gertrude Wilson (March 9)

'DESTRUCTION' OF POWELL IS BIGOT GOAL? - Article by Robert Robinson New York Courier (March 16)

MR. POWELL'S COMEUPPANCE - N. Y. Courier, Editorial (March 16)

Miss Wilson's view is that Congressman Powell is considered the "Uppity Negro" in white men's minds. She feels that no other committee chairman is told how he should run his committee by other Congressmen, and that censure from the Senate floor is unheard of. Mr. Robinson blames the pressure of key labor figures behind the scenes who want to cripple Powell's committee's investigative activities and destroy Powell as a Congressional power. The Courier editorial maintains that Powell left himself wide open for this attack by his irresponsibility. It suggests that there must be other Negroes in Powell's district who are quite as intellectually capable as he and less vulnerable.

LETTER TO "A FRIEND", JACKIE ROBINSON
CONTROVERSY RAGES
RABBI CHIDES POWELL
NAACP DOING POWELL PAMPHLET

All the above appeared in the Amsterdam News, March 30, April 6 and 13

Jackie Robinson expressed his opinion that Adam Clayton Powell has grievously set back the cause of the Negro, failed in his role as important national leader of his people. Robinson chided Powell for his views on Malcolm X tactics.. Letters from many Amsterdam News readers agree that races should work together. Rabbi Dr. Arthur Schneier joined the many who were outspoken against racism; thought responsible Negro leaders should disavow Powell and reaffirm their opposition to doctrine of race hatred. The NAACP will outline its position in a pamphlet to be published soon.

LAUDS ADAM POWELL FOR 'UNMASKING' NAACP - Chicago Defender (4/8)

GRAND MASTER BACKS POWELL - N. Y. Courier (4/13)

Supreme Grand Master of the Masons, Dr. Wm. Banks, praised Adam Clayton Powell for exposing the inner workings of the NAACP which were not generally known. Banks admitted knowing the NAACP board was integrated, but didn't know it was divided along policy lines, and felt Negro members should have more say.

THE REAL STORY BEHIND POWELL'S WAR ON TOP NEGRO GROUPS

New York Courier - Article by Evelyn Cunningham (March 30)

Underlying reasons suggested for Congressman Powell's blast of Negro organizations that are influenced or controlled by whites were: (1) that he was interested in having Negroes think and take a "hard look at their leadership", (2) his awareness of the dissatisfaction of young Negroes in existing Negro organizations, and (3) his annoyance with the failure of Negro leaders to support him when he has been in trouble.

POWELL TERMED 'HEADLINE SEEKER' BY TOP NAACP OFFICIAL HERE (3/26)

ABERNATHY HITS POWELL FOR ATTACK ON NAACP (4/1)

THE BIG POWELL DEBATE - Featured article (4/4)

All the above appeared in the Chicago Daily Defender

Top integration leaders and militant Negro citizens have taken exception to Representative Powell's call for a boycott of the NAACP. His chief defender is John H. Young 3rd of New York. John Young says Powell did not call for a boycott, but felt that the Negro is now mature enough to assume his own unrestricted leadership. The Urban League's Whitney Young Jr. resented Powell's view that Negro problems can be solved by compartmentalizing them within Negro society. Roy Wilkins pointed to the many dedicated white people who helped found and continue the program of the NAACP. Ralph Abernathy of the SCLC said that no one who believes in social justice is concerned with any particular race, but fights for the rights of all people. And Wilbur Daniel of the Chicago NAACP noted that white people - who caused the dilemma - have as much responsibility in the civil rights fight as do Negroes.

POWELL AND HIS CRITICS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (April 2)

James Wechsler of the New York Post and many other individuals and organizations have angrily denounced Adam Clayton Powell's stand on the NAACP et al. We can understand their exasperation when a leader of Powell's calibre adopts bi-racialism; but isn't he saying that Negroes should be included in white councils where momentous decisions are made? Mr. Powell could have posed the question without dragging in the NAACP et al, and his thesis would then have gained public acceptance.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

KENTUCKY DROPS RACE BARRIERS IN 73 TOWNS! -- BUT SWIMMING POOL JIM CROW STILL PERSISTS! - New York Courier (March 16)

APPROVE BILL TO END BIAS IN SWIMMING POOLS - Chicago Defender, Article by Simeon B. Osby (March 14)

According to a survey made by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, racial discrimination in municipally operated play areas has virtually disappeared except for a tendency to persist in swimming pools. In Illinois, the Househas passed by an overwhelming vote, and sent to the Senate a bill to amend the state civil rights code to include public swimming pools.

RESORT MUST REFUND $150 TO CLIENTS IF REJECTED

Amsterdam News (March 21)

An upstate resort which refused to accommodate a Negro family who had made reservations last year was ordered by the State Commission for Human Rights to turn over $150 to the victims.

REAL ESTATE & HOUSING

A NEW DEAL IN HOUSING

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (March 11)

Chicago's 5-man Urban Renewal Board recently approved a pilot plan for rehabilitation of old houses. The deciding vote was cast by the lone Negro member, even though the other board members in favor are bankers who keep mortgage money from Negroes. It is to his everlasting credit that he did not permit racial considerations to prevent his decision on the value of the project for the city as a whole.

NON-BIAS HOUSING IS KEY ISSUE IN MAJOR CITIES - Chicago Defender (3/11)
D.C. COMMISSIONERS SET TO BAN HOUSING BIAS - Chicago Defender (4/3)
ANTI-BIAS HOUSING MEASURE - Amsterdam News (4/6)

Legislation aimed at prohibiting racial and religious discrimination in the general housing market, and better enforcement of existing laws is pending in 13 states throughout the nation, and the District of Columbia, a survey by the National Committee Against Discrimination reveals. The report does not agree, as some circles contend, that housing discrimination and segregation result from low income and related disabilities of the Negro. There are thousands of non-whites who can afford to enter areas that are now all white.

WEAVER WARNS SUBURBS: PREPARE FOR NEGRO INFLUX

Jet (April 4)

The upward spiral of the Negro middle class, the increased concentration of housing and top schools in the suburbs is causing interest among Negroes who will live there in the years ahead, according to Robert C. Weaver. He further added that suburban community leaders had best prepare for an increase in Negro neighbors.

RELIEF & WELFARE

SCHOOL LUNCH BIAS PROBED BY MISS. CIVIL RIGHTS BODY

New York Courier (April 6)

Charges of discrimination against Negro students by local administrators of the federally financed free school lunch programs in Jackson and Greenwood, Mississippi have been levelled by members of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission. Some Negro students in Jackson do without food because they lack the funds to pay for a meal. In Greenwood, although fifty percent of the total enrollment is Negro, white students receive seventy-five percent of the free lunches.

NY RELIEF CONDITIONS BLASTED: 'INSULT', SNAPS WELFARE CHIEF (4/6)
HORWITZ REPORT CHARGES N.Y. WELFARE SYSTEM COULD BE NO. 1 CONTRIBUTOR TO DELINQUENCY (4/13)
Both above are from a series of articles in the New York Courier
BROOKLYN LAWMAKERS RESENT STATEMENTS ABOUT MINORITIES (4/6)
JONES CALLS HORWITZ REPORT "VICIOUS" (4/13)
Both above are from the Amsterdam News

The Horwitz report to the State on welfare conditions in New York City has been called a disservice to the destitute of the city. The report focuses its attention on the new-comers, particularly the Negro and Puerto Ricans, according to Welfare Commissioner James R. Dumpson. Assemblyman Steingut of Brooklyn criticized its "gross inaccuracies". Assemblyman Jones of Brooklyn called for specific remedial measures to correct conditions described... apprenticeship training programs for youth, a crash reading program, a housing program utilizing vacant or commercial space, and more cultural facilities for children. He called the report "vicious, whatever its intent".

UNIONS

32-HOUR WORK WEEK

New York Courier - Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (March 23)

I am opposed to all work weeks below 40 hours. The moral and therapeutic value of work has been completely forgotten or ignored in the period when collective bargaining has degenerated into stubborn stances over wages, fringes and shorter hours. Labor leaders have brought on automation, the thing they most fear, by forcing management to invent cheaper methods of producing than through high wages and fringe benefits.

$1 MILLION BIAS SUIT HITS BUILDING UNION - Chicago Defender, Article by Ted Coleman (March 26)

NIRB REPORT BACKS CHARGE OF UNION BIAS - Chicago Defender (March 27)

NIRB ON THE SPOT - New York Courier, Editorial (March 30)

The National Labor Relations Board will be on the spot if it refuses to act in accordance with the recommendations of its trial examiner, which vindicated the NAACP charge of unfair labor practices by some labor unions. Decertification is the only answer. Five members of the AFL-CIO building union have filed a one million dollar suit in U. S. District Court here against the union charging they were denied jobs and full participation in union affairs because they were Negroes.

FUTURE OF JIM CROW MUSICIANS UNION AT STAKE IN INTEGRATION BATTLE - Chicago Daily Defender (March 25)

50 MUSICIANS QUIT NEGRO UNION, JOIN WHITE LOCAL - Jet (April 4)

Some 50 members of Chicago's Negro musicians union joined the newly integrated but predominantly white Musicians Local. Efforts are being made to eliminate the International Federation of Musicians 38 segregated unions. Concern, however, was expressed over what will happen to Negro union officials if an eventual merger between the two major locals is consummated.

VOTING

THOUSANDS OF DIXIE NEGROES STUDYING TO WIN RIGHT TO VOTE

Chicago Daily Defender (March 25)

In order to pass voter registration tests, thousands of Southern middle-aged Negroes are studying under volunteer teachers, supported by a Ford Foundation grant, in order to win the right to vote. Thousands more must be roused from their apathy and recruited for classes.

ALABAMA AREA NEGROES VOTELESS FOR 50 YEARS - Chicago Defender (4/1)

None of 6085 Negroes eligible to vote in Wilcox County, Alabama is registered and have not tried to register, some for 50 years, because of the tradition of brutality against them and the resultant fear. The Civil Rights Commission reports that 2634 whites are eligible to vote and 2950 are registered (112%).

VOTER REGISTRATION

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (April 3)

The recent shooting of a Negro civil-rights worker in LeFlore County, Miss., has set off an intensive registration campaign for Negro voters. In 13 Mississippi counties, no Negroes are registered; in 42 others less than 10% of eligible Negroes are registered. The Voter Education Project is run by the four leading Negro voluntary agencies and has the endorsement of the chairmen, both of the Democratic and Republican National Committees. The Justice Department should extend its protective arms to them.

MISCELLANEOUS

LAWYER SAYS MORONS ALSO HAVE RIGHT TO INTEGRATE

Chicago Daily Defender (March 14)

A Washington, D. C. attorney told an Urban League meeting that "A Negro moron should have the right to go to any school that the white moron attends". He said the school cases were not being fought just for the bright Negro child.

HARLEM YOUTH SET TO RALLY AT CITY HALL - Amsterdam News (3/16)
MAYOR STRESSES NEIGHBORHOOD INTEREST IN FIGHT AGAINST YOUTH PROBLEMS
New York Courier (3/23)
UNITED HARLEM URGES JFK TO PUSH YOUTH BILL - N.Y. Courier (4/13)

Asserting that Harlem is united in its demand for a better life for its youngsters, the Harlem Neighborhoods Association, Inc. made public a letter sent to President Kennedy following the Harlem Youth Day Rally of 3,000 young people at City Hall. The letter urged the President to exercise his moral leadership to ensure passage of the Youth Opportunity Bill now before Congress. Mayor Wagner stated that the city government will spend the major portion of its energies and income on and in behalf of the youth of New York to meet the special demands of problems of children coming from severely deprived homes.

HOW BOMBING SPURRED SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Ben Burns (March 19)

Clinton, Tennessee's new high school was partially built with coins contributed from all over America after the old school was bombed. Violence always makes headlines and peaceful integration is forgotten. Desegregation is progressing quietly in Clinton and the rest of the county and even in another Tennessee county Negro students now attend the high school.

D.C. PASTOR RAPS RACISM - New York Courier (3/23)
D.C. CLUB BANS PEACE CORPSMAN - Chicago Defender (3/21)
PROBE D.C. BAN ON HOUSING BIAS - Chicago Defender (3/27)
D.C. RACIAL TENSIONS - Chicago Defender, Editorial (4/11)

A Unitarian minister spoke out recently against the deplorable racial situation in Washington. A Negro Peace Corps official, invited to address a Lions Club meeting at a private country club in Washington was turned away at the door by country club officials even though the Lions had welcomed a Negro speaker. District commissioners want to issue an order ending discrimination in housing in the D.C. area but must first submit it to the House District Committee, controlled by Southerners. Meanwhile racial tensions in the Capital grow sharper. Negroes feel the brunt of discrimination in employment, education and housing, all of which hamper them in improving themselves.

SAYS NEGRO "IMPROVEMENT" WON'T STOP WHITE HOODLUMS

Jet (March 28)

Rebutting Massachusetts Negro Attorney General Edward Brooke's urging Negroes "improve themselves", Providence Journal reporter James N.Rhea retorted "I am not at all sure that a bigot is any kinder to the Negro who has improved himself". Rhea reminded that James Meredith had spent considerable time in self-improvement which did not help him against the ignorance and violence of rabble at the University of Miss.

NEWSDEALERS EYE AMSTERDAM NEWS

Amsterdam News (March 30)

Newsstand operators expressed the opinion that expanded news coverage, coupled with evergrowing interest among white readers in the Negro's views, has sent demands for copies of the New York Amsterdam News soaring in areas where only mild interest had prevailed.

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN

Chicago Daily Defender (April 8)

If it is not true that Bonn is content to have German scientists help Egypt with missiles, the West Germans should repudiate the scientists. The Negro people have just as deep anxieties about revival of anti-Semitism as do the Jewish people. We both belong to the same fraternity of the persecuted. Our experience in Mississippi and the South convince us that race prejudice MUST be destroyed.

THE SOLID WALL CRACKS

Amsterdam News - Column: People in Action by Dr. Martin King Jr. (4/13)

The City Commission in Albany, Georgia, recently repealed the entire section of the city code that carried segregation ordinances. In the wake of the legal retreat the public library has been opened on a 30-day trial basis - integrated. There are no chairs and the reference rooms are not in use, but VERTICAL integration has been the prelude to full integration in library facilities in a dozen cities around the South.

Research for information on film —

Telephone 688-7510

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REGIONAL SECRETARY
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May 24, 1963

To: Human Relations Agencies Personnel

From: Don McEvoy

Re: "The People Next Door"

Dear Colleague:

The NCCJ has just produced a new play entitled "The People Next Door". It is a clever, but powerful, study of the moving of a Negro family into an all-white neighborhood..... seen through the eyes of the children.

The Children's Theatre of Washington, D.C., presented this play on television recently, and a kinescope film was made of it.

On Tuesday morning at 10:00 A.M., in the Conference Room of the Dinkler Plaza Hotel, we are having a screening for persons who might find use for this film in program activities.

So, come on over. The coffee is free! The film is "first-run". Big premiere. Bring any of your staff along who can get away for forty-five minutes or so.

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

There was a small anti-segregation demonstration this week in the one-time impregnable fortress of segregation, Jackson, Mississippi. Cameras and cameramen were present and the world was brought into that lunch counter, banked around it in tier upon tier of hypnotized observers, caught up in the drama to be played out there. Hundreds of millions of people the world over watched and saw segregation, saw racism, saw opposition to the Negroes' demands go down to crushing and overwhelming defeat.

The telephone calls and the letters indicate there was a national visceral reaction to the Negro youth lying on the floor and the white man kicking him. A national nausea welled up when a white woman poured catsup over the heads of the several Negroes and the white sympathizer sitting at the lunch counter. What the nation saw was an incredible victory of non-violence.

We shall continue in a moment but first this message from Pennzoil.

COMMERCIAL

We have learned something about ourselves, we Americans. We are not capable of meeting non-violence with effective violence. There are, possibly, some places in the world where the present sit-in demonstrations would be met with rifles, pistols, machineguns, or execution squads. Not here.

There was complete and utter frustration among the crowd of white people in that store in Jackson. When the Negro on the floor was kicked there was a stir of uneasiness among the jeering on-lookers, for the man who had delivered the blow with his foot had

violated a fundamental precept of American life: you don't hit a man when he is down.

These non-violent tactics of the Negro are amazingly well inculcated. NBC, several years ago, sent its news cameras to one of the CORE headquarters where young Negroes were being instructed in the art of non-violent demonstration. We wondered whether it would work. Could the Negro refrain from counter-attacking with his voice, his fist, or his heart? And could the white bring himself to that ultimate violence which is the only effective response?

We have all read and heard about Ghandi's program of non-violent demonstration and protest in India, but that was India; and we were not sure it would work here. We have discovered that we, like the British, are not capable of driving a vehicle or a tank over the body of a protesting human being who lies down in the road.

There is a long way to go, of course, before racism is purged from our national and community lives, but the Negro has won his war. There is liberal potion of refreshment in all of this: the sudden and clear realization that we, Americans, are, after all, a civilized breed. The cruel among us are the exceptions.

Press, Radio, T.V. & Movies

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

Read 7/26/63

TWO TV SERIES

1. On four successive Sundays beginning August 4 at 1:30-2 p.m. EDT, "The Catholic Hour" will present a series of "conversations" on the Second Vatican Council over the NBC-TV Network. James O'Gara, managing editor of Commonweal will host the series.

His guests will be Dr. Frederick Grant (August 4), a delegate-observer at the Council for the Anglican Communion (Protestant); Father Gregory Baum (August 11), professor of theology at St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, and editor of The Ecumenist; Father Frederick McManus (August 18), consultant to the Vatican Council's Commission on Liturgy; and Father Edward J. Duff (August 25) professor of sociology and ecclesiology at Weston College, Weston, Mass., and former editor of Social Order.

* * * *

11. On five successive Sundays beginning August 11 at 10:30-11 p.m. EDT, the American Broadcasting Company TV Network will present a series on the legal, economic, social and moral aspects of the race issue in this country. The series is entitled "Crucial Summer--the 1963 Civil Rights Crisis." Network news staff, visiting many parts of the country, will report via interviews, etc.

The points of view of segregationists will be heard on August 11 and of integrationists on August 18. Subsequent programs will be concerned with Civil Rights Legislation (August 25), the "March on Washington" (September 1) and a Summary (September 8).

Isaiah Terman

July 24, 1963
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NB
MM
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MG
LD

Press, Radio, T.V., & Movies

Press Coverage of Morland pamphlet - "Tokenism"

August 1, 1963

SB CH

~~Papers which carried UPI story~~

New Haven, Conn. Register
Arkansas Gazette

Papers which carried AP story

The News, Lynchburg, Va. (Hoyt Harwell)
New York Herald Tribune
Danville, Va. Register
Newport News, Va. Press (Hoyt Harwell)
New Orleans, La. Times-Picayune (Hoyt Harwell)
Asbury Park Evening Press, New Jersey
Albuquerque, N.M. Journal
Oakland, Calif. Tribune
Trenton Sunday Times Advertiser, New Jersey

Papers that carried their own story

New York Times
Atlanta Journal and Constitution (Fred Powledge)
Lynchburg, Va. Advance
Memphis, Tenn, Tri-State Defender
Boston, Mass. Jewish Advocate
The Christian Science Monitor (Bicknell Eubanks)
The Washington Post (Susanna McBee)
~~Milwaukee, Wiss. Labor Press~~

SB CH

Addendum

Papers which carried UPI story

Boston, Mass. Advertiser
St. Louis, Mo. Post- Dispatch
Middletown, N.Y. Times Herald Record
Jackson, Miss. Clarion-Ledger
Houston, Texas Chronicle

Papers which carried AP story

Duluth, Minn. News Tribune
Roanoke, Va. Times (Hoyt Harwell)
Macon, Ga. Telegraph and News
Vallejo, Calif. Times-Herald (Hoyt Harwell)
Raleigh, N.C. News and Observer
Agusta, Ga. Chronicle-Herald
Long Beach, Calif. Independent-Press-Telegram (Hoyt Harwell)
Houston, Texas Post
Chicago, Ill. Chicago's American (Hoyt Harwell)
Washington, D.C. Star
Birmingham, Ala, News (Hoyt Harwell)
Minneapolis, Minn. Tribune
Chicago Tribune

Papers that carried their own story

Atlanta World
Cleveland Plain Dealer (Robert C. Doty

Papers that carried their own story, cont.

Middletown, N.Y. Times Herald Record
Memphis, Tenn. Commercial Appeal
Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch
Omaha, Nebr. World-Herald
Chattanooga, Tenn. Times (Robert C. Doty)
Boston, Mass. Herald (Robert C. Doty)

COVERAGE OF KENNETH MORLAND PAMPHLET

Papers that carried UPI story

Chicago, Ill. Daily Defender

Papers that carried AP story

Morning Demonrat Davenport, Iowa (Hoyt Harwell)
Pensacola, Fla. News-Journal

Papers that carried their own story

New York Amsterdam News

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FROM: Gerald M. Goldberg

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: August 13, 1963

WINS SEEKS ACTION IN SPURRING NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN EMPLOYMENT;
LAUNCHES ON-THE-AIR CAMPAIGN AIMED AT MATCHING INDIVIDUAL AND JOB

Interviews Sought for Qualified Job Applicants
With Wide Range of Skills and Experience;
"Job Opportunity" Campaign Already in Progress

WINS Radio, New York has launched an on-the-air "Job Opportunity" campaign aimed at securing employment for qualified Negro and Puerto Rican job applicants. Utilizing saturation spot announcement techniques, characteristic of the most successful radio advertising campaigns, the station is presenting to prospective employers the qualifications of individuals seeking a wide range of jobs in the New York metropolitan area.

In recent months, the need for jobs for qualified workers, representing racial and ethnic minority groups, has been singled out as one of the primary problems locally and nationally. An equally importent prob-

(MORE)

lem to which WINS is addressing itself is that of the over-qualified and under-employed.

The saturation spot campaign, which began on Tuesday, August 13, provides rotating multiple exposure for each job applicant in all time periods for at least one month.

A list of 21 individuals, representing a wide range of skills and experience, has already been submitted to WINS by cooperating civic and social agencies. The list will be increased to a minimum of 35 during the course of the one month pilot period.

The job opportunity project was developed by the Public Affairs Department of WINS in consultation with Madison S. Jones, Executive Director of the City of New York Commission on Human Rights.

Last month, a series of preliminary meetings was held at the station with cooperating agencies. In attendance were Commissioner James J. McFadden of the New York City Department of Labor; Mr. Ramon E. Rivera, Director of Job Development and Employment of the Urban League of Greater New York; Mrs. Olivia Frost, Research Associate of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., (Haryou); Miss Antonia Pantoja, Executive Director of Aspira; Mr. Louis A. Cardona, Coordinator, Employment Program of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Department of Labor. Also attending, in an advisory capacity, were Mrs. Eleanor Chang Middleton, Public Relations Officer of the City of New York Commission on Human Rights, and Mr. Robert Gore, Assistant Community Relations Director of CORE.

(MORE)

Each of the cooperating agencies agreed to provide WINS with resumes of a cross-section of individuals currently listed in their files as job applicants. Represented in the pilot groups are men and women ranging from recent high school graduates, seeking employment as secretaries, typists and receptionists, to Masters of Business Administration, seeking executive positions in marketing, research, public relations and heavy industry. Only those people certified by the cooperating agencies are eligible for the project.

Bert Cowlan, WINS Director of Community Affairs, is coordinating the "Job Opportunity" campaign for the station.

The on-the-air announcements spell out the qualifications of an individual and ask that interested employers respond by writing the station on company letterhead. Replies are forwarded to the appropriate agency in order that an interview may be arranged. A parallel series of announcements asks that WINS listeners alert their employers to this project if they know of a job opening for which one of the on-the-air applicants appears qualified.

Since becoming a Group W (Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.) station a year ago, WINS has been increasingly active in public affairs efforts on a wide variety of community problems including civil rights. "This project," according to WINS General Manager, Mark Olds, "is a logical step in the evolution of our approach to community affairs in that it attempts to produce specific action. The success of this campaign will be measured, ultimately, by the public's involvement."

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NEW YORK CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST
August 15, 1963 mat.

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published by
The Community Information Committee
Robert L. Pelz, Chairman

Co-Editors
Mrs. M. J. Kleinfeld Mrs. Louise Levinson
Mrs. Marilyn Gilbert, Contributing Editor

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST

Statement of Purpose

The Negro Press Digest is published for the purpose of providing its readers with news and views of Negro newspapers and news magazines circulated in New York City. The Digest is not intended to present a cross-section of the content of the publications it reviews but focuses upon articles dealing with such matters as civil rights, civil liberties and intergroup relations. Emphasis is given to articles of local interest and national consequence.

News that has been adequately treated, in the judgment of the editors, in the daily press or on the broadcasting media is not duplicated in the Digest unless the Negro press reports such news from a distinctly different point of view.

The New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee hopes that this publication will help fill an important need in intergroup relations, which is: improved communications bringing fuller knowledge of the problems, aspirations and frustrations of the Negro community as expressed in their press. This periodical, therefore, is designed to foster greater understanding and thereby further the development of truly effective human relations efforts.

-- Robert L. Pelz, Chairman
Community Information Committee
New York Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

BLACK MUSLIMS

YOUNG RAPS 'WHITE' PRESS FOR BUILDING MALCOLM X

Chicago Daily Defender (June 25)

Malcolm X and other Negro nationalists have been over-inflated by the white press, says Whitney Young of the National Urban League. Negro groups have refused to appear on public programs with the Muslim leader. The white press would not invite Sen. Javits to debate with George Lincoln Rockwell, Young opined. He said that Malcolm X has a very limited following. Young does not underestimate the potential for violence in the Negro community due to their intense frustration.

ISLAMIC EXPERTS PLAN TO MICROSCOPE MUSLIMS

Chicago Daily Defender (July 15)

News from Saudi Arabia indicates that the real orthodox Moslims are seriously disturbed over the un-Islamic teachings of America's Black Muslims. They are planning to send a delegation to the U.S. to disavow them publicly. The Muslim League's Secretary General insists "The Muslim religion knows no color boundaries. We are all brothers." A U.S. Islamic authority says that (Elijah Muhammad's) hate teachings are anti-Muslim, and that the Black Muslims are misusing the Moslem religion. Elijah Muhammad issued a statement against a newspaper article on this subject declaring that he has no proof that the Moslems in Arabia said anything of the kind, that he is not taking orders from them but from Allah.

MUHAMMAD SON CALLS FOR UNITY

Amsterdam News (July 20)

Akbar Muhammad, youngest son of Elijah Muhammad leader of the American Black Muslims, told a large audience "We must unite... the longer the delay of the unification of the NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE, and the Muslims, the longer the black man in America will be mistreated, beaten and murdered... We are not a racist group... Unity is the salvation for the black man all over the world". He told the crowd not to hate the color of man's skin but to hate what is under the skin.

BLACK REVOLUTION

FREEDOM'S FRATERNITY

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (Reprint of column published in 1956).

I belong to the largest fraternity in the world.. with chapters in every country on the globe.. with members wherever people gather and stand up on their two feet. The members don't wear pins.. we wear Equality in our hearts. The dues are Eternal Vigilance. I pay my dues every day.. in restaurants, subways or at a ball game.. whenever I insist on being treated as a man... Eternal Vigilance is a heavy burden but the price is Freedom and I want to be FREE. Ours is the unpopular road of the non-compromising and my fraternity brothers stand behind the Congress and beg the compromising lawmaker to go

back to the floor and practice what he has been preaching. That is my fraternity brother walking the rioting campus with Autherine Lucy.. or with Martin Luther King. There is no greater love.. no greater thrill.. than to be a member of the Fraternity of Freedom.

WE TOLD YOU SO

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (June 29)

It seems everybody in the world suddenly woke up in the past few months to the fact that Negroes aren't acting as they have been in the past. Everyone wants to know what happened to the Negro. From CBS to NBC to Europe and all of North America, to the New York Times and the U.S. State Department, to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations.. they all have called or visited the Amsterdam News. Our answer is always the same.. "The Negro is in open revolt against the status quo in America". When we tell them that the revolt started five years ago, they find it hard to believe.. and yet our July 4th edition of 1959 told it to anyone who could read. No other paper in the nation told the story of the Negro Revolt but now every paper is willing to admit we were right.

THRUST FOR FREEDOM

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (July 15)

The black revolution's thrust for freedom is beginning to reach those who had ignored its meaning. They are raising angry voices, not against the die-hard segregationists with their vicious dogs and daily beatings but against what they call Negro extremists. Our white friends' strategy is to split our ranks. They are even using James Meredith to water down our demands. They applaud Governors Barnett and Wallace for defying the law, but denounce us for insisting on our rights. We have been tolerant far too long. We want our full freedom NOW.

"A PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION" - RANDOLPH

Amsterdam News (July 20)

In an eloquent speech, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council and a co-chairman of the March on Washington, told a bi-racial audience that "this is a people's revolution. We can't have a revolution without fire, or bloodshed." Randolph said that the Negro is committed to non-violence but added that there can only be violence "when the police create violence". He said, "This revolution will never spend its fury until the rampart of prejudice and racial discrimination has crumbled."

EDUCATION

THE TEXT OF OUR TEXTBOOKS

Amsterdam News - Column: White on White by Gertrude Wilson (July 6)

The textbooks given our children in our schools ignore the fact that the United States is a multiracial society. Thoughtful educators have been pleading for textbooks which would give the child in Harlem texts which would recognize his existence.. with maybe one or two Dicks and

Sallys with brown skin. Will the New York Board of Education's own five page report on the use of textbooks in teaching children of minority groups be implemented in the purchase of new textbooks?

L.I. BOARD SHUTS JIM CROW SCHOOL

Amsterdam News (July 13)

Freeport, L. I., has become the first Long Island school district to desegregate a predominantly Negro school. The school board plans to shut down the Cleveland Avenue School and redistribute its 91 percent Negro roster among four predominantly white elementary schools, on the basis of available space and balanced class size.. the preservation of family groups with brothers and sisters attending the same school.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

New York Courier - Column by George S. Schyler (July 20)

A major interest among Negroes ought to be lifting the standards of instruction in the schools they attend, with the aim of making them HIGHER than in white schools, rather than bleating about "token desegregation". Many Negroes are unemployed due to lack of skill. I suggest that the 40,000 religious congregations serving Negroes each provide one annual scholarship to a good trade school. This is something for parsons to do instead of rabble-rousing the people over what are superficial issues currently insoluble.

BIG INDUSTRIAL FIRMS HELPING TO FINANCE SCHOLARSHIPS FOR NEGROES

New York Courier (July 20)

Increasing numbers of donations are being made by leading American corporations to the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, according to NSSFNS president Richard Plaut. A growing trend among Negroes is to aim for the higher paid professions rather than the traditional goal of teaching. How many of these young Negroes will eventually hold administrative positions will depend in large part on the encouragement of business itself. Since 1948, 9500 qualified Negro students have been helped by NSSFNS and have received almost $4,500,000 in total scholarships and loans. Plaut says business must play a larger and larger role in higher education especially for the Negro.

THE GENTLEMAN IS WRONG

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (July 22)

The unresolved issue of de facto segregation in Chicago's schools is driving the city to a major racial crisis. At the insistence of Clair Roddewig, president of the Board of Education, police barred the reentry of sit-ins to his office and were needlessly rough with the young people, after the pattern of police action in Birmingham et al. Last year the president of the University of Chicago, beset for a week by sit-ins, instead of summoning the police appointed 3 members of the faculty to inquire into the grievances of Negroes protesting segregation in university-owned housing. Mr. Roddewig has added fuel to a fire that might have been smothered by a similar procedure. The rough-necks are not the sit-ins but those who have made Chicago a segregated city. Remove the cause of the grievances and the demonstrations will disappear.

INTEGRATED DIXIE DREAM

Amsterdam News - Column: Poppy's Notes by Poppy Cannon White (July 27)

Whitney Young told a hard-bitten, hard-to-impress group of newspaper folk that they helped build up the prophets of dissension like Malcolm X on the one side, and the Barnetts and Wallaces on the other, with too much attention... whereas little attention is given to such things as a summer school in the state at Winston-Salem..where an integrated group of gifted children are happily working and playing together in North Carolina's Governor Terry Sanford's Dream School, which is backed by Winston-Salem industry. Students are selected from nominees by a committee which never knew the names or race.. tuition is nominal books are free. The community feeling could not be better. Too bad that the voice of the Governor of North Carolina is drowned out by the raving in Mississippi and Alabama.

9 YEARS SINCE DECISION: LESS THAN 1/2 PER CENT IN 11 STATES IN SOUTH IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS - Amsterdam News (July 27)

Although it is nine years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional, less than half of one percent of Negro pupils in eleven "resistant" states in the South are attending desegregated schools according to a recent study. When a Negro child applies to a white school for admission there are as many as twenty detailed considerations which communities use as a subterfuge to close their schools to him.

EMPLOYMENT

THE TIME IS NOW

Amsterdam News - Editorial (June 26)

We would like to make it crystal clear that this newspaper supports demonstrations such as took place at the new Harlem Hospital where Negroes picketed because of the lack of job opportunities given them in the building trades and unions in this city... that we feel they are right, that we congratulate the NAACP, the Urban League and CORE. We think Acting-Mayor Paul Screvane was right in halting the work until it becomes clear that Negroes are not denied the right to work on the job. The "wait", as Dr. King has often said, has always meant "never" when the power structure of the city has said it. The course is clear ... direct action.

WESTCHESTER COMMITTEE WARNS OF JOB BIAS WOES

New York Courier (July 20)

New Rochelle is sitting on a powder keg of racial unrest, civil rights leaders in the area say. A joint committee in Westchester county called a meeting in New Rochelle to outline the demands of ethnic groups in Westchester who have been denied job opportunities throughout the county. The committee is prepared to use injunctive powers where Federal funds are involved, and mass demonstrations where moral issues fail to live up to the promise of democracy. It has taken a complete job survey of Westchester county. Therefore, its feeling is that the time for surveys has run out.

FACT, NOT BLACKMAIL - ON TO D.C. - QUOTA SYSTEM

Amsterdam News - 3 Editorials (July 27)

No governmental agency has gone far enough to increase job opportunities for minority groups in New York State or New York City. Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner have made steps in the right direction with announced new procedures for stronger enforcement of laws prohibiting jim-crowism and the withdrawal of city contracts where discrimination exists on city jobs. Meanwhile the picketing now going on shows that the actions taken so far by the Governor and Mayor are not satisfactory and that the real culprits are the unions. While there has been quite a bit of temporizing talk against the use of a quota hiring system for Negroes in New York, the fact remains that without a quota system, the Negro will never catch up and will remain ever outside, unemployed and unskilled.

FUND RAISING

LOOK CAREFULLY - Amsterdam News, Editorial (Both articles June 29)
POLITICAL POT - Amsterdam News, Column: Uptown Lowdown by James Booker

It is apparent that many affairs being held to aid the fight for civil rights in the South will not yield one cent to legitimate organizations involved in the struggle. So avoid frauds and mail your money directly to the group you want to help. Some groups will ask for an accounting of funds sent to aid Southern protest drives.

WE MUST HELP

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (July 17)

A little girl from Stamford sent 63¢ for the educational fund for the children of Medgar Evars, saying it was all she had and knew it would help. It did. The NAACP's $30,000 goal is now less than $600 away. Evars sacrificed his life for the cause of freedom; we should not recoil from the obligation to make his children's future safe.

INTERNATIONAL

CANADA NEGROES PRAISE 'UNIQUE' JFK ALA. STAND

Chicago Daily Defender (July 11)

Members of Canadian Negro organizations wrote President Kennedy that his "unique stand" in the "Alabama situation" would assure him a position of historical prominence, and urged him to continue the fight for change to help Negroes contribute to the U.S. and to the world.

AFRICANS SEE U.S. RACIAL CRISIS IN DIFFERENT WAYS

Chicago Daily Defender (July 25)

The prevailing racial crisis is attracting the attention of all categories of Africans, who call Negroes African Americans. And American Negroes are becoming more conscious of an African connection. The racial crisis draws much news space in Africa, not because it is worsening, but because it is headed for better race relations. In press

pictures they see Negroes, who look like them but are well-dressed and educated, and feel they deserve more respect. Some African leaders praise President Kennedy's actions for civil rights, but feel it is inconvenient to be a Negro anywhere in the U.S. An Algerian who recently returned from study at a southern university here wrote about how difficult it is to implement democratic laws in states like Mississippi. He said he saw no African nationalism, except in the Black Muslims, and that American Negroes are just Americans striving to become more American than ever.

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

WILKINS SEES DANGER IN MASS PROTESTS WITHOUT OBJECTIVES

Chicago Daily Defender (June 25)

Unless Negroes mass and march with specific aim in view, they should refrain from demonstrations, according to Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. In a speech to students at Douglass College he charged Northern Negroes with being apathetic and said two members of Congress told him they received practically no mail from Negro constituents about civil rights legislation.

SAYS NEGRO WON'T SETTLE FOR LESS THAN EQUALITY, JUSTICE NOW
Chicago Daily Defender (June 27)

CAN'T AFFORD TO SLOW DOWN! GO! GO! - Article by James Booker (6/29)

CORE IS COOL TO "PLAYING IT COOL" - This and the article by James Booker from Amsterdam News (7/6)

Louis Lomax told a Chicago audience that the American Negro is mad as hell and will only be pacified by freedom, justice and equality. He urged the white man to atone for past abuses, to get justice into the country without so many laws, to prevent Communism from winning by default. Elsewhere Negro leaders told the President that they cannot afford to slow down demonstrations and will continue them wherever racial conditions are not corrected. CORE agreed at its convention to ignore the President's suggestion of a cooling-off period. One speaker warned that tens of thousands of feet, both black and white will march into Washington if there is a filibuster, if legislation is either watered down or bottled up in committee.

BLIND NO MORE

New York Courier - Column by Rev. Malcolm Boyd (July 13)

The Detroit civil rights march...what did it prove? First, it proved that the "invisible man", the Detroit Negro, emerged to take his place in the sun. Secondly, the number of whites taking part in the march was disappointingly small. The view was a sea of black faces. Great lessons need to be learned by all whites when it comes to life in the Negro minority. Thirdly, the Detroit march revealed that unity of Negro leadership is a myth.. it is fragmented.

HORIZON

New York Courier - Column by P. L. Prattis (July 13)

It is amazing to me that Americans high and low, from the President on down, have somehow transformed peaceable assemblies into demonstra-

tions and have asked Negroes to cease "demonstrating"; that is, cease exercising the right of peaceable assembly. There has been no violence.. but who was guilty .. and who provoked it? Negroes did not turn loose savage dogs nor turn on fire hoses against police, nor herd their oppressors into jails. Only one white person, the alleged murderer of Medgar Evers, has been arrested. Why not the hundreds of other whites who were violent? Total oppression may obliterate the Negro, but he will take the white American along with him.

TO MARCH OR NOT TO MARCH

New York Courier - Column: My View by Benjamin E. Mays (July 13)

To march or not to march is the much-debated topic. I am convinced that certain Southern Senators will filibuster, march or no march. The bill's chance of passage is just as good with or without marching. There may be enough opposition to the civil rights legislation to defeat the proposal under any condition. If the filibuster continues for a long time, there should be a march. If Congress fails to pass civil rights legislation, Congress will be endorsing one's right to discriminate. If this legislation is defeated, demonstrations will increase in momentum.

CHECK-REIN!

New York Courier (July 13) Editorial

How long will these mass demonstrations be pushed to the brink before the entire thing topples over it? Today we are getting action on a big scale. The Federal Government has been pushed into positive motion; the nation's religious phalanxes have belatedly moved into the forefront of the battle lines; industry and labor unions are at least giving lip-service to the principle of integration. Can Negro leaders and Negro organizations CONTROL these massive demonstrations now being contemplated in a number of cities during the coming weeks? Unless the proposed August 28th march on Washington can be rigidly controlled, the Courier opposes the demonstration.

MEDICINE AND HOSPITALS

THE CASE OF SEPARATE DINING FACILITIES IN CITY HOSPITALS

Amsterdam News (June 29)

Does the existence of separate dining rooms for professional and non-professional staffers of the city's 19 hospitals mean separation for professional reasons or segregation for racial bias? Some of the members of Local 420 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union contend it is only to maintain race bias, while the Hospital Department, admitting the dual system, says it is for professional reasons.. for mutual interest in discussing cases or patients.

THE STETHOSCOPE

New York Courier - Column by Earl B. Smith (July 20)

In spite of urban renewal, we will have Negro neighborhoods. This means that YOU need Negro physicians for Negro patients. This is not medical jim-crowism but direct confrontation with the cold facts of

life. In spite of past brain-washing the word Negro does not mean inferior. In future there will be a place for every qualified individual in the profession of his choice. In conclusion, we need MEDICAL RENEWAL in all directions.

MORAL ATTITUDES

IN OUR OWN BACKYARDS

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 26)

With the quickening pace of the Southern desegregation battle, the challenge to Northern communities grows more insistent. Each time a Northern city tries to rationalize its quiet prejudices or "orderly" biases, it nourishes the self-righteousness of Southern mobs. It is out of such Northern retreats as the scuttling of the Deerfield housing program that Southern reaction gains new strength.

COMMUNISM'S BEST FRIENDS

Amsterdam News - Column: White on White by Gertrude Wilson (June 29)

Communism's best friends are the Southern segregationists and Northern bigots who say that the free enterprise system gives private business catering to the general public, license to discriminate because of skin color. If forcing men to welcome all customers is an infringement of basic freedom which will undermine our constitution, what of the laws which are afforded by government Health, fire laws, occupancy laws, loans guaranteed by the government, use of highways constructed by the people's money, and other benefits which aid and protect the business man.. all provided by the citizens of this country.. 10% of them Negroes? In a communist state, private enterprise would have no such privileges for private gain.. nor would it have the opportunity to refuse to serve a man because he had the wrong skin color.

'DEMONSTRATIONS'

New York Courier - Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (July 6)

How can you ever win a game where the other guy makes all the rules and changes them to suit himself? Article I of the Bill of Rights was written by white men and agreed to by white men. It's easy to persuade one's self that it was written FOR WHITE MEN. No other group seeking a redress of its grievances has been subjected to attacks by dogs, fire hoses, and electric prods. We contend against a foe who has deliberately enacted ordinances against us and who interprets those ordinances to suit himself.

A PROFOUND MORAL ISSUE

Amsterdam News- Column:People in Actionby Dr. Martin L. King Jr.(7/20)

Unfortunately in our nation the moral determination to deal with the evil of discrimination has been neither deep enough nor consistent enough. Northern communities which pride themselves as liberal and progressive centers in government and economics are as guilty as the South. Statistics show only 12% of the Negro families in America earn $5,000 or more annually, while 40% of whites do. It is not only immoral to deny any group fair pay and employment.. it is a deliberate

strangulation of the physical and cultural development of its victims ..detrimental to our national welfare. There follows a deterioration of moral values generally which victimizes the white person as well with his false sense of superiority. Discrimination is not merely a political issue; it is a profound moral issue.

LITTLE SOUTHERN HELPERS

Amsterdam News - Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (July 27)

If we are not careful, the Southern white segregationists are going to claim a share of our civil rights victory when the Great Day comes. The latest heavy assist was given by South Carolina's Senator Strom Thurmond when he strongly implied that Secretary of State Dean Rusk was "aiding" the Communists by testifying before a Senate committee in support of pending civil rights bills. The Negroes of this country could ask no greater aid for their cause than the opposition of Thurmond, Barnett, Wallace and Co. If they keep their health, their lungs and what passes for thought processes, we cannot lose the present fight.

NEGRO UNITY

STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN MISSISSIPPI

New York Courier - Article by James Rundles (June 29)

In the vacuum caused by the murder of NAACP Field Secretary Medgar Evers, a struggle for power is going on between three top civil rights groups. We are inclined to believe that all of the recently formed groups would do well to unite under the banner of the NAACP and present a united and purposeful front. At the rate we're going, the whole drive towards freedom by Negroes in this country will be in a state of organized confusion. It is hoped that the situation in Mississippi, regarding the split in the approach of civil rights groups can be remedied.

DISUNITY IS NO MEMORIAL

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (July 6)

THE MISGUIDED - Editorial in the Amsterdam News (July 6)

Roy Wilkins of the NAACP is alleged to have said that the NAACP does all the work and the other groups get all the publicity. It is dangerously foolish for our leaders to divide our ranks at a time when we need unity. If they allow themselves to become involved in a power struggle, we shall be lost. The Negro is roughly divided into 5 major organizations in pursuit of the same goal but, because they approach the problem differently, many people have come to erroneously believe that they are fighting against one another.. and this includes some misguided Negroes. Negro leaders themselves could do much to clear this confusion by spelling out their every move.

COME IN THE ROOM!

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James Hicks (July 13)

James Meredith was the perfect picture of a man who has lost his patience when he sounded off at young Negroes at the NAACP convention..

and Roy Wilkins was another picture of the same man when he took on Meredith in a battle of words. Negro leadership apparently has not learned how not to "put your business in the street" as they say in Harlem. In other words, don't let your tongue say anything that might cause you to get hit in your big mouth. They should say it in the "Room". The "Room" is a place where one Negro can straighten out another without letting others know what they are talking about.. instead of airing their differences in the press.

NEW UNITY BODY TO KEEP RIGHTS STRUGGLE 'SAFE'

Chicago Daily Defender (July 18)

A new organization known as the Council for United Civil Rights has been formed by the seven major groups which work for civil rights for Negroes. The group intends to raise $1½ million for operating expenses. Its aim is "to provide a cadre of experienced Negro leaders who will prevent things from getting out of hand."

ACCEPT NO COMPROMISE

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by Gerald D. Bullock (July 25)

Certain forces are trying to convince white and black civil rights leadership that civil rights legislation could be passed without the part about public accommodations. The colored citizen must demand that every phase of the civil rights bill before Congress be passed. Otherwise employers would again face the dilemma of joint or separate lunch and lavatory facilities, the block-busting real estate dealer, and racial segregation in schools. We must not toss away the God-given gift of human dignity.

NEW YORK CITY

NEW YORK QUIVERS ON BRINK OF OPEN VIOLENCE

New York Courier - Article by Thomas A. Johnson (June 29)

"BRONX IS A BOMB READY TO EXPLODE!"

Amsterdam News - Article by Les Matthews (July 11)

In the nation's largest city, angered by the burtalities committed against freedom fighters in the South and by reports of more subtle discrimination in the North, the Negro's long-trampled patience is worn to the breaking point. Several highly placed Negroes have said that unless changes are made soon in New York City, racial violence could result. Some white liberals shout about how things are in Birmingham, forgetting how bad things are in Harlem.

MR. BEAME'S SPENDING

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (July 20)

Appalled by an Amsterdam News headline which labeled New York City's Comptroller Abraham Beame as a "buyer of bias", Jackie Robinson investigated the story which was based on the fact that some municipal pension funds administered by Mr. Beame's office are invested in biased Southern industries. He found that New York civil rights executives consider Beame a man who believes in democracy rather than in political issues. All city administrators from the Mayor down are

involved in voting to set policy. Beame considers it his social responsibility to investigate ways to change bad policy. He has asked CCHR to look into the situation. Regardless of other considerations, we must feel concern for the use of municipal funds being used to underwrite the very segregation we are fighting.

ACTION NOW

Amsterdam News - Editorial (July 20)

The report of the Mayor's Action Panel seems weak to most observers. In it the construction industry unions were directed to voluntarily integrate their unions by opening membership to Negroes and Puerto Ricans under threat of legislative action. Already the heads of unions are denying discrimination..but meanwhile, while constructions work goes on in the city, there is still a disparate number of Negroes on these jobs.. and that is why the clergy and other Brooklynites picketed until arrested. It is not enough to recommend and then sit back.. nor is "token" hiring enough. The total end of bias in the construction of the city is sought today.

MAYOR'S HEADACHE

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (July 20)

I feel sorry for Mayor Wagner because he is a good guy in the Civil Rights fight.. a man who has gone out of his way to get to know Negroes and their leaders. The trouble is that the Negroes whom the Mayor has relied on to advise him have either been too busy being "accepted" at Gracie Mansion or have been too busy working out a trip to Puerto Rico to "study minority group problems" or getting grants to "study" Harlem.. while the man in the streets has grown tired of waiting for a fair deal at the hands of the Mayor's City Commissioners None of the Commissioners or the Negro leaders told the Mayor that Harlem's poor schools, bad housing and City job discrimination were the number one cancer of his Administration and had to be corrected before anything could be done in other areas. The Negroes on the steps of City Hall are there to tell the Mayor that New York is in a mess and that Wagner is in trouble.

POLITICAL POT

Amsterdam News - Column: Uptown Lowdown by James Booker (July 27)

Instead of the Governor and Mayor forming committees to investigate conditions of bias which anyone with eyes can see for themselves, and instead of weakening further the State and City anti-bias agencies, it would be a good idea to form a committee to investigate the existing committees and their officials to find out what they are doing. For instance, the Governor's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in Apprenticeship Training, headed by Peter Brennan was formed a year ago. If his committee were active, there would be no need for the present committees.

PERSONALITIES

BLACK OR WHITE HAS NO MORAL VALUE BALDWIN TELLS STUDENTS

Chicago Daily Defender (June 24)

HIS OLD SCHOOL HEARS, HONORS JAMES BALDWIN

Amsterdam News - Article by George Barner (June 29)

Accepting a plaque as alumnus-of-the-year at Harlem's Frederick

Douglas Junior High School, James Baldwin told his young audience and old classmates that the original American slaves had made a journey that no other people had ever survived. Remember slavery and be proud of the auction block, he told them. He urged them not to confuse power with morality and to recognize that there is no moral value to either a black or white skin, but that color is a political reality used by politicians.

RALPH BUNCHE WISDOM

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 26)

Ralphe Bunche has been criticized for his refusal to engage actively in civil rights battles in the U.S. He maintained that his UN job was his prime function. Now his brilliant statement through the NAACP shows where he stands: "The Negro of today can be infuriated, but no longer can he be intimidated. This is the lesson of Jackson and of Medgar Evers." We are happy to have the wisdom of Bunche in our battle.

POLICE BRUTALITY

ALBANY RIGHTS FIGHTERS NEAR 'BREAKING POINT'

Chicago Daily Defender (July 1)

ALBANY BLOWING UP AGAIN

Amsterdam News - By George Todd (July 6)

Sweeping arrests of teenage demonstrators and many instances of police brutality are heightening tensions in embattled Albany, Georgia, where the situation is worse than ever after 18 months. A 15-year-old girl, said to have been brutally manhandled, spent 9 days in solitary confinement. The acting president of the Albany Movement said: "We don't have any confidence in the U.S. Justice Department."

VOW INTEGRATIONIST MUST BOW TO ALA. TROOPERS

Chicago Daily Defender (July 24)

A field secretary for SNCC, Landy McNair, reportedly was beaten by 10 State Troopers after they placed him under arrest for having an out-of-state driver's license. "You are going to respect Alabama State Troopers whether your a.. is black or white", a trooper told him. McNair and two co-workers were working in Gadsden for a coalition of CORE, SNCC and SCLC who will protest his arrest to the Justice Department.

POLITICAL FIGURES

DIXIECRAT DIRKSEN

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (June 24)

The unholy coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans which has caused previous civil rights bills to be watered down is forming behind Senate Minority Leader Dirksen against any legislation outlawing segregation in private business. Mr. Dirksen has deliberately ignored the fact that 31 states have public accommodation laws whose constitutionality has been constantly upheld by the courts. The Republicans must help enact a bill with teeth in it or face a black revolution in which their own lives would be at stake. Our biggest enemy is Senator Dirksen who suffers with foot-and-mouth disease.

THE GOLDWATER WAGON

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (July 1)

The 1964 Presidential race has begun to move into high gear. The leading man in the Republican line-up is Senator Barry Goldwater, whose supporters assume a growing conservative mood in the country. This attitude would cause the Republicans to play down the civil rights issue, exploit the Cuba problem, the allies, unemployment and Kennedy policy. But the liberal Republicans believe their party cannot win on those grounds. We see no chance for it to win the 1964 election with Barry Goldwater heading the ticket. Unless Republicans have developed a suicidal urge, they will derail the Goldwater bandwagon.

SOUNDING NOTICE

Amsterdam News - Editorial (July 20)

Governor Rockefeller has sounded notice on the extreme right wing of the Republican Party that he still upholds the principles of the Party of Abraham Lincoln and will not bow down to a group from a "well-financed and highly disciplined minority" within. Warned Mr. Rockefeller, "A program based on racism or sectionalism would in and of itself not only defeat the Republican Party in 1964, but would destroy it altogether". It is time for others to speak out.

GOV. ROCKEFELLER

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (July 25)

The Democratic governors were playing politics at their conference in Miami to prevent Governor Rockefeller from forcing a showdown on civil rights. The Republicans achieved some measure of a political victory by putting the Democrats in the position of opposing a decision on civil rights. Should Governor Rockefeller win the GOP nomination and make the civil rights issue his battle cry, the Democrats will be in serious trouble.

POLITICS

UP TO CONGRESS - Amsterdam News, Editorial (June 29)
CONGRESS - IT'S YOUR MOVE NOW - Amsterdam News, Editorial (July 6)
CONGRESS MUST ACT - Chicago Daily Defender, Editorial (July 24)

In this summer of racial discontent Congress dares not turn its back on the issue that agitates the whole nation. Initiative in the field of civil rights has passed to the courts and to the executive branch largely because Congress over the years has failed to take meaningful action. Can Congress act on this central issue of American life now and recoup the initiative.. or will the decisions be left to the courts, the Executive branch, or street demonstrations and strife? President Kennedy, the United States Supreme Court and Attorney General have done their part to right the injustices to 22 million colored citizens. It is now up to the Congress to finish the job. This newspaper wishes to predict to the Congress that if 22 million colored citizens do not get equality now there will be a spontaneous, explosive revulsion everywhere which no city, police, state national guard, fire hoses or German police dogs can deter.

BARNETT, WALLACE DRIVE MAY BE GOOD OMEN FOR DEMS

Jet (July 11)

The movement for unpledged electors in Dixie states being whipped up by AlabamaGov. George Wallace and Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett may prove a good-luck charm for Democratic Party. With other Southern states like Georgia balking at the idea, Mississippi and Alabama currently alone in the anti-Kennedy crusade will find the going rough. Each time in recent years that the Dixiecrats went against the Democratic Party, a Democrat captured the White House. Each time they united with the Party, a Republican won.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY

LUNCHEON DATE

Amsterdam News - Editorial (July 20)

Of the 52 guests invited by the President to a White House luncheon for Prime Minister Menzies of Australia, six were Negroes at top level. Mr. Kennedy is practicing what he advocates in seeing that the American Negro is included in all aspects of American life and specifically where the office of the President is concerned. He deserves credit.

NOT SO NEW NEGRO

Amsterdam News - Column: Poppy's Notes by Poppy Cannon White (7/20)

The New Negro is the New Topic. Freedom is a flame far from new to the American Negro and the President for whose words the world waited was not Kennedy but Lincoln. Then, as now, some said that the President waited too long, and that in some ways the Proclamation fell short. However, perhaps future historians will say that the lingering bondage of second-class citizenship had its death knell in the moving words of President Kennedy July 11, 1963.

REAL ESTATE AND HOUSING

'MANAGED INTEGRATION' PLAN DRAWS MIXED REACTION HERE

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by Ted Coleman (July 2)

A mixed crowd of 2,000 attended a rally on renewal of Chicago's South Shore and were told by Philip Hauser, chairman of the Department of Sociology at University of Chicago that the managed integration system would solve the problem of rapid transition of neighborhoods from white to Negro after a Negro family has moved in. Some real estate men called this a quota system, but others felt that stable communities could be maintained if Negroes who moved in shared the high socio-economic, cultural and character standards of the present residents.

ANOTHER STEP FORWARD

New York Courier - Editorial (July 6)

The Urban Renewal Administration is taking two steps toward combatting racial discrimination in public housing. One, to make thorough studies of existing housing needs of racial minorities and to

improve new housing. The other, to relocate displaced persons into integrated housing.. to prevent exchanging one ghetto for another. Thus the Administration has the power to prevent Jim-Crowism.

RELIGIONS AND CHURCHES

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S CLUB - Editorial (July 3)

CATHOLIC WOMEN END 40 YEARS OF RACE BIAS (July 10)

INTERRACIAL GROUP SETS MEETING TO STUDY NATION'S RACIAL CRISIS (7/11)

CATHOLICS WAGE BATTLE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION by Ernestine Cofield (7/23)

(All the above from The Chicago Daily Defender)

The anti-Negro policy of the Illinois Club for Catholic Women makes Negroes wonder how sincere the Catholics are about brotherhood, said the Defender editorial. When Catholic prelates have taken their stand for human equality, it is incredible that the club's president should use a statement by her housekeeper to argue that Negroes are not interested in associations outside their race. Within a week the rigid color line was dropped by the club, when the president's son announced that no one who shared its humanitarian program would be rejected because of color. Protests against the club were started by students at Loyola University which housed the club and were backed by John McDermott, director of the Catholic Interracial Council. Assistance came from picketing nuns. The Council also intends to look into banking practices, union policy, too few Negro doctors on its hospital staffs, and even experiments with selective buying. 57 national councils of the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice met in Chicago on July 27 as a sequel of the National Conference on Religion and Race, to map a course of action in response to racial tension across the U.S.

UNITED CHURCH'S UNITED CREDO

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (July 27)

Jackie Robinson gave praise to the United Church of Christ which went on record in support of an uncompromising credo which, if adopted by other large church groups, would make progress along Freedom Highway a reality. The credo speaks of job discrimination, taxpayers whose money is used to run the government but who are denied equal opportunities. It condemns prejudice in schools, housing, public accommodations, the financial community and even the church. It exposes the racist hypocrisy that integration is a smoke-screen for intermarriage and offers the full loaf of love, respect, understanding and justice.

SELECTIVE BUYING

LOCAL LILY-WHITE FIRMS RUSH TO INTEGRATE JOBS

Chicago Daily Defender (July 9)

Chicago business firms and merchants who have been reluctant to hire without regard to race or color, began a stampede to meet local NAACP demands for fair employment in order to avoid a gigantic "Selective Buying" program in Chicago. Agencies have reported a sharp increase in requests for Negro workers.

Articles on the "Selective Buying" drive, including one signed article by Betty J. Edwards: All the articles appeared in the Chicago Daily Defender, 7/8, 7/10, 7/11, 7/15, 7/22 and 7/23.

The NAACP national convention in Chicago approved a program of nation-wide "selective buying" against firms who follow biased hiring practices. Methods will be left to local chapters. The plan has been enthusiastically endorsed by prominent businessmen polled by the Defender and by a group of religious leaders representing several faiths. Governor Kerner's Executive Order banning racial discrimination in all licensed enterprises has stepped up the campaigns of civic agencies to end bias. The NAACP is making a survey of all businesses in Chicago whose hiring policies are "lily-white". 16 major anti-bias groups in Chicago have formed a Council to co-ordinate sit-ins, picketing and selective buying. The first targets will be the Motorola Company, including its showrooms, and the office of Sen. Everett Dirksen. Another target will be the Englewood shopping center where only 53 of 496 employees are Negroes, half of whom are porters. Future action will be directed against hospitals and public schools which either segregate or refuse Negroes.

MISCELLANEOUS

'ALL IS NOT LOST' KKK'S HEAD TELLS COURIER IN TUSCALOOSA

New York Courier - Article by Snow James (June 22)

The Imperial Wizard of the KKK told a Courier reporter after the Negro students were registered at the University of Alabama: "All is not lost. This was only one strike against us - there are lots more innings to play." The Klan openly plans insurrection and some believe the ambush of Medgar Evers was the first shot in the insurrection.

BLAND LIAR

New York Courier - Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (June 22)

Gov. Wallace of Alabama lied in answering questions of the "Meet the Press" television panel. If, as he claimed, Negroes were free to register and vote, the name of the Governor in Alabama would not be Wallace. He also lied in saying that most of the Negro population of the state favors segregation. Negroes have accepted this substitute for absolute slavery in order to stay alive and keep a job, but they have never favored it. But, a new day has dawned and the Southern Negro has discerned that it is no longer necessary to kid along with the Southern whites.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (July 8)

What is the American Legion doing in the present American crisis? This group so often makes its power felt on the side of ultra-conservatism when a crisis involves racial minorities. They need to be reminded that patriotism is the way of social advance. Let the liberal voices in the American Legion, if there are such, speak up for the advance of the democratic tendency in the national life.

CONFETTI

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Lillian S. Calhoun appeared July 9, 17, 18, 22 and 23.

Out of 112 Chicago judges, only 6 are Negro. The Cook County Bar Assn. has been critical of these figures for years, but who listens? .... Only 1½ million out of 5 million eligible Negroes are registered in the South, of whom 115,000 registered in the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education project.... President Kennedy is working to get foundation support for a model school for Negroes in Prince Edward Co.... Bill Berry of the Urban League says leaders of all religions in Chicago are offering increasing support on racial problems - makes up for the "gentle, white moderates" who are scared away by the demonstrations.... CORE charges that jimcrow in schools is being intensified here. A survey should be made to assure that segregation is not being extended.... According to the latest Harris poll a majority of Americans back the civil rights package. The jazz that white folks are turning against Negroes and equality must be White Citizens' Council wishful thinking.... Lyndon Johnson's equal opportunity committee has sent questionnaires to construction unions, asking: "How many Negro officers? Are meetings segregated? Do you list racial discrimination with management, as a grievance?.... Mike Quill's Transport Workers Union recently gave Dr. King a check for $10,000 to end the cannabilism of segregation.

POLITICAL POT

Amsterdam News - Uptown Lowdown, Column by James Booker (7/20)

The NAACP's mass legislative lobby to Washington Aug. 6-8 to press for civil rights legislation will be a buildup for the mass demonstrations on August 28th.... Election of labor leader L. Joseph Overton as a candidate for the NAACP's national board of directors is a sign of the changing times in NAACP ranks.... Councilman J. Raymond Jones is pressing his attack against the small percentage of Negro students in the city's colleges.... The city's announcement of Esplanade Gardens at 147th Street is much to the credit of J. Raymond Jones and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell who early urged housing at a decent rental.

LOS ANGELES NO LONGER A 'BUSH LEAGUE TOWN'

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by A. S. "Doc" Young (7/24)

No longer can Los Angeles be called "a bush-league town" because of political immaturity. Even last year there was no Negro political representation among elected city officials, but now Los Angeles has three Negro councilmen and adjacent Compton has one who defeated candidates of all other races. Although Negroes form half of Compton's 75,000 people, they had previously been unable to muster strength to win an election. Election of these men (plus a Negro Congressman, two new Assemblymen and America's first big-city postmaster) is merely part of a trend that promises even greater Negro political participation from a growing Negro population.

WOMEN VOTERS PLAN RIGHTS DRIVE NEXT YEAR

Chicago Daily Defender (July 25)

Although the League of Women Voters of the U.S. is not supporting civil rights legislation now before Congress, the Illinois branch of the League plans to put it on its next year's program. The League in Illinois has worked in most areas of civil rights except housing. It would also like to interest more Negro women in joining.

ARE PUERTO RICANS NEGRO OR WHITE?

Jet (August 1)

State Superintendent of Education James Allen dropped a bombshell when he ordered school officials to report Puerto Ricans as white on a de facto school segregation report he wants by September. Ironically, Puerto Ricans, like Negroes, range in color from Nordic white to jet black.. which prompted a professor of Spanish on a visit to our States to remark "Call all Negroes white and the school is integrated automatically." ...But black Puerto Ricans would still face jim crow.

news from 1010 wins
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FROM: Gerald M. Goldberg

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: August 20, 1963

WINS COMPLETES ONE HOUR DOCUMENTARY-EDITORIAL ON CIVIL RIGHTS;

STATION TO EXPLORE THE REALITIES OF HATE AND PREJUDICE

Program to be Presented Twice -- August 25 and 27

To Insure Widest Audience Exposure

A full hour documentary-editorial on civil rights, narrated by WINS General Manager, Mark Olds, will be presented by WINS Radio, New York at 8:00 p.m. Sunday, August 25. "The Unfinished American Revolution -- Part II" ("Hate is a Wrong Way Street") will be repeated at 11:00 p.m. Tuesday, August 27 to insure maximum listenership. The repeat broadcast is deliberately timed for airing on the eve of the March on Washington.

The one hour presentation is a sequel to the widely acclaimed half hour documentary-editorial first presented by WINS on July 4.

"The Unfinished American Revolution -- Part II" takes a cold, unblinking look at the nature of hate and prejudice that exists in the United States

(MORE)

today and advocates as a solution to the problems we all face , non-violence and the democratic way of life.

Actuality recordings of Alabama's Governor George Wallace -- "Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!" -- former Birmingham Police Chief Bull Connor -- "We had that nigger (Martin Luther King) whipped!" -- the Grand Wizer of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan; a spokesman for the Black Muslims; a member of a neo-Nazi party; some New York City construction workers; and Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett are among the challenging revelations of prejudice and hate presented in the course of the program.

Speaking on the dangers of prejudice and hate-mongering will be Rev. Paul Turner, the minister who was beaten up for walking Negro children to the integrated high school in Clinton, Tennessee, seven years ago; Bernice Johnson, a 19-year old director of the Albany, Georgia, Freedom Movement; Bayard Rustin, a Director of the March on Washington; Professor James Shenton of Columbia University; Vice President Lyndon Johnson speaking at the Gettysburg battlefield; and President John F. Kennedy.

The documentary-editorial isolates and analyzes, in depth, three of the most potent types of hate and prejudice: 1. the prejudice that confuses Communism and integration; 2. the prejudice that gives some white men a sense of superiority on the assumption that the Negro is different; and 3. the unreasoning hatred for the white man evidenced by some Negro groups. It is the WINS editorial viewpoint, as expressed by General Manager Mark Olds, that manifestations of these hates and prejudices are

(MORE)

keeping "the unfinished American revolution" unfinished.

"The Unfinished American Revolution -- Part II" ("Hate is a Wrong Way Street") is a production of the Public Affairs Department of WINS Radio, New York. Narrator is Mark Olds, General Manager of WINS, material for this program was selected and written by Phillip S. Gelb. Bert Cowlan was executive producer and director.

There are no actors on the program, only real people in actuality recordings.

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SELECTED PRESS AND COMMUNITY COMMENT ON

"THE UNFINISHED AMERICAN REVOLUTION"
Part I

The Voice of America in its world-wide, round-the-clock schedule of news broadcasts, features, and commentaries, is at pains to demonstrate that the executive branch of the American government and probably most of our national legislators and their constituents are in sympathy with the Negro drive for fuller human rights. As an example of the feelings of many Northern broadcasters, it would have been useful had the Voice picked up for international rebroadcast on Independence Day "The Unfinished American Revolution," a half-hour documentary editorial presented by WINS, a Group W (Westinghouse) radio station in New York City. With the commendable conviction of a commercial broadcaster, Mark Olds, the station's General Manager, personally narrated this July 4 program, which counterpointed quotations from President Kennedy's recent televised address to the nation on the question of Negro civil rights with tapes culled from the struggle in the North and South.

Short-wave listeners would have heard testimony of brutal ignorance and racist prejudice that recall still unredeemed irrationalities in the American experience of Negroes and whites. They would also have heard eloquent witness to courage and idealism among men, women, and children. They would have heard the American President, speaking for the whole nation, place the struggle for equal rights on the level of a moral issue, asserting that the nation would not be free until all its citizens are free. Foreign listeners who knew enough about the American broadcasting scene would have realized that such a radio editorial by a commercial broadcaster was in itself an unusual demonstration of concern for the unfinished American Revolution.

Robert Lewis Shayon, Saturday Review
August 10, 1963

While the orientation of broadcasting's news coverage has most certainly shown segregationists in a bad light, neither the networks nor many local stations (so far as is known from this view point) have actually taken an editorial stand. Group W's WINS Radio in New York did just that in this "documentary editorial" aired three times, with the final broadcast next Sunday (14) at 10 p.m.

WINS general manager Mark Olds narrated, interspersing his comments with excerpts from President Kennedy's forthright integration speech, and highly dramatic interviews with Negroes who have been deeply involved in the various demonstrations, jailings, etc. Olds capped the half-hour with a strong plea for understanding and sacrafice on the part of all

(MORE)

citizens, "because, sure enough, this unfinished revolution; the revolution of justice and equality and dignity for every man, woman and child without regard to color or creed, the revolution that a world that wants to survive has been waiting for, this revolution is here with us-here and now. It may cause me some concern and even discomfort; it may make me, personally, worried and uncomfortable for a while-but I too will change a little, and act, and risk something. Unless you are willing to say something like this, then the American revolution is a lost cause."

Using the President's speech as a peg, Olds segued into interviews and pickups covering situations in Harlem, Nashville, Danville (Va.) and other centres of the Negro struggle. Point was made doubly forceful by the selection of very articulate and sincere Negroes who were able to vividly communicate their courage. Production and direction brought the whole off with dramatic impact sans sensationalism.

Variety, July 10, 1963

In airing "The Unfinished American Revolution,"...WINS will reaffirm its belief in "justice and equality and dignity for every man, woman and child without regard to color or creed." It also will tell its listeners that unless they are willing to speak up for the principle, "the American Revolution is a lost cause."

John Horn
New York Herald Tribune, June 2, 1963

So many good things had been heard about the documentary editorial on civil rights, "The Unfinished American Revolution," aired by WINS that I felt it should be shared with people here who had the misfortune to miss it. I appreciate receiving the tape.

The total response to it was as I had expected -- all as positive as my own. I have heard it several times now. The more I hear it the more confirmed I am that an outstanding job has been done. In content and drama it is moving and of great substance. It should be done again. Mark Olds' concluding lines are especially memorable.

George Norford, Television Consultant
New York State Commission on Human Rights

A very special event that we hope will be duplicated by other members of the Communications industry...if you are interested in the history of the Negro since the Emancipation Proclamation...if you are interested in what the City expects from its citizens...if you are a parent...if you have a job...we suggest you listen.

City Commission on Human Rights of New York

(MORE)

The program aired over WINS, "The Unfinished American Revolution," is a hallmark in Radio Documentary editorials. It seems to us here at CORE that those who heard it could hardly have left their radio sets unmoved. Your presentation put the public in direct touch with those who are attempting to accomplish the goals of America and it was done exceedingly well.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Congratulations on "The Unfinished American Revolution" program. My colleagues have asked me to tell you that they consider WINS' effort to promote equal rights for all Americans highly commendable. We are confident that your program will strike a responsive chord among Americans of good will.

Pursuant to our conversation last week, we would greatly appreciate permission to add the tape of this radio program to our list of available tapes for meetings and conferences dealing with racial tensions.

Frances P. Rosenberg
The American Jewish Committee

We want to express our congratulations for the wonderful job you...did on "The Unfinished American Revolution." I am delighted to see WINS taking such a forceful stand.

Jack D. Summerfield, General Manager
WRVR Radio

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Newsweek 8/26/63

Press, Radio, T.V. & Movies

A Victim of Negro Progress

Their editorial approach ranges from almost shuffling subservience to strident militancy, the size of their staffs from one man to 35, and the quality of their products from promising to dreadful. But whatever their differences, the 133 Negro newspapers in the U.S. today —two small dailies, 131 weeklies, semi-weeklies, and bi-weeklies—face a common and paradoxical danger: the Negro press may well become a major casualty of the revolution it helped create.

Twenty years ago, when the seeds of today's revolution were being sown, The Pittsburgh Courier chain of Negro papers had an impressive circulation of 270,000; now, at the very moment that the race issue obsesses the nation, the Courier is down to 108,000. The Baltimore Afro-American chain has slumped from 230,000 in 1943 to 145,000, the weekly edition of The Chicago Defender from 161,000 to 35,000, and The Norfolk Journal and Guide from 77,000 to 35,000. There are 20 million Negroes in the U.S. in 1963, but the total circulation of Negro papers is barely 1.5 million. Only a few of the papers make money consistently.

The underlying reason for the sad plight of the Negro press is strangely simple: the dramatic struggle for integration on all levels has drawn the "white" press into areas once the sole province of the Negro press—and the Negro press does not have the resources to compete. Two decades ago, the speeches of Negro leaders earned little coverage outside Negro papers; now every word of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. and Roy Wilkins is reported and interpreted by the white press. Two decades ago, when Negro labor leader A. Philip Randolph planned a march of 50,000 Negroes upon Washington to protest discrimination in defense industries, the event might have gone unnoticed except for the steady coverage by The Pittsburgh Courier chain which dramatized Negro demands and helped President Roosevelt outlaw such discrimination. Next week, when 100,000 to 200,000 civil-rights demonstrators descend upon Washington, the wire services and the metropolitan newspapers will blanket the march.

Talent: Moreover, a sizable percentage of the Negro reporters on-scene in Washington will be working for white newspapers. Spurred partly by their consciences and partly by the need for qualified reporters to cover the Negro movement, white newspapers and magazines are searching more and more for qualified Negroes. The search is drawing the small supply of talent away from the underbudgeted Negro press (the average editorial salary at The Chicago Daily Defender is $105 weekly, compared with a $158 top minimum at The Chicago Sun-Times and Daily News). "Very few bright young Negroes even think of joining Negro papers," says Ted Poston, once a Courier staffer, now senior rewriteman at The New York Post. "The goal is to get on the white paper because of better pay and usually better standards of journalism."

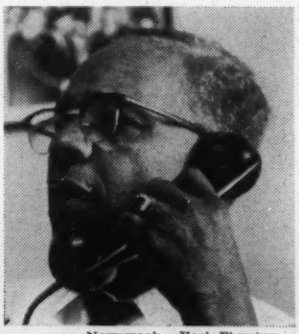
Even the crusading passion that once marked the Negro press has been pre-empted by the liberal, white dailies. Starting with Freedom's Journal—founded in 1827 by John Russwurm, the first American Negro to graduate from college (Bowdoin), and the Rev. Samuel Cornish—the Negro press traditionally has been a voice of social protest —first fighting slavery, then the vestiges of slavery. "Every single gain the Negroes have gotten in the race-relations areas has been articulated in the Negro press," says Howard B. Woods, executive editor of the Negro St. Louis Argus. "Without it, there would have been no gains and no NAACP." But now the crusade against discrimination has become a staple of editorial columns throughout the country and many Negro readers prefer to see their hopes echoed there.

Ghetto: "Negro papers are the product of the ghetto," says Allan Morrison, the articulate New York editor of Ebony magazine, publisher John H. Johnson's Life-style monthly which thrives on the Negro's search for status. "When the middle class escapes the ghetto, it rejects everything to do with the ghetto, and it passes this rejection on to its children. Educated Negroes are reading the Negro press decreasingly."

What is left for the Negro press? It is now the society pages, the obituaries, and the inevitable classified ads that continue to draw readers to the

Newsweek—Jeff Lowenthal

Fred Ward—Black Star



Newsweek—Karl Fleming

Johnson, Stone, and Scott: Voices of praise and protest

Negro papers. "If you only read the regular press, you'd think Negroes never were born, never got married, and didn't die," says Defender managing editor Lee Blackwell. "Our readers are interested in their neighbors and if their neighbor is murdered they want to know about it."

Many Negro papers continue to run ads for magic potions, spiritualists, and lonely hearts clubs. Only a few cover anything but Negro news (The Baltimore Afro-American lists only the Negro batters and pitchers in its weekly baseball averages) and only four subscribe to a white wire service, UPI. Yet each has its own personality. Among the Negro papers:

▶**Chicago Daily Defender:** The angry man of the Negro press is the Defender's new editor-in-chief, C. Sumner (Chuck) Stone Jr., formerly managing editor of The Washington Afro-American. During his stay in the capital, Stone, 38, called many Negro leaders "Uncle Toms" and assailed the white press and politicians. "To justify my existence I must reflect the Negro community's sense of what we are becoming," says Stone, who has spiced the Defender (circulation: 26,000) with vitriol. "I'm a nigger, but I'm a proud nigger. If I don't push, nobody will."

▶**Atlanta Daily World:** At the opposite extreme from Stone is C.A. Scott, editor of the 31-year-old Atlanta Daily World (circulation: a steady 20,000). Scott's policy is "don't rock the boat." Dull reading and dismal looking, the 5-cent World is always thin, shies clear of racial controversy, relies on UPI for much of its major coverage, and is critical of sit-ins and demonstrations. "The Negro has got to quit getting mad and start getting smart," says 55-year-old Scott. "We have everything to lose and nothing to gain. What we want is goodwill. The less friction we create today, the less we will have to undo tomorrow."

▶**The Norfolk Journal and Guide:** Once the most successful weekly of any kind in the South, it is often called The New York Times of the Negro press. Yet it has slipped editorially since the death of founder P.B. Young last year. Now run by his son, the attractive, 15-cent Journal and Guide keeps national and nonracial news at a minimum and is a moderate in its editorials.

▶**Michigan Chronicle:** The best and one of the most successful of the Negro papers is The Michigan Chronicle (circulation: 41,210, an increase of 14,000 since 1958), which attributes its success to its role as a "community, family newspaper" with extensive coverage of local Negro achievement and society news. Whatever sensationalism the Chronicle offers appears in "Other People's Business," a lively column by June Brown, who spins anecdotes about local murderers and adulterers and offers advice ("Parents, when your child asks you, 'Where do babies come from?', don't tell him 'Babies come from being careless' "). But even the Chronicle's formula may fail in a future of increasing community integration.

As one step toward meeting the challenge of integration, Harry Harwich, a white publisher in a predominantly Negro suburb of Boston (Roxbury), has come up with a totally integrated weekly —filled with photos, social news, and little else. By its fourth issue last week, The New Boston Citizen had offended some of its readers with pictures of a mixed marriage, but boosted its circulation to 2,000. "Everything that happens in this community happens to whites as well as Negroes, so we're directing our efforts to the total community," says the Citizen's Negro editor, John Robinson. "We know there is a market for this kind of newspaper."

But no one is certain whether any market will remain in twenty years for the purely Negro press. "I can't escape the belief that the Negro press, by and large, up to the present day performed a great function and now, in an increasingly unsegregated world, it finds itself faced with the problem of reexamining its functions," says NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins, a former managing editor of The Kansas City Call. "Negro papers came into being as crusaders. And the minute they stop being crusaders and become chroniclers, they're done."

Back in Action

Mark Ethridge loves putting out newspapers, and next to that he loves talking about putting out newspapers, often all night long. As publisher of The Louisville Courier-Journal and The Times, he once fired his managing editor, Norman Isaacs, for deserting a bull session in his own house at 5 a.m. Ethridge rehired Isaacs a few hours later, but he put "acting" before his title, and, as an inside joke, kept it there.

For the past two years, the 67-year-old Ethridge has been trying to retire from active news management to devote even more time to talking about it. As a move in that direction, he stepped up from publisher to chairman of the board. But last week, he was heading back into action: he accepted the post of editor of Newsday, the Long Island tabloid, to fill the vacancy left by the death last month of founder Alicia Patterson.

Ethridge will probably run the paper only a few years, long enough for Joseph Albright, the capable 26-year-old nephew of Alicia Patterson and publisher Harry Guggenheim, to benefit from active association with him. "I agreed because of this old friendship for both of them and my admiration for Alicia," Ethridge said. A straightforward newsman, Ethridge plans to keep the paper independent. And he will still be able to talk: he will commute one day a week to the University of North Carolina to lecture on communications management—a daytime course.

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Dear Friend:

On Wednesday, September 18, 1963 you may have seen the CBS television show about Leander Perez of Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana, entitled The Priest and the Politician. This hour-long documentary details Perez's ideas and activities in the field of politics, segregation and discrimination. Of particular interest is his attitude towards the use of violence as an ultimate weapon.

Our office has obtained a print of this television show and is making it available to interested groups and individuals for viewing.

If you would like to borrow the film for showing, please let us know as soon as possible. Give us a date and one alternate date. Rental charge for this film is $10.00.

If you want a bird's eye view of Leander Perez -- and what he stands for and against -- drop us a note and we will get the film to you.

Sincerely,

Irwin Schulman

Irwin Schulman

IS:sh

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

"Miss Smith of Georgia"

(Free, pay shipping costs going back -)

MISS JOAN TITUS

TIME-LIFE BROADCAST, INC.

TIME & LIFE BUILDING

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NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

Statement of their appraisal to Joan Titus

Give list of people viewing it to Mac -

— Materials Division File 9/19/63

pointment as a delegate to the 22d Congress of the Communist Party.

And there are, everywhere in the memory, what might be called the old Russians: men building homes of crude lumber or adobe, women standing in shadeless fields tending a few cows, children waiting at the roadside to watch the big black cars speed by.

There are the people of the "new lands," sunburned, hardhanded, proud as they show what they have done to transform the endless Siberian steppes into millions of acres of wheatland.

There is the agriculture minister in the Ukraine—Mark Spivak, old Bolshevik, member of the party central committee, veteran survivor of Soviet politics—flushing with emotion as he describes his boyhood as the child of a poor peasant and tells how the Communist Party helped him to rise and prosper, and why it is good for Russia.

And there is Spivak again, real astonishment in his eyes as Orville Freeman explains that he became Secretary of Agriculture in the United States after winning three elections—and losing three elections.

This traveler's montage of faces is paralleled by a similar collection of conclusions—seemingly random and subjective, but all supported by factual evidence.

The potential of Russian agriculture is rich—if it can effectively be tapped. In this country, encompassing one-sixth of the earth's land area, there are resources to produce all that is needed, and more.

The Soviets have come a long way in 45 years—through chaos and bloodbaths, through a devastating war that forced them in many places to start all over again—from the primitive agriculture of czarist Russia.

They are at least in grain and other field crops, a "going concern." Their techniques may seem clumsy to Western eyes, but the production is there, and it will increase. It is not inconceivable that in a decade they will be competing with us in world export markets.

Soviet agricultural research, badly crippled for years by insistence that scientists accept the Lysenko theory of inheritability of environmentally induced characteristics, is now following the same general lines as our own—though researchers still pay lipservice to Lysenkoism.

The willingness of Lenin and Stalin to make the peasant pay the price of national progress—by starving and coercing him while they built Soviet industry—is brutally clear.

The size of Soviet farms is staggering. So is the size of Soviet farm bureaucracy. The conclusion is inescapable that both are too large for efficient operations.

The Communist Party has not been able to apply its principles and its machinery to animal husbandry, or to such specialized crops as fruits and vegetables, with any degree of success. It is questionable whether the Communist system can be successfully applied to livestock production.

Even in the production of grain crops, where the system can be made to work if there are enough machines and enough capital investment, Communist ideology has proven a balky engine—unless it is lubricated with capitalist "material incentives."

No matter what is done to boost production, consumers will not receive full benefits from it until the Soviet Government greatly increases its investments and effort in the farm-to-table segment of agriculture—in transportation, refrigeration, processing, handling and marketing.

As of now, this sector is the stepchild of Soviet agriculture.

Further progress in Soviet agriculture depends on the willingness of Russian leaders to increase the amount and the proportion of capital investment going into agriculture.

While past gains have been made by increasing acreage, future progress will depend on increasing yields—and this will require heavy investment in fertilizer, insecticides and weed-control chemicals, as well as improved seeds.

Even if such increases in investment are made—and Premier Nikita Khrushchev gives every indication of a determination to make them—there is another unknown factor: the ability of Soviet farmers to absorb new technology effectively.

Soviet agriculture cannot make any really spectacular further progress unless the system is modified. This conclusion is not based simply on any reflexive bias against communism, but rather on past performance—and on the admitted fact that Soviet leaders are still struggling to make their political and economic control systems for agriculture workable.

Finally, there is one conclusion that could be a heartening one for the whole world: There is enough work for the Soviets to do on their own farms to keep them, and their national resources, occupied for decades.

If they choose to look inward instead of outward for new frontiers to conquer, the Russian farmer and consumer, as well as the rest of us, will be the better for it.

Khrushchev held his hand up under his chin as he told Freeman, "We are fed up to here with rockets—we have enough rockets. * * * We are going to divert this money to agriculture." Khrushchev's people, no less than the rest of us, can only hope he means it.

ROSH HASHANAH GREETINGS

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on the occasion of a new year in the Jewish calendar, I would like at this time to extend to the Jewish citizens of the world my sincere wishes for a prosperous year ahead. May it prove to be, for them and for all mankind, a year of genuine peace, security, and happiness. May it bring new hopes, new dreams, and new goals, while at the same time fulfilling the hopes, dreams, and goals of yesteryear.

Rosh Hashanah—the day of God's judgment of the world—is also a day on which the Jews pray not only for themselves, but for the people of the world at large.

In response, the American people as a whole join with them in the knowledge that peace, a traditional object of prayer on this occasion, is no longer a mere trinket to be talked about and played with, in the political sense. Indeed, it is fast winning recognition as an absolute necessity.

Let us then pray, and let us also remember that out of the strains of this era, if we but will it and have the faith to see it through, we can achieve even more than ever.

It is in the spirit of using this time of prayer as the springboard of the inspiration we need to go forward, that I extend to American Jewry my best wishes on Rosh Hashanah.

Press, Radio, T.V. Movie

CIVIL RIGHTS BROADCASTS

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, in this time of discussion, debate, and concern over the civil rights crisis, it is a pleasure for me to commend the efforts of a group of television and radio stations, RKO General Broadcasting, to add to public enlightenment on the subject.

RKO General Broadcasting, a national group of five TV and seven radio stations in New York, Los Angeles, Boston, Detroit, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., and Memphis, has developed, and is currently broadcasting, a series of statements by prominent individuals who present their ideas on how the civil rights crisis can be resolved peacefully and justly. An attempt has been made to give widely varying viewpoints. It is a pleasure to report, too, that the Voice of America is broadcasting these messages around the world. The series is called "In Search of a Solution: Civil Rights."

The premise of the series—a continuing national symposium—was set forth in these words by Hathaway Watson, president of RKO General Broadcasting:

> We consider the civil rights issue the most important on the domestic scene today. It is recognized that attitudes on this question differ, yet we believe that there is no disagreement on the desirability of resolving the crisis without violence and with a maximum of fairness to all. In the messages recorded to date we have found, as we expected, a diversity of opinions, which we welcome. For it is our hope that the expressions we broadcast will not only constitute a significant national and local consensus, but that they will offer original and constructive ideas for a solution of this problem.

It is noteworthy that RKO General Broadcasting, in developing the series, sent invitations to an extensive list of leaders in Government, including Senators and Governors of northern and southern States. In addition, invitations were sent to leaders in education, religion, business, labor, the arts and the law, and to the heads of the major Negro organizations. I was gratified to be included among those invited to participate.

The series was conceived by, and is under the supervision of, Martin Weldon, director of public affairs for RKO General Broadcasting; and Mr. Weldon has provided me with a set of the statements so far recorded and now in process of being broadcast, on varying schedules, on the RKO General Broadcasting stations: in New York, WOR AM/FM-TV; in Los Angeles, KHJ AM/FM-TV; in San Francisco, KFRC AM/FM; in Washington, D.C., WGMS AM/FM; and in Memphis, WHBQ AM-TV.

I am pleased to call to the attention of the Congress of the United States these statements, broadcast by RKO General Broadcasting, in regard to solution of this urgent national problem.

I ask unanimous consent that these statements be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statements were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN, ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK

> The inequities inflicted upon the Negroes in America have been a festering problem in our society for many decades. There is simply no reason why the color of a man's skin should limit his opportunities in a society that boasts of freedom.
>
> Visiting our soldier-sons all over the world, I have seen white and Negro soldiers serving our country, suffering the same hardships and confronting the same hazards of war. Yet contrary to every Christian principle and in defiance of the glorious American ideal of equal justice for all, some of those same Americans who risked their lives for you and for me are denied the right to vote,

the right to receive an adequate education, the right to live where they desire.

They are denied these rights for only one reason—the color of their skin. It is lamentable that some Americans who would die together, will not live together. This is an outrage which America cannot tolerate. Doors cannot continue to close in the faces of Negroes as they search for jobs, as they strive for membership in some unions, as they seek the chance for specialized job training. Surely the spirit of justice and equality which lives in the very heart of our great Nation will not permit these inequities to continue.

The tradition of America is to get things done promptly, but also to get them done peacefully. That is the American way. We must accomplish what has to be done working together, as one people with a common ideal, calmly but with determination to progress and to succeed in making our ideals a reality.

DR. DAN M. POTTER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL OF NEW YORK CITY

The solution to the problems of integration seems to me to be in the realization that in this 20th-century America no human being can be a complete person, a truly fulfilled individual, unless his circle of friends and associates includes members of other races, religions, and cultures.

When the world is two-thirds nonwhite, how can anyone claim to be a complete person when he doesn't personally know some members of that majority? It's simply old-fashioned to be restricted to our "own kind."

We may have to walk a picket line at first to get acquainted, give our children the opportunity to go to school and church with members of other races, or get the chance ourselves, if white, to work with Negroes and Puerto Ricans at all levels in our company or union. You can come even closer home by becoming a foster parent for a Negro child, one of those hundred orphans just waiting for a little human love, a family for their own.

So if we want to be complete, fulfilled persons, we must wake up to the way the world is * * * the way it's always been, really, ever since God created of one blood all nations to live together on the face of the earth. I wonder how long we have left to wake up to reality? If we recognize this basic truth and act accordingly, our social tensions will soon pass, and we'll all be healthier, happier, and more mature people.

DR. JUDAH CAHN, RABBI, METROPOLITAN SYNAGOGUE OF NEW YORK

The long hard years since the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People culminated in the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision which removed the "separate but equal" blot from the pages of American history. But even more important it also vindicated the faith of the NAACP in the strength and the justice of American democracy. The NAACP won its victory not on the barricades, not in street brawls, but within the confines of the judicial process which is the greatest safeguard of personal freedom in American democracy.

Today our civilization and our personal fortunes of free men are more dependent on the strength of law and order than ever before in our history. The time has come for increased action on two fronts. First, we must continue, within the framework of our legal system, to give every citizen of the United States not only equality before the law but the right to utilize his talents and abilities in every area of life. Second, and of equal importance, Negro and white citizens alike must continue to be unswerving in their devotion to democracy.

We have reached a point in this great American revolution when the tactics used must be weighed in the light of the victory which is inevitable. We must be sure that the impatience and frustrations which still exist are not used to destroy the very things for which we fight: the responsibilities and privileges of democratic living.

ROY WILKINS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE NAACP

The civil rights crisis can be and will be resolved peaceably and justly. The alternative is chaos, revolution, and a racist dictatorship. Fortunately, our governmental system provides the means by which this crisis can be resolved.

We are now engaged in a massive effort to secure enactment of the President's civil rights bill. Negroes have been deprived of rights by legislative action. Legislation is required to restore those rights and to open up new vistas to Negro citizenship.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has given top priority to enactment of a pending bill providing, among other items, equal employment opportunity, protection of the right to vote, acceleration of school desegregation, and equal access to public accommodations. To fail to pass such a law is to invite intensified turbulence in Main Street, U.S.A.

Court action, like legislation, has proved helpful in leveling racial barriers. The U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 in the school cases demolished the constitutional basis of racial segregation. Political action has also been productive of certain gains in civil rights.

Revival of the American tradition of seeking redress of grievances through public demonstrations has focused international attention on the evils of segregation and has helped to break down some racial barriers.

The NAACP has utilized all of these means and will continue to do so in the firm conviction that through them civil rights will be peaceably attained.

SENATOR HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., OF NEW JERSEY

Americans have talked for many, many years about full equality for all citizens. This year, a full century after the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, we certainly should realize that good intentions are not enough. Now we must act.

Congress has before it a legislative package sent to it by the President. We should get to work on this bill at the earliest possible date. It not only would end obvious injustices, such as the denial of public accommodations on the basis of race. It would also get at the economic injustices facing Negroes.

Vocational training for job opportunities may sound like the long way around to racial equality. But I think that the President's call for great increases in this program is a very necessary part of our all-out attack on discrimination.

Even if we in Congress do our job promptly, much more must still be done in every community, by every citizen. In my home State of New Jersey, many individuals are now at work finding their own local answers to such questions as unequal opportunity for education. The going is not easy. Good will is not enough. Much patience and skill are going into the effort, too. But these Americans have discovered that true equality will require involvement by every thoughtful citizen. And I am sure that includes you.

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS, OF NEW YORK

That the civil rights struggle is the gravest emergency facing our country on an almost continuous basis right now everybody agrees.

I think everybody could agree, too, that the executive department—whatever may have been its failings—has done a great deal in the civil rights field. I've pointed out many of its insufficiencies but it's done a lot in suits and in the willingness to send troops, if need be, into areas like Mississippi and Federal marshals, etc.

Certainly our courts have done their full part in charting what ought to be justice to American Negroes—beginning, of course, with the famous 1954 school desegregation decision. Where we have had the lag has been in the Congress and that's where the battle is being fought now. I think the demonstrations which we have seen have on the whole been peaceful, though there have been incidents of violence—I think there's been more violence to prevent the demonstrations—by racists and by misguided police departments, working under statutes which have no business being on the statute books of any State or any municipality. The violence has been used more to repress the demonstrations than by the Negro demonstrators themselves. But nonetheless, there has been some violence. On the whole, however, the movement has been relatively peaceful and I think it has this great distinction, and I think it's been so effective for that reason.

Now no one wants to prevent our citizens from voicing their proper grievances and protests. What we want to do is to give those grievances and protests a sense of justice, a sense of being redressed, and that's where the Congress comes in. And that's why what happens in the Congress is the most important in getting civil rights legislation now; and the most important vote to be taken in the Congress on civil rights will be the vote in the Senate of the United States—which must be two-thirds, 67 out of 100 Senators—to close off debate and thereby end the southern filibuster against civil rights legislation which is inevitable and which has traditionally killed it off in the Senate when it became really meaningful. We have had civil rights laws in 1957 and 1960. They were all right, but they didn't fill the bill, as we can see from the present situation. When such legislation threatens to fill the bill, that's when the southerners feel a call to arms and when they really fight.

I believe that the President's civil rights package is an excellent beginning. The package, as you know, would give the Government the right to bring a civil suit to enforce a citizen's right to attend a nonsegregated public school. It would extend the life of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission for 4 years. Very importantly, it would help us with the voting right; and finally, it would include the much-controverted public accommodations section, which would give people—specially Negroes—the right to free access to hotels, motels, restaurants, and places of amusement which do a substantial business in interstate commerce.

I don't think that's enough. I think what has to be added is the general power of the Attorney General to seek injunctions in all cases involving the civil rights of Americans; and that, for example, involves cases in the administration of justice—the so-called police brutality cases and cases in which an effort has been made by police departments under illegal, unconstitutional statutes to suppress the rights of Negroes to peaceably assemble and seek the redress of their grievances. I think we need an FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Commission), as the denial of opportunity for a job is one of the most important rights which is often denied to Negroes in this country—including the right of serving as an apprentice.

I think we've got to make it mandatory that the President shall cut off any Federal funds to any State program in which racial discrimination occurs. And let us understand that this now occurs in hospitals, that it occurs in employment, that it occurs in

housing, that it occurs in respect of the dearest equal opportunities to which a Negro is entitled.

I would also extend the Civil Rights Commission permanently.

This package of laws in my opinion is the minimum necessary. It would enable the Negro to move his protests against inequality from the streets into the court, and that is what we want. That is the function of law.

It is very, very important that all of us realize that this is going to be one of the toughest fights of the age—that every Senator and every Congressman needs the support of every articulate American who at last feel the stirrings of conscience that there must be justice to our Negro citizens, justice which can no longer be denied.

SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD, OF CONNECTICUT

We are in the midst of a great national crisis over the long-smoldering question of civil rights which has suddenly ignited and burst into flames in all sections of the country. How can we resolve this crisis peacefully and justly? I believe we can do this only by removing the injustices against which our Negro citizens so properly protest. And the way to remove these injustices, all else having failed for so long a period of time, is for Congress to enact legislation which will make the protections set forth in the Constitution a reality for every American.

We need not pioneer in the establishment of new rights or privileges. The Constitution has done that for us. We need only to pass legislation that will put the Constitution into effect for millions of our fellow citizens. And when we do this, the crisis will pass, the riots and demonstrations will cease, because justice will have been done.

Millions of Negroes are today being denied the right to vote, despite the express provision in the Constitution that no citizen be denied the right to vote because of his race. I and many others have introduced legislation to correct this dreadful situation by requiring that all local voting officials live up to the Constitution, and I believe we will succeed this year.

Millions of Negro children are presently denied the right to attend public schools on the basis of equality with white children. Almost ten years ago this business of segregated schools was stricken down by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. Since then, progress in desegregation has been painfully slow and completely nonexistent in some areas. Again, the solution clearly lies in legislation which will bring the full power and prestige of the U.S. Government into the struggle to end this form of discrimination.

Another odious form of discrimination is the refusal to serve Negroes by restaurants, hotels, theaters, and other places of public business. I think you will all agree that to have Americans being refused service in places of public business solely because of their race is morally wrong and legally untenable. That is why those of us in Congress who oppose discrimination in all of its forms are moving to end this abuse.

It would have been better, of course, had the problem of racial discrimination been worked out in the hearts and minds of the American people, in their homes, their churches, their schools, and their communities.

But 100 years have passed since the Emancipation Proclamation and these problems have not been worked out. The precious rights of Americans can no longer be trampled upon without grave damage to our Nation and to the integrity of our national purpose. That is why the President's civil rights program must be enacted. The time has come for America to fulfill her promises.

SENATOR ALLAN J. ELLENDER, OF LOUISIANA

I have been asked to comment briefly on methods for resolving the so-called civil rights crisis. Let me say that the issue is impregnated and embalmed in politics; it always has been, and no doubt always will be. Following Reconstruction, it became good politics to persecute the South. As Negroes migrated to the North, minorities soon learned the value of bloc voting, and politicians became dependent on their support. As a result, legislation which is neither needed, desired, nor constitutional is introduced and pushed in the Congress.

I refuse to admit that the Nation is facing a crisis today. Additional legislation will merely serve to generate more hate between the whites and blacks. Current events have been contrived by a few misguided leaders. The means of dealing with the situation can also be contrived by men of patience, understanding, and good will.

Toward this end, I would suggest that the administration refrain from giving its support to the demonstrations which have occurred all over the Nation, and speak out strongly in favor of maintaining law and order.

Second, instead of concentrating their efforts in breaking down local law and custom, the Negro leadership should be encouraged to prepare their followers to assume the responsibility which is borne by good citizens everywhere. We hear much about civil rights, but little about civil responsibility. Negroes will share in the fruits of our economy only to the extent that they are willing to prepare themselves to undertake the task ahead.

SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE, OF NEW JERSEY

Federal action on civil rights is imperative. For one thing we should pass a public accommodations law. Nothing so affronts and strikes at human dignity as the refusal of services extensively held out to the general public. The concept of a public accomodations law is not new. It's as old as the common law of England. It's as old as the Bible. It's already the law in more than half our States. And this is only one of several measures which Congress must enact. More effective authority for the Attorney General to protect all citizens in the exercise of their constitutional rights, the outlawing of discrimination in employment, the denial of Federal funds for programs such as worker training when they are operated on a segregated basis. These, to me, are essential parts of meaningful civil rights legislation, and much more is also needed. Legislation alone, of course, won't solve the problem; but it is the necessary underpinning for the really great effort that we must make in all parts of the country at all levels of society. In the last few years the gap between the living standards of whites and nonwhites has been growing. This is a reversal of the trend during the war and postwar period, and it's fraught with danger. Unemployment at a rate far higher than among whites. Less schooling, less income, shorter life expectancy. These are the unhappy facts of life for nonwhite citizens. We must act to close this gap or the standard for all is threatened. Our nonwhite citizens represent a source this country has hardly begun to tap. They can and they want to contribute to building a stronger economy, a better society for all. We must meet the challenge that now confronts the country, not grudgingly, but affirmatively and resolutely. It's an opportunity to free in the true sense not only our fellow citizens but ourselves from the burden of a conscience too long uneasy with the knowledge of injustice too long condoned and wrongs too long unchecked.

MR. HYMAN H. BOOKBINDER, DIRECTOR OF ELEANOR ROOSEVELT FOUNDATION

Eleanor Roosevelt once asked: "Where, after all, do universal human rights begin?" and answered it thus: "In small places, close to home—so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any map of the world." The present civil rights crisis can be resolved peacefully and justly only if each of us, as Mrs. Roosevelt asked, makes it a matter of our own personal and local concern.

It is a sad fact of life, however, that few of us know just how to cope with the human rights crisis through which we are now going. If all of the tensions and sacrifices of the present revolution are not to be wasted, we must quickly develop the know-how, the skills, the special understanding which will bring lasting and meaningful results. In every local chamber of commerce, there is urgent need now for qualified, sympathetic, knowledgeable people. How do we motivate and train Negro workers for skilled jobs? How do we prepare the community for open occupancy? How do we achieve integrated schooling in a de facto segregated community?

These are the kinds of questions which cannot be fully answered on the picket line or the protest march—important as this direct action may be to get basic concessions. But for real, lasting gains we must develop people with skills in a variety of fields—education, psychology, sociology, human relations.

The foundation, created to carry on in Eleanor Roosevelt's tradition, will do what it can to develop skilled, knowledgeable leadership to help us through this difficult crisis and to assure permanent victory.

SENATOR PHILIP A. HART, OF MICHIGAN

What should be done to resolve the civil rights crisis? The most effective answer, of course, would be to change the minds and the hearts of men so that the Negro is simply treated like everyone else. Because that, basically, is what this struggle for equal opportunity is all about.

When a Negro approaches a school superintendent, a voting registrar, an employer, a restaurant owner or an innkeeper, he doesn't want to be judged while he is still 50 feet away.

That's why the civil rights legislation now before Congress—legislation in the fields of public accommodations, fair employment practices, voting rights, and school desegregation—is so important.

Will it change the minds and the hearts of men? In itself, of course not. These laws have been on the books for years in Michigan and other Northern States where discrimination certainly has not totally disappeared.

But they do have these effects: they open the doors to swifter progress.

Men find they can work together on an equal basis without disrespect. They find that schools can be integrated without a breakdown of educational standards, they find they can share a pleasant restaurant dining room without discomfort, they find they can go to a polling place together and share a common political purpose. They can find, in short, that it is possible to be decent to each other.

I am convinced that once we have established equal opportunities in these fields—education, voting rights, public accommodations, housing, and employment—the fear and distrust that breeds discrimination will begin to drain away.

So certainly, these civil rights bills are not ends in themselves. They are simply an essential first step toward the final solution I mentioned earlier: changing the hearts and the minds of men.

SENATOR PATRICK V. MCNAMARA, OF MICHIGAN

Within a few weeks the Congress of the United States will come to grips with the overriding, political, and moral issue of our time: the drive of the Negro American, for the equal rights promised all Americans under our Constitution.

Many people are wondering whether this civil rights crisis, coming a hundred years after the Civil War, can be solved peacefully and with justice. Now in connection with the civil rights crisis we have heard a great deal about rules and regulations, Supreme Court rulings, Presidential orders, Attorneys General's rulings, and Agency regulations. But it seems to me that what we have overlooked is the most important rule of all, governing human conduct. That is the golden rule. When it gets down to the basic issues that's what the civil rights fight is all about. Are we going to do unto others as we would have them do unto us? I believe that we can and that we must apply this Golden Rule of conduct to those American citizens who are seeking the equality promised them under the Constitution but denied them in practice. The civil rights program of President Kennedy and other legislation before the Congress would be implemented by the Golden Rule. I am particularly impressed with the emphasis the President's program places on education, job opportunities, and voting rights, because I believe these issues are the keystones to our civil rights structure. And I believe further that they can be enacted into law and thus become a just solution to the civil rights crisis that now confronts us.

GOV. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, OF NEW YORK

I appreciate greatly the opportunity to discuss the civil rights crisis and the peaceful and just solutions that every American wants to find.

I think we ought to start out by making it clear that this isn't a crisis that relates to today or this year alone. This is a crisis that has been going on for a hundred years in our country. It relates basically to our spiritual heritage of the worth and dignity of every individual and his freedom of opportunity, his equality of opportunity, his rights as an American citizen. As long as those rights are not realized by all Americans, as long as there are hurdles and barriers which prevent individuals in this country, for no cause of their own, from having that opportunity of equality, then this crisis will continue.

Now we go to the question of the solutions. Having worked all my life to try to further the cause of equality, it seems to me that one can break his down very simply into various facets.

First there is the question of the law, the law of our land, whether it is a State law or national law. I think that we have to—and as Governor of one of the 50 States I have worked very hard to—bar, by legal means, in statutes of the law passed by the legislature, all forms of discrimination. I am proud to say that even before my time New York State has been a pioneer in writing civil rights legislation. And at this last session in January, February, and March of this year, we completed in New York State the final measures necessary to legally bar discrimination and the measures necessary to give the executive branch the power to enforce those measures.

It seems to me that both nationally and statewide this is something that has to be done if we are going to make a reality of this American dream for all people. However, that doesn't mean, in and of itself, that one has accomplished the end result by simply passing legislation. That simply sets the legal and moral climate, although the moral climate is set by our belief in our heritage and faith in the Judeo-Christian philosophy.

There are really two major areas that one can break this down in certain parts of the country where the law has not been written that bars discrimination. There we have the aspirations of minority groups who seek to achieve equality of access and rights, whether it is in employment, whether it is access to places of public accommodation or private accommodation, whatever it may be. So that in those areas where this has not been achieved, the goals are immediate for the minority groups. They want to get legal right to access.

This, in my opinion, we, as Americans, in consonance with our heritage, must do.

In areas like New York State, where this action has been taken legally, everybody, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, has access.

But the big problem in our area here is opportunity for employment. This has two facets—one, the need for a full employment economy. This is true for the entire Nation. As long as there are men and women who want to work who cannot find jobs, we will not have a full employment economy. And as long as there are prejudices, then those in minority groups will find it even more difficult.

In the United States today the unemployment rate among Negroes, for instance, is twice as high as it is among whites. Therefore we have to go right to the heart of this question on employment, both in increasing and accelerating employment opportunities through an expansion of our economy and the rate of growth, and to eliminate these prejudices which exist. To do that we've got to go right back to the basic area of training—education in our schools. Without education today, the opportunities of employment are automatically limited. Then there is the question of training—the question of apprenticeship, free access to apprenticeship and admission to unions to remove vestiges of discrimination there. Then there is the vestige of discrimination in employment. That must be eliminated.

This can be done in a positive way by employers who seek to find the individuals to whom they can give opportunities for employment.

Only if we are consciously aware, as a nation—as, in my opinion, we are today as never before—that our moral responsibility and our legal responsibility is to insure equal opportunity, can we realize this goal. And we have got to take positive steps, conscientiously, as Americans, in every phase of our life—and particularly in employment—to remove these barriers in every step of the way through apprenticeship, through education, through training, through union membership, through employment, and through advancement. Through this opportunity, given to all, we can see the American dream become a reality for all Americans.

GOV. GEORGE WALLACE, OF ALABAMA

The so-called civil rights matter that has been bandied around by politicians (and it has been a political issue) has of course, in my judgment not helped the Negro citizens in this country at all. In fact, it has worked against their interests, and this, of course, I regret.

I, as Governor, am very sad to know and see the demonstrations that we have in the streets, the danger that has been brought to the lives of the citizens of those respected cities where the demonstrations occur. In my judgment, this is not in the interest of anyone. Politicians have so long misused the Negro citizen of this country by inviting him, for instance, to come to the largest cities of the United States above the Mason and Dixon Line, telling him it was the land of milk and honey, and when he arrived there he found unemployment and he is living stacked upon one another and he doesn't like it. And I think the politicians in those various cities and States who have misled him ought to be defeated themselves for office. And they ought to approach this matter in a practical, sane, commonsense plan and leave the politics out of it. I've heard so many politicians say that I must speak in this way because I have so many people who believe in this who voted in my area, but I don't believe in it. There has been so much hypocrisy in it. We people here in Alabama have not been hypocritical in the matter, we have practiced one system and practice the same system. We preached and practiced the same system; that has not been the case in many parts of the United States. I feel that the solution to the problem is a matter of expanded economy, a matter of educational approach, and that we are doing in this State.

We're providing more trade-training facilities for Negro and white students and providing additional funds for education at all levels for all races. We feel that this in itself is the answer to these problems. I have traveled all over this country and I have been talking to industries who are going to expand in the Southland and we have announced around $225 million worth of new industries in Alabama in the last 6 months. Hundreds and thousands of Negro and white citizens of this State will find industrial job employment as a result of these efforts on the part of myself as Governor of Alabama and other officials in this State, both local and State. Not a single one of the agitators such as Martin Luther King have an industrial development committee. I've never heard of an industrial development committee, of the NAACP, or CORE, or any organization of that sort, and if they spend as much time talking to people who are going to expand industries to bring their industries to the South where so many of the Negro citizens live, in order that there might be more opportunities for jobs in the Southland, it would do a lot more good than encouraging people in insurrection and guerrilla warfare in the streets. I'd like to give you one instance here. I see where they are having trouble getting jobs in other parts of the country. But for instance, in Alabama we are building two State buildings, next to the State Capitol, and you can go look for yourself, we have more Negro workmen working under contract with the contractors building those buildings than there are white, this is significant. But you can go to other parts of the country and you do not find this. Any skilled workman in Alabama, white or Negro has no trouble finding employment because of his color. And this, we of course, are proud of. We shall continue to work for more jobs in Alabama and for more educational opportunities for both groups, because we shall continue in State government to provide additional and better care for the tubercular patients of both races and the mentally ill of both races because that has been the practice of our people here and shall continue to be so.

We feel that this is one of the great issues involved in this matter of so-called civil rights (and you know we have 18 pages of civil rights bills legislation already enacted.) We have the Constitution of the United States which itself guarantees the civil rights of our citizens. We don't need any more legislation. The so-called civil rights legislation pending now would destroy property rights in this country. It would also tell people who can work and who cannot. It will take jobs away from one group and give them to another. In my judgment, as Governor of Alabama, I see this as a dangerous precedent. We believe that local people should handle local problems particular and peculiar to that particular section. We feel that the people of New York and Pennsylvania should work to solve these problems within their own State and that we should solve them within the

State of Alabama. This has been the practice and the custom for the last 100-odd years, and we feel that the Supreme Court and the Federal Government attempting to do away with local government is not in the interest of white or Negro citizens either.

Our hope and prayer is that God blesses all the citizens of Alabama of this Nation both white and Negro.

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN V. LINDSAY, OF NEW YORK

Your question is, What should be done toward a peaceful and just settlement of the civil rights question in the United States? A tough question. First of all it must be made clear that the chief responsibility is local. No matter what the U.S. Congress does or doesn't do, the fact remains that it is on the shoulders of the citizens of each community to examine his conscience to see to it whether or not he or she has done all that they possibly can do to make the necessary adjustments in their own communities, to satisfy these very legitimate pressures that have been building up. The No. 1 area of relief is jobs. Jobs is the first and foremost subject that must be taken up in order to solve this question. And job legislation is the first kind of legislation that we should have in the U.S. Congress. There are a great many areas where legislation can help, but none so great as in the area of job opportunities. This pertains to both management and labor, because if the labor market can be opened up to minority groups and particularly to the Negro population of the United States then we'll begin the solution to this nagging problem of equal opportunity under the American system. I predict that there will be legislation affecting jobs. FEPC is important and we will push for it in the House of Representatives and in the Judiciary Committee of which I am a member. We will be pushing for some other legislation too, but let's not forget that the legislative approach is only part of the answer. The rest of it is on the shoulders of each of us back home.

MR. STANLEY H. LOWELL, CHAIRMAN, NEW YORK COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

America is going through a social revolution today and the struggle to achieve its objectives—equality and equality of opportunity—is the responsibility of every American, no matter his color or race.

Every one of us should ask himself—100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation and 180 years after the adoption of our historic Bill of Rights—whether any American receives less than his fair share of job opportunities, schooling, and housing solely and only because of the color of that man's skin, or his race or religion. To the extent that this is true, we are not living up to our own image of ourselves as a land of freedom and equality. This is where the achievement of equality of opportunity is the responsibility of all. At the New York City Commission on Human Rights of New York we are committed to this fight for freedom. How about you?

VERY REV. STURGIS RIDDLE, DEAN OF PROTESTANT CATHEDRAL, PARIS, FRANCE

Science, religion, and a basic human instinct in everybody who has not been taught falsely, all agree with a Bible truth: "God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the whole earth."

Our problem is to enlighten and win over a minority in our country who do not yet recognize or who are not yet ready to practice this truth of science, religion, humanity, and Americanism, to show them that our country cannot hold up its head or keep its respect and leadership in the free world if we do not recognize and practice this truth.

Who is going to change heart and attitudes, more important than laws, who is going to turn on the spotlight of this truth?

Why, every parent, every teacher, every minister, every editor, every judge, every lawmaker, every employer, every neighbor, every community leader, every molder of public opinion, every decent American, white or black, practicing in thought, work, and deed what we have preached so long.

I believe that if every one of us will get into this act to enlightenment—and more and more are getting into it, this crisis in civil rights, this black mark on the American conscience and our world leadership, so long brewing and long overdue, will be resolved peacefully and justly.

I believe it will be, because most of us want it that way.

MR. BENJAMIN EPSTEIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE ANTIDEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Our Nation urgently requires a new birth of freedom.

The civil rights crisis in which we find ourselves today must be solved in justice and can be solved in peace.

This is not a Negro or white problem, but an American problem.

The President's civil rights program is essential and urgent. It deserves our full and active support. We must have laws which will eliminate barriers preventing minority groups from developing their talents, and enjoying full citizenship.

However, laws will not be enough. We need an aroused citizenry, determined to overcome, once and for all, the cultural heritage of prejudice and discrimination. It is up to business, political, religious and community leaders to take the initiative. When demonstrations take place, it is an indication that community leadership has failed. It should not be necessary for demonstrations to be held. Activated by peaceful intent, we must recognize that they are in the great American tradition for the redress of grievances.

As we have seen, demonstrations have served an important purpose. Demonstrations which are planned and carried out peacefully to correct these injustices, are legal and constructive. But the evils of discrimination in our society should be eradicated before the picketing starts. Reason and justice demand that the deprivations of rights be corrected around the conference table, by the action of community leadership, and by passage and enforcement of laws. It should not be necessary to demonstrate in the streets.

The time to act, the President has said, is now! Let us act so that the dream of freedom will be realized for every man.

MR. LEO PERILS, DIRECTOR, AFL–CIO COMMUNITY SERVICE ACTIVITIES

There has been some nonsense spoken and some mistakes made in the fight for civil rights. But this has always been the case. This has been the case in our early struggles for trade union organization. Still, unionism has prevailed and workers, as a result, have achieved a measure of dignity and security.

The same will happen with our Negro fellow citizens if they will continue to wage the good fight for dignity and security. Some nonsensical talk and a few errors in judgment are a small price to pay for first-class citizenship.

The heart of the matter is first-class citizenship. No democratic society can endure unless people of all races, colors, and creeds have equal opoprtunities to achieve first-class citizenship in employment, in housing, in education, in public accommodations, in social service, and right across the board in every phase of our national life.

But first-class citizenship can be achieved only by changes from within as well as by changes from without. By changes from without I mean legislative and social action to open the doors to first-class citizenship. And by changes from within I mean the burning desire to inform ourselves, educate ourselves, and to assume the responsibilities of first-class citizenship. This is not only the Negro's fight. It is our fight as well. It is a fight for a democratic America. Of course, we, in labor, will continue to wage this fight to help solve civil rights problems in our own house as well as in our national life.

MAX J. RUBIN, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

In striving to achieve integration, the school system has an important responsibility.

The objective must be genuine and sincere.

The limitation upon its efforts is that of feasibility.

No school system can singlehandedly overcome the factors that surround it, including segregated housing areas. Schools should be located in fringe areas wherever possible. Zoning should be more flexible.

Such programs as open enrollment should be expanded and encouraged. Greater effort must be made to attract minority group candidates to teaching.

The human relations unit must be expanded to work with local councils to adapt patterns offering integration opportunities. The curriculum should recognize more effectively the contributions made to our society by minority groups.

While these efforts are in process we must seek substantially to strengthen the educational quality in the schools of the disadvantaged neighborhoods. New ideas will be developed and all should be given earnest and sympathetic consideration. The New York City school system has pledged and will continue to fulfill its commitment to these objectives.

MR. A. N. SONNABEND, PRESIDENT OF THE HOTEL CORP. OF AMERICA

The current crisis in race relations goes far beyond the crucial challenge of expanding opportunity for Negroes and other minority groups. At the present time there is no active organized force in the local communities concerned with the task of developing and enlarging job and housing opportunities.

Therefore, I now urgently propose that the Federal Government, in cooperation with local communities, set up throughout the country a system of local boards to expand opportunity for Negro and other minority groups. These boards, functioning like the local draft boards and war manpower commissions of World War II, should be made up of a cross section of community leaders and businessmen, Negro and white, who have the influence and resources to make possible the expansion of opportunity.

Such boards should have the full backing and support of Federal and State Governments in carrying out both short- and long-term programs. In each community these boards would seek to develop inventories of job opportunities. They would work to persuade employers to create new areas of job possibilities. They would take immediate practical steps to reduce the many barriers that stand in the way of Negroes and other minority groups and they would undertake arbitration of issues which create community tensions and conflicts.

I propose a number of other important steps to achieve full equality of opportunity.

1. A White House Conference on Race Relations, convened by President Kennedy, to bring together national Negro and white

leaders who will develop means of coping with the race relations emergency.

2. The establishment of a Bureau of Intergroup Relations within the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to act as a national coordination service for intergroup relations agencies.

3. Initiation by the Federal Government of long-range psychological and social research into American race and group relations problems.

Americans hold dear the principle of equal rights for all. It is our task now to build a living reality out of the American promise of equal justice and opportunity for all men regardless of race or creed.

MR. GUS TYLER, ASSISTANT PRESIDENT OF INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION

A first step in dealing with the present civil rights crisis is legislation guaranteeing equal access to voting, housing, jobs, education, and public accommodations. Reform through legal channels makes unnecessary revolt through extra-legal channels. The most crucial area is employment.

First, we need fair employment legislation and practice, judging a man by his brain or brawn and not by his skin or kin.

Second, we need full employment. An equal opportunity to be unemployed is no opportunity at all. If growing unemployment forces us to ask, "Who shall be thrown out of work, a white man or Negro?" We will sharpen rather than lessen racial tension.

Finally, as a greater job opportunity is created, Negroes must be prepared to qualify. Such preparation will require cooperation of three groups: Government, the white community, and the Negro community.

To the Government falls the responsibility of providing greater educational facilities to train and upgrade the less skilled. To the opinionmakers in the white community falls the responsibility of helping to correct the image of the Negro as an "inferior." A new image of the Negro as a worthy citizen will help stimulate the aspiration. That is a necessary prerequisite of self-development. Finally, the Negro himself must reach out to prepare himself for his new status—for opportunity and rights that will automatically carry with them challenges and responsibilities.

In all this, let's remember: The Negro has been patient for at least 100 years. The white community must also be patient.

MALCOLM X, EASTERN MINISTER OF THE BLACK MUSLIMS

The Honorable Elijah Mohammed has the only peaceful solution. He says that 20 million ex slaves must be permanently separated from our former slave master, and placed in a land that we can call our own. Then we can create our own jobs, we can control our own economy, and solve our own problems, instead of waiting for the white man to solve these problems for us. In our own land, we can set up farms, factories, and businesses. We can establish our own industry, and our own government, and become an independent nation in our own right. And once we are separated from the jurisdiction of this white Nation we can then enter into trade and commerce for ourselves with other independent nations. This is the only permanent solution to this cancerous race problem. In our own land, we can establish our own agricultural system. We can grow food to feed our people, we can raise cattle and use the hide, and the leather, and the wool to clothe our people. We can dig clay from the earth and make our own bricks to build homes for our people. And we can turn the trees into lumber and furnish the homes for our people. Once 20 million ex slaves are back in our own homeland, we can stop begging the white man, we can stand on our own feet, because we will then have something to stand on. Trying to force ourselves into this white American society will lead to nothing but increased violence, bloodshed between the 20 million ex slaves and their former slave master, and may even provoke a bloody race war which today could develop into international repercussions and involvements. So Mr. Mohammed said that if our pepole are not allowed to go back to Africa, to our own people, since we cannot get along here in peace with whites, then some of this American Continent should be separated and let us go there, where we can then stand on our own feet, solve our problems in that manner, and have separate territory for ourselves.

MR. FRANK E. KARELSEN, VICE PRESIDENT, PUBLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

To resolve the civil rights crisis the Congress must, of course, pass the civil rights legislation, inclusive of a Fair Employment Practices Act. This, however, will provide only a legal basis for meeting the problem. To effectively resolve the inequalities now existing it is above all things necessary to raise the economic level of the Negro American. His depressed economic status hinders every phase of integration and perpetuates slums. Jobs must be made available in all fields of gainful employment, including the professions. The Negro, however, must be equipped to take the employment when available. This requires education in primary and secondary public schools, including important technological training. Unfortunately, the facts are that in the slum areas of the cities, and in most rural areas as well, such education is not available. This condition exists because States and local governments are not supplying and in most instances cannot supply the necessary funds. To solve the problem, therefore, it is vital for the Federal Government to appropriate not less than $5 billion a year for Federal aid to education in order to correct this shocking deficiency in our democracy. These funds will not only help to solve the Negro American problem but will give to all of our citizens the educational opportunity necessary for the very survival of our Nation as a democracy in this era of ever-increasing automation and international competition.

MR. WILL MASLOW, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

A social revolution is now in progress in the United States. The spokesmen for 18 million Negroes, one-tenth of our population, are demanding that the pledge of full equality set forth in the 14th amendment at long last be redeemed. What this submerged 10th of our population demands is simply that discrimination against Negroes in employment, in housing, in education, in voting registration and in places of public accommodation end. The Negro demands equality now, not 20 years hence. He is fed up with the snail's pace at which his legitimate grievanecs are being redressed and his bitterness finds outlet in mass rallies, and sit-ins.

What is desperately needed at this moment is an immediate demonstration that America recognizes these legitimate grievances that demonstration can be best provided by the enactment of the Kennedy civil rights program without crippling amendments. While this legislation will not by itself undo decades of deprivation and will need to be supplemented by compensatory programs to enable Negroes and Puerto Ricans and Latin-Americans to take advantage of the new opportunities that may be created, it will be a signal that finally, 95 years after the 14th amendment was ratified, we are beginning to move in the direction of equality.

A stalemate in Congress of the enactment of token laws will result in further bitterness. It will undermine the position of those Negro leaders and Negro organizations who seek to focus Negro resentment upon constructive goals. It will shift the battles from the legislative halls to the streets and play into the hands of racist movements like the black muslims.

All Americans must therefore, in this moment of racial crisis, convince their Senators and Representatives in Congress that immediate enactment of the Kennedy program is our top domestic priority.

DR. JOHN SLAWSON, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

On many occasions in the history of our country we have declared disaster areas in entire geographic regions.

Today we have a similar situation, not in a geographic area, but in a very important population segment of our country—more than 18 million American Negroes. For over 300 years Negroes have been deprived of their elementary rights. As a result of this cumulative disregard for his person, we are now faced with a situation that need to be similar.

This concentration has to be achieved by means of a crash program in behalf of the Negro. This is of particular importance in vocational training and education. Unless there is a mobilization of vocational training and educational facilities in the interest of the Negro, it will not be possible to place Negroes in skilled jobs. And, since the unskilled job market is rapidly contracting, the compelling need for intensive training for Negroes becomes a necessity. The same may be said for education. We need competent teachers able and willing to put forth the effort that will be needed to make up for the tragic losses caused by neglect and obstruction over many generations.

Training and education should receive priority. Just as we have developed a Peace Corps for service abroad, should we not initiate an equality corps of skilled teachers and technicians, who would work to expand opportunities for Negroes throughout the Nation? It is really more than a question of disaster or emergency; it is, in fact, a matter of morality.

POSSIBLE SOVIET BID FOR AMERICAN WHEAT

Mr. McGOVERN. Mr. President, today's New York Times carries a report that representatives of the Soviet Union have approached American traders with offers to buy wheat.

The same issue of the Times reports that Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges favors a reappraisal of the U.S. policy, which in the past has hindered the sale of U.S. agricultural commodities to the Soviet bloc.

I have believed for some time that we are working against our own self-interest in discouraging the sale of our agricultural produce to any country willing to buy it. It is easy to understand why we might want to restrict the sale of strategic war materials but it would seem to me both in our interest and in the interest of the Soviet bloc for us to meet their needs for food imports, while at the same time meeting our own needs for agricultural markets.

I am pleased to note that at the recent White House Conference of more than

Press, Radio, T.
+ Movies

NEW YORK CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST
September 25, 1963

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published by
The Community Information Committee
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NEGRO PRESS DIGEST

Statement of Purpose

The Negro Press Digest is published for the purpose of providing its readers with news and views of Negro newspapers and news magazines circulated in New York City. The Digest is not intended to present a cross-section of the content of the publications it reviews but focuses upon articles dealing with such matters as civil rights, civil liberties and intergroup relations. Emphasis is given to articles of local interest and national consequence.

News that has been adequately treated, in the judgment of the editors, in the daily press or on the broadcasting media is not duplicated in the Digest unless the Negro press reports such news from a distinctly different point of view.

The New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee hopes that this publication will help fill an important need in intergroup relations, which is: improved communications bringing fuller knowledge of the problems, aspirations and frustrations of the Negro community as expressed in their press. This periodical, therefore, is designed to foster greater understanding and thereby further the development of truly effective human relations efforts.

-- Robert L. Pelz, Chairman
Community Information Committee
New York Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

BLACK MUSLIMS

MUSLIMS SET SAT. RALLY UPTOWN

Amsterdam News (August 3)

After issuing invitations to prominent Negro leaders to a Muslim rally, Malcolm X stated "If capitalistic Kennedy and Communistic Krushchev can find something in common on which to form a united front... it is time for the so-called Negro leaders to submerge their trivial differences and seek a common solution to the problem posed by forming a United Black front".

CHURCH BUSY BEING BUSY WHILE MUSLIMS LURE 100,000

Chicago Daily Defender (August 29)

Eric Lincoln, Clark College administrator, told a Methodist Conference that the church has stood idly by while the Muslims have recruited 100,000 "ex-Christians". He warned that to abandon the Black Muslims would leave thousands of Christians converted to a doctrine of hate and black supremacy, and urged a positive program to meet the implications of the movement on its own ground.

CONGRESS

'TO SECURE THE RIGHTS OF ALL CITIZENS'

Chicago Daily Defender - Column: Today and You" by Gerald D. Bullock (July 30)

No sooner was the President's civil rights legislation proposal announced then the ire of the dear old Southland rorared forth from Eastland to Russell to Dirksen. Dirksen does not always act like a Dixiecrat, but he usually votes like one. Dirksen's home state has had for three quarters of a century one of the most comprehensive civil rights laws. It doesn't work very well, chiefly because of the kind of voter constituency which elects Dirksen to office. In the current crisis what will the civil rights leadership do? Will they refute the insultingly spurious arguments of the Dirksen's, Eastlands and Russells or will they compromise?

POLITICAL OVERTONES - CONGRESS DRAGS ITS HEELS - CONGRESS MUST ACT

All the above from the Chicago Daily Defender - Editorials (8/1, 8/14, 8/27)

The civil rights issue in Congress at this point is whether proposed legislation should be based on the 14th Amendment or its commerce clause, but Harvard's Dean Griswold said Congress can compromise with a combination of both provisions. Will Congress face up to its responsibility by finding a solution for the problems of racial tension? The initiative in the field of civil rights has passed to the courts and the executive because Congress has failed to take meaningful action. Can Congress recoup the initiative or will it rest with the courts, the executive, demonstrations and police brutality? This "standstill Congress" has been dragging its heels in increasingly extended sessions for two years. This year it may last into December.

DEMONSTRATIONS

WARN FOLLOWERS ABOUT WHITE MODERATE "FRIENDS"

Jet (August 8)

Commenting on the suggestion that continued demonstrations will cause civil rights advocates to lose the support of white moderates, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. repeated his warning against moderation.. said ".. the great stumbling block is not the KKK or White Citizens's Council, but the white moderates who are more devoted to order than to justice... moderates who feel they are our friends but who feel they can set a timetable for our freedom. If we lose them in the process of pressing for equal rights, then they are not our friends anyway." Rev. Gardner C. Taylor warned "They say we are going too fast.. well, we've been going slow for a hundred years."

'LAWLESS DEMONSTRATIONS'

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Gerald Bullock (August 13)

Columnist William S. White is currently agonized by what he calls "frequently lawless Negro demonstrations". He calls the long-suffering colored citizen an "extremist" for peacefully seeking to obtain his rights. White conveniently disregards the fact that demonstrations have been largely racially mixed. Unfortunately he speaks for significant sections of the citizenry, blinded by prejudice, who believe the only acceptable Negro is one who suffers abuse in acquiescent servility... Negroes are adopting "wrong" attitudes toward the majority group and are getting out of "their places". There are still a lot of such places to get out of.

NO TAPERING OFF ON RIGHTS AFTER 'MARCH' VOW LEADERS

Chicago Daily Defender - by Lillian S. Calhoun (August 26)

Although Chicago civil rights leadership has been tied up with preparation for the March on Washington, all leaders vow a hard-hitting drive thereafter. One of them said: "Unless there are substantial changes in Chicago, I expect people will not be able to drive on the streets this fall. There'll be that many demonstrations."

CONTINUE THEM

Amsterdam News - Editorial (August 17)

The supreme answer to critics who bemoan the current wave of civil rights demonstrations came from Manhattan Borough President Edward R. Dudley when he said: "I will ask these critics to search their consciences and see if they will not agree that, without the demonstrations, the Negroes would not have made one-tenth of one percent of the progress they have made in the last five years." It should be added that the demonstrations will continue where needed until the Negro reaches his goal of complete equality.

OMNISCIENCE

New York Courier- Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (August 31)

Regardless of whether the March on Washington is a success or failure in terms of influencing civil rights legislation passage, the mood

and feeling of American Negroes will not be changed.. nor will that of the thousands of white Americans who stand behind them.. until the rights of the Negro are recognized. Pundits may theorize and theorize but the millions who seek freedom will not be impressed.. they will march and they will demonstrate. It is pure error to say that Americans have settled their differences peacefully. The Civil War was only one example of the violence employed to settle differences.

EDUCATION

WEAK EDUCATION BARS DIXIE NEGROES FROM ARMY - Jet (July 25)

IT IS A FACT: NEGRO SCHOOLS ARE INFERIOR - Chicago Defender (8/26)

Many Deep South Negroes may not be getting enough education to qualify for military service, according to an Army "draft map" dated 1962.. showing acceptance rates for draftees ranged from a low 30.4% in South Carolina to a high of 68.9% in North Dakota. The Chicago Urban League's research department charges that for every dollar spent on all-white schools in Chicago, only 86.6 cents is spent on integrated schools and 81.2 cents on all-Negro schools. Teachers in Negro schools are paid almost 20% less than those in white schools. Negro schools are over-crowded and have less non-classroom facilities (lunchrooms, gym).

ANOTHER PYRRHIC VICTORY

New York Courier - Editorial (July 27)

The so-called victory in the Board of Education decision to allow a Negro child to transfer to a high school with fewer Negroes enrolled, for the sake of less emotional stress, may set a bad precedent. Now, white parents can demand transfer of their children out of schools where there is a large Negro enrollment, because of the "emotional stress"... When Pyrrus defeated the Roman legions and lost most of his army in doing so, he lamented, "One more such victory over the Romans and we are utterly undone."

SEGREGATION BREEDS ARROGANCE: BERRY

Chicago Daily Defender (August 5)

Chicago's segregated school system has been blamed for the bitter racial situation where thousands of whites, many of them teenagers, have violently protested the presence of 3 Negro families in Englewood (Ill.). Edwin C. Berry, Urban League director here, says it is due to the arrogance which segregation instills in white children. The racial outbreaks were the city's worst since 1950. Priests and ministers were hooted as they tried to calm the crowds, but have since made some headway.

TIME TO ACT

Amsterdam News - Editorial (August 31)

The City Commission on Human Rights has decided to attempt solving the problem of the City's racial imbalance in its schools. Until now, this controversy was treated like a game by people who had little

authority to act. Superintendent of Schools, Calvin Gross, despite his obvious sincerity, did nothing but listen to complaints... in the possible hopes that talking about the problem would make it disappear. It is not for the parents to tell the Superintendent how to correct the ills. If he cannot do the job he is well paid to do, he should say so and another will be found to do what has been ORDERED, not asked for.

CANADIAN LANDLORDS PREFER COLORED STUDENTS

McMaster University (Hamilton, Ontario) officials bemoan the fact that they haven't enough colored students to meet the demand of landlords who prefer them to white students. The landlords claim a colored student in their homes is an education as well as valuable character-building for their children.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNIONS

TODAY AND YOU

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Ma rjorie Lord Dunnegan (7/29)

Despite a membership of 50,000 in A. Philip Randolph's Negro American Labor Council formed in 1960, little has been accomplished. Big Labor continues to prate loudly of dedication to Democracy, but with the exception of the United Automobile Workers, they have been unable to find Negroes qualified to sit on their executive boards. The NALC, meanwhile, is losing favor with its disgruntled membership. Too many local and international union staff employees hold top NALC jobs, are easy targets for pressures from big union bosses. Officers drawn from the mass of membership would not be so vulnerable.

NO MORE IMMIGRANTS!

New York Courier - Editorial (August 3)

It is hoped that Negroes are not so interested in the civil rights controversy that they will fail to oppose President Kennedy's immigration proposal. With the shift of the bulk of immigration from western to eastern Europe, it will bring in more skilled labor, which will compete with the Negro. Very few skilled workers emigrate from non-white countries. The well-being of the U.S. Negro since World War I has been due to the restriction of immigration. With the additional problem of automation the Negro should fight the Administration in this effort, and demand less, rather than more, immigration.

'MURDEROUS COMPETITION'

New York Courier - Editorial (August 3)

A current paradox is the great agitation for more and better jobs for Negroes while there are an inadequate number of qualified Negroes to fill them. There remains a murderous competition, according to a personnel officer of Union Carbide, in finding competent Negro stenographers and secretaries. This would not exist if Negro leadership, now taking to the streets, had been applying its talents to increasing the supply of skilled workers.

OUTRAGE NOT TO BE TOLERATED

Chicago Daily Defender - By Gerald Bullock (August 6)

New York's Cardinal Spellman says "Racial bias is an outrage that cannot be tolerated." This may be the most important statement of the year. New York has been considered by Negroes to be the fountainhead of the blanket of racial discrimination that smothers the colored worker. Much of the labor hierarchy is either Catholic or Jewish. Jewish leadership has recently tried to do something about bias in their organizations. The same is hardly true of Catholic leadership and hence the importance of Cardinal Spellman's statement.

GERALD BULLOCK

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Gerald Bullock (August 8)

In Los Angeles City, Councilwoman Rosalind Wyman has succeeded in having the Council enact legislation that called for exemption of arrested demonstrators from the usual prohibition in qualifying for civil service jobs. As a result there is civil service job safety in Los Angeles for the patriots, North and South, who have fought with such persistent dignity for the rights of all Americans. Perhaps it is regrettable that one of the Negro councilmen did not formulate the resolution; Mrs. Wyman is white.

PEACE CORPS AT HOME

New York Courier - Editorial (August 24)

With the unemployment of Negroes being stressed, it is heartening that the U.S. Senate has approved the domestic peace corps, known as the National Service Corps. It will scarcely make a dent in the current unemployment... simply an encouraging gesture and helpful to the Democrats in 1964.

MORE NEGRO AIRLINE HOSTESSES

New York Courier - Editorial (August 24)

There is a heavy turnover annualy of airline stewardesses generally, due largely to the fact that many of these expensively trained girls marry too soon. Things being what they are racially, Negro hostesses are a good investment from the airlines' viewpoint because they would be less likely to quit for marriage, and yet be just as efficient and personable. This large preserve of white supremacy is resented by the increasing group of Negro air travelers and the growing number of qualified girls.

"AND SPEAKING OF JOBS!" - Amsterdam News, Editorial (August 24)

In spite of all the speeches and high sounding platitudes made by Vice-President Lyndon Johnson and his number one Negro, Hobart Taylor, we submit that after all the years of their operation we know of no instance where these gentlemen have taken a government contract away from a racially biased firm. Getting more jobs for Negroes is closely entwined with the elimination of discrimination in employment and the easiest way to further this cause is to cancel government contracts with firms who refuse to hire Negroes under a fair employment system.

FOREIGN OPINION

FOLLOW INDIA'S EXAMPLE TO END RACE BIAS, NEWSMAN TELLS U.S.

Chicago Daily Defender (August 5)

P. R. John, a Malayan correspondent, in Chicago under a State Department program, said that the burden of the racial problem is upon the government and told how India's caste system was completely broken down by a series of laws whereby, for example, 50% of the jobs in government are reserved for Untouchables, and they can compete for the other 50%. In a recent case where a high caste schoolmaster segregated low caste children, he was sentenced to 6 months in prison. "This is how India solved the same type of segregation problem which exists in the U.S. today", he said.

WILKINS SETS CHINA STRAIGHT ON NEGROES

Amsterdam News (August 31)

In reply to a Chinese Communist message of felicitations voicing "Support to American Negro people in their struggle", Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, dispatched a cablegram telling the Chinese that Negro Americans look forward to the day when they can felicitate Chinese citizens gathered in a huge protest demonstration in Peking. Wilkins pointed out that the March was welcomed by Kennedy and that the demonstration was in support of the civil rights legislation proposed by the President.. that racial practices in parts of our country are contrary to the national government policy of non-discrimination. Full texts of both cablegrams are being sent to all members of Congress.

THE NEGRO MARKET

New York Courier - Column by Claude H. Hall (August 31)

Nowhere in the whole of American Big Business can one find a single individual who would openly endorse a program of apartheid.. yet the heavy investors in South Africa form a "Who's Who" of American business like General Motors, Chase Manhattan, Firestone, Kaiser Aluminum. It seems the talk about democracy is just so much poppycock and Americans would invest in Hades if such an investment would yield a return. All this proves that the dollar is more highly regarded than any ideals we piously advocate regarding the dignity and freedom of mankind.

INTERMARRIAGE

THE CIVIL RIGHT THEY ALL DUCK

New York Courier - Editorial (August 17)

Almost everybody ducks the discussion of intermarriage between people of race, color and national origin because of its political implications. Even President Kennedy, when asked if he intended to promote legislation abrogating state laws barring intermarriage, was tongue-tied and never did answer the question. There are 27 states which bar marriage between whites, Orientals and Negroes. Freedom to marry is no less important than freedom to travel, reside, learn and work. Black and white recognize that the issue is so explosive that it can

blast all the other desired rights to smithereens. It would at least show sophistication and honesty to discuss it!

I WONDER IF CHARLAYNE HUNTER'S DADDY WANTED HIS DAUGHTER TO MARRY ONE

Chicago Daily Defender - Column: A Stone's Throw by Chuck Stone, Editor-in-Chief (September 4)

For years whenever a liberal white person dared to defend Negro rights he would be slapped in the face with the nasty question: "Would you want your daughter to marry one?" Few white people had the courage to say Yes. This put the whole problem of racial equality in the bedroom. No matter how we lighten our skins or produce brilliant and outstanding men, we are not considered worthy to marry even the lowliest white girl, But, man, have they married ours! If you're going to marry my daughter, give me the right to marry your'n. Still, I wonder - do you really think Charlayne's father wanted HIS daughter to marry one?

POLITICAL FIGURES

SOUTHERN IMAGE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (August 7)

The testimony of Governors Wallace and Barnett at the Senate hearings dismayed a lot of people who love the South. When Southerners and Northerners mingle together at conferences, the typical Southerner leaves upon his Northern colleagues impressions that are hard to reconcile with the narrow, provincial, mean and rancorous image created by the two governors. These spokesmen represent a vanishing breed, and there lies the hope for a new South in step with the national goals.

POLITICAL SUICIDE

Chicago Daily Defender (August 13)

Governor Rockefeller plunged into the 1964 Presidential elections, charging that certain GOP groups have a policy of "writing off" Negro and other minority votes. Sen. Goldwater countered "I am not for giving up anybody's vote". Goldwater's memory must be very short. He has often called the Negro vote "inconsequential". His supporters are all of the extreme right and want to make the GOP a "white man's party". Let them try. We will walk with them in the funeral procession.

'DIXIECRAT PHILOSOPHY ROOTED IN APARTHEID'

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Gerald Bullock (August 15)

Senator Goldwater bitterly resents the segregationist label even while opposing the Civil Rights bill intended to outlaw segregation. He wants to be known as a liberal, fighting for "individual liberty" i.e. 'right of the individual to discriminate as he pleases'. This kind of liberalism would forever stifle true civil liberties and prevent the realization of civil rights for minorities. It would infect this nation with racist dogma. It is inconceivable that the American people will not by a vast majority repudiate Goldwater's definition of a liberal.

POMPOUS BARRY

Amsterdam News - Column: White-On-White by Gertrude Wilson (8/17)

Characterless, cloying, Senator Barry Goldwater looms on the horizon as possible Republican presidential timbre like a Gilbert and Sullivan pompous ass who doesn't understand what American Negroes are talking about... Referring to the March on Washington, Goldwater threatened that a disturbance could adversely affect civil rights legislation. He is virtually admitting that Congress doesn't think, it simply reacts to pressures. Negroes are no longer sitting on the sidelines waiting for confirmation of what, under the Constitution and Bill of Rights, is inherent in citizenship, and therefore theirs anyway. That spirit of Congressional rebellion is as nothing to what the country will see if this minimum bill is not passed.

REAL ESTATE AND HOUSING

OPEN OCCUPANCY - PHANTOM LEGALISM

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorials (August 1, 13.)

Proponents of Open Occupancy have given unanswerable testimony against segregated housing to the City Council. We warn all who are responsible that there will be no racial peace in Chicago until Open Occupancy becomes a law. The city has ample authority to enact legislation; there is no law against open occupancy. But the racists are busy invoking phantom legalisms in order to perpetuate indefinitely their lily-white traditions.

LANDLORD FOUND GUILTY OF TRYING TO ESTABLISH RACIAL QUOTA SYSTEM

New York Courier (August 3)

In a decision of the State Commission for Human Rights, a Syracuse landlord was found guilty of discriminatory practice in refusing to rent an apartment, in an eight-unit building, to a Negro army medical officer. His refusal was based on the fact that he had one Negro tenant, and that white tenants would move out if another Negro were to move in thereby making way for an all-Negro occupancy and thus creating a segregated building. The commissioners opinion also asserted that the quota system violates the American ethical principle of freedom of choice and encourages tokenism toward erecting a balanced community.

ADS FOR NEGROES HIT BY NAACP LEADER HERE

Chicago Daily Defender (August 6)

Carl Fuqua, executive secretary of Chicago's NAACP said several ads for new housing sub-divisions picture Negro families "with the obvious purpose of indicating that these are homes for Negroes." Ads "for colored only" were abandoned here 10 years ago, but "for colored only" is now being achieved with pictures.

REAL ESTATE BROKERS HEAR OF NEGRO PLIGHT

Chicago Daily Defender (August 27)

Earl Schwulst, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York, addressing the National Association of Real

Estate Brokers, said that grievances must be kept constantly before the conscience of white Americans who have political and economic power. "The N egro...has learned that pressure for his rights is beginning to pay off," he said. He will not let his frustration lead him into acts which will strengthen the hands of those who oppress him, he added.

WHERE TO?

Amsterdam News (August 31) Editorial

Out in Malverne, Long Island, "For Sale" signs went up all over the lily-white community as white owners announced they would sell their homes in protest of an order by the State Commissioner of Education calling for racial equality in Malverne schools. Where are they going? They had better start learning what many of their cousins in the South already have learned.. that a person can run from the laws of this land.. but he can't hide!

SPORTS AND ENTERTAINMENT

NAACP CRACKS DOOR IN HOLLYWOOD HIRING - Amsterdam News (August 3)

WHAT'S HAPPENING WITH ENA? - Amsterdam News, Column: In The Wings by Dave Hepburn (August 3)

An "area of agreeableness" has been reached in preliminary conferences between the NAACP and the Association of Motion Picture Producers on demands for the more general inclusion of Negroes in movie and TV production.. with a "reasonable time" period for substantive gains" before any boycotting or demonstrations by Negroes. With Negro performers, the networks are always afraid to take a chance no matter how much talent the performers have while the Johnny Carsons or Keefe Brasseles come out of nowhere and get a try for stardom. Seems that the Negro performer has to be letter-perfect before he gets a chance.. but the white performers keep rolling merrily along.

ACTORS EQUITY ACTIVITIES

New York Courier - Editorial (August 10)

Three years ago, when Actors Equity decreed that none of its members would perform before racially segregated audiences, it was predicted that the legitimate theatre would die in the South. Since then, there have been increasing numbers of performances in such states as Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi, without uproar, demonstrations, or violence, with integrated audiences. This remarkable revolution did not win a headline!

FUTURE OF NEGRO IN SPORTS WORLD APPEARS TO BE BRIGHTER THAN EVER

New York Courier - Column: Sports Beat by Wendell Smith (August 17)

In the days of slavery, sports was one area in which the Negro was given an opportunity to exhibit his skills. The first American boxing champion was an ex-slave, in 1875 a Negro jockey won the Kentucky Derby. Since the Emancipation Proclamation, and particularly since World War II, Negro athletes have played a major role in the fight for equality and civil rights. The future is even brighter, with the possibility of Negroes attaining positions such as baseball

club manager, football team coach, basketball coach and also within the front offices of the sports world. Fans have been resentful when outstanding athletes are victimized by bigotry and discrimination. This has helped force down the color line in southern training camps.

THIRD PARTY

SERIES OF ARTICLES BY EARL CONRAD, INVESTIGATING THE FEASIBILITY OF A CIVIL RIGHTS PARTY. Chicago Daily Defender (August 5,7,8,12)

THE TIMES PARALLEL THOSE OF EARLY REPUBLICAN DAYS: If non-voting Negroes knew they had a party of their own, a new vote would come out, forming a new force which could team up with one or the other party or even form a third major party. There is no room for the notion that third parties can't succeed. In our camp there are great forces, a national reservoir of protest and courage, involving not only black millions, but four times as many whites. How can we harness all this good feeling? Is there any reason why parties in America have to be main-masted by whites? If we want to be at a policy-making level we must organize this independent force. We can always withdraw our candidates and vote with the major parties.

A CIVIL RIGHTS PARTY CAN BREAK THE PARTY COALITION: The factor which withholds liberation from the Negro is the two-party coalition in Congress. One way to smash the filibuster is a national Civil Rights Party. There is no reason why filibuster itself cannot be brought into disrepute right now. The first piece of business of a Civil Rights Party would be to end filibuster. Filibuster is a trick which says: "This is a Jim Crow Congress. Let's keep it that way." The present unorganized mass of protestors, standing together on a few fundamental principles, can bring about the completion of the Negro revolution by ending the filibuster and thus dissolving the Republican-Democrat coalition which it holds together.

THE QUESTION OF 'READY': Negroes have become tremendously political people. To be forced to equate their social condition with their color was to develop automatically a unique political awareness. We have thousands of activities ready and waiting for the right organization through which to function. There is a real opportunity for great realization during the next decade. Once more for the first time in a century, the black man is Number One on the American agenda. The only thing I can see to contain all these talents and energies is an actual political party. The core of it would be the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the seven national organizations and their pooled memberships.

THROUGH REAL UNITY A CHALLENGING CIVIL RIGHTS PARTY COULD BE BORN: The broad civil rights movement needs room in which to breathe, which does not seem to be there. The situation requires a coast-to-coast unified apparatus, resembling the present major parties. A political party containing millions of black and white actives, with the black phalanx central to its existence, would at once elevate all social-human values. It would have strength and people respect power. A new national Civil Rights Party must convert civil rights from a phrase into a condition of living. It could decide the next election, compel a realignment of the two old parties, end

the white power structure and make its own policy for the black millions. Maybe we have both major parties on the run, and maybe not, but what's wrong with a third name on the ballot? This is the age of Civil Rights - if we win them.

OUR ENEMY IS AT WORK

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (August 15)

It is vital that the Civil Rights Movement react swiftly to menacing developments on the political scene. A Business-Industry Political Action Committee is raising millions to finance campaigns for conservative candidates for Congress. This is an open collection of men of wealth uniting to defeat our own choice of legislators. None of them has ever been heard of as a friend of civil rights. As the big money moves in to stop our forward march, we must mobilize the one thing we have - people, votes, masses and their political power. There is no time to lose. We hope our readers will make known to us their views about the National Civil Rights Party proposals that have been in our columns.

NEW YORK GROUP WOULD FORM ALL-NEGRO PARTY - N Y Courier (August 31)

FREEDOM PARTY FORMED TO PUSH RIGHTS FIGHT - N Y Courier (August 31)

FORM NEW PARTY - Amsterdam News (August 31)

URGE FORMATION OF ALL-NEGRO U.S. POLITICAL PARTY - Jet (September 5)

An all-Negro FREEDOM NOW PARTY has already begun its formation "to concentrate the voting power of black Americans that can deliver knock-out punches to enemies of equality". Acting chairman attorney Conrad J. Lynn said all-black political action is not racism.. it is self-reliance. He reminded that only once in the history of the United States, during Reconstruction, has Congress passed, and the Government enforced meaningful equal rights laws.. when 25 Negro Congressmen and five Negro Senators sat in Washington.

WHITES, NEGROES PUSH PETITION DRIVE FOR SUFFOLK THIRD PARTY

New York Courier (August 31)

The insurgent third party movement in Suffolk County, THE JUSTICE PARTY, needs only 500 more signatures to meet requirements for new party registration. The Committee is composed of 500 white and Negro members who anticipate broad support for the election of Calvin C. Cobb to District Court Judgeship in Babylon Town. Cobb being a Negro will not be an issue, as the aim for the Justice Party will be a politically-free court where all Americans can depend on equal justice.

TRAINING PROGRAM

RADICALISM IN PHILADELPHIA

New York Courier - Editorial (August 10)

Radicalism means going to the root of any problem. That is exactly what is being done by a group of Negro clergymen and lay leaders in Philadelphia. They have launched an Opportunities Industrialization Program to train and retrain Negroes. Another solution would

be to supply young Negroes with scholarships for training in trade and technical schools throughout the country. It is high time to use more fundamental intelligence and less immature indignation.

TODAY AND YOU

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Marjorie L. Dunnegan (August 12)

There is need for a broader and more incisive understanding of the term "vocational" in education. Unless enabling legislation for training programs spells out what trades are to be taught and provides for regular inspection to insure racial integration, the programs will fail scandalously. The black man in America will never develop a thriving middle class unless he has access to training facilities and employment opportunities giving him proportional representation in the skilled crafts and trades. A national colored community with a slowly growing professional class and a rapidly burgeoning unskilled labor class, largely on relief, and nothing in between cannot long survive without an explosion.

RETRAINING FUNDS

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Gerald Bullock (August 20)

Walter Reuther has just summed up the experience of "graduates" of a re-training program in Oklahoma City. Only a third of those who completed the program showed promise of benefitting from it; few were able to get jobs with their new skills. Was it really a comprehensive program? Or was it hastily thrown together? Millions of dollars in Federal money and state funds can be wasted if inexperienced administrators get bad advice. A sound program of essential studies is required. In Illinois the General Assembly adjourned without voting matching funds for the Manpower and Redevelopment program. A majority of those who would benefit are Negroes. Citizens should demand to know how this failure happened because the Federal funds for this project will probably be returned to Washington.

THE NEGRO LOOKS AT HIMSELF

THE AMERICAN NEGRO IMAGE

New York Courier - Editorial (July 27)

The American Negro image in America is far more affected by what white Americans think than by how it is seen abroad. Spokesmen these days present an unflattering picture of slum-locked, ignorant, unskilled Negroes and then wonder why whites resist integration. This is decidely not the image to present if Negroes are going to be "sold" to the other 90% of Americans.

POLITICAL POT

Amsterdam News - Column: Uptown Lowdown by James Booker (August 3)

One leader has described the new Negro militancy which is beginning to catch on throughout the City as the "big push" in trying to break through the maze of subtle prejudices and discriminations Negroes run into in just about everything they do. We hope Negroes will learn to work together, buy from and support Negro businesses, register and vote, help to improve your own neighborhood.. all a part of

the movement..... President Kennedy should check on the law office situation of a top lawyer he named to a special committee to help push civil rights. The lawyer has a staff of some 200 and not one Negro on it.

LETTER OF THE WEEK: A MOUTHFUL - Amsterdam News (August 24)

THE INSIDERS - Amsterdam News, Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (August 24)

In a long letter to the Amsterdam News, Calvin Graham of New York City, a Negro actively engaged in the struggle for freedom, set forth 40 "freedoms" permitted the Negro in Harlem.. including the right to "play numbers", run card or crap games, lie drugged or drunken, operate as pimps or prostitutes, peddle stolen goods, molest passing women, live overcrowded, drive expensive cars although showing no means of support, operate filthy eating places or markets, squander money while collecting from city agencies.. and many other "freedoms" practiced in broad daylight on the streets without molestation from the police who blatantly neglect their duty. Mr. Graham criticized Negro leaders who are on the INSIDE for having failed the "little" Negroes who helped get them in..... In the same day's publication, Hicks devoted his column to the castigation of Negro leaders like Robert Weaver, John King (deputy superintendant of schools), Frank Turner (head of Board of Education zoning plan), Madison Jones and others who are the "Big Guys" the little people helped to get where they are. Mr. Hicks feels it is high time they started to produce results.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

New York Courier - Column by George S. Schuyler (August 31)

One severe indictment of our civil rights misleaders is the anti-Negro propaganda that Negro children cannot learn well in school unless in classes with white children. The inference is that white children are superior. The propaganda runs that because Negroes live in certain areas and their children go naturally to the schools in these areas, this makes those schools racially segregated, hence inferior to the city's other schools and injurious to the Negro children because they are denied white association. What is being ignored is the psychological effect of denigrating the neighborhoods in which Negroes live and the schools they attend, letting children escape for a few hours and then sending them back to their ghetto to vegitate in inferiority. An intelligent leadership would campaign to improve their districts,... insist on law and order where their people live.

THE NEGRO LOOKS AT HIS WORLD

CONFETTI: COLUMN - Chicago Daily Defender (August 7,8,14,19,20)

While Mrs. Calhoun was on vacation guest columnists contributed their views.. excerpts of which follow.

SHERWOOD ROSS: Anyone who has traveled across America can bear witness to the decline of our major cities, withering on the vine despite highly publicized urban renewal schemes. The cancer gnawing at the vitals of our big towns is racism. Where the rich remain, urban renewal clears slums and rehouses them at fancy prices while driving out the former inhabitants.. mostly Negro. Where the rich re-

treat to suburbia, the poor remain behind in more desperate blighted communities than before. Why won't the middle-income families stay on? Negro mothers are terrified to raise their children in a ghetto and white mothers are frightened when the expanding ghetto approaches them in the Negro's relentless demand for decent housing. Middle-class Negroes are the obvious people to change the ingrained prejudice of whites .. but will be unable to do so unless open occupancy ordinance is passed by the City Council.

TIMUEL BLACK: (Chicago Chairman of the March on Washington) It is indeed strange that in a "democratic" society Negroes need such organizations as the NAACP, Urban League, SNCC, CORE, NALC and SCLC to fight for their rights. We should be getting on with the bigger struggle for world peace and survival. And yet I have been too busy fighting for immediate goals... the American Negro in particular. We hope that the White American soon will mature and be able to sing with all of us "Black and White together; We shall overcome someday....."

EARL B. DICKERSON: (President, Supreme Life Insurance Company) Dr. Robert Havighurst stated in a recent article that 9 years after the Supreme Court school decision only 15% of the country's Negro children attend integrated schools, due to the practice of de facto segregation, in the North, and de jure in the South. The South is learning to use de facto segregation based on housing patterns, like the North; while the North is using separate but equal schools as in the South. The Chicago Board of Education should remember the words of Justice Frankfurter: Local customs, however hardened by time, are not decreed in heaven."

HOMER SMITH: (Defender Correspondent) Some foreigners who have visited the United States have remarked on what a strange country it is. Many strange things do happen here.. for instance.. a recent opinion poll found that President Kennedy was losing some of his popularity because of his energetic insistence upon equal civil rights for all Americans. One would think that a President who strives for equable rights ought to gain and not lose stature and popularity. Foreigners who come as migrants find they can enjoy (even before becoming citizens) privileges and freedoms denied to old-line American citizens. In Chicago, when a Negro family moved into a "white" building, hundreds of whites demonstrated in riotous protest. Many of the demonstrators were not even born in this country. Negroes in the South stage protests and southern racists yell that Communists inspired it all.. in other words, Communists are the friends and supporters of genuine democracy. Strange, indeed

EARL DICKERSON: The recent violent anti-Negro demonstrations against two families who moved into an all-white Chicago area significantly occurred when civil rights were being debated in Congress. Thus, in this critical period of change, we find many white people who resent this change and will resort to violence to prevent it. Our times demand better communications between people of different races, creeds and cultural backgrounds. The new Negro has better leadership and believes he is on the brink of a better way of life. Race relations is a political problem as well as a social and moral one and that's what the hullabaloo in Congress against civil rights is all about.

A WHITE LOOK AT THE NEGRO

FRANK SERIES ON RACIAL PROBLEMS by Lillian S. Calhoun, Chicago Daily Defender (August 19, 21, 26, 27)

U.S. STEEL EXEC'S FORMULA: "A CRUSDADE OF NEGOTIATION" (8/19)

U.S. Steel's top man in Chicago, vice-president Edward C. Logelin, when asked about the responsibility of Chicago executives for ending race discrimination stated: "We need a crusade of negotiation.. businessmen must see that more jobs are available for everyone.. work against discrimination by creating new opportunities. U.S. Steel, says Logelin, hires on ability, has little tension.. some 20% are Negro.. some top-ranking. They have an integrated apprenticeship program and a summer training program for college students. He feels a need for a forum where both races may discuss problems to eliminate misconceptions.

NATIONAL TEA PRESIDENT SAYS FIRM PRACTICES INTEGRATION (8/21)

A Chicago boy who made good, Norman A. Stepelton, president of the National Tea Company, a chain of 1000 stores, says they employ the highest proportion of Negroes in the Chicago area. All administrative men start up the scale and Negroes can work up too. "The Negro public making purchases at food stores naturally wants a return in employment.. to have equal job opportunity in every store and every office of National Tea". An open occupancy law, says he, should be a must. He thinks that many Southerners do not hate Negroes but that much of it is custom and those customs are changing. "Racial integration should begin in school.. the things you learn as a youngster are the things that stay with you", says Stepelton. He thinks the Negro population a great force and a growing market.

AGGRESSIVE BURTON-DIXIE CHIEF JUDGES MEN BY DEED - NOT COLOR (8/26)

John G. Sevcik, president of Burton-Dixie Corporation, sleep goods, considers himself as a typical American who works with everyone and doesn't care of what race or religion a man is. His company has about 15% Negro employees. Although there are no Negroes on the administrative staff and no Negro secretaries, there is a Negro foreman and three Negro superintendents. "I'm not making it a cause," says he, "but if Negroes have ability, they'll get the opportunity". "If you are prejudicial in your relationships,it cripples you".. If our present laws do not bring about an atmosphere conducive to equal rights, we must pass laws that spell out the rights of all people.. however, best of all is to work with people.. to judge people by the standards they set themselves." He thinks much of job bias comes because white business people are not aware of qualified Negroes. Sevcik has a paternalistic attitude toward Negro workers.. helps them with their problems.

MERE WORDS WON'T SOLVE RACIAL DILEMMA, REAL ESTATE EXPERT SAYS (8/27)

James C. Downs Jr., chairman of Real Estate Research Corp. is extremely influential in important real estate circles in Chicago and nationally. His major contribution is "social zoning", a euphemism for a more unpopular term, "quota". He says we must choose a scheme whereby a man can be told that if a Negro moves in, the

block won't go Negro, since when a majority is threatened in a numerical way, the majority will go away. He does not think open occupancy legislation is the final answer, but feels that the entrance of five to ten Negro families in all white apartment buildings would not disturb white tenants if the Negro families were qualified. Asked why he didn't recommend this to properties his firm manages, he said that "splintered ownership can't be brought together."

MISCELLANEOUS

MR. FARMER'S FANTASY

New York Courier - Editorial (July 27)

James Farmer, of CORE, wants to bring to the surface the "undercurrent of racism" in the North so that it can be dealt with. Most American Negroes will be satisfied to let the sleeping dogs of racism lie and not disturb them into snarling activity. Contending with the prejudices openly shown is a difficult and exhausting enough job.

CONFETTI

Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Lillian S. Calhoun (July 30, 31, August 1, 27)

A Maryland study of 14,000 school drop-outs found half scored average or above, about 80% were not disciplinary problems. Are the schools really challenging youngsters? If Negro Johnnies are undereducated or miseducated, it may just be the schools who are at fault..... According to an article by Louis Lomax, the Urban League says it could place 50,000 Negro workers tomorrow if only it could find them. Hardly believable. There are about 25 to 50 jobs open in Chicago which the League is helping to fill. In our liberal, liberated Chicago the job discrimination wall is a mile high.... There are no Negroes above the rank of colonel in the U.S. Army and only six colonels. One West Point graduate with war experience, writing his PH D doctorate, etc., is still a colonel. But we're not qualified.... Victor Riesel wrote there are thousands of jobs in construction throughout the world via the Peace Corps. Seems a shame if the unemployed are here and the jobs abroad that there's no way to bring them together..... There's a move afoot to stop Chicago Housing Authority's "neighborhood policy". What with the schools and CHA using this term to cover up segregation, "neighborhood" is getting to be a dirty word.

SAYS MILLIONS OF OTHERS BENEFIT FROM CURRENT REVOLT OF NEGRO

Chicago Daily Defender (July 31)

The Negro revolution will benefit tens of millions of Americans who suffer from racial, ethnic or religious bias, A. J. Prejean an Urban League official said. Some other minorities have already been moved by the example of Negro gains to demand their full rights. In one Texas city Mexican-Americans can now use motels which until recently barred them as well as Negroes. Prejean said that while minority groups will benefit most, the entire nation will be helped if it can close ranks and unite in the face of a common enemy overseas.

A WOMAN'S WORLD

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (August 3)
(Reprint of an article published May 5, 1956.)

The hand that rocks the cradle in the Negro world is doing a darn good job. The central figures in the most important civil rights decisions handed down by the courts of the United States in the last decades have been women! Mary Talbert organized Negro clubwomen all over the nation and started the ball rolling against lynching way back in 1921. March Church Terrell started the suit which eventually opened up all public places in the Nation's Capitol. Who went to court and filed the case that resulted in the opening up of graduate schools to Negroes in the South? Ada Sipuel Jones, the University of Oklahoma, 1948. Ada entered the law school on orders of the Supreme Court.. a decision so clear that many other southern graduate schools opened their doors without a fight... Interstate travel segregation was struck down by plaintiff Irene Morgan when she was told to sit in the rear of a bus. As for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.. He is leading a movement started by a little seamstress named Rosa Parks.

A SHIFT IN STRATEGY

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (August 7)

The Birmingham City Council's action in repealing segregation ordinances was, paradoxically, a piece of segregationist strategy. The city governing body set aside six laws which specifically require racial segregation and promptly passed a new ordinance which, while making no specific reference to race, will enable police to deal more firmly with demonstrations. Such laws as this new disorderly conduct ordinance are much more difficult to attack in Federal courts because they do not contain specific racial restrictions. For example, a group of white and Negro students lunching in the private dining room of a Negro resaurant in Montgomery after repeal of segregation ordinances there were arrested on charges of "conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace." A less intractable attitude in Birmingham is manifested by the appointment of a 211-member bi-racial committee to study community problems.

POINTS OF SIMILARITY - Chicago Defender, Editorial (August 12)

The dismantling of European empires in Asia and Africa since World War II has been accomplished by offering leadership to the most radical (and yet responsible) men, thus guaranteeing the long-term good will of the people - or by negotiating with leaders less radical, more willing to compromise, under conditions which are liable to blow up in the face of the colonial power. The racial crisis in the U.S. has some points of similarity with this situation. Thus it is easier to understand why there has been no real racial trouble in Salisbury, Md., yet repeated demonstrations in nearby Cambridge. In Salisbury whites had enough foresight to include the more radical Negroes in negotiations to ease racial tensions.

TOP SCIENTISTS PROVE NO DIFFERENCE IN RACE, INTELLIGENCE

Amsterdam News (August 17)

Four leading social scientists from Princeton and University of California, after a thorough analysis, challenge recent efforts by ad-

vocates of segregation to find scientific support for branding Negroes a race intellectually inferior to whites. They refute claims of "innate mental differences" and declare there is no significant relationship between race and intelligence. Behavior and achievement among Negroes vary with the community in which they live and are attributable primarily to the ways in which whites treat Negroes and the ways in which they react to this treatment...

WHAT'S BEHIND CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS? - PRATTIS DEVLOPS "DANGEROUS BLOOD" THEME! - New York Courier, Article by P. L. Prattis (8/17)

Govs. Barnett of Mississippi, Thurmond of South Carolina and Wallace of Alabama have contended that subversive forces are responsible for the present demand for a showdown on civil rights. They suggest that the Communists are the forces.. they, whose European ancestors brought the lynching and burning, cruelty, brutality and murder, who were to become the masters of African slaves.

THE CASE FOR COMPENSATORY POSITIVE DISCRIMINATION

Chicago Daily Defender - by Gerald Bullock (August 28)

If the American Negro community is ever to overcome the negative effects of centuries of oppression, it will have to be the beneficiary of a special rescue program. In the hovels, tenements, garbaged alleys and hallways of his enforced cultural isolation, the Negro grew up, generations of him, to witness the slow death of the American Dream. He could look back on nothing; he could look ahead to even less. He is the Man Farthest Down. It will take a longer rope to reach him, a stouter strand to pull him up. That is why I am for compensatory, positive racial discrimination.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Amsterdam News - Editorial (August 31)

Recently, ten pickets from the National State Rights Party threw a picket line in front of the national office of the Committee on Racial Equality... Marching behind a Confederate flag they carried signs which, among other things, said: "Black and White is Red" and "Race Mixing Is A Communist Conspiracy"... When they were joined by two members of the American Nazi Party, the States Rights director screamed that his pickets were "embarrassed" by the Nazi support. Frankly, we think the Nazis have at last found good company!

'FREEDOM-BUYS' GROUP PUSHING PROGRAM OF SELECTIVE BUYING

New York Courier (August 31)

A program of selective buying is being promoted on a Global-Wise plan to awaken Negroes to their responsibilities in supporting those companies which offer equal opportunities to Negroes. Specific lists will be issued by FREEDOM-BUYS, GLOBAL-WISE and authentic information is welcomed. GPO Box 672, New York 1, N. Y.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE 45TH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, MIAMI BEACH, FLA., SEPTEMBER 10–12, 1963

Whereas the Government of the United States of America, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have seen fit to negotiate with the Soviet Union a limited test ban treaty; and

Whereas the treaty is now before the Senate of the United States for determination as to whether or not that body will advise and consent to ratification of the treaty on the part of the United States; and

Whereas the American Legion has in the past supported all actions by our Government which offer the hope of an honorable peace and which at the same time are consistent with strong national security; and

Whereas past experience has evidenced that the Soviet Union enters into only those agreements which are for its own best interests; and

Whereas the American Legion finds reason for concern as to their motives since this could be a method of improving the position of the Communists economically, politically, and militarily, as was demonstrated by our previous voluntary suspension of testing in which the Soviets completed all the preparations for elaborate and comprehensive nuclear testing while the United States slept, thus permitting them to drastically reduce our lead in the nuclear field: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the 45th Annual National Convention of the American Legion, assembled in Miami Beach, Fla., September 10–12, 1963, That the American Legion urges the Senate to assure the American people—

1. That this test ban treaty shall not in any way be considered as a step toward disarmament of the United States;

2. That this test ban treaty shall not in any way be considered a step toward the surrender of our national sovereignty (including but not limited to U.S. control of our own military forces and defense developments);

3. That this test ban treaty shall in no way curtail lawful nuclear testing or development or readiness for immediate resumption of atmospheric testing in the event of a violation of the treaty; and be it further

Resolved, That if the foregoing safeguards have been met, the American Legion supports the test ban treaty.

R&R Rel.

THE PROMISE AND FULFILLMENT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—ADDRESS BY J. MARTIN KLOTSCHE

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, on September 23, 1963, at Madison, Wis., Dr. J. Martin Klotsche, provost of the University of Wisconsin, and a distinguished scholar and educator, delivered a speech at the Governors' Conference on Human Rights. Dr. Klotsche's speech is a scholarly, perceptive analysis of the situation as it affects civil rights. It is a clear expression of the philosophy of the individual rights of man. I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Klotsche's address be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PROXMIRE in the chair). Is there objection?

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PROMISE AND FULFILLMENT OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

(Address by J. Martin Klotsche)

Let me begin by stating some basic propositions to which we, as a people, are committed. These are the ideals that give us a moral base on which we can build. They are our frame of reference—without which we cannot operate effectively. The philosopher Whitehead once said "that vigorous societies harbor a certain extravagance of objectives so that men wander beyond the safe provision of personal gratifications." He further suggested that a civilized society must cultivate a "widespread sense that high aims are worthwhile."

What are these extravagant objectives? These high aims? Our beliefs and commitments have been so frequently expressed that they are self-evident in the sense that they need no further proof or evidence to support them. Yet while they may be self-evident, they are not self-explanatory, nor are they self-enforcing. Nor do we realize them simply because we have given expression to them. But this does not invalidate them nor does it deny the value of periodically restating them. When Jefferson expressed the views that were eventually incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, these were not his views alone. They were shared by many of his colleagues. They represented a consensus. One writer has even described Jefferson as having "plagiarized the atmosphere." These truths expressed in the Declaration of Independence were subsequently reaffirmed and enlarged upon. They were incorporated into the Preamble to the Constitution and into the Bill of Rights, were stated in the Emancipation Proclamation and are to be found in some of the most contagious prose and poetry written in this country.

They have also become universal in their appeal, with the result that the ideas associated with our way of life are in complete harmony with the hopes and aspirations of people everywhere. Our ideas have become an integral part of world thinking. When, for example, the Dutch stormed into Sumatra they found on many of the buildings these words from the American Revolution, "Give me liberty or give me death." At the Bandung Conference held in southeast Asia in 1955, a conference which, incidentally, the United States officially ignored, the date of April 19 was deliberately chosen for the opening of the conference to have it coincide with the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Thus, such Americans as Jefferson and Lincoln are great not only because they achieved American purposes, but also because they were able to speak for humanity at large and extend their views to include the whole family of man.

The historian, Commager, recently wrote that we have witnessed two major revolutions in the past 1,000 years. The first broke up the medieval world, humanized and secularized thought, shifted the center of gravity from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and opened up a whole new world. The second was associated with the birth of our own country and with the end of colonization. It marked the emergence of a new nation, the spread of the ideas of self-government, and the use of science and technology to create abundance.

What then is our frame of reference? Stated simply it is the idea that the individual is squarely in the center of things and is of supreme importance. Archibald Mac Leish who has written often on this subject, says that when we speak of man we should speak of man not in the abstract, nor should we speak of all men, or even the majority of men. Rather we should talk about that one single man who, because he is a man, has dignity and worth. Basic to our whole scale of values, then, is our faith in the infinite worth and unlimited possibilities of each person. This is the self-evident truth which is our point of departure.

The rule of thumb under which we should operate is a simple one. We should regard each person as an individual—not as a Catholic, Jew or Protestant; not as a Negro or white; not as a man or a woman, but as a person whom we like or dislike because of his or her intrinsic qualities. Color really doesn't matter. In fact it just isn't relevant.

Now it is a mark of extraordinary maturity to be able to make such judgments. There are some people who are illiterate who have this instinctive recognition of respect for others. Many children set no artificial boundaries in their esteem and love of people. To others this feeling for respect is an intellectual process. But unfortunate is the person who, because of his own limitations, has never fully sensed the significance of each person's intrinsic value and worth.

That there have been conspicuous failures and glaring imperfections in achieving this goal need not be dwelt upon here. Our dilemma is the obvious gap between faith and fact, profession and practice, belief and performance. We have not translated into reality the full meaning of our belief. Our promise has not been fulfilled. Too often we have allowed the phrasemaker and the demagog to prevail. Slogans, even such attractive ones as "freedom" and "equality" can be used to enslave rather than to liberate. There are countless examples of versifiers and penmen who use their skill to give upside-down meanings to all sorts of ideas, which on the surface seem plausible. These are the people that William Blake had in mind when he said, "the general good is the refuge of the flatterer, scoundrel, and hypocrite. He who would do good must do it in minute particulars."

That we have made progress in the human rights field, no one, other than the cynic, could deny. Yet our progress has been spotty, uneven, and in some areas unimpressive. But now we are at the crossroads of a long struggle to win equality for the Negro. We are, in fact, now entering into the final or climactic stage. We must squarely face the fact that modest progress will no longer suffice. It is a fact of history that when people begin to improve, when they are on the way up, when they see some signs of hope and accomplishment, this is when they become impatient and even rebellious. It is when people begin to see a way out that they become militant. It is only when the situation appears hopeless and there seems no avenue of escape that people give up.

Thus, democracy is a quest, a never-ending seeking for better things and presumes a never-slackening pressure for improvement and betterment. Justice Holmes had this in mind when he said that "man's mind once stretched to a new idea never returns to its former dimensions." It is precisely because some progress has been made that Negroes today have achieved a new militancy which has replaced the abject hopelessness of former years with a new aggressiveness and determination.

This has alarmed some persons and caused them to recoil in fear and anger. Yet it serves no purpose to attribute current unrest to agitators or to describe those in the forefront of the civil rights struggle as disturbers of the peace. Those who seek refuge in such an explanation are either unwilling or unable to understand that we are in the midst of a social revolution of dramatic proportions described by one observer in these words: "Nineteen hundred and sixty three is the year that the Negro ran out of patience and got mad at everybody. How mad he will continue to be depends on what changes are made to place him on an equal footing with other Americans."

It was recently reported, as though it were a colossal achievement, that no State school system in the South today remains segregated. This does not really impress the Negro. More relevant is the fact that the majority (over 90 percent in fact) of the Negro children in the South are still in segregated schools, 9 years after the Supreme Court declared such schools unconstitutional.

Nor can we cheer too loudly when the admission of two Negroes in the University of Alabama this summer (with an enrollment of 4,100 students) changed the racial composition of the campus from an all-white student body to one 99.95 percent white. And it took the Army, U.S. marshals, the FBI, the National Guard, the Justice Department, the White House staff and even the Chief Executive to accomplish this task.

But, we should hasten to add that the problem is not just a southern one. The 1960 census reported that more than one-half of the American Negroes live outside of the South. Of the cities with the largest Negro population, the first eight are northern or border cities. The city in the solid South with the largest Negro population is Birmingham in ninth place. The implications of these facts were dramatically pointed out by Harry Ashmore in his book "The Other Side of Jordan" in which he suggests that Negroes crossed the River Jordan in search of the Promised Land only to find a repetition of the hostility and persecution that they had left behind. He further concluded that our agrarian past is finished and that the crux of the problem has now shifted to our cities. Here it is that we must seek to come to terms with problems of racial justice and understanding.

There are many places in the North, therefore, where discrimination, though against the law, nevertheless is very real. Often Negroes get the lower paid jobs and many of these are disappearing because automation has reduced opportunities for the unskilled worker. As a result the rate of unemployment for Negroes is twice as great as that among whites. Also Negroes are less able to educate their children, less able to improve their lot, and less able to move out of the slums into better housing.

This seeking the Promised Land, and now for the first time viewing it, even from a distance, is one of the dramatic developments of our time. Sit-ins, freedom rides, desegregation—all of these would have been impossible 15 years ago. There are many factors that have contributed to this change. The experience of the Negro in wartime visibly affected him. James Baldwin has bluntly expressed this view in "The Fire Next Time," in which he states, "You must put yourself in the skin of a man who is wearing the uniform of his country; is a candidate for death in its defense, and who is called a 'nigger' by his comrades in arms and his officers; who is almost always given the hardest, ugliest, and most menial work to do * * * who does not dance at the USO the night the white soldiers dance there, and does not drink in the same bars white soldiers drink in; and who watches German prisoners of war being treated by Americans with more dignity than he has ever received at their hands. And who, at the same time, as a human being, is far freer in a strange land than he has ever been at home. Home. The very word begins to have a despairing and diabolical ring. You must consider what happens to this citizen, after all he has endured, when he returns home: Search, in his shoes, for a job, for a place to live; ride, in his skin, on segregated buses; see, with his eyes, the signs saying 'white' and 'colored,' * * * Look into the eyes of his wife, look into the eyes of his son; listen with his ears, to the political speeches, North and South; imagine yourself being told to wait."

In addition, a whole generation of Negroes since the war have had wider educational opportunity. Many have had a college education; 250,000 are now studying in our colleges and universities. Thus, experience in the armed forces and new insights gained as a result of education now make them spurn the conservatism of their elders and replace it with impatience and a new kind of radicalism. Negroes are understandably seeking a faster realization of their rights. They have seen how other people live. They know what opportunities there now are and they have also learned about and been influenced by what is happening elsewhere in other parts of the world. The number of independent nations has doubled since the war. In 1 year alone, 17 nations achieved independent status in Africa. Many of these nations are now taking their place as parliamentary equals in the council of nations. The revolution has become worldwide with hopes giving way to expectations and expectations yielding to demands.

Thus, to urge caution or to persist in the view that Negro unrest is the result of Communist agitation or the influence of the outsider or to wish that people would stop agreeing with the Negro and tell them to stop demonstrating is unbelievably naive or frightfully dishonest and insincere. We have been dodging and evading our responsibilities too long. The time for decision is now at hand.

Yet it is amazing to see to what lengths unimaginative people will go to oppose progress. It's easy to find so many reasons for not getting things done. How many times have we heard, "Well, this will set a dangerous precedent," "The public is not ready," "I agree with your goal but can't accept your methods," "What's the hurry? Rome wasn't built in a day," and the clincher, "The time isn't ripe." Time seems eternally unripe for change. Actually time is neutral. It can be corrosive but it can also be a force for good in the right hands. Dr. Buell Gallagher, president of City College in New York has expressed it this way: "There is nothing quite as weak as an idea whose time is not yet ripe. Nothing as absurd as an idea whose time is past. Nothing quite as powerful as an idea whose time has come."

We need a new spirit of adventure, for the odds are clearly against the timid. The Brookings Institute has just completed a report in which it has examined some problems of public policy. After 5 years of study by a team consisting of one psychologist and two political scientists, these men have concluded that we are unprepared for adventure at the very time that an adventuresome spirit is essential to preserve our democratic system. These researchers record that in 1789 our experiment was the boldest adventure of its kind ever undertaken by man. But, now we seem to have lost the spirit of adventure—this living successfully with uncertainty and being challenged by it.

Actually the question that confronts us is not when is the time ripe for us to act. But, how do we do it? Where do we begin? What do we do first? Where can our efforts best be concentrated? The battle for human rights is a complex one and needs to be won on many fronts. It is many-faceted and the task is a prodigious one. It involves court decisions, Federal, State and local legislation, persuasion, education, and job training. But, it also poses tasks to be performed by the Negro community. For it is important that Negroes themselves come to grips with the fact that they are underdeveloped people, to ues a phrase of Louis Lomax. They will have to work diligently to narrow "the cultural gap" that has resulted from over three centuries of submission and subservience and that has poorly equipped the Negro for the heavy demands that a democracy makes of its people.

If one thing has happened in the last few months it is the growing awareness of the stresses and strains in our society. Our complacency has finally been shattered. For the first time we seem ready to think about these problems rather than to avoid them. But the momentum must not be lost. The international situation demands that we attend to these matters, for our image abroad, upon which the success of our foreign policy depends, is blurred by Little Rock and Birmingham. The realities of our technological society also require it, for increasingly our manpower needs will demand more and more highly trained personnel drawn from every level of our society. We know that talent and virtue exist in all levels of our society and it is a grievous waste of our talents to permit discrimination, poverty and inadequate education to stand in the way of fully developing our human resources.

But, let us hope that our sense of justice and our belief in what we think is right would achieve a breakthrough of conscience that would result in giving to every person those elementary rights with which naturally he has been endowed. For Negroes want only what other people want—respect and dignity and the opportunity to be measured in terms of their individual worth. They are not seeking special favors. They know that men are not all equal in ability, attainments and accomplishments. They just do not want to be victimized by reason of their previous condition of servitude.

We know these matters cannot be resolved today or tomorrow, or this year or the next. For we are dealing not only with problems of education, employment, housing and accommodations, but we are dealing with a state of mind and with man's own estimate of his fellow man. It is hard to know where to take hold, but it is at the community level that each of us can become most relevant. For every city, town and village in America has its human relations problems. The Frenchman de Toqueville put it this way: "It is true that around every man a fatal circle is traced beyond which he cannot pass, but within the range of that circle he is powerful and free."

So the time for decision has now been reached—in Congress—in our legislative halls—in our municipal councils—in our schools, churches, community organizations, in the marketplace and in the minds and hearts of all Americans. All that is being asked is that everyone in our society enjoy the full promise of our democracy and that he not be intimitated or crucified for demanding it.

The real question that remains is whether we can produce a generation of sober and wise men and women with level heads and compassionate hearts who can take us down the path of fulfillment quickly enough so that the promise of American democracy will become a reality and that men and women here as well as elsewhere will be able to say that freedom and justice were not the privilege of a few, but had been extended to everyone on the ground, that our right to be considered a person at all times gave that right to others also.

It has been said that nervous times are ahead of us. The Negro is demanding of us fulfillment of an earlier promise that many of us are not yet prepared to accept. The real question is not whether his claims are justified. They cannot be denied if our moral commitments are worth anything at all. The only question is whether our promises can be fulfilled in such a manner and with sufficient grace and reason that we can soon reestablish the great truth without which there is no hope—that man is by nature endowed with certain rights—that he is a person to be respected at all times and is entitled to whatever opportunity necessary to permit him to find his own level, in his own way, in his search for freedom and justice.

A NEW LOOK AT EAST-WEST TRADE

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, East-West trade relations have just been projected sharply to the fore by the debate about an impending wheat deal between American grain traders and the U.S.S.R., following the sensational announcement of the $500 million Canadian wheat deal

IS THE PUBLIC GETTING THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RACE ISSUE?

Size-Up by a Panel of Editors From North and South

Riots . . . marches . . . mass demonstrations . . . sit-ins . . . Negro protests of all kinds—

Almost every day newspapers report some new racial trouble in this country.

But how accurate is the reporting? Is the American public getting the true picture of race relations—the full story? Is the South made a "whipping boy"? Are race problems in the North being ignored or suppressed?

A group of newspaper editors and publishers discussed such questions at a conference sponsored by United Press International.

Here is how they sized up the coverage of the big news story of 1963.

"Newspaper coverage of racial news" was the subject of a discussion at the United Press International's conference of editors and publishers at Chicago on Oct. 18, 1963. Following, from a transcript of the proceedings, are views expressed by some of the editors and publishers:

Georgia Editor: "Wire Services Did Not Get the Facts"

James H. Gray, editor of "The Albany [Ga.] Herald": I speak, I suppose, from what they call the Southern point of view, although I'm not certain what that Southern point of view is as portrayed by the wire services in many of their stories, because I think that the Southern opinion on the racial question is fully as diverse as it is in other parts of the country. . . .

My home town, Albany, Ga., became in November of 1961 the starting point of what is now more or less accurately labeled as the Negro revolution in America. The question is: How did the press handle the story?

From the point of view of the wire services, I believe the ball was booted very badly. Admittedly, Negro demonstrations in large masses were a new development in American society. The boycott of a bus system led by "the Lord King"—"the Lord" is what Negroes call Martin Luther King—had occurred in Montgomery, Ala., in the late '50s. But never before on the American scene had there been sit-ins and kneel-ins and lie-ins and pray-ins and swim-ins on a scale approximating those attempted in Albany, Ga.

How did the press services fail? I think simply by violating the cardinal tenet of good journalism—that is, they failed to check and double check to gain perspective for the information that they were disseminating. Most of the men that came down there had preconceived ideas about the situation. They had very definite opinions about the Southern approach to the racial situation. And they gave those opinions; they did not give fact.

—UPI Photo

Panel of editors that discussed press coverage of the race issue: Seated, Earl Johnson, UPI, New York; Al Neuharth, "The Rochester [N. Y.] Democrat & Chronicle"; Robert Hitt, "The Charleston [S. C.] Post." Standing, Thomas Boardman, "The Indianapolis Times"; James Gray, "The Albany [Ga.] Herald"; Robert Chandler, "The Bend [Oreg.] Bulletin," and Bower Hawthorne, "The Minneapolis Star" and "The Minneapolis Tribune."

A case in point is this: In December, 1961, between 100 and 200 Negroes, carefully recruited, drilled to perfection, organized with almost the precision of a military cadre, suddenly appeared in the downtown area of Albany, Ga.—without announcement, without any necessary parade permits, without any by-your-leave from anyone. They were there for approximately two days, and then "the Lord," Martin Luther King, came in and announced that he was taking over, that if his demands were not met immediately, that he would turn the town upside down.

These Negroes marched, they circled the central business block of our city and they chanted these songs which are now familiar to all American cities—the ones "We Shall Overcome" and "The Police Chief Shall Not Turn Me Around," things of that sort.

Most of the Negroes were young—in fact, the majority of them were teen-agers.

The large majority of the Negro population in Albany, Ga., took no part in the demonstrations.

What was the reaction of the white community? I can say that the reaction first in Albany, Ga., was amazement, and then amusement. Heads popped out of store windows and doorways and a few bystanders on the street merely gaped.

But there was no move, and never was, in Albany, Ga., by the whites toward the Negroes, or the Negroes toward the whites. And there was no overt evidence of any hostility between the races.

Nevertheless, the UPI—relying on information it received not from a professional newsman and not from any newsman whatsoever but from an unemployed radio announcer who received a few bucks a month to supply UPI with whatever information he could dredge up—put upon the wires a fulsome report of an impending racial clash in Albany, Ga.

Report of a Mob—"Utterly False"

This report used the word "mob" quite frequently. It said a "mob" of whites had gathered upon the streets and were in an ugly mood to do battle with the Negro demonstrators. This was utterly false.

The Associated Press did not do much better with the same set of circumstances, but, at least, AP did have the levelheadedness to telephone newspapermen in Albany to check the reports, and it did not file a story of inflammatory conditions when none existed.

I think the truth is that we never did have any hostility in Albany, Ga.—and they always call that Martin Luther King's one failure. The reason, of course, is that the relations between the whites and the Negroes were at a peak where communication was always in evidence and trouble did not result. But that was the report, and, of course, it flashed to all sections of the country.

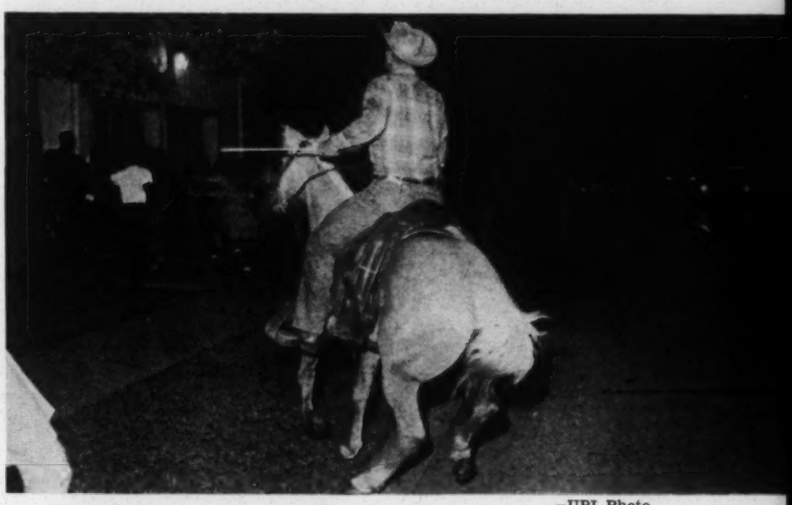
Now, from this shaky start, the press services launched upon coverage of the so-called Negro revolution. Neither of the two wire services improved much for weeks. Both UPI and AP were taking at face value information telephoned in from the scene or information that was being communicated to them by such organizations as SLCC—that is, the Southern Leadership Christian Conference—and SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, or CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality, and other similar groups, none of which had an established reputation for reliability.

And it was this kind of information that both UPI and AP transmitted at least for a period of weeks. And in so doing, in my view, they defaulted their responsibility, not only to their member newspapers, but to the entire craft of journalism. True, in some instances, I think, both services made sporadic

(continued on next page)

—Wide World Photo

POLICE DOG in Birmingham, Ala. Says a Southern editor: "It appears to me that police dogs snarl only in Birmingham . . . though dogs have been pressed into service at race demonstrations in Chicago, New York, Connecticut."



—UPI Photo

MOUNTED POLICEMAN in Louisiana. This picture was printed in two New York newspapers, with differing captions. Asks the editor: "Was the trooper turning back a mob, or was he charging helter-skelter into a mass of helpless humanity?" It depended, he says, on which newspaper's caption was read.

RACE INCIDENT in Pennsylvania. If this were in the South, says the editor, "press of the nation would wring every ounce of prejudice out of it."

—Wide World Photo

. . . Wire services "have finally achieved a measure of balance"

attempts to check the information. But the fact is that the two wire services did not follow through on what is fundamentally their job, and that's simply to get the facts.

Now, after a passage of two years, I think the services have finally achieved a measure of balance. Instead of willy-nilly shooting onto the wires the unsubstantiated claims and reports of these racial militants, they now are asking the countering questions from other sources and they're asking the questions that any newspaperman would ask. As a result, I think the racial stories today are much more evenly reported, and I think the stories now indicate that all the white people are not, as in the view of Elijah Muhammad [head of the Black Muslim movement], pure devils, nor, conversely, are all Negroes merely money-mad.

But it seems to me that in the intervening period between the Albany case and the march on Washington in August of 1963 there was a lot of sloppy reporting, a completely warped view of what we all recognize as an extremely complex social condition. I believe that the reporting was one-sided and that it damaged the images of many communities and, certainly, many States in the South. I think the wire services are greatly to blame. . . .

Northern Editor: "Good Job on Big Picture"—but Not on Details

Bower Hawthorne, *executive news editor of "The Minneapolis Star" and "The Minneapolis Tribune":* I'm from the "Deep North," and I'm in favor of integration. I think the wire services, in general, have done a pretty good job of covering the racial story—the big picture of it, the conflicts and the turmoil, the big events.

I don't think they've done as good a job as they might have done in giving us the details, giving us the feeling and, particularly, in reporting the successes, the progress that is being made in many communities in the South quietly and steadily and which I think in the long run are going to be more important than some of the flashes that we get so spectacularly.

The main theme that I'd like to introduce is the feeling that this story has moved or is moving north much faster than most of us realize. I think that, if the wire services have any great failure, it has been in failing to put that story into focus and to keep reporting that story—in Minneapolis, in Chicago, in Detroit and all of the rest of the way across the northern part of the country.

"Deep-Seated Bigotry" in the North

There is a much more deep-seated prejudice and bigotry and resistance to the Negro emancipation in the North, I think, than most of us realize.

Minneapolis is perhaps the large city in which Negroes have it better than in any other large city in the country. The Negro population there is relatively small. The Negroes who live in Minneapolis and St. Paul are relatively well educated. They, for a generation, in most cases, at least, have had the advantages of integrated Northern schools and job opportunities that Negroes generally don't have in the South. But, until the last few years, they have lived in Negro ghettoes and have been held apart from the rest of the community because they're relatively few and they've been in service jobs.

Now that they are moving out into the better neighborhoods, moving into schools that they had not been in before, we are finding the same kinds of resistance that are going on in the South. It is not nearly as dramatic, not nearly as obvious, but we get it as editors and reporters on our newspapers—a growing pressure, a growing complaint, from our readers about the things that are going on in Minneapolis.

We, incidentally, have just completed the preparation of a series for "The Star" about the circumstances, economic and social circumstances, of Negroes in Minneapolis. This is a job that we've done periodically for 15 or 20 years. It's one that we are reporting steadily day in and day out. "The Milwaukee Journal" has just completed running a similar series on the conditions in Milwaukee. I think this is something that most of us in the North have neglected. I'm a little proud of us because I think we've done a better job than most Northern newspapers, but I think all of us have to do even better, looking at the story in our own communities.

Now, I'd like to have the wire services tell us in Minneapolis more about what is going on in Chicago, what's going on in Milwaukee, what's going on in Detroit, across the Northern part of the country, as well as telling us the Southern story.

We're getting increasing complaints from our readers that we are overplaying the integration story. Some of our white readers are getting tired of reading so much about it. Perhaps we are overplaying the story. But I think that this is the biggest story of our time, and I think one of our definite responsibilities is to make our readers realize this and prepare them for the inevitable change that is taking place.

Carolina Editor: In New York Newspapers, "Prejudices Show"

Robert Hitt, *editor of "The Charleston [S. C.] Post":* Charleston's population in the city is approximately 50 per cent white and 50 per cent Negro. In the public schools, the population is almost 4-to-1 Negro.

I made the trip from South Carolina to Chicago to ask this question: Are the lofty ideals of objective journalism being applied to the race-relations story by the American press?

The racial story is not a regional story. As a matter of fact, the South has never held a monopoly on this problem, though countless readers of non-Southern newspapers have long been led to believe that violence cannot be racial unless it carries a Southern dateline. In countless instances involving the racial story, objective journalism has been crushed to earth deliberately and, I suspect, with malice aforethought.

I point the finger of accusation particularly at the New York press with which I am familiar, and I charge that, in their crusade to wipe bias from the face of America, they have themselves—often and willy-nilly—allowed their own prejudices to show shamefully.

In more recent weeks, I have been somewhat heartened by a feeling that objectivity is making a weak rally among some of the prime offenders, and they have at last been forced to admit reluctantly that the race problem does not stop at the "magnolia line." I attribute this not to a stirring of non-Southern journalistic consciences but to the fact that racial violence and civil disobedience has spread from the "land of mint juleps and wool hats" to the more sophisticated areas north of Virginia and west of Little Rock.

Even "The New York Times" and "The New York Herald Tribune" have shown some signs of impatience with illegal mobbery. As long as the violence was hemmed in by the Mason-Dixon Line, those great voices shouted out encouragement to the demonstrators. But when the sounds from mass

. . . "The whole nation now shares South's racial problems"

sit-ins and lie-ins seeped through the cracks in Manhattan's ivory towers, both "The Times" and "The Tribune" did a doubletake and whispered softly, "Hold! Enough!"

With all that, it appears to me still that police dogs snarl only in Birmingham and mounted policemen charge into crowds of helpless people only in Louisiana, though it is a fact that police dogs and mounted police have been pressed into service at racial demonstrations in Chicago, New York, Connecticut and other points where racial prejudice has been outlawed for generations.

["The Chicago Tribune," in reference to this remark, has pointed out that "there have been no mounted policemen in Chicago for more than 15 years."]

On August 2 of this year we received a story out of Chicago saying police dogs had been sent to the scene of a racial outbreak. We asked for pictures. Chicago messaged back, "Pix of police dogs at scene of racial disturbance unavailable."

Early in the summer, when we got a story about a number of persons being injured at a racial outburst in Harlem, we asked for pictures and got the same reply—no pictures available. The inability of the wire services and the great newspapers in two of the largest cities in the world to get even one Brownie camera to the scene of racial violence left me somewhat aghast.

I could not help but recall that a regiment of cameramen happened to be just at the right place at precisely the right time in Birmingham when a police dog grabbed a Negro boy by the arm. Yet in Chicago or in New York, nary a lens could be mounted.

One Picture—Two Interpretations

The day I began preparing these remarks, I clipped a picture from "The New York Times" and "The New York Herald Tribune"—the same picture. I have these clippings here for the benefit of any purist who might desire documentation. The picture was moved by UPI.

The cut lines in "The Times" say that the photo shows a Louisiana State trooper turning back demonstrators in Plaquemines, La., where Negroes had been demonstrating.

The cut lines in "The Herald Tribune" gave a slightly different interpretation. I quote: "Mounted Louisiana trooper charges into crowd of Negro demonstrators in Plaquemines, La.," said "The Tribune."

Now, was the trooper turning back a mob, or was he charging helter-skelter with flying hooves into a mass of helpless humanity? That depends on whether you read "The Times" or "The Tribune."

* * *

Now, this sort of fetches me up to a point I wish to make: They say the camera doesn't lie. Maybe that is so. But the product of a camera can be distorted by the hands of an artist or the brains of an unrestrained caption writer.

* * *

Let me say that the South has racial problems which do not lend themselves to easy solutions. The whole nation now shares these problems, and I do not think solutions will come in Chicago or New York or anywhere else if the press does not return to some degree of objectivity and quit trying to inflame race against race and section against section. Distorted reporting, the use of pictures which take a convenient and sensational center slice out of a sequence of events can arouse racial passions which simmer in all human breasts, both white and colored. The South has been a convenient whipping boy in this matter for a long time. While we are not insensitive to regional slander, we have learned to live with it.

On Aug. 30, 1963—this year—the public schools of Charleston were integrated for the first time, without an insult or a stone or an egg being hurled, without the slightest hint of racial incident.

The very same day, in Pennsylvania, State troopers were called in to help policemen clear a path through an angry crowd of white people so a Negro family could move into an apartment. We received a picture from Philadelphia showing three burly troopers hauling one white youth away. One trooper had the boy tightly around the neck. The other two clamped his arms to his side as they dragged him away. . . .

Then I gazed at the ceiling of my editorial-writing room and I whispered to myself, "Thank God that boy is white and it happened in Philadelphia. If he were black and it happened in Charleston on this day of school integration, then there surely would be hell to pay and the press of the nation would wring every ounce of prejudice and emotionalism out of it."

New York Editor: "Extremists Use Press for Publicity Purposes"

Al Neuharth, general manager, "The Rochester [N. Y.] Democrat & Chronicle": I'd like to begin by posing a question, and then try to answer it at least partially.

The question I would raise and which I think is worth some rather serious consideration is whether some publications—and I would not limit this to newspapers—some publications and broadcasting stations in this country, through their own reporters or cameramen, or through the wire services, are unintentionally serving as publicity agents for racial extremists, either Negro or white.

And I think the answer to that question is at least a qualified "Yes," and, in many instances, an unqualified "Yes."

I think the professional, militant advocates—if you want to call them that—of either white supremacy or of immediate and total integration long have connived to use the news media for their own publicity purposes. Now, I'm sure most editors and publishers are aware of this trap and are taking measures to avoid it. But I'm afraid the extremists are getting away with this in many instances—even now—both in the North and in the South.

For example, a representative of CORE or the NAACP calls a city desk or an editorial room to report or to tip us off that a sit-in demonstration will be staged at a local lunch counter at 2 p.m. and requests that a photographer be sent. If the photographer is not on hand at the appointed hour, the sit-in generally is postponed until the photographer arrives, or sometimes canceled if he doesn't show up.

Another example: A representative of the White Citizens' Council calls the news media to report that pickets will march at the school-board headquarters at 8 a.m. to protest the beginning of integration in the classrooms. He asks, "Will a photographer be on hand?" And if the newsman says, "We'll see," the white supremacist responds by saying, "Well, we have to know in advance, because if there won't be any photographers, we're not going to march."

Now, these are true incidents on city desks on newspapers on which I've worked in Florida, in Michigan or in New York State in recent years. There are many other examples.

Similar calls have been made to your city desks or to your broadcast stations or to your wire-service newsrooms.

Now, when we respond automatically to this sort of thing,

. . . "Are we mismanaging the news? I think some of us are"

are we covering the news, or are we helping to stage it? Are we promoting it?

In our eagerness to report what we all agree is one of the biggest domestic stories of our time, are we mismanaging the news—if you'll pardon the use of that expression—and are we failing to differentiate between the legitimate and the contrived? I think some of us are, or, certainly, some of us have been, and I think that in this area of covering racial news, the wire services—both wire services—certainly must share the blame with any local newspapermen, either in the North or in the South.

I think that both major wire services have done a generally good job—perhaps not an outstanding job, but a generally good job—under what we know are very difficult circumstances in the past year of covering spot racial stories in troubled areas like Oxford or Birmingham or Jackson or the others. I would agree that, in some instances, they seem to have been eager to give greater attention to racial stories which are furthest from their home base. . . .

But I think, more important, the question that the wire services should ask themselves and that we as newspaper editors or publishers should ask ourselves is, "Have we adequately told the other side of the developments along the road to integration—these less spectacular but equally important racial-success stories?" And I think we have not.

Several months ago, we decided on our own Gannett newspapers that we should do this—at least we should make an attempt to balance the daily stories of turmoil and violence in racial news with any success stories that we could find. And we did, and we still are.

* * *

Now, it seems to me when such stories balance the racial news of violence and bloodshed, we are giving our readers the total picture. But when they do not, then I believe we assume the role of publicity agents for the extremists.

* * *

I think what we simply need to do is—all of us as newspapermen or as wire-service people—is to be "gutty" enough to report both the progress and the problems, and to be willing to do it without or with offense, either to clients or members, to readers or politicians in the South or in the North. I don't think enough of us are yet doing this.

Wire-Service Editor: "A Very Difficult Story to Cover"

Roger Tatarian, *executive editor, United Press International:* I think, first off, I'd like to observe that coverage of this story has confirmed what I think every traffic-court judge has discovered long since—mainly that you can get two eyewitnesses to the same accident and they will, in all honesty, come up with rather different versions of what it is that happened before their eyes.

It's been a very difficult story to cover. We have encountered many problems. We have had some slips, quite obviously. I'm encouraged by the feeling among the panelists that some improvement has been made, generally speaking. This will certainly encourage us as we go along.

Now, we have had many occasions to investigate specific complaints from all parts of the country on racial troubles, and I'm happy to say this: that where we have found differences, clashes or discrepancies, we have at least found that these were the result of honest reporting by people, and in no instance was there anything sinister about the different or challenging interpretation that we may have carried on our wires.

The problem here, of course, is the scope of the story. News is not always very co-operative. It doesn't always happen where you have a bureau. We have had to organize, rather, teams of people, really, from the South, who move very rapidly from place to place as the story shifts. There are many places, obviously, where you do not have full-time staff, where you have stringers, you have tipsters. We, like any newspaper, get tips from many sources, and I think any newspaperman has a responsibility of following up these tips, regardless of where they come from.

* * *

Well, one thing we have learned, and I think almost every panelist this morning has made a point of this—we have learned of the necessity to sit back and get outside of the hurly-burly of the spot news of importance—and try to sit back and add up and assess what it is that's been going on, what it is that has been accomplished.

In Albany, Ga., "Racial Relations Today Are Much Worse"

Thomas L. Boardman, *editor of "The Indianapolis [Ind.] Times," and moderator of the panel, then called for questions from other editors and publishers. The first questioner was unidentified.*

Q: I would like to ask Mr. Gray what is his newspaper in Albany doing about the local handling of such situations? What is the situation in Albany?

Mr. Gray: In our handling of the racial story, I have tried very deliberately to give an impartial coverage of the news story—particularly so because, as I expressed in my opening remarks, the first stories coming out on the national wires were so obviously distorted. . . .

You've got to realize that 48 per cent of the population in Albany, Ga., is colored, and 52 [per cent] white. If there were no communications we couldn't operate as a community.

What happened in our town was that we were set upon by a group of professionals. And the most serious of their infringements, not only against our local laws, was the fact that they were using primarily children—teen-agers and some as young as 9 years old—for demonstration purposes.

Story "Which Was Never Reported"

Now, another thing that you've got to recognize about the Albany situation is this: We're talking about biracial committees—well, we've had biracial committees in Albany, Ga., since 1946, which was never reported in the national news at the time that the story broke.

Another thing was that there were several areas in our community that were already integrated—the airport, for example. Now, King [Dr. Martin Luther King] chose to make a demonstration at the train station. We have one train a day. We have several airplane flights and the whites and the coloreds use them together.

In other words, what obtained in Albany, Ga., was this: that, over a period of years, a series of integrations in various aspects of our social movements had been going on, and peacefully. The minute that King came in everything stopped and, of course, the minute that the news

. . . "Fight is going to be just as tough in North as in South"

stories were accenting the friction between the races, you could see a wall of resentment developing between the whites and the coloreds.

I would say that racial relations in Albany, Ga., today are much worse than they were when I first came there as an outsider back after World War II. . . .

Mr. Boardman: As an extension of this question, I wonder if I might ask Robert Hitt how his paper handled the story of school integration in Charleston, S. C.

In Charleston, S. C., "We Didn't Have Any Good Violence"

Mr. Hitt: In Charleston, we were selected several years ago as a focal point for racial demonstrations in 1963—the 100th anniversary of the emancipation—because it is felt by some people that Charlestonians had something to do 100 years ago with creating conditions which brought about the "war of Northern aggression."

Our demonstrations began as soon as school was out in June, and they continued all summer—day and, frequently, at night.

The Chamber of Commerce, happily or unhappily, realizes that Charleston harvested very little publicity out of it, because we didn't have any good violence.

We had one incident of violence which erupted in a riot in front of the newspaper plant at 11 o'clock at night. I think there was dissatisfaction among some of our readers with the amount of publicity we were or were not giving to the daily story. In that particular riot, seven people were injured. They were all policemen. But the white community never interfered with these daily demonstrations. They figured—I assume—that people had a right to picket, demonstrate. They picketed and demonstrated all summer long. . . .

We had no book to go by, and I dare say no newspaper has for a story of this dimension in its community.

Our job was to try to tell the public from day to day what had happened and what would happen. We found early that we'd have to quit telling them what would happen, because frequently what people said was going to happen never did happen. They would be a little expansive on plans and not come out with the product. And so our first policy was:

"We're not going to print any advance notices on what's going to happen tomorrow because we can't rely on the people having enough control over the demonstrators to achieve what they set out to do."

But we kept the story on the local page throughout, until the violence occurred. We moved it to the front page, and as long as State troopers were in the community—which was about a week—we kept the story on the front. Then, when it simmered down, we moved it back to the local page.

But when the school matter came up and the federal-court decision was handed down only about three weeks before school opened, I met only once with the school board and they were horrified, and I'll tell you, literally horrified, at the prospect that a great regiment of correspondents from everywhere would come running down there to see if they could stir up a story.

Actually, I think there might have been two or three out-of-town correspondents.

We said that schools were going to be integrated on August 30. On August 30, they got integrated. They had one policeman at each school, and he sat around chewing his fingernails. Nothing ever happened. This excited no publicity and no attention, and this may go along with what Al Neuharth said: Here was a community—I don't say happily integrated the schools, but they did it, because that was the only thing to do. We're not ready to start another war. We came out pretty bad on that last one.

* * *

In New York City, "More Phony Progress Has Been Claimed"

Turner Catledge, *managing editor, "The New York Times":* I would like to hear some discussion about the coverage of the racial situation in the North. We've had open season on the South here now for some time, and it seems to me that—especially when you read the editorial pages in the North—some people are too much concerned about what's going on somewhere else and too little concerned about what's going on right at their own door. Also, how have we reported the "progress" in the North in this matter?

In my own city of New York, I think there's more phony progress been claimed than most any place I know. When the shakedown comes you find the laws you've passed are not adequate. Are we reporting that? . . .

There seems to be a disposition, especially on our editorial pages, to demand that the Southerners accept some sort of an emotional change in this matter, which they're not going to do. Integration is coming in the South. It's coming very slowly, but it's not wanted. Is it wanted any more in Minnesota, or in New York? I think those are the questions that our readers are entitled to have us explore.

Mr. Hawthorne: I agree with you completely on that. I think that the story in the North is rapidly becoming more difficult to cover and more important to cover than the story in the South. We are covering it in Minneapolis, and things are not all good. There is a great deal of resistance, particularly the emotional resistance of whites—even with our relatively small Negro population. As Negroes move into better neighborhoods and become more a factor in the community, the prejudices are rising, the bigotry is rising among our white population. And even though the numerical story is much different in the North, I think the fight is going to be just as tough, in the long run, in the North as it is in the South.

Mr. Catledge: Another thing I'd like to suggest is—if you've looked into the validity of some of the progress that we're talking about in the North. For instance, we built an enormous housing project in the neighborhood of Harlem in New York. What we have done there, we have just put our slums into a bigger building, put it behind a beautiful façade.

Now, are we going into those places to see how they're being conducted, how life is improving, or whether life is improving or not?

Also, in certain areas of the North—in New York, in Pennsylvania, for instance—the integration picture is changing. The fight for integration is shifting and the problem of integration is shifting. It's getting into being a problem of so-called imbalance in schools and housing and things of that sort. Also, in the North to what degree are Negro citizens being integrated into better life, into better jobs, into better positions? But are we going into those things? And also this violence that we tend to overlook. Now, violence in New York or violence in Rochester is just as violent. There are people hurt just as badly when they're hit as they do in Albany, Ga. [END]

Press, Radio, T.V. & Magazines
VJ
SB
PA
BP

Advisory Council on Plans for Progress

INFORMATION NEWS LETTER

No. 2, November 25, 1963

PLANS FOR PROGRESS FILM TO BE SHOWN NATIONALLY

The Reader's Digest, in conjunction with an article appearing in the December issue, has prepared a thirty-minute film entitled "Our Quiet Race Revolution." The film will be released to 150 TV stations for showing on or about December 1, under the general program heading, "All America Wants to Know." The sound tract will also be released to 1100 radio stations.

The film includes interviews with Hobart Taylor, Jr., executive vice chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and Jackie Robinson. Minority group employees, filmed on the job, will tell how they prepared for opportunities in industry. Emblems of representative Plans for Progress companies will be used in an opening scene.

Companies may wish to publicize the showing in their employee publications. If so, it is suggested that they check with their local stations for the date and time of the showing in their locality.

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity plans to obtain copies of the film to be loaned to companies and community groups for showing. Requests should be directed to the address shown below.

NEWSPAPERS FEATURE PLANS FOR PROGRESS

Enclosed are reprints of two recent newspaper articles on Plans for Progress. One, from the Providence Journal-Bulletin, is an interview with G. William Miller, president of Textron, Inc. and chairman of the Advisory Council, in which he clearly describes the objectives and activities of the Plans for Progress Advisory Council. The other, a first page feature story in the New York Times and carried by the Associated Press, contains an interview with G. A. McLellan, administrative director of the Plans for Progress office. It highlights by statistics and cases the progress which has been made by Plans for Progress companies in providing equal employment opportunity for salaried positions.

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THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
Address Inquiries to: Advisory Council on Plans for Progress - Telephone:
700 Jackson Place, N. W. A-302 Area Code 202
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equated, in resolute contradition of any known facts, with the attitude of the "radical right"—specifically the attitude of those who favor racial segregation. We are urged to purge ourselves of a poison which the dreadful act in Dallas supposedly has revealed in our blood stream.

The sermons are sincere and, hopefully, edifying as well. But they happen to be irrelevant to the death of Mr. Kennedy.

Segregation is morally wrong. A political program based on the repeal of the income tax is fiscally simple minded. But neither one had anything to do with the murder.

If it is absurd to try to blame the assassination on the political right, it is yet more absurd to insinuate that it was the result of something dreadfully wrong with American political life as a whole. Until we know something different, the reasonable assumption must be that the assassination was the result of something dreadfully wrong in the mind of Lee Oswald.

It would be good and desirable if the world could now abjure all hatred. But since hatred still exists 1,900 years after the crucifixion, it is unhappily unlikely that it will vanish now.

Meanwhile, the continuing hysteria about national hatred as the central feature of this national tragedy does us a national injustice. It ignores, too, the most obvious expression of national feeling.

The line of mourners formed at the Capitol a week ago is still moving.

It may be seen in Dallas, where citizens bring flowers to the place in the road where the President was shot.

It may be seen across the Potomac, where Americans are coming in thousands to visit his grave.

It may be seen in the spontaneous and universal actions taken to reverence the memory of the martyred leader by giving his name to places and institutions that will endure.

Surely it is this outpouring of love and grief which speaks truly of the state of the Nation.

[From the Charleston, (S.C.) News and Courier, Dec. 1, 1963]

FALSE INDICTMENT: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOT GUILTY

(From an editorial in the Wall Street Journal)

In the shock of these past few days it is understandable that Americans should find their grief mingled with some shame that these events should happen in their country. We all stand a little less tall than we did last Friday morning.

Yet, for our own part, we find past understanding the remarks of some otherwise thoughtful men who, in their moment of shock, would indict a whole nation with a collective guilt.

It seems to us that they themselves have yielded to the hysteria they would charge to others, and in so doing show that their own country is past their understanding.

Anyone who has been reading the newspapers, listening to the radio or watching television has heard these men; they include public commentators, members of our Congress and men of God. And the substance of what they charge is that the whole of the American people—and by inclusion, the ways of the American society—are wrapped in a collective guilt for the murder of a President and the murder of a murderer.

A Senator said that the responsibility lay on "the people of Dallas" because this is where the events took place. A spokesman for one group of our people said the Nation was "reaping the whirlwind of hatred." One of our highest judges said the President's murder was stimulated by the "hatred and malevolence" that are "eating their way into the bloodstream of American life." A newspaper of great renown passed judgment that "none of us can escape a share of the fault for the spiral of violence." And these were but a few among many.

Such statements can only come from men who have not been abroad in the land, neither paused to reflect how the events came about nor observed in what manner the whole American people have responded to tragedy.

A President lies dead because he moved freely among the people. He did so because he was beloved by many people, respected by all, and because everywhere people turned out in great numbers to pay him honor. In a society of tyranny the heads of state move in constant fear of murder, cordoned behind an army of policemen. It is the fundamental orderliness of the American society that leads Presidents to move exposed to all the people, making possible the act of a madman.

In the tragedy there is blame, surely, for negligence. In retrospect, perhaps, it was negligent of a President himself not to be aware that there are ever madmen in the world; yet it is a negligence born of courage and confidence. It was negligent of the police authorities, perhaps, not to search and cover every corner, every window, which might shield a madman; yet it was a negligence born of years of proven trust in the crowds of Americans through which Presidents have safely moved.

But this is something different from the charge in the indictment.

It is more than nonsense to say that the good people of Dallas, crowding the streets to honor a President, share a murderous guilt; or that the tragic acts of madmen cast a shadow on the whole of America.

Such an indictment is vicious.

WHY PICK ON DALLAS?

We rise to the defense of Dallas, Tex.

Many commentators and public figures have used the phrase, "the shame of Dallas" in suggesting that a million people in that area must take the major blame, and do penance for the horrible act of one mentally disturbed young man who was, after all, a newcomer in their midst.

Certainly the residents and officials of that unhappy city are expressing an extra measure of shock and grief at their direct witnessing of our Nation's tragedy. That is understandable. But it is not their shame or their failure.

This youth originated in the Bronx, where as a grade school pupil he was given a psychiatric examination, was found to be maladjusted, and to have "potentially dangerous" tendencies. If a city is to be held responsibile for him, the primary responsibility was in the Bronx, which had its chance to set the boy straight, and failed. Yet nobody has come forward with the suggestion that the Bronx should put on sackcloth and ashes.

Oswald went to high school in Fort Worth, and his former classmates there have said he was a "loner" and an oddball. But if Dallas should point the finger of blame at its nearest rival, Fort Worth would indignantly reject the accusation.

The young killer spent 2 years in the Soviet Union; he tried to resign his American citizenship; he married a Russian wife; he devoured Marxist literature as what he called his "personal Bible." But, strange to say, it has not been suggested that the blame for his confusion should rest in the city of Moscow.

He went to New Orleans, where he worked with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, definitely proved by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security to be a Communist front. Pictures of Oswald passing out Communist circulars on the streets of New Orleans were shown to the whole Nation. Yet we have heard nobody express the opinion that New Orleans is a culprit city.

Oswald's travel expenses from Russia back to this country were paid for with money advanced by the State Department, yet Washington is not asked to share the blame for what happened.

Why, then, should Dallas be called upon to undergo the ordeal of recrimination because Lee Harvey Oswald arrived there by way of the Bronx, Fort Worth, New Orleans, Moscow, and Washington with his mind made up, his personality already warped into a pattern which emerged soon after in a heinous crime that has been universally condemned?

If any city were dissected the way Dallas has been, the publicity would reveal the same sort of elements of hate and strife, and would most of all reveal the general lack of concern that allows them to breed. We have a long way to go in detecting and diagnosing mental illness, and in knowing what to do to keep it from being a public menace. The blame does not lie with the city of Dallas, but with all humanity. We can fix the blame for individual failures and mistakes there, but there are potential killers walking the streets of every city of the world. The real question is, "What are we going to do about them—and for them?"

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on December 3, Mr. LeRoy Collins, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, spoke in Columbia, S.C., and accused the South with guilt for the assassination of President Kennedy. In a speech which professed to deplore hate, Mr. Collins resorted to the most intemperate charges in his unfounded and completely unjustified attack on the people of the Southern States. For one who professes to abhor the emotion of hate, Mr. Collins proves himself singularly adept at verbally purveying this most violent emotion. If Mr. Collins had prepared for months to the end of arousing the strongest possible emotional reaction, he could not have done a more thorough job than he did accomplish with his speech in Columbia on December 3. I ask unanimous consent that a number of newspaper editorials and articles commenting on the remarks of Mr. Collins be reprinted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. INOUYE in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, perhaps the most concise appraisal of Mr. Collins' speech appeared at the conclusion of an editorial in the Nashville Banner of Nashville, Tenn., of December 5. This editorial stated:

> If Mr. Collins professes to believe what he has said, he is infected by a germ of extreme aberrations, and employers should dump him as a very sick man.

Mr. President, so vicious and so unfounded are the attempts to fix blame for the President's assassination on either the southerners or the conservatives, that there arises a suspicion that those who make such charges are much more incensed that the assassination was not perpetrated by a member of the American groups which they so despise and on which they attempt to place the guilt for any real or imagined defects in the American society, than they were over the fact of the assassination of the President itself.

If the guilt for the tragic and dastardly assassination of the President is

to be placed on a broader base than the individual or individuals who actually participated in the assassination, then the guilt must logically be placed on those who purvey the insidious ideology of communism, for it is they who are the real purveyors of class warfare, bigotry, hatred, and violence in the world today.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Nashville Banner, Dec. 5, 1963]

LEROY COLLINS, ET AL—THE FACTS ARE IGNORED BY HUCKSTERS OF HATE

Peddlers of demagogy carry their own sample kit, and LeRoy Collins—who was a "liberal" politician before becoming president of the National Broadcasters Association—went fully equipped in that particular for his Tuesday evening mission to South Carolina. There he let go with one more swipe with the smear brush at the South—his allegation being that the assassination of President Kennedy was fostered by "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence."

Desperation can lead to hysteria, it is true—and maybe the charitable thing would be to ascribe this vitriol to ignorance. But Mr. Collins is not a run-of-mine ignoramus. He is the purposeful protagonist of a point of view so foreign to truth that it can only be intended, not to enlighten on facts, but obscure them; not to ameliorate and solidify, but to excite passions of the hate pack with which he clearly runs. Whose ideological bread he eats, their chant he joins.

"Look," they say drooling for another bite of the infected morsel, "he's singing our song."

As a divisive demagogue, thus deliberately ignoring facts of record, he fits into the pattern of the propagandists dispensing entirely with fact to pin guilt just anywhere except where it belongs. The South is their target; therefore they act, to a man, as if they had never heard of Lee Harvey Oswald; nor are aware that as triggerman he was an avowed pro-Castro Communist, doing that enemy's business.

To these, mention of the Communist connection seems to be a mustn't-mustn't. It's still more expedient, apparently, to persist in the assertion—launched at the outset as a spontaneous defamation—that southern hate killed John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

Some of the commentators among Mr. Collins' colleagues have been persisting in that. They have been addicted to that hate needle by long use; their Operation Dixie rigging the picture for their own propaganda spiel, and playing pundit to the point of difficult extrication when facts of record leave them stranded, to squirm on their own hook.

If Mr. Collins has been listening exclusively to these for his information, it would be understandable that he is totally uninformed; still one would expect somebody going out on the lecture circuit, to discuss a matter of utmost gravity, to at least have a brush with facts before mounting the rostrum.

That the ex-Governor of Florida finds himself thus in the company of Chief Justice Earl Warren is not a circumstance augmenting his stature; the latter also delivered himself of a similar diatribe—no less shockingly wide of the truth because it was an offhand observation—voiced immediately after the President's death before the Red ideology of the killer was known. Nevertheless he repeated his scattergun blast of hate as he stood at Mr. Kennedy's bier in the Capitol Rotunda. Of the three who delivered eulogies, only Warren used the sad and solemn occasion to hurl a jarring note of anger by assigning guilt to fellow Americans.

It is nothing less than peculiar that the insulting conclusions reached by this school of South-baiting extremists parallel the charges peddled by Tass and Izvestia. The propaganda line being circulated by the latter in Russia is that President Kennedy was the victim of a Southern assassination plot. And it is the line emphasized at every opportunity by most of the commentators featured by the medium that pays Mr. Collins' salary. Apparently for pay, the former Governor of Florida takes his cue and turns traitor to his own region, which bears the name of Dixie. Characteristically, no mention of the fact that Lee Oswald was a pro-Castro Marxist, and working member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Most of Washington knows the score on that, even if for the moment it isn't talking much about it. There are facts still to come out; but salient facts already have emerged.

Senator JOHN TOWER, of Texas, hit the nail on the head when he rebuked those who blame American "society" for the Presidential murder. "These people overlook the simple fact—or refuse to admit it—that Lee Harvey Oswald was not fashioned by our society. His mind was, in fact, fashioned by the propaganda of Marx, an atheist who laid the foundation of communism.

"Let us remember," he added, "that in talking about extremists, in talking about the purveyors of hate, that the real purveyors of hate in this world, the real fomenters of class war and bigotry are the Communists; and the real disease of this world is Communist imperialism."

Among those refuted by the facts stated are the pundits striving to manufacture of this tragedy a propaganda case for their own further purveyance.

Infamies heaped upon the South this time are so transparently false that the entire Nation must see them for what they are.

If Mr. Collins professes to believe what he has said, he is infected by a germ of extreme aberrations, and employers should dump him as a very sick man.

[From the Edgefield Advertiser, Dec. 4, 1963]

THE COLLINS SPEECH IN COLUMBIA

There is the account of the speech of former Governor Collins in Columbia yesterday with bold heading on the front page of this morning's paper. Too much of the speech is untruth, and on the whole it is a misrepresentation spoken in the face of southern people.

Mr. Collins is now president of the National Association of Broadcasters whose monopoly for propaganda is today the most powerful single voice in the country. Whether it is used with the best taste, in the best national interest, is questionable, but it and its president are adept at propaganda.

The building of a new world through the airways engages much of the time of Mr. Collins, one may be sure. Not content with visiting the homes of the South through remote broadcast of entertainment, he comes into the Deep South to the capital of the Secession State, to preach against the South's evil, which he says is segregation.

It is typical and unfortunate that as men move into positions of power they lose something of the values that made them what they were, but are no longer.

The greatest power is not always at the top, and that is why centralization, seeking perfection in the whole, is bereft of the means of achieving it.

Dictatorship may have many good reasons for acceptance, but it has been historically true that dictatorship and the ultimate ideals of good have been two separate and distinct things.

People naturally and historically resent intrusion; for there is no absolute power except in the conscience of the individual, and there is no power to be respected above one's own convictions.

Mr. Collins has been drawn into the central establishment of power in the United States, which assumes that it can engineer a new social order from the top.

The baptism of power is often fatal; and, in a country of liberty, it is only power that can destroy it. Mr. Collins, who blames the South for the assassination of President Kennedy, would deny criticism, opposition, the spoken and written word, it seems. He would deny the very freedoms that are conscienceful forces in our country dedicated to maintaining our freedoms.

Destroy them, and the well of liberty has gone dry.

Years ago in the days of steam pumps, an engineer was being examined for graduation, when his examiner proposed the following question: "Suppose you have a steam pump constructed for a ship, under your own supervision, and know that everything is in perfect working order yet, when you throw out the hose, it will not draw. What would you think?"

"I should think, sir, there should be a defect somewhere."

"But such a conclusion is not admissable, for the supposition is, that everything is perfect, and yet it will not work."

"Then, sir, I should look over the side to see if the river had run dry."

Those who stand in positions of power inevitably want to create a perfect machine, which now in contemplation is a new world order without freedom.

When, along the way, will they learn that no matter how perfect the machine is designed, the river of liberty, which is life itself, is to be reckoned with, too?

One must agree with Mr. Collins that politicians have misled the people into believing that the public law in time will uphold segregation. Segregation will never be a public ideal. It is a private, personal matter, embraced by freedom, but not by the law.

The idea that men are created equal, he said, "is an idea that can never be stopped, not by custom, not by prejudice, not by hate, not by murder, not by armies, not by any mortal force * * * has the invincibility of simple truth, justice and right."

With all that most southerners agree, and anyone of heart and reason must ever wish that it will be so. It is a great ideal.

But there is no known order, in all history, no system of Government, no manmade laws, no army bayonet, no appropriation of funds, or anything else that can be done to bring about equality without first the complete destruction of freedom; for ultimate equality is an ideal of freedom, not of power.

And, while so many leaders talk of advancing the cause of humanity, of moving forward in social and economic fields—all of which sounds so promising and so winning—they seldom say that a dictatorship could get it all done quickly and easily; but that is what they would say, if they wanted to be truthful all the way, which Mr. Collins has not been. But he did say this—thanks to his frankness—"The advancement of all rights * * * as we know, will occur with the overt aid of the National Government * * *."

And, all the while, the power establishment softens its approach to the dictators of the world who are committed to bury us all, and to whom freedom is the sinister evil.

In the power establishment—closely supported by the National Association of Broadcasters—the leaders, the public casually observes, are nearly all millionaires or very rich; and this is so on nearly all leadership levels, the wealth of government having its courtiers now as it did in the early days of royalty.

It becomes importunate that they gather before humanity a set of ideals attractive to the masses, and that they crusade to justify their power and good fortune, to soothe their conscience, to seem to supply a high service and thus to further their own interest—to

accomplish what they would like to be given credit for but are not competent either to conceive or to administer.

And like the infallible kings of old, while what they say is a form of power itself, they themselves contribute almost nothing. Like the royalty of ancient times, their work consists of spending money taken from the pockets of the people.

[From the Augusta Chronicle, Dec. 6, 1963]

THE MOTE IN COLLINS' EYE

Not in his most genial mood was Leroy Collins known, as far as we can ascertain, as a Dixiephile. Rather, the former Florida Governor has long been recognized as holding little regard for anything—man or beast—residing below the Mason and Dixon line.

That became evident during his tenure as chairman of the southern Governors' conference as well as when he presided over the National Democratic Convention. Nothing he had to say could have been construed as being complimentary to the section of the Nation which had been so good to him.

Even so, there was an absence of vitriol in what Collins had to say about the South. It was damaging, but not dirty.

Now, however, as it has for so many other misdirected Americans, the assassination of President Kennedy has so unbalanced Collins' rationality that we find him unleashing against the South a hatred which seems even more extreme than that which he charges to it.

His address before the Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce was a smear of all things southern, carrying with it the implication that the South colluded in the murder of President Kennedy.

He named no officeholders in his remarks, but it was obvious that he referred to elected officials of this area when he asked how long "are the majority of southerners going to allow themselves to be caricatured by these Claghorns."

And, as though it were an everyday occurrence unique to the South and condoned by the South, he asked: "How many Sunday school children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the chest? How many Presidents have to be assassinated?"

It must be presumed that Mr. Collins, in this wholly unfair reference, holds the southern politicians responsible for the violence that has come as the outgrowth of civil rights demands. In so doing, he charges the basest of crimes to men who are motivated not by the hate and extremism that the former Florida governor himself exhibits, but by deep convictions that states rights are guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution, and that compulsion is neither the way to gain integration nor admiration.

In the soul-filled dislike which he displays for the South, Collins lays to it the abhorrent assassination of President Kennedy as he conveniently ignores the Communist background of the alleged assassin.

It is understandable, in that he, as president of the National Association of Broadcasters, brazenly and banefully, vents his spleen against this region in a chamber of commerce address, how it is that so many members of his current profession—those especially in network positions—are utterly intolerant of the South and the southern viewpoint.

In their hate of us, they fail to see their own.

[From the News and Courier, Dec. 6, 1963]

THE COLLINS INSULT

Besides insulting millions of southerners with public blame for President Kennedy's murder, former Gov. Leroy Collins, of Florida managed in his speech at Columbia to work in a specific insult to a southern family by the name of Claghorn.

The late Fred Allen, one of the greatest American comics of our time, invented a character with a southern accent and called him Senator Claghorn. Members of the Claghorn clan may not have liked this use of the name but at least they could enjoy Mr. Allen's harmless humor.

The venom in Mr. Collin's barb about "these Claghorns"—whom he linked with several murders, including Mr. Kennedy's—is something altogether different. At least one descendant of a Claghorn—a name with an honorable record in American history—has already expressed the resentment that we are confident is spreading throughout this region. Mrs. B. Ellis deTreville of Beaufort, whose mother was a Claghorn, has said she intends to sue Mr. Collins unless he makes a public apology.

We wish it were possible for every affronted southerner, whatever his name and ancestry, to extract an apology from the man, though we are not prepared to say what it would be worth.

[From the Greenville News, Dec. 6, 1963]

LEROY COLLINS' GRIEVOUS ERRORS

We feel for the hosts at the annual meeting of the Columbia Chamber of Commerce and, especially for Gov. Donald S. Russell, who was called upon to introduce former Gov. Leroy Collins of Florida prior to his speech in which he denounced in terms at least as vicious at its most extreme critics have used his native South.

When he declared that "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence" fostered or contributed to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the once politically ambitious Floridian not only libeled the South but the whole Nation.

For the things he said of his own region could be said with just as much truth—or the lack of it—of any other region or of the country as a whole.

We shall not waste time taking Governor Collins' remarks apart and dignifying and further broadcasting them by refuting them. But when he spoke in the most extreme terms of the behavior of what he referred to as a few southern extremists, he committed the selfsame sin of which he was accusing them.

Nothing can be said by us or anyone else to excuse or mitigate some of the bombings, shootings , and other crimes to which Mr. Collins referred in the course of his remarks. But he spoke as if they occurred only in the South, and he certainly knows better than that.

The South has its sick souls, of course. But they are about equally divided between the two extremes on the race issue, which Collins attempted to say was the main cause if not the whole cause of the assassination. The available evidence does not support that thesis.

And, as for the incitement of the sick souls, the kind of man who killed the late John Kennedy is capable of killing anyone for the same paranoid reasons; in fact, they don't need any reasons.

The flames of incitement are already burning within their troubled hearts and twisted minds.

Mr. Collins should know that every region and every community in the country has its potential paranoiac assassins. They strike often, except that their victims are lesser folk than Presidents and we call it murder instead of assassination.

Mr. Collins has committed two grievous errors in addition to embarrassing his hosts.

One is that, like certain others, he has attempted to indict unfairly a whole people for the crime of one man or one small group of men.

The other has t do with the old adage that it's a pretty sorry bird who will foul his own nest.

[From the Montgomery Advertiser, Dec. 5, 1963]

A SWINISH LIBEL

The latest and not least offensive hellmouth to indict the South, and Alabama in particular, for the murder of President Kennedy is a native son—former Gov. Leroy Collins, of Florida, who is now the czar of the National Association of Broadcasters.

Alabamians will remember Collins is the presiding officer at the 1960 Democratic Convention in Los Angeles—prematurely gray, handsome, virile, and a thirst for the vice presidential nomination.

Collins has now hastened to make a finding that upstages the official assassination report to come from the Warren Commission.

The Commission need not consult the FBI, for the elegant, ambitious Collins has ruled that the assassination was the result of "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence."

Collins deposed that the Communist Oswald was inspired by "the rabble-rousers" who urge the country to "stand up and fight" for segregation and States rights.

Collins referred to unnamed southern politicians and asked:

"How long are the majority of southerners going to allow themselves to be caricatured before the Nation by these Claghorns? How many Sunday school children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the chest? How many Presidents have to be assassinated?"

This swinish libel of a people comes from a man who seeks the patronage of other sections. In times past, even Time magazine has slurred Collins as a civil rights phony. It observed in the September 1, 1958, issue:

"With many a pear-shaped preachment * * * Collins has built a reputation as a civil rights statesman, won favorable mention as a southern moderate who might do nicely as a Democratic vice presidential nominee in 1960. But Collins' practice falls far short of his preachment: Not once during his 3 years as Governor has he proposed even a token program for admitting Negro children to white classrooms in Florida's 100-percent segregated public school system."

What Collins now says is designed to stifle political opposition to the Democratic Party. And it is plainly frivolous.

The Communist Oswald was scarcely inspired to his crime by sympathy with States rights.

Oswald was not inspired by either southern or northern agitators. If anything, he was angry because he couldn't get a visa to return to Russia.

Nobody, including Collins, knows with any certainty what impelled Oswald to his horrendous crime. He was a madman of the kind who could have killed Kennedy one day and Khrushchev the next day with equal pleasure.

And something that Collins and his demagogic breed leave up in the air is this: If Oswald murdered Kennedy because of States rights debate, then what explains the equally crazed act that was Jack Ruby murdering Oswald?

[From the State, Dec. 5, 1963]

THE MAN WHO CAME TO DINNER

Agree or disagree with LeRoy Collins, you must give him credit for consistency if not for propriety.

The former Governor of Florida long has wanted to remake the image of the South into something more nearly resembling that of the rest of the Nation. His efforts in that direction were apparent when he was the chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference—and when he was the presiding chairman over the Democratic National Convention in 1960.

Now that he is president of the National Association of Broadcasters, he carries the same uncharitable view of many things and many people of the South. That is his privilege, and we would be the last to stand in his way of sounding off.

But it seemed singularly inappropriate for him to use the annual banquet of the Columbia Chamber of Commerce as an occasion to castigate the South and its spokesmen. We accept, with somewhat qualified gratitude, his differentiation of South Carolina from our sister Southern States. We cannot accept his more general indictment of the South.

Least of all can we accept from him or anyone else the accusation that Southerners are "un-American" in their adherence to values and traditions which have their very origins in the birth of this Nation of ours.

And for him to impute some sort of collective guilt to the South for the assassination of President Kennedy is both inexcusable and insulting.

If he is genuinely concerned with madmen and meanness, he need only look about in the Northern region where he now resides.

The greatest service LeRoy Collins could render the South, and indeed the Nation, would be to use his considerable influence in the world of network broadcasting to throttle those false messiahs of the microphone who glory in misrepresenting all that is decent in Dixie.

[From the Columbia Record, Dec. 5, 1963]

GOVERNOR COLLINS' SPEECH

"A Deep South community does not have to throw itself onto a funeral pyre of hate," the former Governor of Florida, LeRoy Collins, declared in a Columbia speech Tuesday night.

Nor do southerners have to soak themselves in the oil of guilt and set themselves aflame for distant hordes of Saracens to applaud.

Donning the sackcloth of the apologist, he addressed the Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce on "some thoughts that have been brooding in my mind lately. I do not like it when people speak of southerners as if they are not human parts of the United States," he declared. Then, with his customary urbane eloquence, he proceeded to sharpen the lines of misunderstanding and condemnation.

"For too long we have permitted the South's own worst enemies to speak for it," he said. He might have added, "And too often do the South's own best friends speak against it."

"We have allowed the extremists to speak for the South," the former Governor, now president of the National Association of Broadcasters, continued. "They have done it in the national press and on the national radio and television to such an extent that citizens outside the South would be entitled to wonder if they might not need visas to pass through our region. * * * And I ask you tonight, how long are the majority of southerners going to allow themselves to be caricatured before the Nation by these Claghorns?"

The distortion will continue as long as these extremists, these Claghorns, are the only prosouthern voices to which the national press and Governor Collins' own national broadcasters will listen.

The speaker deplored "Dixie battle cries (that) have been employed to incite sick souls to violence," but he ignored the sources of much of the incitement and preachment of hate which are neither Claghorn nor Southern.

"How many Sunday School children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the back? How many Governors have to be shot in the chest? How many Presidents have to be assassinated?" Governor Collins asked, compounding the reckless libel that crime and lawlessness are a hallmark of Southern society.

"It is time the decent people of the South, with all their might and strength," he added, "told the bloody-shirt-wavers to climb down off the buckboards of bigotry." And they should speak loudly enough to be heard afar in the unholy sanctums of intolerance and prejudiced ignorance.

"Too many politicians down our way," the top broadcaster said, "talk defensively of 'States rights' when they and we well know that there can be no such thing as a State's right to default on a national duty." One of the indictments against the South by those who confuse "national duty" with personal ideology is that the South is too American, too patriotic. Where true national duty has been concerned, the people of Dixie have always stood in the forefront and provided a shield against those who would destroy our national character and heritage. They have observed no conflict between loyalty to State and loyalty to Nation.

"Some politicians in other regions of the Nation contend that the South now bears such a stigma before the Nation that it is incapable of producing national leadership," the speaker declared in his conclusion. "And there are even some southerners who parrot the same fallacy."

Yes, Governor, there certainly are.

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Dec. 8, 1963]

BYRNES TAKES ISSUE WITH COLLINS SPEECH

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article is reprinted from the Columbia State:)

James F. Byrnes, in a statement Friday, charged that "if any group has contributed to building a climate of hate it has been the broadcasters."

Mr. Byrnes, former Governor of South Carolina, and Secretary of State, was taking issue with LeRoy Collins, ex-Governor of Florida, who in a Columbia address attributed hate to the South and racial prejudices. Collins is president of the National Association of Broadcasters.

The firing last summer on a Citadel cadet by a young Negro, and the subsequent shot at that institution's president, Gen. Mark Clark, were cited by Mr. Byrnes. "No broadcaster referred to it or denounced it as encouraging a climate of hate," he declared.

Mr. Byrnes refuted the idea that Lee Harvey Oswald was motivated by racial feeling in the killing of President Kennedy. "On the contrary, all the evidence has shown his feelings in favor of the Soviet Government," Mr. Byrnes said.

Following is the text of the statement of Mr. Byrnes:

"Everybody will agree that there should not be developed in any community, or in the country at large, a climate of hatred for an individual or group because of differences in views about political issues. However, Mr. LeRoy Collins spent his time emphasizing that the climate of hate was built up in Birmingham and other southern spots because of race hatred and race prejudices.

"The fact is, in all the thousands of words written about the assassination of President Kennedy, not one witness has offered a statement indicating even that Oswald was motivated by any feeling on the race question. On the contrary, all the evidence has shown his feelings in favor of the Soviet Government which caused him to try to become a citizen of that country and caused him to go to the trouble and expense of advocating Fair Play for Cuba.

"In addition, it is noteworthy that when asked about counsel to represent him, he stated he did not want any Texas lawyer but that he would like to have Mr. Abt, of New York, who first came into public view as a close friend of Alger Hiss and who has been the subject of investigation by some Government agencies.

"Oswald was young. He could not have personally known Abt. His immediately expressed desire to have this lawyer represent him would indicate that he has knowledge of and probably has sympathy with the man who, like Hiss and Lee Pressman, have been active in the causes sympathetic with the Communists.

"The truth is, if any group has contributed to building a climate of hate, it has been the broadcasters, because they have consistently misrepresented the South and a people who are misrepresented necessarily resent such treatment.

"The press carried a statement last summer that a Citadel cadet while driving a young lady home from a dance at the Citadel, was fired upon by a young Negro. The bullet entered his jaw and was removed from his chin. No broadcaster talked about that being due to the climate of hate that was built up.

"Within 48 hours after that incident, Gen. Mark Clark, a distinguished general in the U.S. Army and a hero of the attempted assassination driving to the Citadel was fired upon. The bullet struck his car but fortunately he was not hurt. The press carried a statement of the attempted assassination but so far as we can recall, no broadcaster referred to it or denounced it as encouraging a climate of hate.

"When Oswald, who admittedly is a Communist sympathizer, and who gave the hammer and sickle salute (clenched fist) in the Dallas jail, killed the President of the United States, his act is attributed by Mr. Collins, to a climate of hate growing out of race prejudice."

[From the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier, Dec. 8, 1963]

ORANGEBURG STATION RAPS COLLINS SPEECH

ORANGEBURG.—Radio station WDIX here yesterday took issue with a speech made by former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins to the Columbia Chamber of Commerce.

The editorial stated that Mr. Collins said many extreme and radical things but used the time to comment on only one point made by the president of the National Association of Broadcasters. Mr. Collins said: "The assassination of President Kennedy was fostered by 'Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence.' "

The full text of the editorial follows:

"Speaker at the annual meeting of the Greater Columbia (S.C.) Chamber of Commerce was the Honorable Mr. LeRoy Collins, former Governor of Florida and now the president of the National Association of Broadcasters. The Associated Press reports the broadcasters' president as saying that the assassination of President Kennedy was fostered by "Dixie battle cries which incite sick souls to violence." ' The broadcasters' president said many other extreme and radical things—intolerant and violent things. We will observe only the one thing—that Dixie battle cries fostered the assassination of President Kennedy.

"What Mr. Collins said was equally well said by the three top officers of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—Gus Hall, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Benjamin J. Davis—also reported by the Associated Press that they 'called the President's assassination "the ultimate end * * * by the racists and forces of the ultraright," ' the Communist Party, U.S.A. What the Honorable Mr. Collins said and what the top Reds in the United States said, has also been said by the Communist news agency, Tass, since their first release on President Kennedy's death. The Honorable Mr. Collins, it must be noted, is joined by Chief Justice Earl Warren and the Communists, in a similar view. That is the privilege of Chief Justice Warren and the Communists and the Honorable Mr. Collins—to smear the South, the segregationists,

and 'unnamed southern politicians' who advocate States rights.

"Thank goodness, not all responsible people—like the Honorable Mr. Collins—aline themselves in the manner he has. For instance, in referring to Supreme Court Justice Warren's statement about the 'forces of hatred and malevolence,' the Chicago Tribune said: 'This perverted thesis may be reduced to an attempt, naked and without apology, to liquidate dissent in the United States.' "

STATEMENT OF WALTER J. BROWN, PRESIDENT OF SPARTAN RADIOCASTING CO. AND FORMER PRESIDENT OF SOUTH CAROLINA BROADCASTERS ASSOCIATION

It was "inappropriate" to use the words of the Columbia State, for Governor Collins to use the annual banquet of the Columbia Chamber of Commerce as an occasion "to castigate the South and its spokesmen."

As a broadcaster, I go further and say Governor Collins broke faith with those of us who broadcast his speech when, without warning, he chose the occasion to impugn the motives of most southern leaders over a statewide broadcast which had been set with the written commitment that "Governor Collins will deal with the Government threat to the broadcasting industry."

In fairness to Governor Collins, it should be said that late in the afternoon he released his speech to news media, and Governor Russell, having seen an advance copy, had the opportunity in his introduction to issue a disclaimer, but the broadcasting stations carrying the broadcast had no such opportunity.

What I resented most about the Governor's speech was his attempt to link opposition to the so-called civil rights program to the tragic assassination of President Kennedy. Everyone knows he was killed by a known Communist and Castro sympathizer. It is so unfair for anyone, whether he be the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court or president of the National Association of Broadcasters, to contend that opposition by the people of the South or any other section to far-reaching proposals of the civil rights program pending in the Congress was in any way responsible for the trigger that was pulled in Dallas which took the President's life.

No one certainly would want to take from Governor Collins the right to say what he pleases about any subject at any time. However, he is the paid and recognized spokesman for broadcasters. When he makes a blanket indictment against the people of the South and a vast majority of their duly elected Members of Congress, we feel he oversteps his authority and does a disservice to broadcasting.

If Governor Collins wants to come South and talk about "claghorns," "bloody shirt wavers," and riders of "buckboards of bigotry," he should name names. At least this would enable those of us who broadcast his speech to offer equal time.

I know personally most of the southern leaders in Congress, as well as many of our southern Governors. We may not agree with them on all subjects, but none of them falls under the Governor's indictment.

I realize there is a hysteria sweeping the country about civil rights. Perhaps Governor Collins was swept away by this emotional virus when he came to Columbia. But as one broadcaster, I agree with Senator RUSSELL that this civil rights program takes away more liberty than it gives. It deserves calm and deliberate legislative consideration. Governor Collins made no contribution to that end and he made it difficult for those of us who agreed to serve with him in promoting better relations in the Congress for the worthwhile legislative objectives of our association.

CONVEYANCE OF CERTAIN PARCEL OF LAND TO STATE OF DELAWARE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1767) to authorize the Secretary of the Army to convey a certain parcel of land to the State of Delaware, and for other purposes.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, it is my desire to cooperate with the senior Senator from Delaware [Mr. WILLIAMS] on his bill, S. 1767; but as the author of the so-called Morse formula, I have the obligation of making sure that the Morse formula is not violated in this case.

Subsections (a) and (b) of section 2, on pages 2 and 3 of the bill, contain provisions which relate directly to the Morse formula.

Subsection (a) of section 2 would not violate the formula if this subsection calls for the reconveyance of lands which were ceded—gratuitously conveyed—to the United States by the State of Delaware in 1873.

Therefore, first, I should like to ask the Senator from Delaware if it is correct that the lands described in section 2(a) were acquired by the United States and the State of Delaware without compensation in 1873?

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. That is correct.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a copy of an act of the legislature as passed in Dover, Del., February 5, 1873, in which this land was ceded to the U.S. Government for a specific purpose.

There being no objection, the act was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Laws of Delaware, vol. 14, pt. 2, 1873]

CHAPTER 356 OF PUBLIC LANDS

An act to cede certain lands to the United States of America

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware in General Assembly met,* That William D. Waples, N. W. Hickman, and Dr. D. H. Houston, of Sussex County, be and they are hereby appointed commissioners on the part of the State of Delaware, and they, or a majority of them, are hereby authorized and empowered, in conjunction with any agent or person appointed by the President of the United States, or by the Secretary of War, to locate and fix the boundaries of any quantity of land belonging to the State of Delaware, not exceeding 2,100 feet front and 3,000 feet deep, from low water mark situated and lying on the Delaware Bay, southeast of the old mole, usually called the Government Mole, and between said old mole and the point of Cape Henlopen, and the land belonging to the State of Delaware, located and designated by the boundaries to be fixed and determined by the commissioners aforesaid in conjunction with the agent or person to be appointed as aforesaid by the President of the United States or by the Secretary of War, and all claim, title and right of soil and jurisdiction of the State of Delaware in, to, or over the same is hereby ceded to and vested in the United States in perpetuity; and that a plot of the land so located and hereby ceded as aforesaid be made and recorded in the office of the recorder in and for Sussex County: *Provided,* That the sovereignty and jurisdiction of this State shall extend over the land hereby ceded to the United States so far as that all civil and criminal process issued under any law of this State may be executed in any part of said lands and buildings or structures thereon erected.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the above cession of land and jurisdiction hereby made is upon the express condition that defenses, to be built by the United States at the Delaware breakwater harbor, shall be constructed thereon.

SEC. 3. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the north end of Reedy Island, in New Castle County, Del., not to exceed 50 acres, and also the ice harbor constructed on the east side thereof, be and the same are hereby ceded to the United States; and all claim, title, and right of soil and jurisdiction of the State of Delaware in, to, or over the same is hereby ceded to and vested in the United States in perpetuity; and that a plot of the land so located and hereby ceded as aforesaid be made and recorded in the office of the recorder in and for New Castle County: *Provided,* That the sovereignty and jurisdiction of this State shall extend over the land hereby ceded to the United States so far as that all civil and criminal process issued under any law of this State may be executed in any part of said lands and buildings or structures thereon erected or to be erected.

Passed at Dover, February 5, 1873.

(At this point Mr. INOUYE took the chair as Presiding Officer.)

Mr. MORSE. That being the case, reversion of this excess Federal land is implied, and under the Morse formula no compensation on section 2(a) lands is required. I should like to make this clear, because over the years the Morse formula has been under discussion in the Senate; it goes back to the year 1946. We have had a number of cases in which the Federal Government obtained parcels of land from a State gratuitously, with the understanding that the land would be used for a specific Federal use only. I have always pointed out that the clear implication is, under those circumstances, that when the Federal Government no longer has need of the land for such use, the land should revert to the State, the municipality, or the county that originally donated the land for specific purposes.

I say to the Senator from Delaware—and I am commenting now out of recollection—I am not so sure that some years ago he and I did not discuss the question when he helped me sustain the Morse formula in connection with a piece of property that involved one of these implied reversions.

I know such was the case with the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] in connection with the type of property or facility that I now mention which was involved in a bill in respect to a veterans hospital in Kentucky. This particular application of the Morse formula—or in these instances the nonapplication of it—has arisen cases that involve veterans hospitals where a city or a State has donated to the Federal Government a rather large tract of land for a veterans hospital. Of course, the State or local officials were happy to bring a veterans hospital into a community, because it is a great economic asset to it. The Federal Government built the hospital and developed the facility, and then discovered that it had much more land than it really needed for the purpose, but having obtained it for that

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they moved them and melted them down the recovery would not be much.

Since this area is to be turned into a State park it would be most advantageous if the guns could be left. I am not sure they have not been demolished. If not, we will try to persuade the Army to leave them.

Mr. MORSE. So far as those guns are concerned, I believe they would come under the so-called Monument Act, anyway, and would not be involved in the Morse formula.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I do not believe they would either.

Mr. MORSE. I have one further point in respect to the barracks. I hope the Senator will correct me if I am in error, but it is my understanding that if we take into account the amount of money which the Government will get back from Delaware under the terms of the bill—the Senator has already stated it will be at least equal to 50 percent of the fair market value—and if we take into account the small value of the barracks and the limited purposes to which they could be put to use, plus the fact that there is a reverter clause in the bill, if it ever becomes necessary for the Federal Government to take back the property for Federal uses the Government will have the power, and the taxpayers will suffer no loss in respect to the barracks.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I do not think so. As a State we would be delighted for them to clear the barracks and take them away.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the distinguished Senator from Delaware very much for his fine cooperation in regard to this question, because, as he knows, the Senate has increasingly cooperated with me in respect to the application of the formula. Seldom do I have to raise an objection to the violation of this formula, because it has become one of the accepted policies of the Senate, and has resulted, as we know, in a saving of a good many millions of dollars over the years to the taxpayers of the country. I say to the majority leader that not only do I raise no objection to the bill, but I support it.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, I am very happy to join my colleague, the senior Senator from Delaware, in support of this bill, S. 1767, which we have cosponsored.

The merits of the bill are plain: Delaware donated most of the Fort Miles area without cost to the Federal Government during World War II and now wants to recover surplus Government land for use by the public.

The land in question was considered common land for public use for more than 250 years before the Federal Government took it over in 1941.

It is important to emphasize that the State of Delaware will repay the Federal Government the amount it paid for the property in question.

The State of Delaware has drawn up plans for development of the area as Cape Henlopen State Park and as a University of Delaware education center.

My State, Mr. President, is not large as it is, and acquisition of this property will be of great benefit to it.

I strongly urge passage of this bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Press, Radio, T.V. & Mag.

FORMER GOV. LEROY COLLINS OF FLORIDA—A NEW VOICE IN THE SOUTH

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, earlier this afternoon one of our colleagues expressed disapproval of the speech delivered by the former Governor of Florida, now president of the National Association of Broadcasters, Mr. Leroy Collins. The speech was delivered on December 3, 1963, at the annual meeting of the Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce, Columbia, S.C.

When I spoke on this subject the other day, during the morning hour, I did not have a copy of the speech. I had only a news account of the speech. I praised the speech most highly as typical of the new voice of the South. It is only fair to Governor Collins, in view of the comments which were made on the floor of the Senate that a copy of that speech, which I have subsequently received, be published at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY LEROY COLLINS, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF BROADCASTERS, BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GREATER COLUMBIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, COLUMBIA, S.C.

It is a high privilege for me to be here in Columbia, and to participate in this Greater Columbia Chamber of Commerce annual meeting of 1963.

I like South Carolina, and I always have. Yours is a State rich in history and exciting in opportunity.

Your distinguished Governor, Donald Russell, who honors us all by his presence here tonight, is a public leader of conspicuous competence and of uncommon dedication.

I would like to add my warm congratulations to all of your chamber of commerce officers and committees. You have had a remarkably successful year; and, while the rank-and-file support of your membership doubtless has been excellent, special praise is due all who have supplied the leadership.

My message this evening is being carried by many broadcasters across this State. I am grateful to them. I also salute them, along with all other broadcasters, for their enormous efforts in reporting to the American people and to the world the story of our Nation in the agony of its trial after the assassination of President Kennedy. As soon as the first dastardly shot was fired in Dallas, response of news broadcasters was immediate. It became complete, and reflected the highest skill and dedication.

This was the free broadcaster at his finest. No one from the Government had to make the slightest move to get him going, or to keep him at his task, or to hold out any hope that his commercial losses would be offset in any way or shared by anyone else. It was his job. And in performing it, he "asked not what the country could do for him, but only what he could do for his country."

I do not believe anyone is more genuinely proud of his southern birth and "raising" than I am. I love this land. Some thoughts have been brooding in my mind lately, especially in the few mad days since the murder of our young President, and I think South Carolina and Columbia are good places for me to talk these out.

Not all of you will agree with what I have to say. This does not trouble me, and it should not trouble you.

I have tried to be a southerner who speaks plainly on sensitive issues, and you are sons and daughters of a State which, from the time of Sumter and Pickens and Calhoun, has been characterized by forthright debate.

Doubtless as you have detected down the years, a number of people in other neighborhoods of America have not always agreed with the forthright talk emerging from South Carolina. But debate, if it is honest and thoughtful, refines the decisions in our Republic and makes them more intelligent.

I have not come to address old grievances. It is the future of the South and of our Nation I wish to take up with you here tonight. And the one is inseparable from the other.

I would hope first that we might consider as our own the creed of our new President, Lyndon Johnson, who, once exasperated by his critics in the Senate when he was the leader of that forum, sought to explain himself in these terms: "I am a freeman, an American, a U.S. Senator, and a Democrat, in that order."

Most of us, when we talk about the South, find the easy things to say. We like to recall the handicaps our region has suffered in the exploitation of its natural resources; the impoverishment which followed the Civil War, and the later unjust and repressive efforts made to thwart our growth and development. Then we like to speak of the happier days of our recent dynamic economic growth and prosperity—of the "new South," a land of vast new opportunities. And these things are all true. We can prove them by the bank deposits, by the new factories, by the lines on the charts, by the clothes we see children wear to school.

We also like to speak of the "new, new South," which glitters with projections of future prosperity almost beyond comprehension. And I firmly believe that you and I will see all this come to pass in our lifetimes.

But let us think together this evening about things more personal than material progress.

I do not like it when people speak of southerners as if they are not human parts of the United States. But the prime reason they do this is that for too long we have permitted the South's own worst enemies to speak for it.

We have allowed the extremists to speak for the South—the very ones against whom we in the South have had to struggle in our towns and in our State capitals for much of the progress we have made.

They have done it in speeches on the floor of Congress which have sounded like anti-American diatribes from some hostile foreign country.

They have done it in the national press and on the national radio and television to such an extent that citizens outside the South would be entitled to wonder if they might not need visas to pass through our region.

And all the while, too many of the rest of us have remained cravenly silent or lamely defensive while Dixie battle cries have been employed to incite sick souls to violence—egged on by the rabble-rousers' call to "stand up and fight."

It is little wonder that other Americans fail to regard us on occasions as being in the mainstream of American life and citizenship.

And I ask you tonight, how long are the majority of southerners going to allow themselves to be caricatured before the Nation by these Claghorns? How many Sunday school children have to be dynamited to death? How many Negro leaders have to be shot in the back? How many Governors have to be shot in the chest? How many Presidents have to be assassinated?

All those evil happenings have been the products of environments where hatred has been preached and lawlessness extolled—environments which you and I know are foreign to the South for which we care deeply and are repugnant to most southerners.

It is time the decent people in the South, with all their might and strength, told the bloody shirt wavers to climb down off the buckboards of bigotry. It is time we started speaking and acting together more like loyal Americans and self-respecting southerners.

You here in South Carolina have shown in many ways that you understand—that you are moving forward.

The cities of Oxford, Birmingham, Little Rock, New Orleans, Dallas—and Philadelphia and Chicago, for that matter—are not to be found in the State of South Carolina.

And that fact, as all of you well know, is no accident of geography.

It is because the leadership of this community and this State reached a rational decision that South Carolina was not going to allow bigotry and lawlessness to pervade your society and pollute your bloodstream.

There has been no need for Federal marshals patrolling your university campuses, thanks to the good sense and respect for law among the people of this State.

You have demonstrated to the rest of the Nation, which includes the rest of the South, and to yourselves, that a Deep South community does not have to throw itself onto a funeral pyre of hate.

Yes, there are forces at work in the South—men and women who do not have their faces turned backward, stalwart men and women who have not received the headlines and public notices which have been accorded the more sensational examples of lack of progress, but who have been in the vanguard of progress nonetheless.

There is a story which came out of World War I. I do not vouch for its literal accuracy. In fact, there are many reasons for doubting its truth in detail. But its message rings true.

Three American soldiers—one a Protestant, one a Catholic, and one a Jew—became fast friends as they marched and fought together in France. They entered into a pact committing the survivors to do everything possible for the family of any one of them who might be killed in action.

In a battle soon afterward, on the outskirts of a small French village, the Protestant boy was killed. The only place of worship was a little Catholic church. The Catholic boy and the Jewish boy asked the priest of this little church for permission to have their friend buried in the church cemetery adjoining. But when the priest learned that the dead boy was not Catholic, he regretfully declined, pointing out that under the regulations of the church the cemetery had been established and blessed for the burial of Catholics only.

After considerable discussion of the point, the priest suggested as an alternative that the burial be made just outside the fence of the cemetery and said, "Here we will be sure to see that the grave is cared for and not desecrated, just as faithfully as we care for the graves on the inside."

The arrangement was worked out, and the two boys who survived went on through the war. When peace came, they returned to their homes in the United States.

They had the understanding, however, that 3 years from the date their friend was killed they would meet in the French village and together visit the grave.

When this day came, they met as agreed and soon came to the little church. But when they arrived just outside the fence where they had buried their friend, they were shocked to see no sign of the grave. Angrily, they found the old priest and scolded him for his neglect.

Then the old father took the two young men out into the cemetery and led them down the inside of the fence. There was the grave just as the soldiers had left it. Then he said, "You know, some time after you left, I went back and studied our regulations further. I found it to be very clear that while I was not permitted to allow the burial inside the fence, there was nothing which prevented me from later moving the fence over."

Fellow southerners, we can talk about our mores, our local laws and customs, the low standards of many Negroes, but the time has come when we must move some fences.

The soul of man is beyond the reach of a court order or a legislative act. But while courts and laws cannot change the innermost dictates of the human conscience, courts and laws most certainly can control the acts of men.

This task of assuring racial justice is no easy one for us in the South—nor is it for those in the North. But Americans everywhere must recognize that this is a national commitment and a national necessity. It is not going away.

The advancement of all rights of national citizenship, as we well know, will occur with the overt aid of the National Government if local citizens and local and State governments do not move effectively to accomplish this on their own.

Yet, too many politicians down our way have been hoodwinking the people on the civil rights issue. They have been trying to pretend, for their own personal political advantage, that the changes which are coming over the hill really are not there. They talk defensively of States rights when they and we well know that there can be no such thing as a State's right to default on a national duty.

Any rational man who looks at the horizon and sees the South of the future segregated is simply seeing a mirage.

"That all men are created equal" is not an empty cliche. It was not put in our Declaration of Independence by Jefferson merely to stir our revolutionary forces to greater sacrifice.

It is a mighty idea that is the keystone of our Nation's whole meaning and perpetual commitment. It is the basic idea which supports the dignity of man as an individual.

It is an idea that can never be stopped—not by custom—not by prejudice—not by hate—not by murder—not by armies—not by any mortal force.

It may be thwarted—it may be delayed—its triumph may be at great cost and sacrifice—but it will keep coming on and on, for it has the invincibility of simple truth, justice, and right.

Aside from human attitudes the most basic changes which must occur to aid us in resolving our racial difficulties is the improvement of the standards of living of all underprivileged Americans. The taproot of future progress is greatly expanded and improved public education for all American youngsters.

While in the Florida Legislature many years ago, I undertook the leadership for the passage of legislation known as the minimum foundation program. Under it, the State government guaranteed to every child in Florida, regardless of where he lived or how poor his county, a public education of no less quality than certain prescribed standards. This has worked quite well, and other States have developed similar plans.

There was talk at the time that a program like this would rob local communities of local interest and influence, but this did not turn out to be the case.

Now, I feel that we should mount in this country a massive national minimum foundation plan under which the nation would assure to every child an education adequate to the full development of his talents.

This would call for the supplementing of local resources in proportion to need. It could enable us to close our educational gap and bring to an end our vicious cycle of ignorance breeding more ignorance with resulting impoverishment of body, intellect and spirit.

This is not only a national need; I say it is a necessity. We must do this to enable the nation better to meet its adversaries in a hostile and competitive world. But, more importantly, we must do it to provide for American children a seedbed of simple justice which is now their rightful heritage, although for millions it has not been their inheritance.

Our country has a right to expect the best from all of us, regardless of where we live.

And just as it is wrong for anyone, including some southerners, to sell the South short, by the same token we in the South have no right to go off in a corner and sulk.

Southerners, like Americans from every section of this land, have a solemn obligation to make whatever general and unique contributions they can to the national good.

It is high time the South rid itself of any political inferiority complex.

Leadership in the South—business, professional, educational and political—instead of being rejected out of hand nationally must be regarded as a valuable resource in the role which America must play in meeting the challenge of history.

Some politicans in other regions of the Nation contended that the South now bears such a stigma before the Nation that it is incapable of producing national leadership. And there are even some southerners who parrot the same fallacy.

After all, where was this republic founded? By whom were our Nation's principles of freedom and individual dignity hammered out?

So much of this came from the minds of Washington and Jefferson and Henry. The young republic was nourished by the philosophies of Madison and Monroe and Jackson. Southerners all.

The South should be bright and optimistic indeed, as we face the future.

To become a more vital part of the Nation's effort for the fulfillment of national goals will not demean our posture as States, but enhance it. It will not be a retreat, but an advance. It will not be a defeat, but a victory.

My fellow countrymen, a few long days ago our young President was struck down on the street of an American city. Good men have differences, and many Americans had differences with John Kennedy. But I do not know of any fellow countryman who, after rendezvousing with his soul, would not share the sweet dream of John Kennedy for a better America or his dedication to move his dreams toward reality. He was the unusual, heroic person in politics who thought not in terms of years, but in terms of generations and of what America must be for our children and the children of our children.

Just a few days before his death, President Kennedy was talking to one of our leading southern editors—a very close friend—William Baggs of the Miami News, about the year A.D. 2000, and of what we, in our generation, must plant and plow up to make this country right for its sons and daughters in A.D. 2000.

I say to you tonight that above all else it is the moral duty of our generation to plow under racial injustice everywhere in

the United States and to plant new opportunities for the generations which will come along after us and reside in this green part of our old planet.

This has not been anything like the speech that last week I expected to make here.

But the other day, as I followed the caisson drawn by the six white horses to Arlington's green hillside and listened to the bugler's mournful cry and saw the flame lighted on the grave as if to hold back at least a tiny part of the approaching darkness, my conscience grew heavy with the long promise of history: "Beyond the sundown is tomorrow's wisdom; today is going to be a long, long ago."

Oh, God of all mankind, help us to find that wisdom. Help us to make today count for more than its sorrows.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, some of the editorial material which was inserted in the RECORD this afternoon sought to cast reflection on the mental stability of Governor Collins. That is an old smear technique. It is particularly a smear technique used by yellow journalists, whose number is legion.

One need only read this truly great speech of Governor Collins to realize that we have here a mentality which is far ahead of the bigotry that characterizes so much of his opposition, and that any reflection upon him by yellow journalism is to his credit and not to his discredit.

I once again praise Governor Collins for his courage and for his foresight and for his challenge not only to the South, but also to all Americans.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I join in the praise of Governor Collins. It was my privilege last Sunday to participate in a seminar and convocation in Los Angeles under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic and the Center for Study of Democratic Institutions. I heard Governor Collins on the subject of federalism, and the relationships between Federal and State governments. It was a masterful address, thoughtful and provocative, and it indicated a sense of foresight and imagination that qualifies this man for the title of great leader. I am delighted that the Senator from Oregon has given him due credit and praise, because he deserves it. He is a marvelous public servant and a fine citizen.

EDUCATION LEGISLATION

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, earlier this afternoon, because the Senate was extremely pressed for time, I did not, during my presentation of the conference report, find the time to say all I wished to say.

Yesterday and again today I had expressed my deep appreciation and thanks to the Members of the Senate conference and their great help to me in finally succeeding in that conference to come forth with an acceptable bill.

I wish to thank again the chairman of the full committee, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], whose help to me has been of inestimable value. I also thank the majority leader the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD]. I counseled with him time and again. I should think that he would have grown weary of my requests for counseling with him in handling these education bills.

He arranged the schedule in the Senate for my convenience time and time again when we thought it was most propitious to offer these two major bills. He cooperated, and spoke to my conferees about postponing action on the higher education bills on the floor of the Senate until a conference report was adopted by the conferees. I want him to know how appreciative I am.

I also wish to thank our colleagues on the House side. I am satisfied that one need only read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for yesterday, from beginning to end, which I have done, to realize that no vocational bill would have come out of the House by way of conference acceptance had it not been for the leadership of the Representative from New York [Mr. POWELL]. He performed efficiently and effectively during the conference. We were deadlocked time and time again, and time and time again he was most helpful in findings areas of agreement which would make it possible for us to resolve our disagreement.

I thank him very much, indeed.

I also thank the chairman of the subcommittee in the House from which subcommittee the House vocational bill came in the first place, the gentleman from Kentucky, Representative PERKINS.

I am not trying to give undue credit, or to draw any lines of distinction, because there was no one in favor of the bill on the House conference side who was not of great help to me.

I mention Representative BRADEMAS of Indiana, and Representative GREEN of Oregon. Some of the greatest help came to me from Representative LANDRUM of Georgia. I know the Senate enjoys a chuckle now and then. All one has to do is read the debate in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD this morning to enjoy a chuckle. I enjoyed one this morning when I read that debate. Apparently Representative LANDRUM was having a little difficulty with some of his southern colleagues in regard to the bill. In effect, he said, as the RECORD shows, that if the Representative from Georgia can find himself in agreement with the Senator from Oregon, and if both can sign the same report, it cannot be a bad report.

It was that wonderful attitude on the part of Representative LANDRUM that was so helpful in getting the bill adopted.

There is not one of them to whom I do not wish to pay my respects.

I particularly wish to mention, however, Representative POWELL and Representative PERKINS. I mention these two men because they had the official responsibility of leadership on the House side.

Representative POWELL was the chairman of the House conferees, and Representative PERKINS was the chairman of the subcommittee from which the vocational bill came in the first place.

I know whereof I speak when I point out that the education bills, about which the Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD] spoke, have resulted in Congress—and it is Congress, not individuals—making a record in the field of education which has not been equaled in a hundred years, which has not been equaled since the Morrill Act of 1862. The President of the United States was quite right in pointing out that historic fact.

I am greatly indebted to all of them for their assistance in bringing that record to pass.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MORSE. I yield.

Mr. HUMPHREY. I wish to express one Senator's appreciation of the great work that has been undertaken and accomplished by the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE]. The program of higher education, vocational education, the extension of national defense education, and education for impacted areas, that has been adopted by Congress is the most comprehensive, far-reaching, generous program of Federal aid to education that this Nation has ever known. It stands alongside the great Morill Act and the Land-Grant College Act, two of the great programs of the 1860's.

The Higher Education Act surely will bear the title of the Morse-Green Act, because the two distinguished citizens of Oregon, Senator MORSE and Representative GREEN, had so much to do with these legislative achievements. I commend both of them.

I was talking with the Senator from Oregon today. In our conversation, he told me that he introduced his first bill on higher education in 1947. I have always known that the Senator from Oregon is a tenacious, persevering, and persistent gentleman. I have tangled with him in debate on occasion. That is an exhilarating experience that ought not to be tried too often. I commend him on his tenacity and perseverance, because while it took 16 years for the Senator to accomplish his objective, he has been able to achieve it. It is a splendid record.

So far as vocational education is concerned, we are all indebted to the leadership of our late President, who admonished us and advised us and sent us the message on vocational education, expanding its activity and its scope. But the bill also had the guiding hand of the Senator from Oregon, and he has been most generous.

The bill has also received the guidance of the chairman of the committee, the distinguished senior Senator from Alabama [Mr. HILL], and the other members of the committee. But I am sure the Senator from Oregon would agree with me that the honors for the bill ought to be shared by many.

I hope that when the President signs the bill, and when he speaks of it as the Higher Education Act, he will refer to it as the Morse-Green Act; and that when he signs the vocational education bill, he will refer to it as the Powell-Morse-Perkins Act.

It seems to me that that would be according just and proper honor to those who have done so much toward the enactment of that measure.

I salute the Senator from Oregon for his singular achievement.

Mr. MORSE. I appreciate the graciousness of the Senator from Minnesota. Although he is not a member of my subcommittee, he is the Democratic whip of the Senate. I have already paid my thanks to the majority leader; but the whip knows that he, too, has participated in many of these conversations. He has been instrumental in helping to bring these bills into a position so that they could be passed. I thank him from the bottom of my heart.

EXEMPTION OF CERTAIN TERMINAL LEASES FROM PENALTIES UNDER THE SHIPPING ACT OF 1916

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 751, S. 2317.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 2317) to amend the provisions of section 15 of the Shipping Act, 1916, to provide for the exemption of certain terminal leases from penalties.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Montana.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill which had been reported from the Committee on Commerce, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That section 15 of the Shipping Act, 1916 (46 U.S.C. 814), be amended by inserting at the end thereof the following: *"Provided, however,* That the penalty provisions of this section shall not apply to leases, licenses, assignments, or other agreements of similar character for the use of terminal property or facilities which were entered into before the date of enactment of this Act, and, if continued in effect beyond said date, submitted to the Federal Maritime Commission for approval prior to or within ninety days after the enactment of this Act, unless such leases, licenses, assignments, or other agreements for the use of terminal facilities are disapproved, modified, or canceled by the Commission and are continued in operation without regard to the Commission's action thereon. The Commission shall promptly approve, disapprove, cancel, or modify each such agreement in accordance with the provisions of this section."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill (S. 2317) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 770), explaining the purpose of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

Section 15 of the Shipping Act, 1916, imposes civil penalties of up to $1,000 for each day an agreement required by that section to be filed with the Federal Maritime Commission is in effect prior to Commission approval. S. 2317, as reported with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, would amend section 15 of the Shipping Act, 1916, so as to exempt from the penalty provisions of that section leases, licenses, assignments, or other agreements of similar character for the use of marine terminal property or facilities entered into prior to the date of enactment of this bill. However, those agreements for the use of terminal facilities that continue in effect beyond the date of enactment would be required to be filed within 90 days with the Federal Maritime Commission in order to be within the amnesty provided by this bill. Any such agreement that was continued in effect without regard to cancellation, modification, or disapproval by the Federal Maritime Commission would subject the parties to that agreement to civil penalties under section 15 of up to $1,000 for each day the agreement was in effect prior to Commission approval. Any agreement subject to the filing requirements of section 15 entered into subsequent to the date of enactment would not be included in the amnesty to be afforded by S. 2317.

DISCUSSION OF THE BILL

The Federal Maritime Commission, charged with administration of the Shipping Act and more knowledgeable as to marine terminal problems than any other governmental body, has requested this legislation. Under section 15, agreements between persons subject to the Shipping Act which involve "fixing or regulating transportation rates or fares; giving or receiving special rates, accommodations, or other special privileges or advantages; controlling, regulating, preventing, or destroying competition, * * * or in any manner providing for an exclusive, preferential, or cooperative working arrangement" must be filed with the Commission, and parties to the agreement are subject to penalties of up to $1,000 for each day the agreement is in effect prior to compliance and Commission approval. Until 1959 it had never been assumed that lease-type agreements for the use of terminal facilities were within that language, nor had the Federal Maritime Board ever contended that such agreements were subject to section 15.

The Federal Maritime Board (predecessor of the Federal Maritime Commission) changed this situation in 1959 by determining that a lease-type arrangement between Baton Rouge Port Commission and Cargill, Inc., was subject to the terms of section 15. This determination was upheld in *Baton Rouge Port Commission* v. *United States* (287 F. 2d 86 (5th Cir. 1961), cert. den., 368 U.S. 985 (1962)).

Leases of terminal facilities usually contain requirements that the lessee operate the facilities in accord with specified standards and often grant future rights to the lessee. The *Baton Rouge* case involved a lease which required the lessee to charge rates competitive with and not greater than charged at other gulf ports, and afforded the lessee a right of first refusal to lease additional facilities. It is the presence of such covenants that has brought lease-type agreements within the requirements of section 15, even though for over 40 years such provisions had never been considered within the scope of that section.

Immediately following the *Baton Rouge* decision, port authorities began filing lease-type agreements, some of which had been in effect for a number of years, and others of which had terminated in years past.

The committee bill, in the nature of a substitute, is as follows:

"That section 15 of the Shipping Act, 1906 (46 U.S.C. 814), be amended by inserting at the end thereof the following: *'Provided, however,* That the penalty provisions of this section shall not apply to leases, licenses, assignments or other agreements of similar character for the use of terminal property or facilities which were entered into before the date of enactment of this Act, and, if continued in effect beyond said date, submitted to the Federal Maritime Commission for approval prior to or within ninety days after the enactment of this Act, unless such leases, licenses, assignments or other agreements for the use of terminal facilities are disapproved, modified, or cancelled by the Commission and are continued in operation without regard to the Commission's action thereon. The Commission shall promptly approve, disapprove, cancel, or modify each such agreement in accordance with the provisions of this section.' "

Although incorporating three technical changes, S. 2317, as reported, in no way departs from the intent and purpose of the bill as introduced. These changes were advocated and supported by all witnesses at the hearing, including the Federal Maritime Commission.

The first change is that agreements within the amnesty be described as "leases, licenses, assignments, or other agreements of similar character for the use of terminal property or facilities" rather than merely "leases, licenses, or assignments" of such facilities. This change was adopted in order to assure that all agreements intended to be within S. 2317 would receive that benefit even though they are not labeled as a lease, license, or assignment, or considered such under strict property concepts. It is intended that the amnesty apply to agreements involving a conveyance of some interest in terminal facilities, even though not technically leases, licenses, or assignments, if of a character similar to such arrangements.

The second change from the bill as introduced is that the amnesty be applied to all agreements entered into prior to the date of enactment rather than prior to the arbitrary date of October 1, 1963, as originally provided. The date of enactment seems a more logical cutoff date, and technical problems that would be raised in the case of a lease entered into before October 1, 1963, and expiring after that date yet prior to the date of enactment are avoided.

The final change from the bill as introduced is that only agreements continuing in effect beyond the date of enactment are required to be filed with the Federal Maritime Commission. The bill as introduced would have required all lease-type agreements not previously filed and approved be submitted to the Federal Maritime Commission, even though such agreements may have terminated many years ago.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT UNTIL MONDAY NOON

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business tonight, it adjourn until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING CLOSING OF DEFENSE PLANTS

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, more and more angles are coming to light in

Press, Radio, T.V. & Movies

NEW YORK CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST
December 17, 1963

Compiled & Edited by Mrs. M. J. Kleinfeld and Mrs. Louise Levinson

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published by
The Community Information Committee
Robert L. Pelz, Chairman

NEGRO PRESS DIGEST

Statement of Purpose

The Negro Press Digest is published for the purpose of providing its readers with news and views of Negro newspapers and news magazines circulated in New York City. The Digest is not intended to present a cross-section of the content of the publications it reviews but focuses upon articles dealing with such matters as civil rights, civil liberties and intergroup relations. Emphasis is given to articles of local interest and national consequence.

News that has been adequately treated, in the judgment of the editors, in the daily press or on the broadcasting media is not duplicated in the Digest unless the Negro press reports such news from a distinctly different point of view.

The New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee hopes that this publication will help fill an important need in intergroup relations, which is: improved communications bringing fuller knowledge of the problems, aspirations and frustrations of the Negro community as expressed in their press. This periodical, therefore, is designed to foster greater understanding and thereby further the development of truly effective human relations efforts.

-- Robert L. Pelz, Chairman
Community Information Committee
New York Chapter
The American Jewish Committee

AFTER THE ASSASSINATION

CHICAGOANS PAY JFK TRIBUTE

Chicago Daily Defender (November 26)

The Defender's many readers flooded the office with letters and the Editor felt they should be shared. "I am glad I am a Negro today. I do not share the white races' guilt in any way....", says one. "The challenge has been put to America to take up the truth with dedicated devotion to the proposition that all men are born free", says another. "I only hope that the people are able to extend the work of our late President", says a third. "I know I speak for all Negroes when I say that he was a wonderful inspiration to us all.. to be able to straighten up our shoulders and say to each other, forward."

WE GO ON!

Amsterdam News - Editorial (November 30)

This Nation, under God and John F. Kennedy, has progressed further in the past three years toward the brotherhood of man than it had during all the years prior to the time John F. Kennedy was sworn into office. The American people have no other choice but to rededicate themselves to the ideals for which he lived, and to redouble their efforts to bring about the type of world for which he worked so magnificently. Let's start with President Lyndon Johnson and help complete the work of one of our greatest Presidents.

JFK KEPT PROMISES HE MADE TO NEGROES

New York Courier - Article by George E. Barbour (November 30)

As Presidential candidate, the late Mr. Kennedy was interviewed by this reporter concerning what he would do for civil rights and without hesitancy said he would use executive orders and the power of the presidency to advance and secure rights due the American Negro. He never wavered and in appointments, speeches, application of power; secured direct benefits for the Negro, unparalled in modern history.

OUR VERY OWN

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (Nov. 30)

In a tragic time like this, when one of the most beloved Presidents we've ever had has been cut down by an assassin's bullet, it is hard to look the American people in the face and ask them to share the blame.. and yet.. it is precisely because of our unwillingeness to face what is obvious, that our President is dead. This country has spawned Oswald, Faubus, Wallace, Ross and De La Beckwith. When John F. Kennedy died, a little bit of America died with him. In truth, a little bit of America died when Emmett Till was lynched, when Medgar Evers was shot, when four little girls in Alabama died.. and when a night club owner in Dallas took the law into his hands.. The lawless examples we set for children make other nations shudder in horror.

B'KLYN CLERGY WEIGHS LBJ

Amsterdam News (November 30)

6 Brooklyn and Queens Negro ministers active in civil rights, have linked the assassination of President Kennedy with his stand on civil rights and his attempt to heal the division created by his drive. They thought President Johnson might rise to become a valiant fighter for civil rights but wondered whether he would have the same objectivity in appointments of Negroes and maintain the rapport on the level of his predecessor.

RALPH BUNCHE

POWELL AND MR. X BLACKJACK BUNCHE - Amsterdam News (November 2)

'WELCOME BACK TO NEGRO RACE' ADAM POWELL TELLS RALPH BUNCHE
Chicago Daily Defender (November 6)

ADAM, MALCOLM JAB BUNCHE - New York Courier (November 16)

Dr. Ralph Bunche, who had strongly criticized Rep. Adam Powell and Black Muslim leader Malcolm X as "carriers of a black form of racial virus", was in turn bitterly attacked by the two. Dr. Bunche was "welcomed" sarcastically back into the ranks of Negroes and was accused of making statements in order to retain his job.

MALCOLM X AND ADAM POWELL

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (November 16)

Two Negro leaders seem to accomplish mis-leadership in statements which gain headlines. Adam Clayton Powell and Malcolm X attacked one of the world's most honorable citizens.. Dr. Bunche. Although Dr. Ralph Bunche is supposed to remain aloof from racial problems in the United States, he has on a number of occasions let the world know just how he feels about prejudice here. Nevertheless, Malcolm X criticized Dr. Bunche for "saying what he is supposed to say" because of the "job the white man gave him". Malcolm owes a great deal more to white people than Dr. Bunche ever will. As for Powell's crack about not having heard from Dr. Bunche since the Forest Hills tennis club episode.. Dr. Bunche could have used his influence to get his son admitted but that is exactly what he did NOT want. He wanted to throw the spolight on the brand of intolerance which would deny even a prominent Negro recognition. Dr. Bunche has a record which speaks for itself. It would help the Negro cause if Dr. Powell and Malcolm X had one twentieth of his integrity.

BUSINESS AND MARKETING

THE NEGRO MARKET - CENTER FOR RESEARCH IN MARKETING

New York Courier - By Claude H. Hall (October 19)

The continuing study of purchase behavior in the Negro market is an important aspect of the work of the Center for Research in Marketing. Marketing is a highly technical process. The consumer has a wide choice. The most attractive package, then, is likely to sell faster than its competitors. In the Negro market there are numerous areas of sensitivity that play havoc with the sales charts. Personally, I would never buy a box of Aunt Jemima Pancake or Uncle Ben's

Rice. And I have little respect for any Negro who does. If the horse and buggy can find no place in the jet age, neither can Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben.

2 POLICIES OR 1?

Amsterdam News - Column by Jackie Robinson (October 26)

An agency which represents the Robinson-Patterson Homes, a development with which Floyd Patterson and I are connected, submitted ad copy to The New York Post. The Post refused to run the ad unless the words "integrated community" and our pictures were deleted. The New York Mirror and The Amsterdam News ran the ad as submitted. I once wrote a column for The New York Post until I asked for a leave of absence to campaign for Nixon. I was given permanent leave because (I was told) the paper could not have a columnist who was active in politics. However the Post continued to run the column of Mrs. Roosevelt who was actively involved in politics at all times. The Post could be prejudiced against ME. But it could mean that the Post might be running real estate ads from advertisers who do not want integration in their developments, or advertisers who do not want Negroes in their resorts.. I don't care whether the Post likes me.. but I do care when a newspaper preaches integration - which helps build liberal and Negro circulation - and practices the opposite when it pays off financially. I invite an answer.

BUCK AND BALLOT

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (November 2)

A by-product of the Revolution is the heartening sign that some giant companies are demonstrating an awareness of and respect for the Negro market. Balantine Beer people employed Negroes in top positions with responsibilities instead of window-dressing, have used Negro models, and Negro sports personalities long before the Revolution.... The Woolworth stores, after the demonstrations quieted down, went all-out to desegregate their lunch counters. Not only that, but they have scouts out hunting down white collar and managerial material in southern communities. The buck and the ballot are our most potent possessions with which we can punish our enemies and reward our friends.

A TOUCH OF REALISM - Editorial

NEGRO BUSINESS GROWTH SEEN AS ECONOMIC MUSCLE IN RIGHTS FIGHT

Both the above from the New York Courier (November 9)

We welcome the organization of the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity and its program to stimulate the development of Negro-owned businesses in New York City. The program includes encouraging Negro students to prepare for business careers, helping them find jobs, financial advice and organization of a credit union. Narrowing this enterprise to the Negro community where opportunities are restricted to a small area of the consuming public is to be regretted. No real progress will be made until Negro-owned businesses are located in the general market place. Any lesser effort will be just another form of jim-crowism. When there is no real economic power, there is unlikely to be any other kind.

'FAIR PRESENTATION' OF NEGRO ADS NEEDED FOR THEIR BUSINESS

New York Courier (November 16)

Roy Wilkins told the eastern conference of the American Association of Advertising Agencies that they oweit to their clients to take notice of the effectiveness of the Negro selective buying campaigns, aimed at securing equal job opportunity. Negro consumers like to buy where Negroes can get employment and with businesses which do not distort the Negro image or ignore them. He advised that their ad copy should give "fair presentation" to the Negro. Another speaker described the Negro market as an awakened giant and said that effective advertising must be directed to media that sympathize with Negro aspirations.

THE NEGRO MARKET

New York Courier - Column by Claude H. Hall (November 23)

The Negro, whatever his weaknesses or his strengths, is thoroughly American - having no barriers of language, custom or religion and no "old country". He seeks to achieve integration through the use of his economic power - 27 billion dollars worth a year, according to Times Magazine. He expects to be recognized as an important consumer by industry. The failure of a manufacturer to protect and expand whatever equity he has in the Negro market may result in a sales decline.

LOCALS PLAN 'CASH-IN' AS BUSINESS VENTURE

New York Courier (November 23)

Calling upon Negro women to "carry the ball, since Negro men have failed to do anything of consequence in the field of mutual investments", Miss Wilhelmina Drake of Special Markets, a Negro investment firm, presented a project for a Million Dollar Club of 100 women, which would amass $100,000, get a small business loan and go into business as landlords, store or restaurant owners, etc.

ARA GIVES $100,000 TO ASSIST NEGRO BUSINESSES

Jet (November 28)

A unique project to streamline Negro businesses and furnish technical advice to permit owners to survive in an integrated market has been launched in Philadelphia, Pa., with U.S. backing. The strides toward integration threaten to put out of business many Negro-owned establishments including hotels, tailoring shops, groceries and restaurants in major cities. The Area Redevelopment Administration granted $100,000 for operation of the project in its first year.

NBC SHUNS DIXIE BOWL: SHOWS BUSINESS HOW TO FIGHT BIAS

Jet (November 28)

Because of continued barring of Negroes from the annual Blue-Gray Bowl in Montgomery, Ala., TV and radio coverage of the 26-year-old event has been cancelled by the National Broadcasting Company in an agreement with national sponsors, the Chrysler Corporation and

the Gillette Safety Razor Company. This is a fine example of how corporate influence can be brought to bear in the interest of racial justice.. a point which did not escape the outraged Governor Wallace.

CHURCHES AND RELIGION

OUR ALLIES!

Amsterdam News - Editorial (October 19)

We are proud to say that Negroes in the fight for civil rights have been joined by many groups.. all of which deserve commendation. We must reserve a special accolade for the participation of the Jew who, from the rabbi to the youngster, wades into the fight as if the outcome of the battle depends on him alone.

RELIGION AND RACE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (November 13)

A statistical study by the National Council of Churches indicates that a great majority of the established Protestant churches do not consider Negroes for membership. A chart with the breakdown on racial exclusion shows the proportion of Negroes and Jews (sic) that the Protestant churches bar from their congregations. So large an incidence of racialism in these churches is appalling, even though their Commission on Religion and Race have recently given strong support to the civil rights movement.

JEWS FAIL TO SUPPORT NEGROES, SAYS RABBI
Chicago Daily Defender (November 19)

"JEWS PART OF POWER, HELP NEGROES", RABBI URGES - Jet (December 5)

NEGROES, LIKE JEWS, WON'T BE STOPPED: RABBI - Jet (December 5)

Urging Jews to help Negroes seeking freedom, Englewood, N. J. Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg pointed out that Jews in America are the first generation of Jews in the world to be part of the power structure in a position to give aid to the next group bidding for equality. Another rabbi, Maurice N. Eisendrath, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, said that many Jews, through inactivity or opposition, have failed to support the Negroe's drive for equal rights. He urged more Jewish support and declared Negroes will not be stopped any more than were Jews in their quest for freedom.

AND THEY CALL IT CHRISTIAN

New York Courier - Column: My View by Benjamin E. Mays (November 23)

90% of the churches of the Southern Baptist Convention exclude Negroes. The convention has churches in all 50 states and D. C. Since each church is autonomous, most of these churches will be segregated for many years. The tragedy is the segregated church calls itself Christian. Nowhere in the Bible can segregation be justified along racial lines.

PRESBYTERIANS WILL INVEST FUNDS ONLY WITH FIRMS HIRING NEGROES

New York Courier (November 23)

In a letter to executives of denominational agencies, Rev. G. S. Wilmore Jr. executive director of the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race asked them to adopt the commission's policy statement on hiring, purchasing, building, renting and investing. The statement suggests trying to change practices of firms which discriminate and adjusting investment portfolios in the light of those firms' responses. It recommends requiring open occupancy clauses in leases, investing and depositing where Negroes are employed and demanding fair employment clauses in building contracts and sub-contracts and service contracts.

SOUL SEARCHING IN THE CHURCH

New York Courier - Editorial (November 23)

Considerable criticism of jim-crowism and discrimination in the Christian churches has been noted recently. Since few churches attempt to recruit outside their own social strata, these churches are largely segregated by so-called race. There are very few Negro priests, although more than 800,000 non-whites are Catholics. Although the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church recently denounced segregation in some Methodist churches the fact remains that segregation is rife in the Methodist Church. There must be some changes made soon if the churches' approach to race relations is going to be meaningful.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

WHOLE LOAF OR NONE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (November 4)

It is difficult to assess the true merits of the compromise civil rights bill, approved at the instance of the White House. The bargaining about the bill was so furious that it is hard to escape the conclusion that the Administration was more concerned with developing a measure that was agreeable to Republican leadership than one that would do justice to the black citizenry. For us the logic of the whole loaf or none at all will forever be the measure of our contention for full citizenship.

SIMPLE RIGHTS

New York Courier - Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (November 9)

The present civil rights bill offers much more than has ever been contained in any such bill, but it is a compromise of what the Negro wants. There is no civil rights which a black French citizen does not enjoy. There is no "Mrs. Murphy" in France, or in Italy, or as far as I know in Germany. Portugal has a bad name, but no place of public accommodation in Lisbon would refuse service to a man because of his color. These simple rights exist for everyone, everywhere except in the U.S., South Africa and some colonies in Africa.

COURAGE -- ALL AROUND - Amsterdam News, Editorial (November 9)

To their eternal credit, Representative Charles Halleck (R., Ind.), John Lindsay (R., N. Y.) and many others on both sides rallied to

take the Civil Rights Bill out of petty politics and put it back on the high moral plane where it belongs. It gives us pleasure to congratulate all concerned.

RESPONSIBLE HALLECK

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (November 27)

GOP House Leader Charley Halleck's endorsement of the compromise civil rights bill signaled an intellectual reformation that astonished even members of his own party. This could well be Halleck's finest hour, to borrow a Churchillian phrase.

A BASIC ISSUE

Amsterdam News - Column: White on White by Gertrude Wilson (Nov. 30)

The recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States to ask the Department of Justice for its views on the constitutionality of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Bill, moves us a step further to the fundamental issue.. whether or not private property rights in places of business open to the public give liicense to the proprietor to discriminate against any customer because of color or race. Until it is settled, no amount of tentative legislation will mean a thing. Either the Negro is a citizen or he is not. It is not possible to grant businessmen catering to the public the right to discriminate against Negroes, and at the same time to keep up the pretense that all citizens have equal rights.

EDUCATION

BOARD OF ED'S BABY

THE POLIER DECISION (In two parts)

Both the above appeared in the Amsterdam News, James L. Hicks column Another Angle - (October 19 and October 26)

Since the Polier Decision handed down by Judge Polier of the Domestic Court in December 1958, Negro parents have the right to elect no education rather than inferior education... Conclusive proof that not only Harlem schools but predominantly Negro schools all over the city are inferior to predominantly white schools. These schools are inferior, not because of the children in them, but because the Board of Education through systematic discrimination have made them that way... and it is up to the Board of Education to straighten them out and make them equal to other schools.

A STONE'S THROW -WANTED: 50 PARENTS FOR ALL-OUT BOYCOTT OF CHICAGO'S SCHOOLS - Front page editorial in the Chicago Daily Defender - Column by Chuck Stone (October 22)

In December 1958 nine Harlem parents won a court case, proving that de facto segregation created inferior education. They had fantastic courage and guts to keep their kids out of school in the face of official threats and social ostracism. Paul Zuber took the case without fee and won it. Until there are parents in Chicago who are willing to take the same risks, Mr. Willis' segregated school system will stay. Are there 50 parents who are prepared to boycott Chicago

schools on a continuing basis until Mr. Willis is dragged into court and exposed for the segregationist he is?

HUMPHREY CALLS EDUCATION "100-YEAR LIE"

Jet (October 24)

Slapping at American educators, Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota said they "lied for 100 years" on the separate-but-equal theory. He called for an exchange of faculty members between Negro and white colleges and suggested the federal government set aside funds for this.

AN INCREDIBLE GROUP

Amsterdam News - Column: White on White by Gertrude Wilson (Nov. 23)

Lobbying against the civil rights bill, an incredible group have joined forces under the banner of the Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc...whooping it up with the aid of a $20,000 contribution from the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, a tax-supported state agency. The group is chaired by William Loeb, publisher of the Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader and the vice-chairman is James Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News Leader who authored "The Southern Case for School Segregation". Their secretary-treasurer is a Mississippi cohort of Rose Barnett. It's a little hard to figure how they manage on the Mississippi taxpayers money as word has it that the PR man alone earns around $26,000 a year. The way the civil rights bill is crawling through committees, Mississippi is going to need a lot more Federal aid for having squandered its taxpayer's money. As for the rest of us States give Mississippi something like four dollars for every one she gives the national treasury, you might say we are in the untenable position of supporting a rabid anti-civil rights lobbying group in Washington.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION COSTS SOUTH $13,079,000

Jet (October 24)

School segregation has cost 11 Southern states $4,395,000 for litigation, $934,000 for extraordinary legislative sessions, $7,750,000 for tuition grants to private schools.. the Arkansas advisory committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported.

7TH GRADERS READING AT 3RD GRADE LEVEL (October 26)

WHITE TEACHERS UNFAMILIAR WITH NEGRO'S BACKGROUND (November 9)

Both the above appeared in the Amsterdam News

Evaluating Harlem schools, veteran educator Mrs. Josephine Jones pointed out that Negro children never study under a Negro principal, or Negro teacher, or do they feel a sense of relation or identity. They feel frightened, tottering precariously in a white adult world. The results often manifest themselves in aggressive behavior. Teachers are confronted with obstacles because of unfamiliarity with the background of the children. Even where there may be a rapport and eagerness to learn, the pupils are denied the tools of learning. It is not unusual to find a seventh grade reading on a third grade level.

NYC PAYS $56,000 TO INSULT NEGROES!...YOU PAID FOR THIS!

Front Page Special - Amsterdam News (November 2)

The New York City Board of Education paid $56,000 of the taxpayer's money for a teacher survey in which the white editor refused to capitalize the word "Negro", in spite of the fact that the error was repeatedly called to his attention. The Board of Education distributed the report which Negroes consider a direct insult. The New York University team which made the survey capitalized Puerto Ricans in every reference made to them.

HAS WILLIS MADE SCHOOL DEAL WITH BAPTIST MINISTERS? (November 6)

DIRECT ACTION VS. NEGOTIATION (November 11)

NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS (November 26)

IT TAKES JUST $2 PER PERSON TO HELP FIGHT WILLIS RACISM; THIS IS THE LEAST YOU CAN DO (October 27)

NEGRO MINISTERS, A 'NEW' WILLIS & THE HANDS OF ESAU (November 6)

All the above are from the Chicago Daily Defender

The reason,says editor Chuck Stone in the Defender, that Chicago has a racial crisis in its schools is because there have never been negotiations between Negroes and the Board of Education although Negroes have spent the last four years begging to discuss the issue of segregation in the city's schools. Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction, Ray Page, has added a link to the Dr. Willis chain of conspiracy by parroting the neighborhood school flapdoodle which immobilizes Negro school children in depressed ghettos. Now the Negro Baptist Ministers Conference of Chicago decided to have a group involvement and invited controversial segregationist head of the school system, Dr. Benjamin Willis, to speak to them. Some observers interpret this as an attempt by the ministers to reduce the effectiveness of "direct action" or demonstrations.. meanwhile, the Chicago Committee for Equal Education has issued a plea for funds to back the school segregation suit now in Federal District Court. The committee's concept is that any child who can profit from educational opportunities should have access to it.

NEGRO KIDS A MAJORITY IN CHI SCHOOLS BUT HAVE LESS SPACE

CHI SCHOOL CHIEF RATED POOR ON REPORT CARD

Both the above from Jet (November 7)

A detailed analysis of a Board of Education report reveals that although the majority of Chicago's public school children are Negroes, the bulk of 192,000 attend only 189 schools, while 174,574 white children attend 290 schools. The report was issued by Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis as thousands of children and pickets demonstrated against Jim Crow schools. On a "report card" issued to parents by the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, sponsors of the massive Freedom Day boycott of 225,000 pupils, Willis was rated "poor" in scholastic achievement, planning and use of school space, funds, special services and policies of school board.

TESTS FOR CHILDREN

Amsterdam News - Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (November 16)

One of the toughest obstacles faced by Negro young people has been the educational test.. hounding them out of school, barring colleges, labeling them as inferior.. a label used to hamstring the entire race and damn it to second-class citizenship. Ironically, Negro children are not the only ones who have been victimized. White parents are now protesting what it is doing to their children. High school pupils are being barred from college on the strength of tests in aptitude, personality, reading and even sex. One of the failures in the field has been the use of tests with the nation's deprived youth.. Negro, Spanish, slum, and migrant children from the South.. all of whom bang their heads and hopes against tests which have no relation to them. We have been fighting rigged employment offices, rigged voting registrars, and rigged real estate.. but now we must fight rigged educational tests that stake our children to the ground before they can walk.

IN HARLEM: STANDARDS DELIBERATELY KEPT LOW IN SCHOOLS?

Amsterdam News (November 16)

Veteran educator Mrs. Josephine Jones, in a further evaluation of Harlem schools, stated that standards were deliberately kept low and that Negro children were educated for labor.. that efforts to raise the instructional levels were discouraged by principals. Pupils, she found, were not permitted to advance in accordance with their ability, and creative thinking is discouraged. A large number of pupils are directed to vocational schools which are not geared to industry and where the courses are so below standards that the bright students drop out.

DR. CLARK REJECTS BUSSING - Amsterdam News (November 16)
DR. CLARK OPPOSES BUSSING WHITES TO HARLEM - Jet (December 5)

Speaking before the New York Chapter of The American Jewish Committee, professor of psychology at the College of the City of New York, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark declared that the New York City schools are producing functional illiterates. The evidence adds up to a pattern of criminal neglect, Dr. Clark disagreed with school officials who seek to cover inefficiency of teaching with explanations of cultural deprivation and other cliches. He also rejected bussing of white and Negro children to schools which are clearly inferior... suggesting a more realistic approach of up-grading the quality of education in schools now attended by Negro students.

NEGROES NEED PROTECTION AT 'OLE MISS', SAYS PROF.

Chicago Daily Defender (November 21)

A University of Mississippi professor said that Negroes could not hope to attend "Ole Miss" without some form of protection. The illusion that he could was Cleve McDowell's undoing. Those who supported Meredith were appointed 'honorary Niggers' by the White Citizens' Council, and the appointees considered it an honor, said the Professor, Russell Barrett.

EISENHOWER'S STATEMENT

TOO LATE, IKE - Chicago Daily Defender, Editorial (October 15)
TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE -New York Courier, Column: My View by Benjamin E. Mays (November 9)

After 12 years of sepulchral silence on his personal reaction to the 1954 Supreme Court School Decision, former President Eisenhower says it is morally and legally correct. It is a pity that he didn't endorse it while he was in the White House. Here was a great moral issue with which the whole country was grappling, yet the President of the United States would not lend his leadership. He could have provided a better climate for his successor and for the nation as a whole. His lukewarm attitude served to aid and abet the South in its strong opposition, says Mr. Mays. If he had called the Southern governors to a White House Conference, if he had addressed the country over TV, we would have had a different reaction in the South. When a leader fails to take a positive stand in times of crisis, chaos follows.

NEW CLUB MEMBER

Amsterdam News - Editorial (October 19)

At long last, Dwight D. Eisenhower has gotten around to reading the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 on school desegregation... and has suddenly come to realize that the Court was "right" about segregation in public education having no place in the American way of life. Those of us who lived through President Eisenhower's eight years of silence are aware of the negative results which came from his lack of courage to speak up with the full weight of his office. Yet, better late than never.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNIONS

COMMITTEE FOR STRANDED DOMESTICS PRAISE NEW LAW TO PROTECT GIRLS

New York Courier (October 19)

Domestic workers left stranded in many suburban New York communities by unscrupulous employment agencies will get a much better break now. Under a new state regulation the State Labor Department will police private employment agencies outside of New York City. The regulations are also designed to prevent confiscatory attachment on wages for agency fees and transportation from the South and to clarify terms of employment to domestics before they leave there.

AUTO INDUSTRY SHUNS NEGROES AND JEWS

Amsterdam News (October 19)

Although the Big Three of the automobile industry (Ford, General Motors, Chrysler) label themselves as "equal employment opportunity" firms because they are federal government contractors, they have almost ignored Negroes and Jews in their white collar and executive positions, a recent survey revealed. The low percentage, less than 3/4 of 1% of Jewish white collar workers, "leaves no doubt that artificial barriers still exist in the industry", stated the report. There is an almost total absence of Negroes in white collar and other executive positions in the industry.

THEY'RE LOOKING FOR YOU!

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (November 9)

This columnist was one of the Negro panelists who addressed the Office Executives Association, composed of hundreds of personnel managers who do hiring for most of New York's big firms. They decide how many jobs will be available to Negroes. The managers present said they have not been able to get as many qualified Negroes as they had hoped ..despite advertising for them. Mr. Hicks pointed out that the Negro looking for a job or apartment often feels this does not apply to him. Years of embarrassment keeps him from applying. Hicks suggested that ads be placed in the Negro press so that qualified men and women need not hesitate to apply.

CITES FAIR HIRING BENEFITS FOR FIRMS

Chicago Daily Defender (November 12)

Executive Director of the Chicago Urban League, Edwin Berry, said that, apart from its moral aspects, hiring Negroes is beneficial to employers because it widens their choice in filling jobs and reduces taxes paid for relief. Lifting the income of the Negro to prevailing national levels would double Negro income and increase the gross national product by $14 billion.

CHARGE UNION KEEPS TOP JOBS FOR WHITES

Chicago Daily Defender (November 14)

Some members of a Chicago hotel and service workers union with 8500 members (of whom about 65% are Negroes) charge a faction of the union has managed to keep all the top jobs lily white. There is a training program for stewards and Negro participation, but such jobs pay only small fees. Several jobs, such as counter girls at ball parks, are kept lily white. There are many qualified Negroes in the local who haven't run for office because they feared the consequences from intimidation and loss of their jobs.

PROGRESS

Amsterdam News - Editorial (November 16)

After years of critical comment on the failure of American industry to provide equal opportunity to Negroes, it gives us pleasure to report on some positive aspects. This newspaper has long known that unless the Negro could EARN the price to PAY the check, he could not stay afloat in the economic currents. Any student of Negro affairs knows that the Negro never wanted to be different in his economic life but that racial discrimination forced him to do so. Reports show that 115 of the nation's top companies have enrolled under the President's Voluntary Plans for Progress and there has been an increase of 8.9 percent in jobs given to non-whites. We offer our warmest congratulations to the President, the Vice-President and the 115 top business firms who are cooperating in a not-so-new plan which these men have put into operation.

INTERNATIONAL

WE ARE NOT ALONE

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (October 12)

The newly independent island of Jamaica was one of the corners of the globe which felt the shock-waves of the Birmingham blasting. A few days ago Senator Hugh Shearer, Chairman of the Jamaican delegation to the United Nations General Assembly, presented us with a check for $500 for a Re-Building Fund. With it came a message of moral support to Birmingham's dark-skinned citizens in their resistance to an unjust system.

THE SKIN GAME

Amsterdam News - Editorial (October 19)

Adlai Stevenson at a press conference, talked quite a lot about the "skin game" .. the alignment of people of the world based on skin color rather than on social and political needs. He feels this is wrong and pointed out that Russia, being white, would end up being our ally against Communist China. Our own government, at the very moment, sitting at a General Assembly conference table was busily engaged in playing the "skin game".. and the stakes were high. The issue was the question of Great Britain, a white nation, pulling out of Southern Rhodesia and transferring political and military power to a handful of whites who would rule the vast black majority. While ninety out of the 105 nations which voted were against allowing the British to do this, the United States "abstained". In other words, the United States played the "skin game" for lack of moral courage.

YE OLDE SKIN GAME

New York Courier - Column: Up Front..Down South by Daddy Mention (November 2)

No lesser light than Adlai Stevenson has recently speculated on the possibility of a Washington-Moscow axis based upon ye olde "skin game", whereby the world would be re-divided into a white camp and a colored camp. With all due respect to Mr. Stevenson this loose talk about choosing sides on the basis of skin color is a bunch of bull. Colored people are not interested in divvying up the world on the basis of race. We don't want a jim-crowed world any more than we want jim-crowed nations, no matter who does the jim-crowing.

APARTHEID MARCHES ON

New York Courier - Editorial (November 23)

The latest development in South Africa's policy of apartheid envisages the establishment of several black states within South Africa. The first of these, Transkei state, the size of New Jersey and Maryland, just elected an assembly. The white inhabitants will have no political rights in Transkei, but only in the Republic. This experiment is a new departure in apartheid and will be watched closely the world over.

HISTORY SHOWS

New York Courier - Column by J. A. Rogers (November 9 & 23)

The latest method of torture in South Africa is the Detention Law whereby 335 prisoners have been held for over 9 months in small cells, painted black with only the keyhole for light. What is the civilized world doing about this? If the United Nations meant business it would hit these monsters where it would hurt - with an economic boycott. Here's a situation where violence is the only answer. American investors in South African firms help the country thrive, with no thought to the racial injustice there, which is worse than American slavery ever was. The African and Asian nations should make it known that someday they will march on South Africa and wipe it off the map. The American Negro must also give support to this.

MINORITY GROUPS

THE RIGHTS MEXICAN LABORERS HAVE THAT NEGROES DON'T GET

Jet (October 24)

A Mexican migrant labor agreement in Congress has, some senators feel, established an irrefutable precedent for the President's civil rights legislation, including the controversial public accomodations section, according to Wisconsin Republican Senator William Proxmire. Even die-hard Dixiecrat Congressmen support a "bracero" bill which prohibits discrimination against Mexican laborers. Further, the bill empowers the Mexican government to step in and identify the U.S. communities that do discriminate. Ten Texas communities have already been put off limits by the Mexican government. If it is right for the Mexican government to prohibit discrimination against Mexican citizens in this country in places of public accomodation, why is it wrong for our own government to ban discrimination for Americans?

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

New York Courier - Column by George Schuyler (November 9)

There is no more in common or in sympathy between Puerto Ricans and Negroes than there is between Jews and Saudi Arabians. Joseph Monserrat of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico office in New York pointed out the vast difference in cultural background, language and social mores between the two groups. The Puerto Rican will seek his own salvation, has no desire to be tied up in the Negro struggle. Monserrat said that color is not a factor in Puerto Rico, but that's horsefeathers! The one thing characteristic of the Latin Americans is the color line within and between groups, so I ignore their crocodile tears over the race problem in the U.S.

MISSISSIPPI

PROGRESS IN JACKSON, MISS.

New York Courier - Editorial (October 19)

Reports from Jackson, Miss. indicate progress there. NAACP says that since its selective buying campaign colored persons have jobs as cashiers in grocery stores; the Automobile Association hired a Negro

agent and issues insurance to Negroes; there are more Federal jobs and many upgraded ones; Negroes have been hired as policemen and crossing-guards; libraries and some white churches admit Negroes.

MISS. CLERGY WILL NOT AID INTEGRATION

New York Courier (November 9)

Four Chicago ministers were jailed last week for attempting to integrate churches in Jackson. They said they received no cooperation, only opposition from their Methodist fellow clergymen in Jackson. Jackson ministers claimed their churches would be empty and banks would refuse them credit if they tried to integrate. The Jackson ministers refused to come to the aid of the arrested ministers and would not even vouch for their personal safety.

NEGRO RIGHTS GROUPS

IN THE WINGS

Amsterdam News - Column by Dave Hepburn (October 12)

Within recent weeks we have noted the movements of our best organizations - CORE, NAACP, the URBAN LEAGUE - in the fight against discrimination in show business and communications industries. None of these organizations is particularly oriented in this field, as is evidenced by certain features of their bargaining with the networks. Each organization presents its own policies with the result that there is duplication and confusion. The white employer can no longer ignore the Negro complaint but what we need now is a coordination of ideas and ideals in the industry; a knowledge of the functions of the industry so that our demands will be intelligent ones.

THE QUIET WAY

New York Courier - Editorial (November 6)

Ever since 1909, the NAACP has been winning victories and furthering Negro progress in the quiet expert legal way. Latest victories include the attack on the separate-but-equal provisions of the Hill-Burton Act which produced a ruling applying to all "white" hospitals, private or public. It is often said that legal measures are too long drawn out, that the courts are too slow, but the quiet way of the NAACP gets lasting results.

DIVIDING THE CIVIL RIGHTS DOLLAR

New York Courier - Editorial (November 23)

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund is currently defending 8000 persons in 130 separate actions. Obviously this costs lots of money, and yet so many Negroes are so forgetful of this basic service that they have recently been spending their civil rights dollars to bankroll organizations of dubious value, which they think have some magical solution to the Negro's many problems. Only the gradual processes of the law will free those arrested from jail... and that takes money.

PLAN FOR AID TO RIGHTS GROUPS TOLD BY BANKER - N.Y. Courier (11/23)
POWELL ENDORSES PLAN FOR BILLION DOLLAR RIGHTS FUND - Defender(11/30)
SUGGESTS "BANK-IN" TO AID RIGHTS REVOLUTION - Jet (12/5)

A creative idea has come forth whereby Negro men and women can utilize their own funds to finance the civil rights revolution. At the Annual Awards Banquet of the District of Columbia Chamber of Commerce, an association of Negro businessmen, Dr. Dunbar S. McLaurin, New York banker-lawyer, suggested a national "bank-in". The plan calls for one million people to transfer an average of $1,000 each from their present bank into Negro banking institutions and assign the interest thereon to civil rights organizations. At 2% the yield would be about $20,000,000 a year. The combined groups now operate on a budget of less than $2,000,000, most of which is voluntary contributions.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP

GREAT DAY FOR NEGRO

Amsterdam News - Column: People in Action by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (October 12)

In the mad quest to conquer us by dividing us, white people are working through some Negroes who will sell their race for a few dollars. We must make it clear that we never intend to go back to the days of division, when the white community could pick our leaders, when our children suffered discrimination, when our own lives were inflicted with a lack of self-respect. As our civil rights victories mount, the passions of diehards will be further aroused and they will do all within their power to provoke us.. but we must not retaliate with physical violence. This is a great hour for the Negro. To become the instrument of a great idea is a privilege that history rarely accords. Today the choice is no longer between violence and non-violence. It is either non-violence or non-existence.

FOLLOW THE LEADER

Amsterdam News - Column: Another Angle by James L. Hicks (October 12)

I think it is time we Negroes started looking up to our leadership. The forces at work today to convince you that Negroes are divided and have no leadership are using this lie as their secret weapon. You have just about any kind of leadership you choose to fight under. Are you non-violent: Then you have Dr. King. Are you young and ready to stage a sit-in? You have John Lewis of SNCC. Do you want to make a move in the field of labor? You have A. Philip Randolph. Do you want action? You have James Farmer of CORE. This is part of the leadership that electrified the world. Our problem is that we try to carry on too many fights in too many places with self-appointed leaders. Clear your issues with headquarters.

SAYS LEADERS CAUGHT IN MIDDLE OF BIG REVOLT

Chicago Daily Defender (November 14)

Negro leadership finds itself either playing the 'Uncle Tom' role or the aggressive militant part, according to Dr. Delton Brooks of the Cook County Department of Public Aid. Negroes and whites tend to

equate the value of Negro civic groups in terms of contributions to the Negro community rather than to the entire community, he said. "White leadership at its best assumes the role of the big white father...." He favors the teaching of Negro history so Negro children will appreciate their background and white children get understanding of the varied races. Dr. Brooks stated it is easier for a student to get information on an Australian Bush tribe than on his Negro brother.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

New York Courier - Column by George S. Schuyler (October 19)

The mass media have had a field day the past 3 years giving wide circulation to crackpot pronouncements of charlatans posturing as Negro leaders. Moderation andgradualism have become mortal sins in the ballyhoo of these sable Pied Pipers. I have found many Negroes who disavow these tactics but are unwilling to express opposition openly. Negroes have been led by many in the past, but they have never wanted to be led to slaughter. Negroes with any sense are dubious about the way the Rustins, Baldwins and Farmers propose to skin the cat of color bias. Thank God these "leaders" are living in America! In any non-white country I know about they would be convicts or corpses. All revolutions first devour their children.

FOLLOW-THE-LEADER!

N.Y. Courier - Column: Up Front..Down South by Daddy Mention (10/19)

While we're racking up some mighty good scores with demonstrations, there are a lot of tough targets left. The essential thing is a unified command for a host of other tasks: selective buying, voter registration, court challenges, etc. The need is for timetables as much as for coordination of command. Let the leaders get together and do their end of the job, and when the call comes, let us do ours. A mere decade ago 400 million people followed-the-leader to freedom in India. Now the whistle blows for 20 million Negroes in America to get into the game.

WHO'S LEADING?

New York Courier - Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (October 26)

Who is leading us? Is Adam Clayton Powell leading us; he who boasted "We have the white man on the run.."? The job is not to keep the whites on the run but to win them to our side. Is young John Lewis, student spokesman, our leader? Is the articulate James Farmer of CORE our leader? He, who would replace the administration.... The present administration has tried many ways to improve the status of Negro citizens. If a civil rights bill is passed, I'm convinced Mr. Farmer and others will not be satisfied with it. Will they turn to Goldwater, or expect me to do so?

POLITICS

BATTING ORDER

Amsterdam News - Editorial (October 26)

Readers will recall that the Mayor and the Governor made some strong promises about ridding the construction industry of bias. Yet the city and state continue spending taxpayers money, subsidizing and

supporting building unions and projects which they know discriminate, and they continue to operate schools in violation of the law of the land. Neither man has seen fit to cancel a contract where obvious bias exists. If Governor Rockefeller wants to be President and Mayor Wagner wants to be a Junior Senator, we would like to remind them that the victim of racial discrimination is more concerned about "who's pitching" in City Hall and in Albany, N. Y. than he is in "who's up next" at bat in Washington, D. C.

OFF TO PAKISTAN

Amsterdam News - Column: Uptown, Lowdown by James Booker (October 26)

POOR PLAN

Amsterdam News - Editorial (November 2)

The New York Bar Association's suggestion wherein the city's judges would be appointed by the Mayor in the future, but from a list of names submitted by a special 15-member "Judicial Nominating Commission" is a poor plan. Rather than lift the courts out of the mire of common politics, it would place the selection of judges in the hands of a small group who would not necessarily have to be any more competent in choosing than the "bosses" who now do the picking... also it could lead to the elimination of Negro and Puerto Rican lawyers aspiring to the bench.

SENATOR KEATING AND THE THING TO DO

Amsterdam News - Column: Home Plate by Jackie Robinson (November 23)

Next year Senator Keating deserves re-election, not only because he has been one of the outstanding legislators, but because he has fought for justice and honor in the treatment of minority groups. He was espousing the cause of freedom long before it became "the thing to do". His record can leave no doubt of his sincerity. Now there is talk of Mayor Wagner opposing him for office. Mayor Wagner makes all the proper sounds but I cannot forget certain significant silences nor the expressed opposition to making J. Raymond Jones head of Tammany because we already had a Negro Borough President of Manhattan. However, what concerns us most is whether Keating should be re-elected if he is to be saddled with Barry Goldwater at the head of the ticket. The principles expressed by Goldwater are so alien to the principles of Keating as to make it ludicrous for them to be on the same ticket. The Republican Party had better take a long look before commiting political suicide by naming Goldwater because we Negroes ain't whistling Dixie.

PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT

IS THE NEGRO A MAN - OR NOT? WHITE AUTHOR COLUMNIST ASKS

Jet (October 11)

Sidney Harris, author and editorial columnist for the Chicago Daily News, said we must face and answer unequivocally whether the Negro is a man - or not. If we believe he is, then he must be assured of all his civil, legal and human rights. If he is not, then he must be relieved of his responsibilities to fight for his country, pay taxes, labor in enterprises which he cannot share.

RUDE AND IGNORANT

MARSHALL PLAN

Both the above appeared in the New York Courier, Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (October 19 and November 16)

Faubus, Barnett, Wallace, White Citizens Councils, and the KKK haven't the slightest chance of stopping the social revolution which is taking place in the U.S. The world has become one great big neighborhood; the Negro middle class has become more involved in the fight. We are getting the racists on the run. Yet 100 years after emancipation we are unprepared for job opportunities; we are behind in education. The Urban League takes the position that something compensatory should be done. All other groups, Indians, Japanese, etc. are paid off. What about us? The Urban League calls this a domestic Marshall Plan. The American Negro is the only group which has been given a "bad check". He has been deprived of the essential means of getting ahead which white Americans take for granted. Therefore he asks compensatory action. It is up to those who imposed the handicaps on Negroes to find ways of removing them in fairness to the Negro.

RACE BIAS IN REVERSE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (November 12)

A recent policy statement by the New York City Commission on Human Rights recommends "preferential treatment" for Negroes to compensate "for the inequities of a hundred years". The New York Times, usually on the right side of the Negro question, views the proposal as wrong in principle and self-defeating, because it is "merely discrimination in reverse". The Christian Science Monitor suggests that there are other things to do, such as remedial teaching, fostering neighborhood understanding and so on. The law in many states forbids discrimination, but the law is ignored in many instances. Isn't it about time for the other side to have a taste of its own medicine? White folk have no idea of the extent of injury done by segregation to the human personality.

CATHOLIC WEEKLY REJECTS PREFERENTIAL BIAS THEORY

Amsterdam News (November 16)

The Catholic News (weekly) took sides with Mayor Wagner in rejecting preferential treatment as a device to accelerate employment of Negroes in fields where they do not work or where they have small numbers. The publication feels this is not the way to redress discrimination.. that it would result in discrimination against non-Negroes.. and that equality is for all.

'WAY OUT

New York Courier - Column: Up Front..Down South by Daddy Mention (November 23)

Residential segregation being what it is, letting kids attend the school nearest them is often de facto segregation. Our country went 'way out of its way to segregate and therefore must go 'way out of its way to desegregate. Uncle Sam gives away billions of dollars

every year helping people of all colors all over the map, but what's he doing for us? How come we don't rate a little Marshall Plan or CARE aid? We made the bloody Germans pay the Jews for their forced labor, didn't we? It took a heap of trouble to make Negroes Negroes and whites whites- we got to trouble ourselves more than somewhat to make all Americans Americans.

THE PRESS

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (October 28)

"Negroes are still a minority in Chicago - only about one-fifth of the population. A minority cannot enforce its will upon the majority, under our system of government", intoned the Chicago Tribune in a vicious editorial. This is tantamount to saying that the Chicago Negro minority has no right to seek justice and equality or exercise its constitutional prerogative through petitions and peaceful assembly. The tone of the editorial amounts to a bugle call to all militant racists to rally under the banner of white supremacy. When the Tribune speaks of human rights, it means white man's rights, yet black men are called upon to defend this Republic in time of national emergency. If the Tribune wants our peaceful demonstrations to develop into a contest of force, Negroes are ready for that, too.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (October 29)

No driving force has been more consistent and insistent in beating the tom-tom for the rights of the American black minority than the New York Times. Theirs is journalism in the superlative sense, the kind that heightens faith in the future of the American democracy. We pause today to salute this great newspaper.

FALSE RACE THEORY

RACE THEORY

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (November 5)

Recent attempts to justify the political and social inequality of Negroes on scientific grounds have been sharply criticized by the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which reported that there is no scientific evidence of Negro inferiority. The report was largely prompted by such books as "The Biology of the Race Problem" by Wesley George and Carleton Putnam's "Race and Reason - a Yankee View". The segregationists have been dishing out this kind of propaganda in a desperate attempt to stem the judicial tide toward equality.

SCIENTISTS FIND NO EVIDENCE TO BACK "INFERIORITY" CLAIMS

Amsterdam News (November 16)

Taking note of published statements on the supposed biological inferiority of Negroes, a committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science said the alleged evidence is used to challenge a principle fundamental to our political system, and to influence the outcome of the present crisis in the relations between

racial groups. The use of purported "scientific evidence" to justify non-compliance with the Constitution debases both science and the human conscience, they stated.

U.S. STEEL

PEN PALS FOR U.S. STEEL

Amsterdam News - Column: Poppy's Notes by Poppy Cannon White (10/12)

Birmingham's largest employer, largest owner of real estate, largest bank depositor, lives in Pittsburgh and New York. Birmingham is a steel-owned city and it is that group who can solve the problem. They can go to the local banks and tell them to give jobs to Negroes. The steel subsidiary in Birmingham could phone the Governor and Mayor and tell them they want Negro children admitted to schools before nightfall. Perhaps a new path has been sighted for civil rights soldiers to follow. We may have been putting pressure on the wrong people. Owners of U.S. Steel .. and all the rest of us, should write Roger Blough, Chairman of the Board of U. S. Steel Corporation.

U.S. STEEL REFUSES TO HELP IN B'HAM RACIAL MATTERS

Jet (November 4)

Unwilling to flex his corporation's muscles to demand racial equality in Birmingham, U.S. Steel Corporation Chairman, Roger M. Blough, flatly rejected suggestions that his company use influence and strength to persuade the community to improve opportunities for Negroes. The idea is "repugnant" to me personally", Blough said.

IRRESPONSIBLE LEADERSHIP

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (November 21)

The indifference of U.S. Steel's Roger M. Blough to social problems is a typical behavior pattern of those whose wealth and power place them above the commong battle. U.S. Steel, the largest employer in Birmingham, could ease race strife there by exerting its economic influence, but Blough said that "to attempt to exert any kind of economic compulsion to achieve a particular end in the social area seems beyond what a corporation should do..." His contemptuous indifference is the breeze that fans the smoldering fires of revolution.

VOTING

GOP SLEPT: DEMS STUMPED ALL OVER AS RIGHTS ISSUE SPURRED TURNOUT

New York Courier (October 19)

Even rank-and-file members of the Republican Party are expressing amazement at the indifference of party bigwigs to the new wave of interest among Negroes to register as a result of the civil rights fight. Democratic Party clubs carried out intensive door-to-door canvassing to urge registration and all Negro districts reported heavy registration on the heels of this effort in both Manhattan and Brooklyn. A district leader said: "We tried to tell the people how lucky they were to be living here instead of in Birmingham."

LOOK WHO'S TALKING ABOUT CRUELTY

Amsterdam News - Column: Along This Way by Roy Wilkins (October 19)

Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia would not throw a bomb or fire a sniper's rifle, but when he jumps to the defense of the system on the floor of the United States Senate, the boys back home who do commit these assaults feel safe knowing "their" representatives in Washington will protect them. Negro citizens should remember it is because they lack voting power that the Russells, the Eastlands and their ilk become chairmen of committees spending billions of dollars a year - a whip which can make a lot of Senators and Congressmen carefully consider their positions on a civil rights bill.

IRATE NEGRO GOP LEADERS BLAST PARTY HOSTILITY TO RACE AIMS

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by Ted Coleman (October 28)

"No political party can win victory in 1964 by writing off the Negro vote", said seven Chicago Negro Republican ward committeemen in a signed statement. They also wrote Sen. Dirksen expressing alarm over his reported opposition to the public accommodations provision of the civil rights bill. They pointed out that statements by Republican Party leaders have been vague and hostile to the revolution; and blasted the Democrats for perpetuating segregation in Chicago.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (October 29)

Dr. Howard Zinn, formerly on the faculty of Spelman College in Atlanta, suggests in a report that a permanent "Federal presence is needed in the Deep South...", a special force of at least "a thousand Federal agents to stand guard.. in protection of the constitutional rights of the people of that region." He thinks such a plan would have the appeal of the Peace Corps and the full backing of the national government.

THE INFLUENCE OF NEGRO VOTING

New York Courier - Editorial (November 16)

The recent election must have brought home to many politicians the growing influence of the Negro vote - in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Lexington, Ky., Niagara Falls, all over the country where Negroes can be induced to register and vote. The growing Negro vote will play a big part in the 1964 Presidential election. The next big Negro march should be to the polls.

WE NEED VOTES

New York Courier - Column: Horizon by P. L. Prattis (November 23)

The chances of a strong civil rights bill being passed grow slimmer and slimmer. All this is because the Democrats of the South control the Congress. If the grip of the white South is to be broken, Southern Negroes must do it. If all the eligible Negroes in Mississippi or Alabama could and would vote, they could drive the Barnetts and Wallaces out of the Democratic party. When the Negro vote becomes effective, Southern white office seekers will cater to it just as they cater now to the racists.

XMAS BOYCOTTS

THE ARTISTS AND WRITERS EXPLAIN THEIR XMAS BOYCOTT
Amsterdam News (November 9)

CORE SETS STRATEGY IN CHRISTMAS BOYCOTT
Chicago Daily Defender (November 19)

BIG 7 OF CIVIL RIGHTS HAVE UNIQUE XMAS PLAN
New York Courier (November 23)

CORE WILL OPEN CHRISTMAS STORE
New York Courier (November 30)

The Association of Artists for Freedom, whose prominent members proposed a Christmas-buying boycott, explained their stand: They believe in Christmas as the birthday of the Prince of Peace and Brotherhood. While thousands of atrocities are committed against Negro people, and while these crimes go unpunished, they feel they cannot participate in the mockery of "Christmas as usual". This year they will make toys with their own hands. They ask merchants to understand and help organizations working to strengthen the moral fibre of the nation. The Chicago branch of CORE issued a national call to take part in the boycott. The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership urges the purchase of special cards to raise funds. In New York Theodore Flicker, producer and actor, has donated the use of his theatre, The Premise, at 154 Bleeker Street, to CORE to enable that organization to operate a store for Christmas items.

GROUP URGES BOYCOTT OF CHRISTMAS, CADILLAC CARS

Jet (December 5)

A nationwide Christmas boycott against all merchants and Cadillac cars was urged by the Grass Roots Leadership Conference formed in Detroit by representatives of nine all-Negro organizations from 11 major cities in eight states. The Cadillac boycott stemmed from a Cleveland auto dealer's statement that "no Negro was qualified to sell a Cadillac".

MISCELLANEOUS

SENGSTACKE TELLS JR. REALTORS ABOUT CHICAGO'S RACE CRISIS

Chicago Daily Defender - Article by Ruth H. McCoy (October 15)

John Sengstacke, Editor and Publisher of the Chicago Defender, told Chicago's Junior Realty Board that "the greatest challenge white America has today is to overcome its fear of the Negro". The Negro today is using his economic power and this simple fact is making more and more white people realize that they must forget their fears, he said. "Those Negroes who can afford to buy and maintain the cultural standards set up by neighborhoods should be accorded the same rights and privileges of any other American citizen", Sengstacke said in his frank talk.

THE BIASED 40 & 8

Amsterdam News (October 19)

For the fifth straight year the 40 & 8, the former American Legion fun-making unit, has rejected a resolution brought by it's New York

State delegation to end a constitutional clause restricting membership to whites only.

WHO IS TO BE THE JUDGE?

Amsterdam News - Column by Roy Wilkins (October 24)

Some of the Negro opinions, in two recent surveys, on the race problem must have been hard for white people to swallow. For some of us in the struggle, one of the most infuriating white attitudes is that embodied in the question, "How much equality is the white man willing to grant the Negro?" What right has a telephone lineman in Texas or a housewife in Idaho, on the basis of whiteness, to decide how much equality an American Negro shall enjoy? The Negro has been an American 344 years and has given his full measure to his country. Despite their numerical superiority and despite the political, economic and social structure they have created to sustain their view, white people cannot "grant" or "bestow" the Negro's constitutional rights as a citizen.

BIRMINGHAM, WHERE THE REBEL FLAG OVERSHADOWS THE STARS AND STRIPES

Amsterdam News (October 26)

The Rev. Robert Kinloch, on his return from Birmingham, likened that city to what was going on in Germany in 1939 under Hitler. The American flag is seldom seen flying from public buildings in Birmingham. The flag almost always seen is the Confederate pennant which is stamped on the helmets of state troopers and across the license plates of their cars. Fear permeates the atmosphere. People with vital information regarding senseless slayings have no one to turn to as they fear the police most.

DOCTORS TO PRESS FIGHT ON BIAS

Amsterdam News (November 2)

26 PRIVATE HOSPITALS DEFY LAW TO KEEP NEGRO DOCTORS OFF STAFF

Chicago Daily Defender (November 18)

The New York County Medical Society approved a resolution putting the organization on record as opposed to racial discrimination in patient care, physician opportunity and membership in professional organizations. In sharp contrast, a Chicago survey prepared for the Mayor's Committee on Hospital Appointments of Negro Physicians, shows 26 hospitals that have no Negroes on staff and have been known to turn away Negro patients for emergency treatment.. in defiance of state and city codes.

A YOUNGSTER VIEWS MAKING OF A FILM

Amsterdam News (November 9)

A 13-year-old Junior High youngster "covered" the filming of the "Pawnbroker" on location in Harlem and had this to say in part: "The thing I liked most was that they had colored cameramen and two colored policemen ... I know that these men are not prejudiced and accept colored employees because of their ability... If all people were like that we all would be much happier than we are now."

LIFE IN BIRMINGHAM

Amsterdam News - Column: People In Action by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (November 9)

The present power structure in Birmingham will do only what it is forced to do by incessant demands for justice. If Birmingham is to survive, its salvation depends upon the forces of Negro militancy keeping the pressure on in such a manner that the conscience of the nation will demand a resolution of the problem. If the non-violent way is deemed invalid and troublesome and summarily dismissed by the decision makers and armchair sociologists, then they will have chosen to light the fuse to a keg of sociological dynamite called Birmingham.

WHITES ADOPT NEGROES - Amsterdam News (November 16)

WHITE ADOPTIVE PARENTS SOUGHT FOR HOMELESS, NON-WHITE TOTS
New York Courier (November 23)

AGENCY TO PLACE NEGRO CHILDREN IN WHITE HOMES - Jet (November 28)

Louise Wise Services, one of the city's oldest adoption agencies, announced it will place Negro children and children of mixed racial background for permanent adoption with white families. While they do not feel this is the solution to the problem of homeless Negro children, it is thought a city as varied and cosmopolitan as New York ought to be able to welcome interracial families.

DR. JAMES W. SILVER

Chicago Daily Defender - Editorial (November 18)

In an address before the Southern Historical Association, Dr. James Silver, history professor at the University of Mississippi said: "The Mississippian who prides himself on his individuality lives in a climate where non-conformity is forbidden, where the white man is not free...." When Gov. Barnett heard about the speech, he commented: "Silver's liable to say anything...He ought to have been kicked out long ago." More than 50 professors have been literally driven from the state. Dr. Silver's courage deserves commendation.

KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS - Chicago Daily Defender, Editorial (Nov. 20)

6 KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS QUIT WHEN NEGRO REJECTED - Jet (Nov. 28)

Catholic organizations which harbor racial prejudice are being flushed out. The Grand Knight and five other top officials of the Knights of Columbus in Chicago resigned over the rejection of a Negro applicant. Not too long ago nuns picketed to register their disapproval of discrimination by a lily-white Catholic Women's Club.

Press, Radio, T.V. & Movies

CIVIL RIGHTS 1963:

A public service spot campaign available free of charge to any radio or TV station in the nation

An outstanding opportunity for broadcasters to serve the national interest in a time of crisis.

The Beginning—On June 11th, President Kennedy took the civil rights problem to the people, on network TV and radio, asked for justice, conscience and fair play.

The Time-Life Broadcast Proposal—We offered to create and produce a campaign of TV and radio spots supporting and implementing the President's call. The series would feature leading citizens appealing to the public for individual responsibility and reason, and would be made available free to all broadcasters.

The Response—The White House gave approval and endorsement, with authorization to excerpt portions of the President's June 11th Address. Leading figures in American public life agreed to film and record the campaign. And from the three major faiths—the United Church Women of the National Council of Churches, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the National Council of Catholic Men—came sponsorship.

Ready now—A series of spots, running one minute or less, featuring these distinguished spokesmen: The President of the United States; Dr. William G. Carr, Executive Secretary, National Education Association; Frank H. Heller, President, National Council of Catholic Men; Lena Horne; Senator Hubert Humphrey (D., Minn.); Rev. Martin Luther King; Senator Thomas Kuchel (R., Cal.); Mrs. W. Murdoch MacLeod, General Director, United Church Women; Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, General Secretary, National Council of Churches; Walter Reuther, President, U.A.W.; Jackie Robinson; Dore Schary, National Chairman, Anti-Defamation League; Sylvester Smith, President, American Bar Association; Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, NAACP; Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League.

N.B. We urge that all stations using these spots augment them with messages from state and local leaders, addressing the civil rights problem as it applies to local audiences.

TIME LIFE BROADCAST

Availability: stations which receive voice-circuit service from the Mutual Broadcasting System and Radio Pulsebeat News, will have the complete set of radio spots, and will make them available locally. Television stations, and radio stations in cities where spots are not available may contact us direct.

TIME & LIFE BUILDING, ROCKEFELLER CENTER, NEW YORK CITY

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Preliminary Report on Advertising Practices:

A STUDY CONDUCTED BY

The Mayor's Committee on Job Advancement

ROBERT F. WAGNER
MAYOR

THEODORE W. KHEEL
Chairman

JAMES J. McFADDEN
Executive Director

City Hall
New York City

Press, Radio, T.V. & Movies

ADL CATALOG

AUDIO VISUAL MATERIALS

Interagy Org. - Off. Com.

File

Food Service Desegregation

Experience With Nonsegregated Service In Kentucky Eating Establishments, July 1961

RECEIVED
MAY 21 1962

A Report Prepared by

the Social Research Service, University of Kentucky
for
The Commission on Human Rights, Commonwealth of Kentucky

Frankfort, Kentucky

Pub. Accomm. Sen.

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1963

SUBJECT: South Dakota Public Accommodations Act

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

Governor Archie Gubbrud of South Dakota has signed into law a bill prohibiting racial or religious discrimination in places of public accommodation. The bill had passed the Senate by a vote of 31-2 and the House by a vote of 62-7. South Dakota thus becomes the 29th state to adopt such a measure.

The Act covers discrimination "by public conveyances, theaters, or other public places of amusement, or by hotels, motels, barber shops, saloons, restaurants, or other places of refreshment, entertainment, or accommodation."

Violations are declared criminal offenses punishable by fines up to $200.

The Act will go into effect on July 1, 1963.

3/8/63
No. 379

PH:TL/ark

Pub. Accomm.

CORE
The Church of the Redeemer
105 N. Beech Street
Greensboro, N. C.
BR 5-0033

URGENT

INFORMATION SHEET

Greensboro, North Carolina

May 19, 1963

Over 700 students have been incarcerated in a county farm and an abandoned polio hospital for seeking service at resturants and entrance into theatres in Greensboro, N. C., on May 17 and 18. We firmly believe that present conditions are extremely dangerous to their health and safety. Some have been hospitalized as a result of inadequate provisions and treatment.

A few observations in regard to the Above:

1. A committee headed by the lawyer representing the students, Atty. Major High, and composed of Fr. Richard Hicks, Dr. Glenn Rankin, Dr. Louis Dowdy, Dr. J. A. Tarpley, Dr. W. L. T. Miller, DDS, Dr. George Evans, MD, Dr. A. V. Bount, Jr., MD, was not permitted to investigate the conditions of the youths.

2. The over-whelming majority has not been provided with beds. This was confirmed by officals.

3. In a room approximately 50' by 30' there are seven beds and 75 students. Most have been without beds for two nights.

4. On Sunday, May 19, we were not permitted to deliver food and what they were provided with is inadequate.

5. Even parents have not been allowed to visit their sons and daughters even though promises had been made that they could do so.

6. The Mayor has left town and cannot be reached.

Please register your protests immediately with the following:

1. David Schenck
   Mayor
   Greensboro, N. C. BR 4-2048

2. W. T. Jackson, Police Captain
   Greensboro Police Department BR 2-4141

3. Clayton Jones, Sheriff Guilford County
   High Point, N. C. 88-2-8311 and 88-86433

4. Terry Sanford, Governor
   Governor's Mansion
   Raleigh, N. C.

5. Berl I. Bernhard
   Civil Rights Commission
   Washington, D. C.

6. Robert Kennedy, Attorney General
   The Justice Department
   Washington, D. C.

7. John F. Kennedy, President
   White House
   Washington, D. C.

Wash Post 5/20/63 Pub. Accommodations

Outcome of Race Talks Awaited in Cambridge

By Richard Homan
Staff Reporter

CAMBRIDGE, Md., May 19 — Whites and Negroes waited hopefully today for a round of meetings that will determine whether the City's racial trouble has ended or merely been interrupted.

If a settlement has been reached—and few think it has—it will be a case of a community solving its problems with almost no outside help. Leading representatives of both races come from old, established Eastern Shore families.

Circuit Court Judge W. Laird Henry, whose ancestor, John Henry, was Maryland's first Governor, has accepted the task of trying to sell desegregation to the City's white businessmen.

Although neither side has announced any meetings for Monday, Judge Henry indicated today that he would "meet informally" with some of the City's businessmen. Whites and Negroes will meet here Tuesday with the Maryland Commission on Intercultural Problems.

Gloria Richardson, 41, granddaughter of a Kingston Negro, a City businessman, invested the drive for equal rights and is more than partly responsible for the peaceful nature of the demonstrations that lasted nearly eight weeks.

Only One Outsider

No Federal officials and no outside lawyers have been sent to Cambridge. The only outside Negro leader has been Reginald Robinson, 23, an Atlanta field representative of the Student Non-Violent Action Committee, who directed activities while Mrs. Richardson was in jail.

At a Saturday meeting white and Negro leaders agreed to [illegible] to implement a [illegible] of requests presented by Mrs. Richardson and the Negroes. Negroes agreed to stop demonstrations for a week.

Judge Henry, once an outspoken critic of integration, arranged the meeting and will attempt to bring community-wide acceptance of the Negro's requests.

"I am very tired," Henry said yesterday after a week of almost constant negotiations. "I got into this thing quite accidentally only because of my love for the community."

The Big Problem

"The big problem now is to try to get all the people to go along with what we think is a fair request of the Negroes."

Henry, 56, studied at Princeton but left to serve in the Army during World War I. He finished his law studies in the office of his father, also a Circuit Court Judge.

He has been described as authoritarian and outspoken. Women in the jury box was something it took him years to accept.

"He lived in an ivory tower for a long while," an old friend said. "But now he's come out and taken an intense interest in his community."

"We have an armistice here now," Henry said today. "But this is a small town and it's a very tense situation. The littlest thing, a rumor for example, can hurt us."

Race Made Contact

Henry's first contact with the racial problem came two weeks ago when Baltimore Attorney C. Burnam Mace asked him to come to a meeting.

"We talked, but none of us was really smart enough to know what to do," Henry said. Then he asked Sheriff Calvert Creighton to see if Mrs. Richardson would like to talk to Henry.

The meeting with Mrs. Richardson and other Negroes brought a clear understanding of the problem, but no agreement. Then Henry began talking with businessmen and other prominent people away from officialdom and the result was Saturday's truce.

The Negroes have asked for an end to racial discrimination in public places, schools and private employment.

"If they show us nothing concrete by Saturday," Robinson said yesterday, "we'll be back demonstrating."

Negro Minister Speaks

The Rev. Charles Bourne, a Negro leader, said he hoped that "no one sabotages the works, or they won't have enough jail space here or in Easton to hold us."

A mass meeting of the Bourne's Bethel AME Church Sunday night welcomed the more than jailed demonstrators who were released as part of the agreement.

Among those jailed were Mrs. Richardson, her mother, Mabel Booth, and her daughter, Donna.

Mrs. Richardson, vice-chairman of the Cambridge Non-Violent Action Committee, is a granddaughter of Frederick Douglass (Marty) St. Clair, a City Councilman in Cambridge for fifty years.

She has won almost complete trust from both sides since starting the equality drive. The same requests which were accepted Saturday had been presented by Mrs. Richardson at a March City Council meeting and met with ridicule from Council members.

Since then Mrs. Richardson has filled what many of the City's Negroes consider a gap in their leadership. Charles Cornish, the Negro member of the City Council, was present when Mrs. Richardson appeared before the Council but he did not speak.

Firm Loses $150 In Safe Break

Burglars pried open a rear door, knocked the bottom out of a safe and took $150 in cash, some stamps, paper and a [illegible] from the office of the Western Cameras [illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

PEABODY AWARD

A statement of **EDITORIAL OPINION** by WDSU-TV and WDSU-Radio, 520 Royal Street, New Orleans 16, Louisiana

A. LOUIS READ, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER • JOHN CORPORON, NEWS DIRECTOR

Public Accom. La.

NEGROES AND NEW ORLEANS HOTELS

(The following editorial was broadcast over WDSU-TV and WDSU-Radio on Tuesday, May 21, 1963.)

Apparently, New Orleans has lost the national American Legion convention because hotels feel they cannot admit Negroes as guests, even though this is no longer against the law.

Losing the convention will cost the city about $10-million.

Last year a million and a half visitors spent an estimated $160-million in New Orleans... a good indication that tourism has become one of our main industries.

With the Legion pull-out, a healthy chunk of this year's tourist business goes down the drain.

That's money which would have jingled in the pockets of waiters, taxi drivers, laundry workers, shoe salesmen, filling station attendants and barbers.

That's tourist spending which would have benefited hotels, restaurants, flower shops, railroads, airlines, newspapers, TV and radio stations, candy stores, gift shops, breweries, department stores, lawyers, preachers and teachers.

And the list runs on and on.

Why should men and women in all walks of life make economic sacrifices for hotel segregation?

WDSU believes it is too high a price to pay.

For those concerned about abrupt social changes, it should be remembered that hotel rooms here are primarily used by out-of-town guests, not by Orleanians.

In short, Orleans residents are not affected by who occupies the hotel room, but they are affected economically if that room is not occupied.

Hotels would and should retain the right to reject any guest who is obnoxious or undesirable whether he be white or Negro.

This station believes the Legion decision has tarnished New Orleans' image as a tourist city. If hotels maintain their rigid policy, the image will get worse and income from tourism will drop off.

Many other cities have dropped the racial barriers in hotels due to economic necessity WDSU believes it's time for New Orleans to do the same.

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A statement of **EDITORIAL OPINION** by WDSU-TV and WDSU-Radio, 520 Royal Street, New Orleans 16, Louisiana

A. LOUIS READ, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER • JOHN CORPORON, NEWS DIRECTOR

THE LEGION DECIDES

(The following editorial was broadcast over WDSU-TV and WDSU-Radio on Wednesday, May 1, 1963.)

It appears certain now that the American Legion will hold it national convention in New Orleans in early September.

Our city almost lost the convention because some legion members in Pennsylvania complained that segregated hotels and motels would interfere with 30 or 40 Negroes planning to attend.

Now, however, in Indianapolis the Legion's executive committee and the convention commission unanimously endorsed New Orleans as the city for '63.

WDSU believes Legion leaders have acted wisely and honorably.

As stated in an earlier editorial, the Legion selected our city a year ago knowing full-well that the segregation problem existed.

To have punished the city by yanking the convention out at the last minute would have been a downright breach of faith -- not to mention a breach of contract.

There is some indication that the issue was raised because of internal Legion politics, which had nothing at all to do with segregation obstacles.

Now, however, the matter seems to be ironed out.

Judge Bernard Bagert and Al LaBiche deserve special commendation. They vigorously lobbied Legionnaires in Indianapolis, and others, until the right decision was made.

The city owes them a debt of gratitude because apparently we came within inches of losing the dollars and prestige that go with hosting one of the country's largest conventions. Losing it would have tarnished New Orleans' reputation as one of the finest convention cities.

If there is a lesson to be learned from this episode, it is that civic problems -- whether they be racial, economic or educational -- are best faced and solved at home before they become national headlines.

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PEABODY AWARD

A statement of **EDITORIAL OPINION** by WDSU-TV and WDSU-Radio, 520 Royal Street, New Orleans 16, Louisiana

A. LOUIS READ, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER • JOHN CORPORON, NEWS DIRECTOR

THE AMERICAN LEGION CONVENTION

(The following editorial was broadcast over WDSU-TV and WDSU-Radio on Wednesday, April 24, 1963.)

New Orleans is scheduled to be host to the American Legion's national convention in early September.

It seems, however, there is some sentiment within the Legion's national executive committee to take the convention to another city because our hotels and motels are segregated, by law and by custom.

But, then, they were segregated when the Legion made the decision to come to New Orleans.

It is understandable that the 20 or 30 Negroes wishing to attend the convention would resent being turned down at principal hotels and motels.

By coincidence, the very law that requires this form of segregation is under attack in federal court, and a decision could quite possibly come down before the convention date.

But settled or not, the point is that the Legion chose New Orleans knowing that the racial problem existed. We would assume that our city was selected because its advantages far outweigh its disadvantages.

The Legion's national executive committee will meet in Indianapolis May 1st to discuss switching cities. A Legion committee recently visited New Orleans to determine if hotel and motel segregation would affect the convention.

WDSU believes a last-minute switch would be unfair to the city and would inflict irreparable harm on our tourist industry.

Punishing the city for its racial problems is not a Legion function. And, anyway, New Orleans admits its problems in this field...and much is being done about them.

In behalf of New Orleans, this station asks understanding and cooperation from the Legion.

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TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
June 7, 1963 Vol. 81 No. 23

Pub. Accounts - Gen.

THE NATION

RACES

The Revolution

Spring 1963 will long be remembered as the time when the U.S. Negro's revolution for equality exploded on all fronts.

Negroes faced snarling police dogs. They went to jail by the thousands. They risked beatings as they sat on lunch-counter stools. They were bombed in their homes. They were clubbed down by cops. They sent out their children to battle men. In the weeks, months and even years to come, there will be lulls in the revolution. But it will revive—for, after the spring of 1963, there can be no turning back.

Pain & Silence. Last week, as in all weeks, the center of the revolution was in the U.S. South. In Jackson, Miss., sit-in demonstrators entered a segregated five-and-ten lunch counter, sat stoically on the stools as white roughnecks crowded around them. At first there were only insults. Then the whites seized catchup bottles, mustard and sugar dispensers, spattered the stuff all over the demonstrators. Still there was only that stolid silence.

Infuriated, a burly ex-cop dragged Negro Memphis Norman, 21, off his stool, slugged him to the floor. As the Negro lay there, the white man kicked him in the face, kicked him again and again and again. Later, Norman was sent to a hospital—and charged with disturbing the peace.

The demonstration continued for three hours. A white college professor joined the sit-in demonstrators; he was beaten by the white hoodlums until his face was raw. He stayed hunched over the counter, flinched but did not fight back when his tormentors poured salt in his wounds.

Jackson police stood outside the store, did nothing to stop the brutality, and the sit-in protesters left only after the manager shut up shop. When other pickets appeared later in the week, Jackson officials ordered Negro prison trusties out of their cells to carry arrested Negro and white demonstrators to police cars and paddy wagons.

Jackson kept growing tenser. A gasoline bomb exploded in the carport of an N.A.A.C.P. leader. Negro leaders walked out of a meeting with city officials after a misunderstanding with Mayor Allen Thompson about their demands. The Negroes prepared for more demonstrations, and Mayor Thompson ordered a hog-wire enclosure, able to handle 10,000 prisoners, set up on the state fairgrounds.

To the Hogpen. As school let out on Friday, hundreds of Jackson's Negro students gathered in the Farish Street Baptist Church and at Brinkley High School. A minister collected knives, pencils and other sharp objects as the kids filed into the church. Then they were sent into the street.

UPI

NORMAN STOMPED AT JACKSON SIT-IN
A season of stoic rebels.

Carrying American flags, the first demonstrators headed toward a phalanx of 60 cops four blocks away. A police captain shouted through a bullhorn that they would be arrested if they did not have a parade permit. The marchers stopped. A cop smashed a Negro above the knees with his night stick. And many demonstrators obediently climbed into trucks for the trip to the hogpen prison.

But hundreds more were already jamming the streets. After half an hour, state police, armed with repeater shotguns and carbines, arrived. Negro demonstrators sprinted into alleys and the cops followed, swinging their clubs. Scores of Negroes were caught and herded into garbage trucks. In all, 500 Negroes were arrested Friday. On Saturday, another massive march was launched and police arrested another 100—including N.A.A.C.P. Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins. But at week's end Jackson Mayor Thompson succumbed to the determined onslaught and acceded to several key demands for equal Negro employment opportunities in municipal jobs.

Other Southern towns were seething too. In Tallahassee, Fla., Negro students paraded, clapping and singing, before segregated theaters. Police moved in quickly, broke up the demonstrations by arresting 257 and dispersing the rest with volleys of tear gas. In Clarksville, Tenn., 300 Negroes, including Olympic Track Star Wilma Rudolph, crowded around a segregated restaurant demanding that they be served. In Baton Rouge, 100 Negro children marched in protest against segregated public facilities. In Oklahoma City, scores of Negroes sat stubbornly for nine hours trying to buy a meal in a segregated restaurant.

Beyond Dixie. Yet if the U.S. North thought it could view the South's spectacle with any complacency, it was wrong. The Negro revolt had burst all regional boundaries. In Philadelphia, Negro pickets battled with helmeted policemen during a week of demonstrations against job discrimination at a school construction site. Knives and broken bottles flashed, more than 20 people were hurt.

True to the fever of the season, this violent outburst was run by the N.A.A.C.P.—normally a mild-tempered organization. Herbert Hill, national labor secretary for the association, made it clear that things had changed: "The arena of combat for the N.A.A.C.P. has shifted from the courtroom to direct mass action." And he snapped that there would soon be big protests over job discrimination in Boston, St. Louis, Chicago, Washington and New York.

In Chicago, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of last month's Battle of Birmingham, appeared before 5,500 excited people and brought them shouting to their feet when he said: "You must defeat segregation in Chicago be-

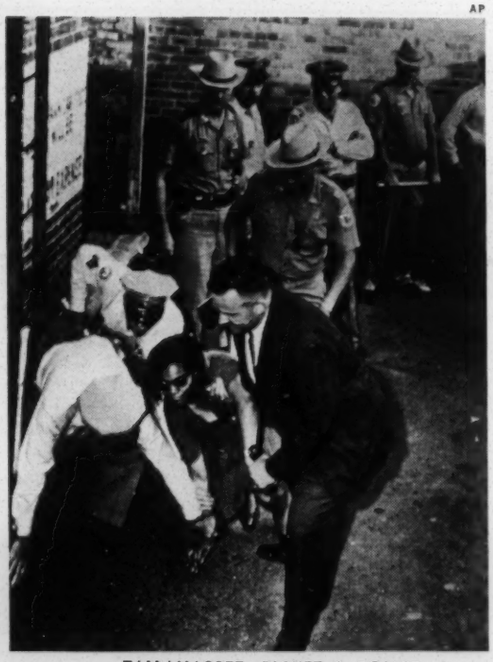
AP

JACKSON: TRUSTIES & INTEGRATIONIST

UPI

PHILADELPHIA: N.A.A.C.P. PICKET

AP



TALLAHASSEE: PICKET & POLICE
"We can't wait any longer."

cause the *de facto* segregation of Chicago is as bad as the *de jure* segregation of Birmingham. We're through with tokenism and gradualism and see-how-far-you've-comeism. We're through with we've-done-more-for-your-people-than-anyone-elseism. We can't wait any longer. Now is the time."

The fever was everywhere, and every act seemed to fan the flames in another place. Fifteen hundred Chicago Negroes picketed a cemetery that had refused to cremate one of their race. In Michigan, a resort shut down when 50 pickets arrived with signs charging segregation there. In Baltimore, eight people went to jail after picketing a segregated amusement park.

In the Courts. But not all the battles were waged in the streets. Last week, in an opinion written by Justice Arthur Goldberg, the U.S. Supreme Court slapped down segregationist notions of stalling on integration. Wrote Goldberg: "The basic guarantees of our Constitution are warrants for the here and now, and unless there is an overwhelmingly compelling reason, they are to be promptly fulfilled." The decision came in a suit against segregated recreation facilities in Memphis. The Supreme Court ordered that they be immediately integrated. And at week's end Memphis officials grudgingly complied, except for swimming pools, which were shut down.

Although the civil rights revolution had been building for a long time, its intensity in the spring of 1963 caught the U.S. by surprise. Now the Kennedy Administration finds itself hard up against its most urgent domestic crisis. Georgia-born Secretary of State Dean Rusk labeled it "one of the gravest issues that we have had since 1865." In a Memorial Day speech at the Gettysburg battleground, Vice President Lyndon Johnson said: "The Negro today asks justice. We do not answer him, and we do not answer those who lie beneath this soil when we reply to the Negro by asking 'Patience.' "

But at the White House, there was an air of frustrated urgency. President Kennedy and Attorney General Bobby Kennedy are both earnest workers for civil rights. But they are also acutely aware of the political problems that confront them in the Negro revolution: the Administration badly needs Southern congressional votes for its legislative program this year; moreover, there is always the white Southern vote to consider in next year's elections.

The President and the Attorney General have therefore made every effort to iron out civil rights disputes in behind-the-scenes negotiations. Bobby has attended dozens of closed-door meetings with white and Negro leaders. They have not all been successful. At one, in New York, the Attorney General sat down with a group of Negro intellectuals led by Author James Baldwin. Bobby was stunned by the militance of the Negroes, particularly when one said that many Negroes might not fight for the U.S. against Cuba because of the lame Administration stand on integration thus far. When the group suggested to Bobby that the President might help the situation by making a dramatic public appearance—such as personally escorting a Negro into the University of Alabama—the Attorney General laughed in his disbelief that it could be a serious proposal. Dr. Kenneth Clark, Negro psychologist at New York's City College, said later: "There was no communication. I think we might as well have been talking different languages."

Deals and Bargains. Still, the Kennedys persisted in their efforts at private persuasion. Bobby met with Southern theater owners, department store managers and other businessmen, hoping to convince them that segregation hurts them economically. The President called a meeting this week of some 100 Southern businessmen to apply this same technique of persuasion.

In their present mood, Negroes were hardly satisfied by the Administration's efforts at deals, bargains, and closed-door negotiations. But as of last week, about the best they could expect from the Administration was a bill, to be sent to Congress, proposing to use the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution as a weapon to bring federal suits against private segregated firms and stores. Because nearly every imaginable item—from films for theaters to catch-up for restaurants—moves in interstate commerce, such a law would bring nearly every kind of business in the country within reach of a federal suit after a refusal to integrate.

Cracks in the Wall. Despite disappointments in the President's failure to rally the great moral and political force that his office and prestige can command, Negroes could count some breakthroughs last week. The University of Kentucky became the first school in the Southeastern Conference to open its athletic program to Negroes. Atlanta announced it would integrate its swimming pools. Negroes were allowed to lunch in five Charlotte, N.C., hotels and motels that were previously segregated. Harold Richardson, the first Negro to run for office in Maine (where *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was written 112 years ago) was elected a trustee of the Portland water district. Across the nation, Negro boycotts of U.S. businesses had forced new equality in job opportunities (*see* BUSINESS).

Such advances create chinks in the walls of segregation, but do not crumble them. That can be achieved only when the U.S. Negro, with the same zeal that marked his revolution in the spring of 1963, actually earns acceptance that cannot be legislated, or ordered by courts, or won in street battles. Whites—and not just Southern whites—point to high Negro crime, indigence and illegitimacy rates. Yet it may be fairly said that the Negro cannot overcome his handicaps until he is given at least his legal rights—the right to equal

education, the right to vote wherever he may live, the right to equal job opportunity. Given these, it will remain for him to take, and deserve, his place in American society. Only then will the Negro revolution be really won.

The Next Stand

Wherever the revolt of the Negro may lead in the long run, one direct clash looms dead ahead. Alabama's Democratic Governor George Corley Wallace, 43, a fiery ex-Golden Gloves featherweight, is looking toward a showdown next week when two Negroes will attempt to enter the University of Alabama for the summer session.

Wallace intends to defy a federal court order for the enrollment of Vivian Malone, 20, at the university's main campus in Tuscaloosa, and David McGlathery, 27, at the school's Huntsville extension. Wallace's plan, as outlined to confidants, goes like this: 1) he will ring the Tuscaloosa campus with highway patrolmen; 2) escorted by a large force of patrolmen, he will go to the campus himself; 3) U.S. marshals will presumably bring Vivian Malone to the campus, and Wallace personally will bar the way; 4) if the marshals attempt to push past, Wallace may order his state cops to remove the Negro girl bodily from the premises. After that, not even George Wallace knows what will happen, but the results are not apt to be pleasant.

Slight Victory. To enforce federal court orders against Wallace's defiance, the U.S. Government stands ready to use not only marshals but at least 2,500 riot-trained troops. Many of those troops, sent to Alabama at the peak of Birmingham's riots last month, have since been removed. But they can return on short notice, as nobody knows better than Wallace. He recently filed a suit with the Supreme Court insisting that President Kennedy had threatened "a military dictatorship" by ordering the soldiers into Alabama in the first place. Last week the court brushed off the Governor's suit in one terse paragraph, which said that the presence of troops was part of "purely preparatory measures," and harmed no one.

At the same time, Wallace did win one slight victory. A Federal Court in Birmingham ordered Wallace to appear at a hearing on an injunction against his threat to interfere with university integration. Two marshals chased Wallace all one day, trying to serve a subpoena on him. Wallace kept 16 armed state cops surrounding him constantly, and the marshals could not break through. They finally gave up and handed the subpoena to the Governor's maid.

"Call to Arms." It is Wallace's boast that "I am a professional Southerner." But he by no means represents the whole South, or even all of Alabama. Last week he forced a resolution through the state legislature giving him a vote of confidence in his stand at the schoolhouse door. But before it passed, State Senator James E. Horton Jr. cried to his colleagues: "The presence of Governor Wallace will by implication attract a mob which by comparison will make Oxford, Miss., look like a Sunday-school picnic." And Senator George Hawkins warned, "This resolution is a call to arms to every hoodlum in the state."

For months, Wallace had been deluged with pleas from clergymen, businessmen and educators that he take a moderate stand in the university's integration. Last week 212 Tuscaloosa business and professional leaders signed a petition urging him to carry on a fight for segregation "by whatever legal redress you choose to seek—but we respectfully urge that you do not carry out your announced intention of personally and physically interfering with the order of the United States Court."

Moreover, unlike the spineless, standaside attitude taken by the University of Mississippi faculty during last fall's bloody Oxford riot, the University of Alabama faculty seems determined that there will be no student violence on their campus. President Frank Rose, an able educator and a moderate, months ago called in student leaders, pledged strict disciplinary action against segregationist demonstrators. Last week, with most of the main campus' 9,000 students already gone from Tuscaloosa for the summer, there seemed little inclination toward violence on the part of those who remained. Said one young man: "We're not going to let just one person stop all the rest of us from getting an education."

He meant Vivian Malone. But as things now stand, the one person who seems most likely to disrupt education at the University of Alabama is the Governor of the state.

AP

ALABAMA GOVERNOR SURROUNDED BY BODYGUARDS
One person stands in the way.

THE PRESIDENCY

Jack's Town

His back still aches, and he persists in that rocking chair. His national popularity has been slipping—from a Gallup poll peak of 83% two years ago to 64% last month. Like any U.S. President, he has problems, both domestic and foreign, in plenty. Yet, as have few Presidents before him, John Fitzgerald Kennedy has managed to "project his image"—and upon no place more than on his city of temporary residence: Washington, D.C.

Just 29 months into his presidency, Kennedy sets the style, tastes and temper of Washington more surely than Franklin Roosevelt did in twelve years, Dwight Eisenhower in eight, Harry Truman in seven. A politician's politician in a city that loves and lives politics, Kennedy is slavishly followed —and more than slightly feared. Last week, as he turned 46, Washington itself was acting his age.

Kennedy represents the coming to power of a new generation, one that was blooded in World War II. A pragmatic generation, it cares more for results than philosophies. Most New Frontiersmen are of this generation, and they follow in their leader's image. President Kennedy, discussing the sort of men he wants around him, recently said: "There's nothing like brains. You can't beat brains." New Frontiersmen may not all have the best brains in the world —but they put up a mighty good show. They can reel off facts and figures about complex issues without ever consulting a note. They approach their jobs with a youthful zest that is almost gung-ho. They love to talk of their official travels, always by jet and generally to some far-off land. They may make mis-

UPI

THE PRESIDENT AT 46
Cigars up, hats off and out with button-downs.

takes—but they make them efficiently.

In their intense preoccupation, they sometimes seem almost too close to their jobs. Not so long ago, the abiding subject of conversation in Washington's political circles was the desires and problems of the folks back home. But no longer. To the New Frontiersmen, although they are concerned about problems everywhere, everything of final importance happens in Washington. What they talk about is Washington and the White House, and the result is a curious quality of intellectual inbreeding. Sometimes they almost sound as though they had invented the town.

Kennedy's impact on Washington is seen in countless ways. Cigar sales have soared (Jack smokes them). Hat sales have fallen (Jack does not wear them). Bureaucrats show up at work in dark suits, well-shined shoes, avoid button-down shirts (Jack says they are out of style). The more eager New Frontiersmen secure their striped ties with PT-boat clasps—and seem not the least bit embarrassed. The most popular restaurants in Washington are Le Bistro and the Jockey Club, which serve the light Continental foods that Jackie Kennedy features on the White House menu. The less palatable Colony restaurant, tops during the Republican Eisenhower Administration, went broke and has closed.

Reading Rage. Although Kennedy's back prevents him from participating too actively, his ideas about physical fitness have put all official Washington into sweat socks—or at least riding boots. The towpath along the C. & O. canal now has hikers' traffic jams. The Royal Canadian Air Force exercise manual is a hard-to-get item in Washington. Besides touch football, the White House staff has taken to softball—with more zeal than skill. The staff was recently whipped 10-3 by a bunch of newsmen.

On another level, Washington politicians of both parties eagerly collect historical quotations on file cards so they can toss them into their speeches just as Ted Sorensen does for Kennedy. Speed reading is the rage (Kennedy's well-publicized reading rate is 1,200 words per minute). Teddy Kennedy has even started a speed-reading class among his new colleagues in the Senate (the names and number of those participating are a deep dark secret). Bobby runs cram courses for New Frontiersmen on matters sometimes classic, sometimes current, in sporadic seminars in his Hickory Hill home.

Unlike the past two Administrations, in which Bess Truman and Mamie Eisenhower merely tolerated their roles as First Lady, a White House social affair hosted by Jackie obliterates all other partygoing in the capital. Her redecorations have sent White House tour attendance soaring. She helped preserve historic Lafayette Park from encroachment by glass-and-steel office façades, chased irksome street photographers and tourist guides off Pennsylvania Avenue sidewalks in front of the White House. Her hairdos and clothing fashions have long been imitated nationwide. Now she is pregnant—and a favorite greeting among the capital's menfolk is: "Is your wife pregnant? Mine is."

In today's Washington, no one really attacks President Kennedy personally. Respect plays a large part in this restraint. So does fear. The word is around that the Kennedys will exert their vast influence against those who buck them. The summary dismissal of Chief of Naval Operations George Anderson, who had publicly expressed his opposition to some of the policies of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, is still a subject of low-buzzing Washington conversation. It is an open secret that Commerce Secretary Luther H. Hodges, who at 65 is out of style and step with most of his Cabinet colleagues, will be the next top Administration official to go. Capitol Hill's Democratic liberals often chafe at Kennedy's pragmatic politics, but they do not often express their feelings in public. Neither do Republican legislators, even in private conversations and no matter how strongly they may feel about Kennedy.

Filing the Brandy. It was in such an aura that the President celebrated his 46th birthday. He hurried through an embarrassingly commercial award as Father of the Year, not even permitting photographs of the ceremony. But he did allow some pictures as he chatted with British M.P. Patrick Gordon Walker and quipped to newsmen: "You all look older today."

He also lunched with nine Democratic Governors, accepted a keg of 46-year-old brandy from some New York doctors. Said Press Secretary Pierre Salinger: "We'll probably send it to the National Archives to age." Kennedy took in a show given by Caroline's kindergarten class and attended a party thrown by his staff. There he was coaxed into reading a Ted Sorensen-written speech that began: "Twoscore and six years ago, there was brought forth at Brookline, Mass. . . ." At night he and most of the Kennedys, plus such personal friends as Actor David Niven and Florida Senator George Smathers, cruised the Potomac on the Secretary of the Navy's yacht *Sequoia*. This party, planned by Jackie, lasted nearly six hours, was enlivened by a thunder and lightning storm. Next day Kennedy placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery, then helicoptered with Jackie to Maryland's Camp David for a mountain rest.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

A Mess, but Wonderful

During his visit to the U.S. last January, Italy's Premier Amintore Fanfani invited President and Mrs. Kennedy to come to Italy in the spring. The President accepted, added West Germany and West Berlin to the itinerary. Then, for reasons of sentiment (and domestic politics), he decided to go to Ireland too. But no sooner had the White House announced the trip than complications began setting in. Items:

▶ In Washington, Jackie learned she was pregnant and would have to stay home.

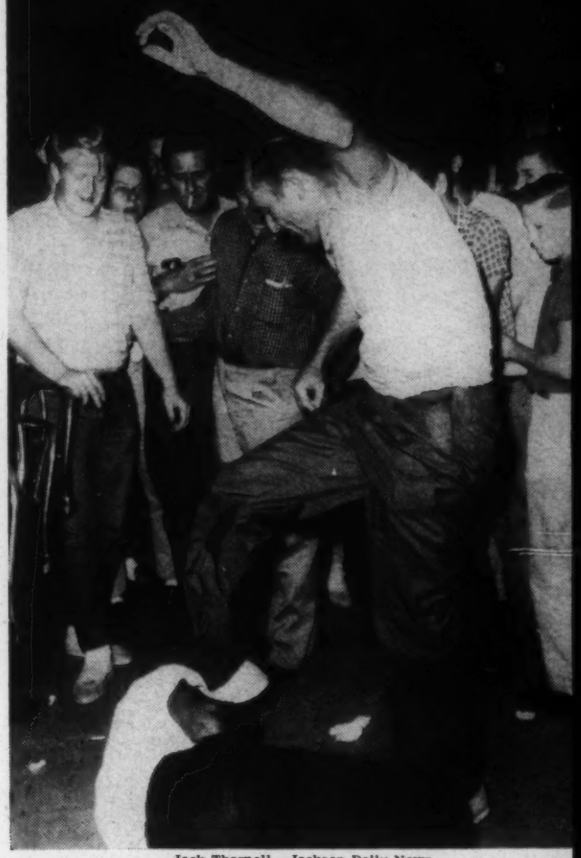
▶ In West Germany, Christian Democratic Union leaders forced gnarled old Konrad Adenauer to agree to step down next fall and let Ludwig Erhard take over as Chancellor. Accordingly, Kennedy's host in West Germany will be a lame duck, and Kennedy will have the sticky problem of treating with Erhard while Adenauer, who openly dislikes Erhard, is still in charge. Adenauer decided to accompany Kennedy

Newsweek
THE MAGAZINE OF NEWS SIGNIFICANCE

Pub. Accounts

NBC News

An ex-cop in Jackson, Miss., mauls and kicks a fallen Negro



Jack Thornell—Jackson Daily News

'Terribly Dangerous'

Amid fresh scenes of brutality, the United States drifted last week into a growing racial crisis that confronted President John F. Kennedy with perhaps his most crucial domestic decision since he took office.

Ugly violence erupted at a Woolworth five-and-dime lunch counter (above) in Jackson, Miss.—like Birmingham, a citadel of last-ditch segregation. It broke out, too, in Tallahassee, Fla., Philadelphia, Pa., and High Point, N.C. In communities north and south of the Mason-Dixon line, nerves stretched taut as the Memorial Day weekend marked the beginning of the school vacation, when millions of students would add their pent-up energies to the fierce head of steam that was still building.

During the long, hot summer, Negro impatience with segregation was sure to increase, given new impetus by a string of favorable Supreme Court decisions. The latest of these came last week. Ruling that the city of Memphis could not wait until 1971 to desegregate the rest of its parks and playgrounds, the Court in effect said: do it now. It rejected the Memphis argument that total desegregation could lead to racial strife with the words: "The basic guarantees of our Constitution are warrants for the here and now and, unless there is an overwhelmingly compelling reason, they are to be promptly fulfilled."

Urgency: In the White House, now gripped with a sense of urgency, the President agonized over his course of action. He was under heavy pressure to demonstrate some personal commitment to the Negro's cause. No one, least of all the President, doubted that the desegregation battle, once out of control, could be a national catastrophe. The question was how best to mobilize the immense resources of the Presidency and the U.S. Government to resolve the racial crisis.

Until now, Mr. Kennedy's civil-rights efforts have emphasized action through the courts—which will be aided by the latest Supreme Court decision—and behind-the-scenes persuasion. But now many Presidential advisers, including Attorney General Robert Kennedy, favor civil-rights and desegregation measures with sharper legal teeth.

Risks: But if he plumped for a strong bill, the President ran a whole set of risks. Some argued he might exacerbate already raw Southern relationships—and fail to win passage of such a bill itself. Beyond that, he could bring on a Senate filibuster, threaten the chances of the rest of his legislative program, and risk losing the entire South in the 1964 election.

To take Congressional soundings, Robert Kennedy met secretly early in the week with eight Democratic senators representing a wide range of sentiment—from Minnesota's liberal Hubert Humphrey to Georgia's conservative Richard Russell, the acknowledged leader of Southern resistance in the Senate. Bobby Kennedy bluntly said the nation was in the middle of a civil-rights crisis—"not only in the South but in the North." And he added: "This is a terribly dangerous situation. These people are looking to the Federal government for the protection of their rights and often there is nothing we can do until we must send in troops to preserve order . . . We will need new legislation."

Kennedy said he expected the President to make requests for two specific laws that the Justice Department was drawing up. In effect, the bills would:

▶Outlaw discrimination in stores engaged in interstate commerce, thus forcing chain stores, hotels, and restaurants that do business south of the Mason-Dixon line to open lunch counters and other facilities to Negroes.

▶Allow the Federal government to take the initiative in school desegregation cases, thereby shifting the burden of litigation from private individuals to the Justice Department.

The Attorney General's proposals were flatly opposed by Senator Russell, who declared that maintenance of civil rights—and of law and order as well—must be left to the states. The meeting broke off in a stalemate. But on the Republican side, Sen. Jacob Javits, New York liberal, called a meeting of GOP senators this week to plead for a tough civil-rights bill. "This is, in a sense, the moment of truth for Republican senators," Javits told his colleagues. "Will we be the party of Lincoln; will we espouse and take up the leadership in the civil-rights struggle?"

Persuasion: While still pondering the question of legislation, the President determined to try more persuasion. He made it clear he would go on the air if a crisis arose over Negro efforts to enter the University of Alabama next week. And he followed his brother's lead in trying to convince governors, city officials, merchants, and others involved, that the fuse on the civil-rights powder keg is burning short. That was the message he delivered to a group

Herblock © 1963 The Washington Post

Eclipse

of nine Democratic governors when he urged them to assume leadership in securing civil rights. It will be his theme this week when he meets with 100 top executives whose companies do business in the South. He will urge them—owners of such enterprises as theaters, hotels, variety stores, and drugstores—to end discrimination in accommodating the public and to open up more job opportunities for Negroes.

Some of the invited businessmen were bullish on the outcome of the meeting. One—Milton Elsberg, president of Drug Fair stores, which has a chain of 77 outlets in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, said: "We've been integrated for years. It's never hurt us a bit. I think if everyone doing business in the South could just be convinced that civil rights are here to stay, that if all of them opened up, none would be hurt. Then this problem would disappear."

But a Northern executive of Kress dime stores said: "In certain areas of the Deep South we have been forced by local custom to move as the community moves. Of course we could issue a desegregation order, but then we would have to close the stores because of violence. We know the tenor of the South. We wouldn't want to be the first or the last. It is up to the community leaders, and it would have to be all the lunch counters, not just our stores. In Mobile it worked like slicked grease because the town's top leaders acted."

Prospects: At the weekend, after long sessions of drafting and deliberating legislative proposals at the Justice Department and the White House, the Administration took stock anew of Congressional prospects. Even some advisers hitherto reluctant to take on the risks of a tough civil-rights bill had come to believe it would be an even greater risk to do nothing. Hopes for passage of such a bill were raised by the likelihood of Republican support and the spur that many congressmen have felt from the shocking scenes of violence in Birmingham and Jackson.

Finally, President Kennedy made his decision. He will send a special message to Congress this week offering his legislative proposals and the pressing reasons for them. And the Attorney General will take the same proposals later in the week before Rep. Emanuel Celler's civil-rights subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee.

In his call for legislation, and in his efforts to rally the Southern moderates, the President may well be choosing to abandon his role in the racial crisis as, only, a very interested party for the risk-fraught responsibility of a national leader. He may have come to believe—along with some of his critics—that only national leadership can avert a bloody racial clash between extremists, a clash that could leave a scar on the nation as deep as any since the Civil War.

The Battle of Jackson

The first shot in the battle of Jackson, Miss., was a jet of mustard, fired by a bouffant blonde in defense of the Southern way of life and the racial integrity of a dime-store lunch counter.

Her target was a Negro coed, sitting in at the counter with two Tougaloo Southern Christian College schoolmates. For two riotous hours that followed—while police waited outside—howling white toughs splattered, cuffed, and kicked Negro and white demonstrators. The opening battle was a rout, but it only began the war—a war over segregation as desperate and as dangerous as the barely stilled crisis in Birmingham.

With biracial negotiations spluttering, the three Negro students headed down busy Capitol Street to Woolworth's and took seats midway down the 52-seat lunch counter. Five of seven white customers stalked out. A sixth—a graying housewife—left, too, but told the Negroes: "I'd like to stay here with you but my husband is waiting for me." Only a white girl remained at the counter, eying the Negroes stonily as she finished her banana split.

'Go Get 'Em': With a crowd of duck-tailed white teen-agers gathering in the aisle, store officials roped off the counter and doused its lights. "Go back to Russia, you black bastards," someone jeered. Moments later, the blonde snatched up the mustard bottle, tugged back the Negro girl's collar, and squirted mustard down her back. Cheering, white youths bounded onto the counter for more ammunition—mustard, ketchup, salt, pepper, sugar—to shower on the impassive Negroes. From the crowd, swelling from 50 to 300, came the battle cries: "Kill the black bastards! . . . Go get 'em!"

"I'm gonna go up there and push that black bastard off of that stool," Bennie Oliver, a husky, 26-year-old former cop, muttered at the back of the crowd. Shouldering up front, he slugged demonstrator Memphis Norman, 21, in the face, spilling him and the two Negro girls beside him from their seats. While a detective watched, the sneaker-shod Oliver kicked Norman again and again in the face. Blood streamed from Norman's mouth. Finally, the detective stepped in, arresting Oliver for assault—and Norman for disturbing the peace. (Two days later, Oliver was sentenced to 30 days and fined $100. The penalties for demonstrators

Fred Blackwell—Jackson Daily News

Jackson: Whites shower demonstrators with sugar, ketchup, mustard

who tried to enter white restaurants: six months in jail and $500 fine.)

More demonstrators, white and Negro, arrived, took seats, and held them through the rain of ketchup, mustard, and sugar and the volley of jeers: "You're sick, you're sick, you're sick!" One youth pushed up to white Tougaloo sociologist John Salter and gashed his face with a punch. A half-dozen cheering mates poured salt and pepper into the cut. And down the counter, a flying milk bottle knocked out Negro demonstrator Walter Williams. As he tried to get up on regaining consciousness, a thick-necked man jumped full weight on his back, whooped a Tarzan yell, and ran off into the cheering crowd. Jars, shakers, and squeeze-bottles flew, then ashtrays and glass figurines from bric-a-brac shelves nearby.

RSVP: Outside, Tougaloo's white president, A.D. Beittel, pleaded with police to "do something . . . or somebody is going to get killed." But the cops said they couldn't go in unless the management asked them to. Once the mob started chucking merchandise, store officials took their own measures; they turned off the lights and closed the store. Within fifteen minutes, the crowd broke up, and the demonstrators went back to school.

Police were quicker to act in the days that followed, arresting small bands of Negro pickets on sight and ordering hostile whites to keep moving. When some Negro pickets refused to budge, police used Negro prison trusties to carry them into paddy wagons. And if mass demonstrations came, Jackson was set to jail marchers by the thousands in state-fair exhibit buildings.

Hardly anyone thought such a face-down could be avoided. In Jackson, a city of 95,000 whites and 52,000 Negroes, integrationists had picked a target even tougher than Birmingham. There, white business leaders finally swapped promises of token desegregation for peace. But chances for a productive dialogue were slimmer in Jackson, where the militantly segregationist Citizens Council pervades both the political and business hierarchies. Gov. Ross Barnett and Mayor Allen Thompson are members, and the board of directors is heavy with business leaders. "Here," the segregationist Jackson Daily News proclaimed, "we have unity."

Walkout: So integrationists were hardly cheered when Thompson agreed to meet a Negro negotiating committee, provided he could choose some of the members. Monday's opening meeting broke up when thirteen of the seventeen Negro negotiators walked out on the unyielding mayor. After the lunch-counter outbreak next day, they met again, and the mayor—so the Negroes thought—gave some ground. But they had barely carried the news to a jubilant mass rally when the mayor denied that he had made any concessions at all.

And so, on the fourth day of the siege, the headlong cycle of mass marching and mass jailings began. Out of Farish Street Baptist Church streamed hundreds of Negro youngsters—7 to 18 years old—waving American flags and chanting: "We want freedom!"

As fast as they came, a three-deep line of police herded them, singing and crying, into prison—and garbage—trucks for the one-way ride to jail. A policeman tried to wrest a flag from one Negro. When the demonstrator held on, the cop knocked him down and clubbed him with a billy. Minutes later, 60 state troopers toting carbines, shotguns, and billies rolled up and joined 50 local cops in a surge up the crowded street. A trooper poked a gun in one Negro's back, ordered him to move, then clubbed him in the face with the gun butt. And off to the state-fair stockade —police called it the "Fairgrounds Motel"—rode 450 Negro prisoners, still chanting for freedom.

Spelldown: Next day, 100 more students were jailed. And, outside Woolworth's, police made the biggest catches of all: the NAACP's national executive secretary, Roy Wilkins, and state chief Medgar Evers. They were barely out of their car to start picketing when police closed in and demanded Wilkins' name. "R-o-y W-i-l-k-i-n-s," he spelled, and off he and Evers went on a felony charge of restraint of trade. Hope sparked when Mayor Thompson met Negro negotiators again. But he was unbudging on key demands, and demonstrations went on.

Negro leaders know when they started that, as the NAACP's Medgar Evers said, the welling crisis could "easily turn into an ugly outbreak of violence." But he summed up the Negro mood in two portentous words: "Let's march."

▶Sparks of trouble sputtered and flared elsewhere in the South in the spreading wave of Negro demonstrations. In High Point, N.C., 1,000 milling whites set off a smoke flare in the path of 500 integrationist marchers, and a white picket was beaten by a man who broke through police lines. Moving on, the demonstrators were pelted with rocks and bricks. And in Tallahassee, Fla., police broke up a line of 150 shouting Negro students with tear gas.

Nor was the North immune. In Philadelphia, lines of Negroes picketing for nondiscriminatory hiring on a school construction project clashed three times with police. Fourteen demonstrators and fourteen policemen were hurt. One cop's wrist was slashed with a knife, another's with a broken bottle. A third policeman was clubbed with a bullhorn, a fourth with a camera. In all-night negotiations, finally, the Negroes won promises of jobs. And a continent's breadth away, local Negro leaders nominated the next target of the mass-demonstration technique—Los Angeles.

Associated Press

Philadelphia: Pickets' retreat

The Other Side

While racial violence seized the headlines last week, moderates seized the day in communities scattered across the South. Sometimes under the gun—and sometimes beating Negro activists to the draw—they took down the white-only signs from doors long barred to Negroes.

▶In Knoxville, Tenn., 2,500 prominent white citizens signed a petition urging a nondiscriminatory "open city." The seeds of change thus planted bore fruit last week when leading hotel and motel operators voted to serve Negroes, and major white hospitals announced plans to integrate in August.

▶In Charlotte, N.C., unsettled by the wave of mass demonstrations that had swept five sister cities across the state, eight hotels and motels scrubbed out their color lines.

▶In Lexington, Ky., the University of Kentucky jumped the gun on the Southeastern Conference by opening all its athletic teams to Negroes—thus tapping a new well of potential talent as yet untouched by rivals sprawling from Tennessee to Mississippi.

▶In Atlanta, the city opened its public swimming pools to Negroes in compliance with a Federal court order. And the Chamber of Commerce issued a statement urging all businesses dealing with the public to desegregate "as expeditiously as good judgment will dictate." Without saying so, the chamber plainly meant some hold-out downtown

Haywood Paravicini—Montgomery Advertiser

Ducking U.S. marshals, Alabama's Wallace (center, in white coat) stands behind state police guards

hotels and restaurants that had been picketed sporadically in recent weeks.

Just such an open-door policy had been enacted into law by the Louisville, Ky., city council by the time integrationist leader Martin Luther King Jr. and a cadre of lieutenants—fresh from the battle of Birmingham—flew into town last week for a speaking date.

The trip itself was routine. What was remarkable—though it raised hardly an eyebrow in Louisville other than King's—was the red-carpet treatment the city gave the nation's best-known apostle of integration. A police crew headed by a Negro lieutenant gave his Cadillac—on loan from a local auto dealer—a VIP escort from the airport. And when it came time for King to leave his integrated hotel for a visit to city hall, Mayor William O. Cowger sent his official limousine to ride him there in style.

Bargain With the Devil

To most Americans, it was a twice-told tale. Only the names, the dates, and the places had been changed since Orval Faubus made his last stand in Little Rock and Ross Barnett barred the gates to Ole Miss—both to be shouldered aside by Federal troops. Now, incredible as it seemed in this tenth year of the Supreme Court's school desegregation ruling, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama was playing out the sad old story once again.

Was he serious about his vow to block two Negro applicants due at the University of Alabama under Federal court order on June 10? If there were any lingering doubts, Wallace set about dispelling them last week. He and Ross Barnett—who had integration worries of his own with a second Negro student bound for Ole Miss this week—digressed from an official-business chat to swap notes. And Wallace played tag all week with U.S. marshals trying to serve him an order to appear in Federal court on a government injunction suit to halt his vowed obstruction.

Screening himself behind sixteen helmeted state troopers, Wallace managed to duck, though once he had to ride ingloriously up the freight elevator at a downtown Montgomery hotel.

The marshals handed the papers to his maid—a prison trusty—and told her: "Now you be sure the governor gets this," but Wallace claimed that expedient was illegal.

Let George Do It: Next day, his dark hair combed back and his smallish frame well turned out in a black suit, Wallace propped his feet on his cluttered office desk and told NEWSWEEK's Joseph Cumming wryly: "If Martin Luther King, in order to test the trespass laws of a state, can break the law when he is only an individual, why can't the governor . . . test the laws?"

And to Wallace, testing a law meant defying it, no matter how well settled it had become in case after case. In his world, integrationists are kissing cousins to Communists, the Federal government is a poacher on the state's preserve, and Washington liberals are so many dilettantes who naïvely ignore the Negro threat in their own backyard and will be "unjoined from their theories by a tire chain." And the Court? "Thomas Jefferson warned us about the Supreme Court. In 1821, he called it a thief in the night . . . taking away our rights bit by bit . . ."

Such a world is well suited to quixotic gestures. "When I go to stand in the door, it is to raise dramatically the question of sovereignty of the state," Wallace said. "It is raising a constitutional question . . . If I feel we should not admit people to a school because it would bring about a disruption of stable social relationships, then I'm doing my duty to carry this out."

For all his legal rhetoric and his pledge to keep order, responsible Alabamians were worried about Wallace's flirtation with danger. More than 200 residents of the university town of Tuscaloosa talked down the objections of the Ku Klux Klan's Imperial Wizard, Robert Shelton, and petitioned Wallace not to come. Groups of businessmen and doctors sent similar messages. And in a State Senate debate over a resolution supporting Wallace's stand, James E. Horton Jr. warned that the governor's presence "would, by implication, attract a mob the like of which will make Oxford seem like a Sunday picnic." Chastened by the memory, the senate tacked on an amendment urging Alabamians to stay home and "leave the matter . . . [to] the governor." And in a speech, the governor himself seconded the idea: "I don't want you to stand with me . . . I won't need any help."

Dreams: Indeed, Wallace seemed less touched by the nightmare of Ole Miss than by his own dreams of martyrdom in this latest of the South's Lost Causes. "We're going to keep the peace," he insisted. If the Negroes are enrolled, would he still maintain order? "The state of Alabama is not going to baby-sit on people who forced their way," Wallace flared. But, on second thought, he added: "I'll do my duty to the people of the state."

The tragic flaw was that Wallace had forgotten the lesson he mastered so well as Golden Gloves bantamweight champ of Alabama two years running: never lead with your chin. Even his best friends tried to tell him that his doorstep defiance was implausible, but Wallace kept on acting like a man courting conquest by Federal arms. "He's got to keep a poor bargain with the devil," one associate said. "He knows he hasn't got a leg to stand on. But he's just as determined to go through with it."

Pub. Accomm.
Gen.

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1732

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 19, 1963

Mr. MANSFIELD (for himself, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. KEATING, Mr. MORSE, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. BEALL, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. FONG, Mr. CLARK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. HART, Mr. CASE, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DODD, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. ENGLE, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. MCNAMARA, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PELL, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. MOSS, and Mr. MCGEE) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Commerce

A BILL

To eliminate discrimination in public accommodations affecting interstate commerce.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Interstate Public Accommodations Act of 1963."

FINDINGS

SEC. 2. (a) The American people have become increasingly mobile during the last generation, and millions of American citizens travel each year from State to State by rail, air, bus, automobile, and other means. A substantial number of such travelers are members of minority racial

1 and religious groups. These citizens, particularly Negroes,
2 are subjected in many places to discrimination and segrega-
3 tion, and they are frequently unable to obtain the goods and
4 services available to other interstate travelers.

5 (b) Negroes and members of other minority groups who
6 travel interstate are frequently unable to obtain adequate
7 lodging accommodations during their travels, with the result
8 that they may be compelled to stay at hotels or motels of
9 poor and inferior quality, travel great distances from their
10 normal routes to find adequate accommodations, or make
11 detailed arrangements for lodging far in advance of scheduled
12 interstate travel.

13 (c) Negroes and members of other minority groups
14 who travel interstate are frequently unable to obtain adequate
15 food service at convenient places along their routes, with
16 the result that many are dissuaded from traveling interstate,
17 while others must travel considerable distances from their
18 intended routes in order to obtain adequate food service.

19 (d) Goods, services, and persons in the amusement and
20 entertainment industries commonly move in interstate com-
21 merce, and the entire American people benefit from the in-
22 creased cultural and recreational opportunities afforded
23 thereby. Practices of audience discrimination and segrega-
24 tion artificially restrict the number of persons to whom the
25 interstate amusement and entertainment industries may offer

1 their goods and services. The burdens imposed on inter-
2 state commerce by such practices and the obstructions to the
3 free flow of commerce which result therefrom are serious
4 and substantial.

5 (e) Retail establishments in all States of the Union
6 purchase a wide variety and a large volume of goods from
7 business concerns located in other States and in foreign
8 nations. Discriminatory practices in such establishments,
9 which in some instances have led to the withholding of
10 patronage by those affected by such practices, inhibit and re-
11 strict the normal distribution of goods in the interstate
12 market.

13 (f) Fraternal, religious, scientific, and other organiza-
14 tions engaged in interstate operations are frequently dissuaded
15 from holding conventions in cities which they would other-
16 wise select because the public facilities in such cities are
17 either not open to all members of racial or religious minority
18 groups or are available only on a segregated basis.

19 (g) Business organizations are frequently hampered in
20 obtaining the services of skilled workers and persons in the
21 professions who are likely to encounter discrimination based
22 on race, creed, color, or national origin in restaurants, retail
23 stores, and places of amusement in the area where their
24 services are needed. Business organizations which seek to
25 avoid subjecting their employees to such discrimination and

1 to avoid the strife resulting therefrom are restricted in the
2 choice of location for their offices and plants. Such dis-
3 crimination thus reduces the mobility of the national labor
4 force and prevents the most effective allocation of national
5 resources, including the interstate movement of industries,
6 particularly in some of the areas of the Nation most in need
7 of industrial and commercial expansion and development.

8 (h) The discriminatory practices described above are
9 in all cases encouraged, fostered, or tolerated in some degree
10 by the governmental authorities of the States in which they
11 occur, which license or protect the businesses involved by
12 means of laws and ordinances and the activities of their
13 executive and judicial officers. Such discriminatory prac-
14 tices, particularly when their cumulative effect throughout
15 the Nation is considered, take on the character of action by
16 the States and therefore fall within the ambit of the equal
17 protection clause of the fourteenth amendment to the Con-
18 stitution of the United States.

19 (i) The burdens on and obstructions to commerce which
20 are described above can best be removed by invoking the
21 powers of Congress under the fourteenth amendment and the
22 commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States to
23 prohibit discrimination based on race, color, religion, or
24 national origin in certain public establishments.

1 RIGHT TO NONDISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC
2 ACCOMMODATION

3 SEC. 3. (a) All persons shall be entitled, without dis-
4 crimination or segregation on account of race, color, religion,
5 or national origin, to the full and equal enjoyment of the
6 goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accom-
7 modations of the following public establishments:

8 (1) any hotel, motel, or other public place engaged
9 in furnishing lodging to transient guests, including guests
10 from other States or traveling in interstate commerce;

11 (2) any motion picture house, theater, sports arena,
12 stadium, exhibition hall, or other public place of amuse-
13 ment or entertainment which customarily presents mo-
14 tion pictures, performing groups, athletic teams, exhibi-
15 tions, or other sources of entertainment which move in
16 interstate commerce; and

17 (3) any retail shop, department store, market,
18 drugstore, gasoline station, or other public place which
19 keeps goods for sale, any restaurant, lunchroom, lunch
20 counter, soda fountain, or other public place engaged in
21 selling food for consumption on the premises, and any
22 other establishment where goods, services, facilities,

1 privileges, advantages, or accommodations are held out
2 to the public for sale, use, rent, or hire, if—
3 (i) the goods, services, facilities, privileges,
4 advantages, or accommodations offered by any such
5 place or establishment are provided to a substantial
6 degree to interstate travelers,
7 (ii) a substantial portion of any goods held out
8 to the public by any such place or establishment
9 for sale, use, rent, or hire has moved in interstate
10 commerce,
11 (iii) the activities or operations of such place
12 or establishment otherwise substantially affect in-
13 terstate travel or the interstate movement of goods
14 in commerce, or
15 (iv) such place or establishment is an integral
16 part of an establishment included under this sub-
17 section.
18 For the purpose of this subsection, the term "integral part"
19 means physically located on the premises occupied by an
20 establishment, or located contiguous to such premises and
21 owned, operated, or controlled, directly or indirectly, by
22 or for the benefit of, or leased from the persons or business
23 entities which own, operate or control an establishment.
24 (b) The provisions of this Act shall not apply to a
25 bona fide private club or other establishment not open to

1 the public, except to the extent that the facilities of such
2 establishment are made available to the customers or patrons
3 of an establishment within the scope of subsection (a).

4 PROHIBITION AGAINST DENIAL OF OR INTERFERENCE WITH
5 THE RIGHT TO NONDISCRIMINATION

6 SEC. 4. No person, whether acting under color of law
7 or otherwise, shall (a) withhold, deny, or attempt to with-
8 hold or deny, or deprive or attempt to deprive, any person
9 of any right or privilege secured by section 3, or (b) inter-
10 fere or attempt to interfere with any right or privilege
11 secured by section 3, or (c) intimidate, threaten, or coerce
12 any person with a purpose of interfering with any right or
13 privilege secured by section 3, or (d) punish or attempt to
14 punish any person for exercising or attempting to exercise
15 any right or privilege secured by section 3, or (e) incite or
16 aid or abet any person to do any of the foregoing.

17 CIVIL ACTION FOR PREVENTIVE RELIEF

18 SEC. 5. (a) Whenever any person has engaged or
19 there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is
20 about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section
21 4, a civil action for preventive relief, including an application
22 for a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order,
23 or other order, may be instituted (1) by the person
24 aggrieved, or (2) by the Attorney General for or in the
25 name of the United States if he certifies that he has received

1 a written complaint from the person aggrieved and that in
2 his judgment (i) the person aggrieved is unable to initiate
3 and maintain appropriate legal proceedings and (ii) the
4 purposes of this Act will be materially furthered by the
5 filing of an action.

6 (b) In any action commenced pursuant to this Act by
7 the person aggrieved, he shall if he prevails, be allowed a
8 reasonable attorney's fee as part of the costs.

9 (c) A person shall be deemed unable to initiate and
10 maintain appropriate legal proceedings within the meaning of
11 subsection (a) of this section when such person is unable,
12 either directly or through other interested persons or organi-
13 zations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain
14 effective legal representation; or when there is reason to be-
15 lieve that the institution of such litigation by him would
16 jeopardize the employment or economic standing of, or might
17 result in injury or economic damage to, such person, his
18 family, or his property.

19 (d) In case of any complaint received by the Attorney
20 General alleging a violation of section 4 in any jurisdiction
21 where State or local laws or regulations appear to him to
22 forbid the act or practice involved, the Attorney General
23 shall notify the appropriate State and local officials and,
24 upon request, afford them a reasonable time to act under
25 such State or local laws or regulations before he institutes an

action. Compliance with the foregoing sentence shall not be required if the Attorney General shall file with the court a certificate that the delay consequent upon such compliance in the particular case would adversely affect the interests of the United States, or that, in the particular case, compliance would be fruitless.

(e) In any case of a complaint received by the Attorney General, including a case within the scope of subsection (d), the Attorney General shall, before instituting an action, utilize the services of any Federal agency or instrumentality which may be available to attempt to secure compliance with section 4 by voluntary procedures, if in his judgment such procedures are likely to be effective in the circumstances.

JURISDICTION

SEC. 6. (a) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this Act and shall exercise the same without regard to whether the aggrieved party shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

(b) This Act shall not preclude any individual or any State or local agency from pursuing any remedy that may be available under any Federal or State law, including any State statute or ordinance requiring nondiscrimination in public establishments or accommodations.

88TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 1732

A BILL

To eliminate discrimination in public accommodations affecting interstate commerce.

By Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. KUCHEL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. KEATING, Mr. MORSE, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr BEALL, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. FONG, Mr. CLARK, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. HART, Mr. CASE, Mr. YOUNG of Ohio, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DODD, Mr. BAYH, Mr. BREWSTER, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. ENGLE, Mr. GRUENING, Mr. HARTKE, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. MCCARTHY, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. MCNAMARA, Mr. METCALF, Mr. MUSKIE, Mr. NELSON, Mrs. NEUBERGER, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. PELL, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. RANDOLPH, Mr. RIBICOFF, Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey, Mr. DOMINICK, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. MOSS, and Mr. MCGEE

JUNE 19, 1963

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Commerce

Pub. Accommn. South

The Courier-Journal THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1963

Combs Orders Bias Ended In State-Licensed Firms

Violators' Permits May Be Suspended

Capitol Might Deny Funds To Schools Not Integrated

By ALLAN M. TROUT
Courier-Journal Bureau

Frankfort, Ky., June 26.—Governor Bert T. Combs issued an executive order Wednesday aimed at ending racial discrimination in all establishments and by all professions licensed by the State.

Full-faith enforcement of his order would erase the color barrier in such areas as merchandising, entertainment, public dining, housing, recreation, personal services, hospitals, nursing homes, barber and beauty shops, funeral homes, and the like.

Potentially, the order is broad enough to reach into virtually every facet of secular activity in Kentucky outside the private homes of citizens.

GOVERNOR BERT COMBS

The Governor's action was taken at 10 a.m. in his conference suite. It was witnessed by Negro and white representatives of the various groups working toward realistic integration in Kentucky.

Responds To Pressure

The order was his response to pressure to amend the call to permit the Legislature now sitting in special session to consider a bill to ban by law racial discrimination in public accommodations.

Governor explains reasons for his order. Page 12.

The Governor acknowledged that his order is not underpinned by a State law against bias, as was the case in Indiana. But, he went on, his order is founded legally on this premise:

That the holders of State permits and licenses are under as much compulsion to comply with the federal law as they are to observe State law.

One significant by-product of the order, the Governor said, might be for the Department of Education to deny State support to school districts that do not integrate fully.

There are five such districts without a plan for integration. Few public schools could remain open without State support.

The order is embodied in four sections. They are:

1. All agencies in the executive branch that license business or professions shall take such lawful action as necessary to prevent racial discrimination.

Shall Revise Rules

2. Such licensing authorities shall, if necessary, revise their rules and regulations to forbid racial discrimination by all permittees and licensees.

3. Within 60 days licensing agencies must file with the Governor a report covering all current programs affected by the order.

4. Heads of the licensing authorities are directed to proceed with "all deliberate speed" toward a program of full compliance. The responsibility to do so is "nondelegable."

Most licensing is done in Kentucky by the State Department of Health and related agencies. Physicians, surgeons, and osteopaths are licensed by the State Board of Health, for example. But the Health Department directly licenses every sort of establishment where food is handled in any way.

Included here are resturants, hotels, boarding homes, and outlets for dairy products.

Licenses Hospitals

The Department of Health licenses hospitals, nursing and convalescent homes, chiropodists, barbers, and beauticians.

Other State agencies license dentists, registered nurses, chiropractors, pharmacists, embalmers and funeral directors, real-estate brokers, engineers, architects, watchmakers, optometric examiners, veterinarians, opthalmic dispensers, accountants, and attorneys.

The Alcoholic Beverage Control Department licenses premises where such beverages are sold by the drink or package, including bars in private clubs.

The Governor made these principal points in response to a barrage of questions from the press:

He does not propose to conduct a school of law, but here are his best answers at this stage of the game:

As to means of enforcement: After an agency revises its rules to forbid racial discrimination by the licensee, the agency will have the power to suspend or revoke licenses for infractions.

Can Remove Head

If an agency refuses so to act, the Governor can remove its head and appoint one who will.

All these transactions, of course, would be subject to lawsuits for court determination of such questions as are raised by the aggrieved parties.

As to the legal basis for the order: Federal law, as well as State law, must be observed by licensees, and the grantor of licenses is charge with seeing that compliance is observed. With the growing body of federal law against racial discrimination, the absence of specific State laws is not material.

Housing Action Possible

As to a possible end to discrimination in housing; The State, having power to license real-estate brokers, might well forbid them to traffic in deeds that contain restriction clauses relating to race.

As to possible denial of State support to hold-out school districts: In the official anti-discrimination climate to be created by the executive order and its aftermath, the Department of Education could hardly afford not to apply whatever pressure is needed to integrate the hold-out districts.

Cites Precedents

As to official attitudes of the Combs Administration: The fixed policy will be to resolve all questions in favor of non-discrimination.

As to precedents at the State level: Kentucky is following California, New York, Nevada, and Indiana.

The Governor issued a supplementary statement to clarify his choice of an executive order rather than amending his call of the special session. In it he made four principal points:

1. Primary purpose of the session was a nonpartisan bill to save the five United Mine Workers hospitals in Eastern Kentucky. To have broadened the call with a controversial subject would have been a breach of faith with legislators.

2. It was the Governor's considered judgment no effective bill against discrimination could have been enacted.

Awaits Congress' Action

3. Until Congress acts, no state knows what local laws will be needed to implement the federal position.

4. Meantime, substantial progress can be achieved by the executive order.

The white and Negro leaders present at the Governor's action withdrew for a private meeting afterward. They issued a statement commending the order, but insisting upon the ultimate passage of a civil-rights law by the Legislature.

"The order against discrimination should prove to be an effective weapon in advancing civil rights in Kentucky," the group stated.

"At the same time we reaffirm the statement of Governor Combs that: 'A necessary step is to enact State civil-rights law which will inevitably be presented to future general assemblies.'

'Must Be Begun Now'

"It is our consensus that since the executive order is no substitute for necessary statutes, plans must be begun now for preparing the legislative climate.

"We commend the order's probability of license suspension and revocation for racial discriminatory practices as a welcome supplement to the Louisville ordinance and future antibias legislation which may be enacted by the State."

This group included:

The Rev. Robert Estill, Lexington, chairman, and Frank Stanley, Sr., Louisville, vice-chairman of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights.

Paul Oberst, Lexington, chairman of the commission's legislative committee.

Lyman Johnson, president of the Louisville branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and James Crumlin, Louisville, chief counsel of the Kentucky branch.

Includes Louisvillians

The Rev. D. E. King and Mrs. Lois Morris, of the Louisville Commission on Human Relations.

Harry S. McAlpin, Louisville, attorney in several integration cases.

Charles Steele, executive director of the Louisville Urban League.

The Rev. E. G. Sampson and Frank Stanley, Jr., of the steering committee for demonstrations in Louisville.

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
168 Capitol Annex Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

Text Of Combs' Order

Courier-Journal Bureau

Frankfort, Ky., June 26.—The text of Governor Bert Combs' executive order Wednesday intended to end racial discrimination by businesses and professions licensed by the State follows:

"Whereas, the denial of equal opportunity in and access to places of public accommodations because of race, color, creed, or national origin is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the Commonwealth of Kentucky as manifested in its Constitution and the Constitution of the United States; and

Cites Responsibility

"Whereas, the executive branch of the Government in executing the laws of the Commonwealth of Kentucky and the United States which prohibit discrimination based on race, religion, creed, color, or national origin, is charged with an obligation and duty to assure that those laws are fairly administered and that benefits thereunder are made available to all Kentucky citizens without regard to race, religion, color, creed, or national origin;

"Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as Governor of the Commonwealth of Kentucky by the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, it is ordered as follows:

"Section 1. All departments and agencies in the executive branch of State Government, insofar as their functions relate to supervising or licensing persons or organizations (doing business or practicing a profession) in this state, shall take all lawful action necessary and appropriate to prevent at all times discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Reports Required In 60 Days

"Section 2. All such executive departments and agencies shall take such other appropriate action permitted by law, including revising the rules and regulations, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices by all permittees or licensees under their jurisdiction.

"Section 3. Each executive department and agency subject to this order is directed to submit to me within sixty (60) days from this date a report outlining all current programs administered by it which are affected by this order.

"Section 4. The chief administrative officer of each executive department or agency of state Government administering programs affected by this order is directed to proceed with all deliberate speed toward a program of full compliance with the purposes and intents of this executive order. This responsibility is nondelegable."

Combs Explains Reasoning Of Order

Courier-Journal Bureau

Frankfort, Ky., June 26.—Governor Bert Combs Wednesday issued the following statement in support of his order intended to end racial discrimination in professions and businesses licensed by the State:

"There is no more urgent problem facing Kentucky and our nation than that of civil rights. Our state must continue to make progress until all discrimination is removed.

"While Kentucky has made great strides, both through voluntary and legislative action, additional action is needed to make it possible for all Kentuckians to become first-class citizens.

Legislation Expected

"A necessary step is to enact State civil-rights laws. Such laws will inevitably be presented to future General Assemblies. This is why I entertained the thought of including the subject on the agenda of the current session of the Legislature.

"There are several reasons, however, why I have decided not to extend the call.

"1. The extraordinary session was called to save the hospitals. The legislative leaders agreed to put partisan considerations aside, and it has been pointed out to me that I left the legislative leaders with the understanding that there would be no additional controversial legislation.

Consequently, many of the legisltaors came to this session unprepared to consider a public-accommodations law. They are reluctant to have an extended session at this time. Many of them are currently engaged in a campaign for office. The matter is too important to get involved in partisan political controversy.

"2. It is my judgment, based on contact with key members of the Legislature, that no effective bill could be passed at this extraordinary session.

"3. Congress is considering the broad civil-rights act proposed last week by President (John F.) Kennedy. At a meeting with the governors last week, the President asked us to be prepared to propose State legislation which would implement the forthcoming federal legislation. Until the content of the federal laws is known, appropriate State legislation cannot be drafted.

"4. In the meantime, however, substantial progress can be made by an executive order directed to the licensing authorities of the state. I have previously issued directives to guide State officials in employment and integration of State facilities. I am now issuing an executive order to the licensing authorities directing them to use all lawful measures to end discrimination in the businesses and professions which they are charged with regulating."

Another Historic First For Kentucky

THE EXECUTIVE ORDER issued by Governor Bert Combs, banning racial discrimination in business places serving the public and licensed by the state, is another evidence of Kentucky's coming of age. The order, the first of its kind ever undertaken by a governor without supporting legislation, marks the first effort by a Southern or border state to ban discrimination in public accommodations on a statewide basis, and once more places Kentucky in the forefront of the fight to insure justice and decent treatment to all of its citizens.

The order is being hailed as a morally sound and progressive move, which it is. But it is also a very practical one. If it survives the constitutional tests to which it will undoubtedly be put, it will go a long way toward removing racial discord and conflict as an obstacle to the state's future economic growth. It will eliminate the cause of and need for the bitter clashes and public demonstrations that have not only shamed other states but have hurt and disrupted business, and damaged chances for getting the new businesses that Kentucky especially needs.

In effect, the Governor's order directs state agencies that license businesses serving the public to require as a provision for licensed operation that they serve all of the public without regard for race. He had been under considerable pressure, much of it politically motivated, to demand an anti-discrimination law of the special session of the legislature. But his decision to use the executive order, while unusual, was as sound as it was courageous. For the fact is (and many of his loudest political critics could hardly have been unaware of it) that the Governor had little chance of getting a substantial anti-bias law through this special session.

Indeed, Governor Combs has been under the strongest pressure from all sides on the matter of anti-discrimination legislation. Many Republicans saw in the issue possible political profit in the upcoming fall campaign. A few Negro leaders, most of them from the politically-critical Third District, had been urging immediate legislation, and implying threats of embarrassing street demonstrations unless action was taken. At the same time, legislative leaders from both houses were urging the Governor not to ask for an anti-bias law.

Governor Combs

They reminded him that they had been given tacit assurance, when called into special session to save the Miners Memorial Hospitals, that they would not be asked to act on further controversial legislation, and warned that a fight over such a bill could inject a dangerous element into the fall campaigns in which they were involved. They notified the Governor, in effect, that the legislators were not prepared to consider such a bill.

To The Governor's Credit

It is to the Governor's credit that he was not willing to let the matter end there, or to use the mood of the legislature as an excuse for inaction on a potentially dangerous issue. Instead, he has lived up to his earlier promise to "take some step to ease the damaging effects" of racial discrimination in public business places. In doing so by this unusual recourse to executive order he may have angered some members of his own party, at a time when the party is facing an election that will decide the future of many of the most important Combs programs. But in the long run it is probable that more Kentuckians will be relieved to have this problem honorably decided and to have the reputation of their state again upheld by positive action by the Governor.

And in many respects, the Governor's executive order, if upheld by the courts, could prove more effective than an anti-bias law enacted by the legislature. Under such a law, violators would have faced no more than a fine or brief suspension, if the law followed the pattern adopted by other states. Under the executive order, state regulatory and licensing agencies can simply close places practicing discrimination if operators refuse to end the practice.

This may not bring an overnight end to racial bias and discrimination in Kentucky. It will, indeed, depend for its effectiveness on the good conscience with which it is enforced, through the state agencies, by future governors. For this reason, it may require supporting legislation by future sessions of the General Assembly. But it will give future governors an enforcement implement they cannot neglect without political danger. And it paves the way for an improved climate that will produce legislation from the Assembly to accomplish the goal now in sight for Kentucky—dignity, decency and justice for all citizens without regard for race.

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

BERT T. COMBS, *Governor*

GOVERNOR'S CODE OF FAIR PRACTICES

Preamble

The Constitution of the United States of America forbids any state to deny the equal protection of the laws to any of its citizens. No state constitution, nor state law may hinder the pursuit of equality, justice, and liberty; neither must common practice.

The Commonwealth of Kentucky is making significant progress in championing the cause of equal opportunity through executive leadership, legislative action and judicial edict. We are taking steps to guarantee the rights of all citizens.

The General Assembly, through the creation of our Commission on Human Rights has established a public policy in favor of fair and equal treatment for all racial and ethnic groups. The existence of this policy imposes a special responsibility on all agencies to keep their own houses in order. The operations of state government must serve as a model for business, industry, education and labor. It is our responsibility to see to it that race, creed, or national origin are never factors in licensing, recruiting, hiring, up-grading, conditions of employment, dismissals, referrals and training programs.

ARTICLE I Appointment, Assignment, and Promotion of State Personnel

State employees shall be appointed, assigned and promoted on the basis of merit alone. Race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry shall play no part in state personnel policies or practices. Appointing authorities should make a special effort to make certain that their flexibility in making selections is not used to circumvent utilization of minority group persons.

ARTICLE II Promotion of Non-discriminatory Employment Practices

All state agencies shall promulgate a clear, definitive written policy of non-discrimination in employment; they shall review regularly their personnel practices and procedures and correct any which may contribute to the possibility of discrimination; they shall include in their continuing on-going programs of orientation and training special emphasis on non-discriminatory employment.

ARTICLE III State Services and Facilities

Equal treatment of all persons without regard to race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry shall be guaranteed by all state agencies in performing their services to the public. Segregation will not be tolerated in Kentucky state facilities, nor shall any facility be used in the furtherance of any discriminatory practices.

ARTICLE IV State Employment Services

All state agencies engaged in employment referrals and placement services for private or public employers shall fill job orders only on a non-discriminatory basis; they should refuse any job orders specifying any preference or limitation based on race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry and shall inform the Commission on Human Rights of this prohibited request.

ARTICLE V State Financial Assistance

All state agencies engaged in granting financial assistance shall deny it to any applicant and withdraw it from any recipient engaged in discriminatory practices, consistent with the statute under which they operate.

ARTICLE VI State Licensing and Regulatory Agencies

Race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry shall play no part in a state licensing agency's decision to grant, deny or revoke a license. Where a duly constituted governmental authority, in an official proceeding conducted according to law, finds that a licensee has, in his capacity as such, discriminated against anyone because of race, religion, national origin or ancestry the appropriate licensing authority shall take such disciplinary action against the licensee as may be provided for.

ARTICLE VII Obligations of State Contractors

Every state contract for public works or for goods or services shall contain the following provisions which shall be fully and effectively enforced by the contracting agency:

"In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

"(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship.

"(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

"(3) The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the contracting agency may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions, including sanctions for non-compliance."

ARTICLE VIII Education, Training, and Apprentice Programs

All educational and vocational guidance programs and all apprenticeship programs and on-the-job training programs of the state, or in which the state participates, shall be open to all qualified persons without regard to race, color, religion, national origin, or ancestry.

ARTICLE IX Cooperation with the Commission on Human Rights

All state agencies shall cooperate fully with the Commission on Human Rights and shall duly comply with its requests and recommendations for effectuating the state's policy against discrimination.

ARTICLE X Annual Reports

The Commission on Human Rights shall report annually to the Governor activities of all state agencies undertaken in the past year to effectuate this CODE OF FAIR PRACTICES.

ARTICLE XI Publication and Posting of this Code

Copies of this Code shall be distributed to all state officials and appointing authorities. Copies shall be posted in prominent locations in all state facilities.

Bert Combs

GOVERNOR
COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY

Frankfort, March, 1963

Newsweek 7/8/63 Pub. Accom. Southern

Newsweek—Gordon Baer

Glove buyer in a Louisville store: 'A great many people are ready to make changes'

The Economics of Integration

In the Justice Department, the phone call from Kentucky one morning last week was as welcome as it was unexpected. Gov. Bert Combs was on the line to Burke Marshall, chief of the civil-rights division, with word of a dramatic flank attack on commercial segregation in the South. He was about to sign an executive order banning discrimination by all state-licensed businesses in Kentucky.

"He read it to me over the telephone," Marshall said later, "and we talked about it at some length. I thought it was most imaginative and responsible."

Combs' order, which touched off an immediate swirl of controversy, will affect businesses ranging from bars and restaurants to beauty parlors and funeral homes. Kentucky's licensing agencies were ordered to report within 60 days on how the order could be enforced, but Combs suggested procedures similar to those now used by the liquor control board: after receiving a complaint, the board orders a licensee to show cause why his license shouldn't be suspended or revoked.

Teeth: Combs said he chose an administrative order, rather than a request for civil-rights legislation, because the current special legislative session wouldn't pass an effective bill. In addition, he said, the order "will be much more effective than filing a citation with the local court. The penalty . . . would go to a man's pocketbook."

Kentucky integrationist leaders, who had been pushing hard for legislation, reacted cautiously. But James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, called the order the "most significant stride accomplished so far in the fight for civil rights." Some businessmen agreed, although with a complete lack of enthusiasm. Jack Lowery Jr., attorney for the Louisville Tavern Operators Association, called the order "unconstitutional" and warned: "Talk about Star Chamber sessions—there won't be any cases won before that commission."

Combs' executive order was the most dramatic indication of the progress being made in the quickening campaign to integrate Southern business facilities. What had been a creeping effort at voluntary integration has been running at a buoyantly fast pace in the six weeks since the Kennedy Administration mounted a quiet campaign of coaxing, needling, and mediating. Immediately after the Birmingham violence, Justice Department officials began meeting with Southern retailers—drugstore owners, theater operators, department-store heads. Many of the retailers were among the 1,000 state and community leaders who attended ten later meetings with the President.

Combs: Pocketbook penalty

"The whole problem is to create an atmosphere," Burke Marshall explained. "We have to create communications in the face of threats, so that the conscience of a community will do the right thing."

The Change: The results of the Administration campaign have sometimes been spectacular. On returning from Washington, the owner of a border-state drugstore chain told his store managers to desegregate. "We have had no resistance to our policy," he wrote the Attorney General. In Austin, Texas, Henry Akin, president of the Night Hawk restaurant chain, called the city's restaurateurs together following his visit to the White House. Nearly all of Austin's 60-odd restaurants now operate on an integrated basis. Before the meeting only a handful of dining spots near the University of Texas campus served Negroes.

Businessmen in 190 southern cities—37 per cent of all those with populations of more than 10,000—had reported by last week to Justice officials tangible steps in integrating lunch counters, theaters, hotels, and restaurants.

"These reports demonstrate that the South is not a monolithic bastion of resistance," commented a high Justice Department official. "A great many people are ready to make changes."

But the readiness is far from uniform. The Justice Department also lists at least 38 "hard-core" cities such as Gadsden, Ala. "We made an effort to desegregate one of our facilities," wrote the owner of a theater chain. "The action had

to be reversed . . . Damage has been done to the property by the use of firearms."

Even the most progressive of cities seldom move to integrate without being pushed. For years the push came almost entirely from Negro organizations in boycotts, demonstrations, picketing, and sit-ins—and the threat of such action is still by far the biggest impetus to change.

Once begun, integration in the South tends to proceed by fits and starts. Resistance usually begins with civic leaders; in Jackson, the mayor and the Chamber of Commerce originated the present line of resistance. Next, local merchants refuse to negotiate; in Gadsden, Negro leader Dr. James W. Stewart says: "My people don't want to put themselves out in the streets. But hell, if they won't talk to you, what are you going to do?" And all too often, as in Birmingham, the result is violence.

Expedience: But resistance starts crumbling when the economic impact of demonstrations and violence begins to be felt. "We never argue the moral issues," says Greenfield Pitts, a white leader in Nashville's peaceful integration movement. "Our whole approach has been business." In Greensboro, N.C., the process began two years ago with sit-ins and picketing to protest segregation at a Woolworth lunch counter. Business dropped disastrously. When the manager's own salary (derived in part from sales commissions) started falling, too, he agreed to integrate—and now says desegregation didn't hurt business.

But with one point made, Greensboro's Negroes demonstrated again to desegregate theaters, cafeterias, and drive-in restaurants. At this, businessmen and civic leaders, accepting integration as inevitable, formed a biracial committee to work out solutions in privacy. Some 55 Southern cities now have such committees, which negotiate in secret and arrange the steps of desegregation with as little publicity as possible.

The long-range threat to a community's economic development is often an even more powerful spur to integration than direct boycotts or demonstrations. George LeMaistre, president of Tuscaloosa's City National Bank, spearheaded a drive for peaceful integration with a series of speeches recalling that for three years after the 1957 riots in Little Rock, "not a single company employing more than fifteen people moved into the Little Rock area." With Little Rock in mind, a biracial group in Birmingham has persuaded the city to reopen its libraries, parks, golf courses, and auditorium on a desegregated basis.

Segregationists have also tried the economic weapon. "Don't let that nigger be smarter than you are," Eugene (Bull) Connor, former Birmingham safety commissioner, told a Citizens Council meeting in Tuscaloosa last month. "Copy him. Boycott the devil out of everybody." But in spite of similar calls in a good many Southern communities, there has never been an effective segregationist boycott. Indeed, the whites themselves unwillingly add to the effectiveness of Negro economic pressure; understandably, they tend to shun shopping where demonstrations are going on.

Most progress in the South has been on the basis of economic self-interest. But there is also—largely undiscussed, and almost furtive—a real moral drive behind the acceptance of integration. "We've done what is right for Atlanta," said Ed Negri, spokesman for the integrated restaurants. "[But] most important, we've done the right thing."

Bill Crawford—NEA

Alitalia spoofs IATA's 'geese': 'They're bound to lay a few eggs'

AIR FARES:

Pan Am's Ploy

With the seventeen international airlines on the blue-ribbon North Atlantic run flying at only 51.6 per cent of capacity, a heated controversy has been boiling lately on how best to fatten their disappointing revenues. The two U.S. lines with the bulk of the market, Pan American and Trans World Airlines, argue that fares should be reduced to lure more passengers. But some of the foreign state-subsidized lines, mired in huge deficits, want to raise fares on the existing clientele.

Pan Am last week pulled the latest ploy in the fare squabble with a radical proposal to add a new thrift class. Eliminating all meals and liquor, thrift-class fares would run 39 per cent below economy-class rates. The minimum New York-London round trip would drop to $320 from $499.70 and the New York-Rome fare to around $400 from $658.40.

Pan Am president Juan Trippe said the new fares were "economically justified" and that they would attract "hundreds of thousands of new travelers." But the maneuver was clearly tactical as well as economic. Even Pan Am officials doubted that they could put through fares as low as they proposed. However, their move underscored U.S. determination to get a cut of some sort.

Lampoon: The basic difference in fare philosophy led to a May showdown. After tense maneuvering, the U.S. knuckled under to European demands and accepted a 5.5 per cent boost in economy-class transatlantic fares adopted earlier by the International Air Transport Association, the airline trade group which sets standard international fares. Lampooning the whole hassle, the Italian airline, Alitalia, is circulating a pamphlet which compares IATA to a gaggle of geese and draws the moral that "when geese get together they are bound to lay a few eggs."

The foreign lines, though, were not taking Pan Am's latest gambit so lightheartedly. Publicly, they uttered courteous vows to study it. But behind the scenes they were fuming about Pan Am's "publicity stunt."

All sides will formally confront the Pan Am proposal when it is presented for approval at a September IATA meeting in Salzburg, Austria. Though IATA has the final say under current law, the Civil Aeronautics Board too must pass on the proposal. The board's previous fare policies all but assure its support, and its stature will be buttressed by two bills, set to pass Congress, allowing it to veto IATA fares it dislikes.

Thus, some foreign lines were already beginning to talk of compromise. "It seems obvious," a spokesman for British Overseas Airways Corp. conceded, "that lower fares of some kind will be recommended at Salzburg."

7/9/63

dependence may well be seeing their victory star on the rise.

EXHIBIT 1

THE HARRIS SURVEY: TEST-BAN PACT HAS CAUTIOUS SUPPORT OF 73 PERCENT OF AMERICANS, POLL SHOWS

(By Louis Harris)

When Under Secretary of State Averell Harriman sits down a week from today in Moscow to negotiate a nuclear test-ban agreement with the Soviet Union, he can count on the cautious support of better than 7 out of every 10 Americans, according to a survey just completed of a scientifically chosen cross section of the public.

Here is what emerged when the question of a test ban was put directly to the people:

Attitudes toward test-ban agreements with Russians

[Percent]

	Total public
Favor ban agreement	73
Unqualified approval	47
Qualified approval	26
Oppose ban agreement	17
Not sure	10

Outright opposition to any ban agreement on atomic testing runs to no more than one voter in every six across the country. The number who would support a test-ban settlement with the Russians are divided, however, between those who feel we should bend any and all efforts toward this end, and those who insist that varying safeguards be strictly observed.

Here are the reasons of the American people—the whys behind their stated opinions—told in their own words:

Reasons for favoring or opposing test-ban agreement

[Percent]

	Total public
Reasons for unqualified approval	47
Find way to end tests	16
End risk of atom war	11
Cut fallout	10
Stop world suicide	6
Halt cost of testing	4
Terms for qualified approval	26
If Russia keeps word	11
Only with inspection	11
If on our terms	4
Reasons for opposing	17
Russia will break it	15
Can't be weak	2
Not sure	10

The 47 percent who most strongly urge a test-ban agreement feel that a continued nuclear arms race with further testing will lead to the ultimate destruction of the human race. However, this view constitutes a plurality, not a majority of the people. The balance of opinion rests with those who want an agreement, but only if it works. This means inspection and, by implication, leaving as little as possible to faith in dealing with the Russians.

It would be a mistaken reading of American public opinion for Chairman Nikita Khrushchev and the Communists to assume that the people of this country share in any measure a "ban the bomb at any price" philosophy. If the Russians were to resume testing again, the pressures from the American public on President Kennedy to begin our own testing again would be enormous and overwhelming.

This sentiment for nuclear test resumption was evident when we asked the voting public how they now feel about Mr. Kennedy's decision in 1961 to renew American nuclear tests after the Soviets resumed their tests:

Attitudes toward U.S. decision to test when Russians test

[Percent]

	Total public
Approve U.S. testing	82
Oppose U.S. testing	10
Not sure	8

There is little doubt that any Soviet move to resume testing would meet with a massive response that this country should test nuclear weapons immediately. Here is the reasoning behind these attitudes, as people expressed them in their own words:

Reason for approving or opposing U.S. testing

[Percent]

	Total public
Why approve U.S. tests	82
Stay ahead of Russia	45
No other choice	13
Be ready for anything	12
Develop weapons system	6
Stand up to Russia	5
Test peaceful uses	1
Why oppose U.S. tests	10
Tests endanger health	4
Have enough bombs now	3
Two wrongs don't make a right	3
Not sure	8

As on so many issues, American public opinion is both tough and practical-minded. Our people recognize the dangers of total nuclear war and want every effort bent to avert it. By the same token, most Americans embrace the policy of peace through strength, feeling that a ban on testing is possible only when this country possesses a striking power sufficient to discourage any Russian move toward nuclear aggression.

Pub. Accomm. Md.

AMUSEMENT PARK ARRESTS DEMONSTRATE NEED FOR TITLE II OF OMNIBUS CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I am sure my colleagues have read the recent newspaper articles on the demonstration which occurred at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park, outside of Baltimore, Md. If doubts existed prior to this weekend about the desirability of President Kennedy's pending proposal to secure equal access to public facilities, these events surrounding the mass arrests at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park should have banished them.

The demonstrations and subsequent arrests of such prominent American churchmen as Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church, and others surely provided a graphic illustration of the fact that businessmen opening their doors for public business have a responsibility to serve all the public. Dr. Blake is one of my good friends. I have known him many years.

The practice of discrimination on the basis of color alone constitutes an arbitrary abuse of the rights associated with the ownership of property and a flagrant refusal to accept certain responsibilities to serve the general public that private businessmen must accept.

The owners of the Gwynn Oak Amusement Park do not claim to operate a private club. Their doors have been opened to the general public. Having made this decision, they have the clear obligation to serve all potential customers, assuming that accepted rules of decorum and behavior are maintained.

Opponents of the President's civil rights proposals cannot claim that such respected churchmen as the Right Reverend Daniel Corrigan, director of the home department of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Rabbi Morris Lieberman, of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation; various Roman Catholic priests; and hundreds of religious leaders and laymen constituted a lawless mob disturbing the peace and tranquility of the Baltimore community. The demonstrators presented a model of orderly behavior and nonviolence. Their white antagonists, however, hooted and threatened violence so directly that the use of police dogs was necessary in order to avert a riot.

Who, then, was disturbing the peace in these circumstances, and who should have been jailed, if anyone?

One of the owners of the amusement park read portions of the Maryland trespass law to persons attempting to desegregate the park. The existence of such anachronistic State legislation as this clearly demonstrates the need for prompt Federal action in the area of public accommodations. If ever there was proof of need of the President's program, it took place within 40 miles of the Nation's Capital; and no responsible citizen of the United States can rationalize with credibility or with a sense of decency the arrest of these fine, distinguished churchmen and good citizens.

They can explain it, but they cannot rationalize it with credibility and with a sense of decency. Ample precedents exist for such Federal initiative on the basis of the interstate commerce clause of the U.S. Constitution and the 14th amendment.

In this particular instance, I am confident that merchandise and facilities used in the park were transported across State lines. Persons from all sections of the country, that is, white persons, are welcomed as customers. The impact of the park on interstate commerce cannot be doubted.

The spectacle of national church leaders being hauled off to jail in a paddy wagon demonstrates the absurdity of the present situation regarding equal access to public facilities in Maryland and the absurdity of the arguments of those who oppose title II of the President's omnibus civil rights bill. These events also indicate why the response of Congress to these proposals raises such fundamental questions. In this regard I call the attention of my colleagues to two recent columns by Walter Lippmann and Roscoe Drummond. Both of these respected political analysts dealt with the harsh fact that Congress itself is on trial as it considers this legislation.

I ask my colleagues in Congress how, in the light of the Constitution of the United States, we can rationalize local police arresting respected national spiritual religious church leaders in an amuse-

ment park because they wanted to walk in with an American citizen whose skin is a different color.

I do not think we ought always to be required to quote from political analysts to obtain direction and counsel. I wonder if sometimes we could not sit down and reason problems out for ourselves. One need not be a constitutional lawyer to read and understand the 14th amendment. One need not be a constitutional lawyer to know that it is within the power of the Federal Government under the commerce clause of the Constitution to regulate commerce. And I will put on the line what little limited mental resources I have that some part of the park in Baltimore came there through the vehicle of interstate commerce. Therefore it is subject to the regulations of the Congress.

If Congress finds itself unable to respond affirmatively to this crisis of civil rights, the American people will be entirely justified in asking whether or not Congress is now capable of meeting its obligations as the legislative branch of the Federal Government.

Negroes are not on trial in our country. Churchmen are not on trial. We are. And we are not giving a very good demonstration. The antiquated procedures of the Congress surely contain little to commend them to modern government.

Mr. Lippmann has put the question quite directly. He states: "What kind of legislative body is it that will not or cannot legislate?"

We cannot pretend that a social revolution of historical proportions is not engulfing the entire Nation. It will not do us any good to wring our hands about the demonstrators and the demonstrations. There is not a day but what I hear, "Oh, these demonstrations are terrible." "Oh, if these demonstrations come to Washington, it will be terrible."

I say to Members of Congress that if there is concern that there will be 200,000 or 300,000 fellow American citizens coming to Washington when we take up the civil rights bill, the way to respond most constructively is to announce that we will pass the civil rights bill, that we do not intend to engage in a filibuster, that we are going to treat the proposed legislation responsibly, that we will debate the bill, argue it, and then vote upon it.

I remind my fellow Americans and others that I am not advocating a march on the Nation's Capital. But I am advocating that we in the Congress do our duty. If we do our duty, we will not have to have the galleries filled with demonstrators. We will not have to have the streets packed with demonstrators, and we shall not need any demonstrations. The reason that there are demonstrations in the streets of American cities is that we are not demonstrating legislative responsibility in the Congress of the United States. We are late—very late. We have not legislated. We have been pinned to the wall by the instrument of parliamentary filibuster, delaying tactics, and apparently the lack of proper concern over the welfare of those who are victims of discrimination and prejudice.

A government does not gain allegiance by giving more to those who already have too much. A government does not justify its existence by merely handing out more justice to those who are already overloaded with social privilege. What a government of free people ought to do to justify its existence is to see to it that those who have too little at least have an opportunity to gain enough for a decent living, and that those who are the victims of prejudice and inequality shall have a government stand alongside of them to give some balance to eliminate the inequality and to do away with the overt discrimination.

This is a battle for moral justice and not merely political justice. So Mr. Lippmann is proper in what he asks "what kind of legislative body is it that will not or cannot legislate?"

I do not think we can pretend that President Kennedy has not responded to this social revolution with a package of civil rights bills designed to meet the crisis. I have had the privilege of working with him. I know the hours that have gone into consultation, the many meetings that he has held, how he has reached out to find answers, and how he seeks to propose legislation that can receive a favorable response in the Congress.

The President has acted responsibly. The President has acted courageously and prudently. He is calling upon the Congress to do its part. I say that we are only servants of the people. We do not have any prerogatives, and we should have no privileges. Our one privilege, if any, is to serve the American people and to see to it that the Constitution of the United States is respected and applied equally.

In these circumstances of a nation undergoing an historic social upheaval we can only pretend that Congress lacks the responsibility to act on these proposals as promptly as possible. We know we have the responsibility. To say to the contrary is to avoid responsibility and to make us unworthy of our public trust.

As I have asserted many times during the debates over the resolution to amend rule XXII, I am quite willing to abide by the decision of the Congress once the Members have been permitted to cast their votes on the merits of a particular proposal. But while I am fully prepared to accept this decision whatever it may be, I am not prepared to accept anything less than this. I am not prepared to accept endless statements, weakness, and incapacity to reach a definitive decision on the merits of the President's civil rights legislation.

I say this because there are many signs now indicating delay. I am hopeful that our colleagues in the other body will act promptly on the President's civil rights bill. I am hopeful that when that bill comes to the Senate it will be a full package, including the feature known as public accommodations with enforcement power. I am hopeful that we in the Senate will act on that package.

I am also hopeful that we will strengthen our educational establishment, so that civil rights will be something more than a legal doctrine.

Jobs, expansion of industry, economic growth to provide jobs, training of citizens to fill jobs—all are a part of civil rights. Yet there are people who wonder, "Is the tax bill to have priority, or is the civil rights bill to have priority?" They are tied together. The education bill is tied in, too. All these bills have priority. We have time to act on all of them, if we wish to act.

Let it be quite clear that we shall be here for a long time, Mr. President.

I suggest to my colleagues that they make plans for a "Merry Christmas" in Washington—at least for Thanksgiving dinner—unless we can step up the pace of this body and fulfill the responsibilities which we have been assigned.

There is a full program yet to be acted upon. There are education measures and appropriation bills to be considered. There is a tax reduction bill, which is needed to sustain our economy. There are other items too numerous to mention—and civil rights legislation. The President's program of area redevelopment still waits to be completed, although the Senate has passed it. Manpower training is important. Every bit of it is vital business.

I suggest that, instead of trying to figure out how to put an exile government in Guantánamo, we might well try to figure out how to protect the rights of American citizens in the United States. I love the Cubans, but frankly I think more of citizens of the United States.

If there were as much bleeding of the hearts for the Americans who have paid their taxes, who have fought for their country, who have fulfilled the duties of citizenship but who are denied the rights of citizenship and the privileges of citizenship because of color as there is moaning and groaning and bleeding of hearts about what has happened to the Cubans, perhaps we could do something about both Cuba and the United States.

I think we will be better accepted in the world if we can come with clean hands. Our friends in Cuba who believe in freedom will think more seriously of our commitments if they find we are doing something about our own minorities.

I am not referring only to the American Negroes, who have suffered. Others in the minority in this country over the years have been treated unfairly. The hour has arrived in this democracy when we shall no longer tolerate discrimination and prejudice because of color, religion, national origin, or ethnic background.

There is no finer title or honor than to be a citizen of the United States, and there is no greater derogation of title than to be called a second-class citizen of the United States. Regrettably, there has been forced upon some people that unbelievable disgrace of being called second-class citizens.

I am not at all sure that this will attract any votes. If any Senator plans to vote for these measures because he thinks it will strengthen him politically, he may be making a very serious mistake. But I suggest that it is rather odd, and indeed contradictory and ironical, that when there is an honor guard of Ameri-

can Marines to guard our President, in that honor guard will be a Negro, a Catholic, a Protestant, a Jew, a Spanish-speaking American or an American Indian, who is there as the symbol of our Nation, protecting and honoring the Presidency of the United States; yet some of those men, because of color or even religion, are denied equal privileges guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States. We cannot justify it. No one can. Thus Senators will vote for these civil rights proposals because they are right and just.

In my opinion, the events of the past weekend only make more evident the urgent need for prompt congressional action on civil rights.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD "The Strength To Govern Well," by Walter Lippmann, a column from the July 4, 1963, issue of the Washington Post; "Congress on Trial," by Roscoe Drummond, a column that appeared in the July 8, 1963, issue of the Washington Post; and "Races and Churches," an editorial that appeared in the July 8, 1963, issue of the New York Times.

There being no objection, the articles and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 4, 1963]

STRENGTH TO GOVERN WELL

(By Walter Lippmann)

This Congress was already in a jam before the Negro demonstrations caused the administration to propose the new civil rights bill. Without any filibuster on the floor of the Senate there has been so much delay and obstruction in the committees that after 6 months no important measure has been acted upon, and many of the critical measures, such as tax reduction are bogged down—it would seem deliberately—in the committees.

What kind of legislative body is it that will not or cannot legislate?

This would be a serious question at any time. But it is a critical question at this time. A new generation of Negroes has emerged, one which has lost the fear of being arrested and jailed, and has steeled itself to use the weapon of the weak, which is to be prepared to suffer more pain than the oppressor will dare to inflict. When an aggrieved people reach this point, they have created a force which governments must reckon with and people must respect.

But it turns out that the Government is divided and impotent to deal with their grievances, the prospect is indeed dark and

true, quite evidently, that in their discontent the Negro people might be tempted, even exploited, to permit acts of violence which would recoil upon the Negro community itself. But how is wisdom to be expected to prevail as against reckless folly? There is only one way. By an unmistakable demonstration that the Negroes live under a strong government, one which is not only strong enough to suppress mobs but is also strong enough to redress grievances and raise the level of public righteousness.

When the President has proposed legal remedies for an undeniable evil, the Congress of the United States then smothers and obstructs the enactment of laws, on what ground can a rational appeal be made to the Negro people and their leaders? As one who has always opposed cloture except in extreme emergencies, I would say now that the present situation is extreme. It is whether the Negro can count upon the Government under which he lives to redress his undeniable grievances.

If, therefore, we have a filibuster against civil rights on top of the logjam about everything else, we shall have to say—distressing as it is—that in one of the coordinate branches the capacity to govern has broken down. If this continues, if we linger on in a deadlock in which the President proposes and Congress will not even dispose, there are very difficult days ahead for the Republic. A government must be able to govern. When it cannot govern, a government is sick.

If things go as badly this summer as they threaten to go, and the session drags on into the autumn with little accomplished amidst many angry words, something will have to be done about it. Next to defense and the enlightened conduct of the cold war, the question of highest priority will be how to overcome the paralysis of Congress.

My own view is that the most important and most needed reform would be a rule that measures proposed by the President, if he labels them urgent, must be reported out of committees within a certain time and brought to a vote within a certain time. The administration should have the right to have its proposals voted up or voted down within a reasonably short time. It cannot be the genuine right of a legislature to smother and strangle the proposals of the Executive. For that would leave us with just about the worst of all forms of popular government—government by large assemblies, or, as we call it in this country, congressional government.

Writing this on the day before the Fourth of July, I find myself thinking how rarely free governments have been overthrown by foreign tyrants, except temporarily in time of war, but how often free governments have fallen because of their own weakness and incapacity. To one thinking such thoughts there is nothing reassuring about the present Congress.

[From the Washington Post, July 8, 1963]

ACTION OF FILIBUSTER?—CONGRESS ON TRIAL

(By Roscoe Drummond)

Nearly every day there is evidence of increased support for the civil rights measures now before Congress.

Ahead is a period of long, earnest, even bitter debate. That is part of the democratic process.

The question is not whether there is a clear majority for strengthened civil rights legislation. There is. The only question is whether, after full debate, the Senate can contain a possible filibuster in order to prevent minority rule.

Very few voices are going to be raised to say that there is nothing further the Federal Government can or should do in order to provide equal protection to all citizens against unconstitutional discrimination including voting, schooling, and public accommodations.

But after the minority has been fully heard, there is an additional issue beyond that of racial justice which the majority of Congress and its responsible leaders in both parties will have to face up to. It is this:

At the time and on this issue of racial justice there is no choice open to Congress which will not have far-reaching consequences.

Action will have far-reaching consequences; inaction will have far-reaching consequences.

Enactment of strengthened civil rights legislation would be an act of national policy. But rejection of strengthened rights would also be an act of national policy.

I stress this point because only a filibuster—which is the last resort of minority power—can prevent the passage of strengthened civil rights. If the Senate permits a filibuster to prevail, it will thereby permitting the most crucial and critical national policy to be determined by minority rule.

Bear in mind that unlimited debate is not a constitutional right. It is not an unconditional procedural right. It is a privilege which stems from Senate rules and is conditional by the right of the Senate to determine debate by a two-thirds vote. Therefore, when some Senators say that, however much they favor strengthened civil rights, they cannot vote to end a filibuster because it would compromise a right ("and what is right is right," as one put it) they are using a suspect argument. Apparently such Senators are willing to compromise the right of two-thirds of the Senate to end a filibuster in order to preserve the right of the minority to continue a filibuster.

Everyone in Washington knows that there is a clear majority in both houses for the pending civil rights measures, with possibly one or two limiting amendments. There is, therefore, another question which the leaders and Members of Congress will have to ponder long and well.

Can the majority of Senators and Representatives permit Congress, supposedly coequal in authority and responsibility with the judicial and the executive branches, to stand helpless, unable to play its part in dealing with a great and grave national problem?

Can the majority of Congressmen permit national policy on the issue of racial justice to be determined by minority rule?

I do not believe that the majority of Congressmen will wish to stand before the country and, indeed, before the exacerbated, long-patient, long-discriminated-against American Negroes, and say that representative Government cannot govern.

I wonder if, in the end, even the minority in Congress will wish to carry their views and their tactics to such an extreme as to weaken and discredit Congress at a time, with its whole legislative agenda in disarray, it urgently needs to recapture respect and credit.

Congress itself is on trial.

[From the New York Times, July 8, 1963]

RACE AND THE CHURCHES

Historians writing about the struggle for racial equality in this period are going to have a number of milestones to guide them. One such, surely, will prove to be the demonstration at Gwynn Oak Amusement Park near Baltimore on July 4 which was repeated yesterday.

Leading Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish clergymen participated in the July 4 attempt to integrate the 68-acre park whose manager, James Price, blandly announced: "The white man in this area does not accept the Negro on a social or recreational basis." The clergymen, having broken the Maryland trespass law, accepted the penalty and were among the 283 demonstrators arrested and jailed.

Their gesture was the most spectacular to date in a sudden and impressive determination by U.S. church leaders to do something rather than just say something, about the evil of segregation.

How much effect active intervention by religious forces is going to have in this struggle cannot yet be gaged, but it stands to reason that it is bound to have a great impact if they keep it up. Pope Paul VI encouraged all Catholics to join the fray by his strong endorsement, when President Kennedy saw him at the Vatican, of the struggle to achieve "for all your citizens the equal rights of citizenship." Since January the National Council of Churches, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and the Synagogue Council of America have been urging bold interfaith action against racial discrimination.

The principal religious elements in our southern States are Protestant Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist. Bishop Boynton of the New York Protestant Episcopal Diocese has issued a statement authorizing clergymen and laymen to take part in antidiscrimination demonstrations "held anywhere under responsible leadership." It is understood that Methodist and Baptist church leaders are preparing to urge their flocks to join the antisegregationist campaigns.

The road to integration is not a straight and narrow one. There are many paths to the goal, and it may turn out that the road followed by all religions, for whom men are equal in the sight of God, will be one of the most successful.

THE VISIT OF CARDINAL SILVA

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, this noon I was honored to serve as host at a luncheon for one of the great social leaders of Latin America, Raul Cardinal Silva Enriquez, archbishop of Santiago, Chile. I am happy that my colleagues on the Foreign Relations Committee and leading officials of the Alliance for Progress program were able to meet with Cardinal Silva and discuss some of the most important problems confronting the Alliance for Progress program today.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks an article from the New York Times describing the leadership which Cardinal Silva is providing in the movement for economic and social reform in Chile.

To give my colleagues some idea of the progressive role which the church is now playing in many Latin American countries in promoting the aims of the Alliance for Progress, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks a copy of the pastoral letter issued by the Chilean bishops in November of 1962 advocating basic structural reforms in Chile. It is a model document for all Latin American countries to follow in implementing the aims of the Alliance for Progress.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request by the Senator from Minnesota? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, it is a great pleasure to meet Cardinal Silva, who is providing leadership in achieving the aims of the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

If the Alliance for Progress is to succeed and the spread of communism be halted, the traditional ruling groups must provide the leadership for a peaceful economic and social revolution in Latin America.

As recently as a decade ago, it could be said that the indifference and fatalism of the ruling groups was well expressed in the remark of the late 19th century Chilean President, Barros Rocco:

There are only two kinds of problems facing society: Those which get solved by themselves—and those which defy solution.

The example offered by our guest of honor today, Cardinal Silva, is proof that this is no longer true of Latin American countries today. In Chile, he has taken the lead in implementing the social philosophy embodied in the recent encyclicals of Pope John XXIII, "Mater et Magistra" and "Pacem in Terris."

The Pastoral Letter of the Chilean bishops, published in November 1962, reflects this philosophy—calling for rapid and drastic economic and social reforms. Under Cardinal Silva's leadership, the church in Chile has set an example for others by redistributing most of its own lands to local peasants.

Cardinal Silva has done much to encourage pioneering projects by voluntary associations in Chile—such as the Techo project—which I have visited. He has also supported the work of men at the Bellarmino Center like Father Roger Vekemans and Father Lyons, who are providing leadership in student and intellectual circles, and in the labor movement.

I am happy to note that the work of voluntary agencies in Chile and in Latin America generally is receiving more attention from Alliance for Progress officials. I am happy to note a definite change in the attitude of Alliance officials in the past year toward voluntary associations. Today there is a greater appreciation of the role voluntary groups can perform, not only in alleviating the sufferings of the poor, but also in fostering needed economic and social development and in introducing the political skills necessary for a functioning democratic Government.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the New York Times, Nov. 5, 1962]

CHURCH DEMANDS REFORMS IN CHILE—CARDINAL LEADS MOVEMENT TO EASE COMMON MAN'S LOT

(By Edward C. Burks)

SANTIAGO, CHILE, October 31.—Chile's Roman Catholic Church is trying to help solve critical political and economic problems here to improve the lot of the common man.

The move is under the leadership of 55-year-old Raul Cardinal Silva Enriquez, archbishop of Santiago, who calls for drastic social reforms.

The gist of his message is that Chile must overhaul her unbalanced social system and make great changes to ease the lot of millions of her underprivileged or the job is going to be done in totalitarian manner by Communist methods.

Chile is a nation of 7,800,000 strung out along the western coastline of South America over an area slightly larger than that of Texas. It has been one of the Western Hemisphere's most stable democracies but has big problems because of tortuous terrain, vast desert regions and great numbers of underfed people with limited opportunities.

COMMUNISTS ARE STRONG

Chile has a strong Communist Party, a labor movement dominated by Communists and other leftists and a main opposition bloc in Congress based on a tight alliance of Socialists and Communists.

Added to Chile's problems are a fast-growing population, a vast gap between a few rich and the masses and chronic budget and trade deficits.

Under Cardinal Silva Enriquez the church has been becoming more and more outspoken on the need for reforms.

Recently the church laid down its position in a 9,000-word pastoral letter that was read to the congregations in every Catholic church in Chile.

No sector of the Chilean community was spared from criticism as the pastoral letter ranged over a wide range of problems and attitudes.

The pastoral letter started out by stating that it was obvious that great numbers of Chilean people not only are living under miserable conditions that are basically intolerable but that these conditions seem to be perpetuated.

The letter noted that in the Chilean countryside a minority of proprietors had the greatest part of the best lands and that the majority lived in poverty.

It also noted that one-third of the Chilean population did not have a decent home where normal family life and family virtues could be developed despite recent Government efforts in building homes for low-income families.

The letter declared that about one-tenth of the population received half of all the national income. It emphasized that one of every three Chilean children stopped school after the first year and that the second did not finish primary school.

Despite some gains, there is general agreement here that there are gross social inequalities. But the meat of the latest message from the church hierarchy is that reforms are going entirely too slowly and that too many so-called faithful Christians in Chile are showing cold indifference to problems of the masses that have now reached the emergency stage.

The pastoral letter deplored that the great mass of Chileans really was left outside the supposedly beneficent social laws and that they had no real recourse with the authorities in seeking to right injustices.

The pastoral letter criticized those wealthy Chileans who deposit their money abroad or who "spend enormous sums on totally useless things or amusements here" while millions are in misery.

It hit out also at lip-service Christians who seemingly fulfill their religious duties yet in their business and professional lives seem to forget all about their fellow-Chilean who is bowed by poverty and lack of opportunity.

While attacking the abuses of the liberal capitalist system, the pastoral letter also declared flatly that it was impossible to collaborate with the Communist movement here. The Communists are working with various democratic parties only with the idea of using them as a stepping stone to totalitarian power, the letter said.

Cardinal Silva Enriquez, named last year, has considerable credentials for the job he has undertaken.

A native of Talca, in the south, he holds a law degree, was a Catholic editor for years and also founded and managed Chile's main Catholic relief organization.

TRANSLATION OF PASTORAL LETTER ADDRES[illegible] BY THE 24 CATHOLIC BISHOPS OF CH[illegible] THE PEOPLE OF THEIR COUNTRY, N[illegible] 1962, ON SOCIAL REFORM AND THE [illegible] GOOD

Beloved children, the obligation [illegible] erate effectively in the solution of p[illegible] relating to the common good is a pre[illegible] duty of the Christian. It springs f[illegible] maximum mandate of the law. It i[illegible] practical expression of the eminently s[illegible] character of Christianity.

Therefore, the church insistently re[illegible] us of it, and the bishops of Chile f[illegible] certain times in the life of our coun[illegible] serious responsibility to urge the fai[illegible] comply with their social duty.

We believe that we find ourselves [illegible] of those times and that our silenc[illegible] be a blameworthy omission. We do [illegible] to be guilty of the biblical anathema [illegible] why did I keep quiet" (Isaias 6–5).

We speak with no other purpose th[illegible] good of our Chilean native country and [illegible] eternal happiness of its children.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. All the countries of Latin America, w[illegible] can say, are passing through a period [illegible] great difficulties which particularly affect [illegible] economic, political and social order. T[illegible]

Pub. Accomm. VA.

NEWS from
Danville Christian Progressive Association
226 North Union Street
Danville, Virginia
Telephones: SW 3-0544 SW 2-6062 Area code 703

July 9, 1963

DANVILLE, VA. --- Representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) have organized renewed demonstrations in this Southside Virginia city designed to announce an international boycott of products of Dan River Mills.

Matthew Jones, 22, of SNCC led a group of 30 silent pickets in front of the main entrances to Danville's chief industry, the Dan River Mills on July 8. One sign read, "We Call for a World-Wide Boycott of Dan River Mills - SNCC."

"These demonstrations are part of a request for an international boycott of Dan River Mills products," reported the Rev. L. G. Campbell, Secretary, Danville Christian Progressive Association (D.C.P.A.) "The Mills employ about 10,000 people and the industry is the economic bastion of the power structure of this segregated community of 47,000," Campbell continued. "We are asking freedom-loving people all over the world to stop buying Dan River Mills products," Campbell said.

As part of what the D.C.P.A. calls a "selective buying campaign," 60 youthful pickets walked ten feet apart in groups of six or less on July 8. This was the third day of silent picketing within the provisions of an anti-demonstration ordinance passed on June 14. There were no arrests.

Later on July 8 eleven young people picketed a meeting at City Hall where Mayor Julian Stinson and three white leaders met with eleven Negroes selected by the Mayor for the alleged purpose of easing racial tensions here. None of

the Negroes at the meeting have participated in the Danville protest movement.

Last week D.C.P.A. leaders issued a statement that they would not be bound by any agreements made by this group.

"The mass demonstration phase of our protest will be resumed with the arrival of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and a task force of Protestant and Jewish clergymen on Thursday, July 11," said the Rev. L. W. Chase, President, D.C.P.A. "In light of the city's refusal to negotiate, Dr. King was invited to Danville to do whatever necessary to settle the grievances of our people," Chase said.

The Rev. Dr. King is President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference with which the D.C.P.A. is affiliated.

#

NEWS from
Danville Christian Progressive Association (D.C.P.A.)
226 North Union Street
Danville, Virginia
Telephones: SW 3-0544 SW 2-6062
Area code 703

July 9, 1963

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: Danville Protest Movement

DANVILLE, VA. --- From May 31 to June 5 there were peaceful pickets carrying signs in the downtown Danville area each day except Sunday, sponsored by the Danville Christian Progressive Association. On June 5 students marched into the Mayor's office and demanded to be heard. Five people were arrested including the Rev. L.G.Campbell, Secretary, D.C.P.A., and the Rev. A.I.Dunlap, 2nd Vice President of the D.C.P.A. They were released several hours later and resumed demonstrations that night.

A biracial committee formed by City Councilman Charles Womack is now defunct due to censure by the remaining Councilmen.

On June 8 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) field secretary Avon Rollins arrived, and on June 10 SNCC field secretary Bob Zellner arrived at the invitation of the D.C.P.A.

Demonstrations continued until June 10. At 12 noon high pressure fire hoses were turned on the peaceful demonstrators, and several people were beaten. Several persons were jailed.

A march to the city jail to protest the afternoon's jailings was staged that night, June 10. While the Rev. H.G.McChee was on his knees praying in the alley beside the jail, he was arrested. Police barricaded the alley and high pressure fire hoses were turned on the people. While the demonstrators were staggered from the force of the water and washed under the cars and down the street, the police beat them with riot sticks, black-jacks and sawed-off baseball bats. Chief McCain was among those beating the demon-

strators, and he grabbed the camera of SNCC field secretary Bob Zellner and smashed it to the ground.

Approximately 48 people were hospitalized for injuries that night. Heads were beaten, faces broken open and noses broken, breasts lacerated, limbs broken, eyes nearly punctured, bodies cut, and clothes torn off by the force of the water. Prior to the march the demonstrators had turned in all pencils, nail files and anything that could possibly inflict a wound, and they had committed themselves to nonviolence.

June 11 and June 12 saw peaceful demonstrations continue. Robert Gore, national representative of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) arrived.

On June 13 a demonstration was held on the steps of the municipal building. Tear gas was used to disperse the peaceful demonstrators. On this occasion, state police joined in the beatings.

On June 14 a city ordinance was issued by a police court and an injunction was issued by the Danville Corporation Court to stop all demonstrations. 13 leaders were indicted by the Grand Jury on charges of "inciting the colored population to acts of violence and war against the white population," a felony punishable by 5 - 10 years under Virginia law.

On June 14 and on June 15, demonstrations were held despite the injunction and ordinance.

Ezell Barksdale, 18, and Ernest Smith, 46, were tried and convicted in the Corporation Court on June 17. Barksdale was given 90 days on the city farm, with 45 days suspended, and Smith was given four months on the city farm, with two months suspended. Bond and appeal were denied. Judge Aiken of the Corporation Court had all Negroes entering the courtroom searched, whether they were attorneys, defendents or spectators. No whites were searched. The judge wore a pistol. Attorney General Robert Kennedy later

stated that a Negro could not receive justice in the Danville courts while the judge carried a pistol.

On June 22 the police kicked open a door in the main sanctuary of the High Street Baptist Church and arrested three members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Bob Zellner, Avon Rollins, and Daniel Foss, under the indictment. Bond was set at $5,500.

At present the ordinance and the injunction are before Federal Judge Michie awaiting his approval or disapproval of removal from the Danville Corporation Court to the District Federal Court.

On July 8, the third day of silent picketing in the downtown area since the passing of the ordinance on June 14, an international boycott of Dan River Mills was called for by officials of the D.C.P.A.

#

D.C.P.A.
MEK:SNCC
w/rel

Pub. Accomm - Sen.

From the office of:

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS (R-N.Y.)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1963

****
The following is the testimony of Senator Jacob K. Javits prepared for delivery at a hearing of the Senate Commerce Committee on the Public Accommodations Bill, Tuesday morning, July 9, 1963.
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The bill before this committee reaches an aspect of the civil rights crisis now sweeping the nation which almost no other civil rights proposal can reach in the same way: I speak of the moral issue of personal dignity. To understand fully what this legislation is about, one need only for a moment put himself in the position of a Negro who, walking into a restaurant or a hotel or a store, must first look around apprehensively to see whether or not he or she is welcome. I have seen this human tragedy a thousand times myself.

I would like to read to you a short passage from a very fine article, entitled "Discrimination in Hotels: A Cause for Crisis?", which, you will be surprised to hear, was carried in a trade journal, The Hotel Monthly, just a year ago:

> One balmy January midnight on St. Petersburg's motel-lined Treasure Island a tired and hungry family of four pulled their new Chrysler into the driveway of a modern 100-room motel hotel. The father got out, stretched and straightened his tie. Through the large glass doors he could see a middle-aged woman behind the registration desk engrossed in a book.
>
> Ralph Sims went in and greeted her with his best smile. The woman looked up startled and without a word disappeared through a door behind her. Moments later her drowsy husband appeared through the door-way with a frozen stare fixed on the traveler.
>
> "Yes?" he inquired at last.
>
> "How much are your double rooms?" said Sims. "I notice there's a vacancy."
>
> The manager sucked in his breath and looked Sims in the eye. "Fifty thousand dollars," he said.
>
> Even Sims, who owned a $500,000 a year appliance business, was caught off guard, "I don't get it," he said, forcing a laugh.
>
> "That's what the price is," repeated the manager. "That's how much it would cost me in business to serve you. I've got 75 guests here tonight and I've got to think of them."
>
> "Look, mister," said Mr. Sims finally. "I'll pay you twice the price. I've got two kids out there. They haven't had a good meal all day, we're all exhausted and we can't find any place to sleep."
>
> "Sorry," said the manager, shrugging his shoulders. "I feel sorry for you, but I just can't do it." And with that he abruptly disappeared through the same door.
>
> That night the Sims family, who were Negroes, tried to doze curled up inside their parked car, counting the minutes until sunrise when they could begin hunting a colored restaurant for breakfast.

- More -

I begin with this very human anecdote because I believe it helps to portray the deep importance which this proposal has to the Negro community and to the Nation itself, which is at last becoming mobilized to begin to meet head-on the justifiable demands of its Negro citizens for equal opportunity and equal treatment now. Other aspects of civil rights - in voting, education, administration of justice, housing, even employment -- vital as they are in themselves -- do not involve the day-by-day confrontation in restaurants, lunch counters, hotels, motels, stores and shops and other similar public accommodations which make this one of the most explosive aspects of racial relations.

It is because of this very human, moral element that, in my judgment, the Negro community has directed most of its campaign of demonstrations against discrimination in public accommodations. I believe it was no accident that the beginning of this movement, in the Spring of 1961, the sit-ins in Greensboro, South Carolina, was directed against segregated lunch counters.

The public accommodations bill is the pivotal part of the President't civil rights package. If this part is left out of the bill as finally enacted, I believe that a vital aspect of the President's purpose will have been vitiated. The rest of the President's program is meaningful and it represents measurable progress, but I believe that only enactment of a public accommodations bill can provide major relief for the current Negro drive for true emancipation.

It is important to understand this, because the surge of activity which has stirred the national conscience and brought about this current crisis in civil rights has occurred precisely because Congress has failed in the past to enact that meaningful legislation which would give vent to the Negro desire for justice.

For example, Congress missed the boat in 1957 and in 1960 in failing to enact Part III to give the Attorney General authority to bring injunctive suits in representative civil rights cases, including school desegregation. It missed the boat again in failing from 1957 to date to crack down on the use of Federal funds to subsidize state programs in which segregation or discrimination were practiced.

As a result, the Negro community lost confidence in the will of the Federal Government to redress its reasonable grievances and felt the need to express its impatience by direct action and demonstrations. We in Congress will not restore that confidence with limited, restricted or watered-down measures. In the name of the national interest and in our quest for national order, Congress must "rise to the occasion" to meet this civil rights crisis. We cannot limit ourselves to buckets of water to still the raging fires of racial unrest lighted by resentment against the denigration of the citizenship of millions of our fellow Americans.

We must remember that it was just because the Negro community brought home to the nation through peaceful demonstrations its refusal any longer to stand for segregation and discrimination in places of public accommodation that the President finally asked for meaningful civil rights legislation. If this part of the package is not enacted along with the rest, I believe the demands -- which are only fair and reasonable -- will continue just as strongly as now -- and with the best reason in the world.

- More -

For the same reason -- that is, the moral and human element involved here, which requires an enforceable standard -- I feel very strongly that a public accommodations bill which did not have enforcement powers built into it would be toothless. Without the possibility of enforcement, when the problem is equal opportunity, the die-hard minority would instead be given power to set a standard for a majority wishing to obey the law. The conciliation technique is a valuable one, but if there is no sanction for failing to negotiate in good faith, it can be exploited and nullified. Enforcement provisions are a guarantee of serious intent to the Negro community; without them, they are again given recourse only to their own direct action in the streets.

In view of the fundamentally human aspect of the problem, I would hope that the legal questions -- interesting as they are -- which have been debated lately, even among supporters of the objectives of the bill, would not get in the way of prompt approval of it. The chief problem being debated is the choice of the Commerce Clause of the Constitution rather than the Fourteenth Amendment as the constitutional basis for this legislation. As a lawyer and a legislator, I find no difficulty in the Commerce Clause approach taken in this bill. I introduced a public accommodations bill premised on the Commerce Clause in March of this year; S. 1217 which was co-sponsored by Senators Beall, Case, Fong, Keating, Kuchel and Scott. A similar bill was introduced at a later date by a number of Senators on the Democratic side. I also joined in co-sponsoring S. 1591, introduced by Senators Cooper and Dodd, which takes the Fourteenth Amendment approach, based upon the state licensing concept, which is in my judgment wholly proper and within Congress' power to implement under the Fifth Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

My recommendation to the Committee is to resolve the differences between those who take one approach and those who take another approach by taking both: in other words, exhaust Congress' power by invoking both the Commerce Clause and the Fourteenth Amendment. This is the course recommended by the Leadership Conference on civil rights, Senator Keating and others.

This could be done by amending Section 3, which defines those places of public accommodation covered by the prohibition against discrimination, so as to include those in which discrimination is enforced by State action as well as those which affect interstate commerce. In this way, the total scope and constitutional basis for the legislation can be established utilizing all the authority of the Congress in the field rather than only part of it.

The legal arguments for such an approach as this are, in my view, entirely sound. The basis for action under the Commerce Clause is firmly embedded in the dozens of Congressional enactments under that clause, including the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and the Food and Drug Act. The Attorney General, in testimony before this Committee last week, referred to the Oleomargarine Act, which sought to regulate under the Commerce Clause the shape and color of oleomargarine. Just as in those enactments, the bill before the Committee is validly within the Congress' interstate commerce power because the practices which it seeks to regulate are a burden upon interstate commerce. Denial of services and accommodations on the basis of race or color interferes with the freedom of interstate travel by Negroes. I believe the incident which I referred to at the beginning of my testimony is eloquent evidence of just how such discrimination does interfere with such travel; I am sure the Committee will hear more such testimony firsthand during these hearings.

The Fourteen Amendment also could support legislation along these lines, although as I have suggested it would probably be best to spell out the reliance on that Amendment by expanding the definition of establishments covered by the bill in order to make it clear that it proscribes discrimination on grounds of race or color by any business in which such discrimination is enforced by State action. The sit-in cases decided by the Supreme Court on May 20 made it clear that the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits lunch counter segregation which is enforced by a State statute, a municipal ordinance, or which is the subject of official action or the threat of it. What the bill would do in these cases, if it were amended to rely squarely upon the Fourteenth Amendment (in addition to the Commerce Clause), is to provide, under the necessary and proper clause of the Amendment, authority for the Attorney General to bring suit where private suits, such as those decided by the Court, are impractical and where the presence of the United States is warranted. No new rights would be created, but as is true of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 in relation to the Fifteenth Amendment regarding voting rights, the Constitutional rights would be given protection through enforcement by the Federal Government. The precise extent of the Fourteenth Amendment in the absence of a State statute, a municipal ordinance, or official action has not yet been determined by the Court; in deciding the cases mentioned above the Court remanded for additional evidence the remaining case in which a pattern of segregation, but no overt State involvement, was alleged. If the Court ultimately determines that the pattern of segregation maintained throughout society in a State constitutes "State action" within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, the bill as amended would include them automatically and the Attorney General would be authorized to bring such suits.

I have joined in sponsoring, as a constructive alternative suggestion, S. 1591, introduced by Senator Cooper, which would rely upon the Fourteenth Amendment by prohibiting discrimination by any business licensed by a State for public use. This, too, has not yet been squarely decided by the Court as falling within the meaning of State action under the Fourteenth Amendment. By including in the bill discrimination enforced by State action, the Congress could also extend its prohibition to this class of cases if the Court decides that the reach of the Fourteenth Amendment extends to State licensing.

I do feel that the Fourteenth Amendment base for the statute has the greater chance of being uneven in its application for it may depend too heavily on legal or factual situations generally found only in the South, while regulation under the Commerce Clause would be applicable everywhere across the board.

I should state at this point that I do not believe that the Civil Rights Cases of 1883 are particularly relevant to the constitutionality of the Commerce Clause and Fourteenth Amendment-based provisions which I am discussing. In the 1883 decision the Court struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which sought to prohibit discrimination in public accommodations without reference either to their relation to interstate commerce or to any State action, and as applied to cases which neither interstate commerce nor State action was proved. The decision stands for the proposition that unless the statute is applied to State action, the Fourteenth Amendment, which in terms applies only to States and not to private persons, cannot support it. Since subsequent decisions do not question this proposition, and since the Court specifically withheld any judgment as to the Commerce Clause as a basis for the statute, I do not believe the decision is any bar to enactment today of public accommodations antidiscrimination legislation based clearly on the Commerce Clause or the Fourteenth Amendment or a combination of both.

The argument has also been made in these hearings and elsewhere that some countervailing rights of privacy or freedom of association are infringed by these proposals. To me a complete answer is that almost every regulatory enactment of the States as well as of the Congress involves some loss of privacy or freedom of association, yet our Nation could hardly exist without them. Labor legislation, food and drug legislation, farm legislation, all involve some countervailing loss of freedom on the part of some in order to serve the national interest. A minister in Atlanta, Georgia, Rev. Roy Pettway, recently put this very well in a sermon. He said:

> When a man operates a store, restaurant, hotel, or other business, he may do so as a corporation chartered by the State, and in any event, he can do so only by license from the government. He can not do so privately, without a government license, and thus the right to operate his business is a privilege granted to him by the government. And his business may be worth so many thousands of dollars: but those are United States dollars, and without the United States government, his property would be worth no more than Confederate currency.
>
> If your private building is dangerous, the government can make you tear it down. If a private druggist has tainted drugs, the government can seize and confiscate them, even though they are his private property. If a physician or lawyer does not follow the regulations of the government, his license will be revoked. If you don't obey traffic rules, your driver's license will be taken away from you. And if a man does not operate his business in accordance with the law, his business license can be taken away, and his place of business "padlocked."

What this legislation would do is only to deprive operators of public places of the freedom to discriminate against patrons because of the color of their skin.

The freedom of operators of public places has long been restricted in many ways which no one has seen fit to challenge as a deprivation of private property rights. In common law innkeepers were required to make their establishments open to all travellers. Today in most States those who invite the public onto their property to do business are obligated to provide greater precautions for the physical safety of their customers than owners of wholly private property. Some thirty-two States already prohibit operators of public places from exercising freedom to discriminate on grounds of color. And a number of Southern States indicate no countervailing protection of private property rights because they prohibit operators of public places from exercising freedom <u>not</u> to discriminate on grounds of color.

At this point I should make some reference to the so-called "Mrs. Murphy" problem about which there has been so much discussion. I do not believe an explicit cut-off - in either dollar volume or number of employees - should be written into this bill to exempt outright smaller businesses from the effect of the Act. To do so would negate the moral and human basis for this legislation. I do not believe Congress should itself discriminate against the larger businesses in favor of the smaller in order to permit the latter the capability of racial discrimination. A Negro should not be forced to decide whether the particular

hotel or motel he is approaching is one large enough to treat him like any other fellow American. Unfortunately, this is going to be the result as a practical matter no matter how the legislation is phrased, since limitations of manpower and funds would ordinarily prevent the Department of Justice from pursuing any but the prominent cases. And the Commerce Clause approach itself requires a substantial involvement in interstate commerce so that again the smallest establishments would practically not be covered. But I do not feel that the Congress should go beyond these built-in exemptions to exempt specifically any class of proprietors of public places. If a small rooming house in which the proprietor lives - which is the case most often described in this connection - is regulated as a public place by the city and State through licensing, special fire laws, and public health standards, I see no reason why it sould not also be subject to the same moral code as its larger competitors. Just as in the choice between the Commerce Clause and the Fourteenth Amendment, my recommendation here too is that Congress should exhaust all of its power to do away with the blight of racial segregation and discrimination.

In conclusion, it is my firm belief, as a lawyer and as a legislator, that the pending legislation is wholly constitutional and vitally needed.

# # # #

Pub. Accomm. VA.

NEWS from
Danville Christian Progressive Association
226 North Union Street
Danville, Virginia
Telephones: Area Code 703 SW2-6062 SW3-0544

July 15, 1963

DANVILLE, VA. --- In a precedent-setting event July 14, a serviceman led a demonstration while in full uniform and carrying the American flag. Pfc. Buford G. Holt, 23, a native of Danville, led a demonstration of six persons in front of the home of Mayor Julian Stinson at 2 Country Club Drive. The Mayor has branded leaders of the movement as "criminals" and has continually refused to negotiate. Mr. Holt (82nd Airborne Division, Fort Bragg, N. C.) went limp and was carried by four policemen to the pound truck. "This is the first time in the civil rights struggle that a Negro soldier has demonstrated in uniform for his rights, " said Bob Zellner, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Field Secretary.

Mr. Holt said that he had heard of the treatment of his family and friends who had been speaking out for their rights in Danville and that he could not be on the alert to fight in Cuba when there was a more basic battle for Democracy to be fought in America. He carried a sign reading: "I serve in the forces which guard our country and our way of life. I am prepared to give my life for the United States to defend the rights of her citizens. But I must ask this nation if America is prepared to defend my rights as an American citizen."

An Emergency Food Drive has been announced by representatives of SNCC and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) who are working in Danville, Va., to help ease hunger due to the cutting off of unemployment compensation and loss of jobs which occurred in reprisal for participating in demonstrations.

"There are also many families where one or both parents are in jail, and they have vowed to remain there without bail. Food is needed for their children," according to Rev. L. G. Campbell, Executive Secretary of the Danville Christian Progressive Association (D.C.P.A.) Staples such as flour, canned milk, and canned vegetables and meat are needed for immediate distribution. "We are making a special appeal to all friends of justice for small and large packages to be sent to 226 North Union St., Danville, Va.," said Avon W. Rollins, Executive Committee, SNCC.

In other developments during the past week, a Mother's March for Freedom was led through the downtown district on July 10 by Dorothy Day, Editor, Catholic Worker (international circulation of 75,000). Mrs. Day told a mass meeting that, "I have come to Danville to show you that I believe in the struggle for elementary human rights in which you are engaged, and therefore I shall demonstrate for those rights with you." She carried a sign with a portion of the Pope John XXIII Peace Message.

Congressman James Corman (22nd District, California) and an aide conferred with local and organizational leaders here a week ago, July 7. The aide returned to observe a rally addressed by integration leader Martin Luther King, and the demonstration of about 100 persons following his speech. Yelled at by police, the aide was told to "Go back to the 22nd District where you belong." King is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) with which the D.C.P.A. is affiliated.

Spokesmen for the Danville movement earlier called for an international boycott of the Dan River Mills which employs about 25% of the city's population and reputedly has extensive federal contracts. Negroes number 15,000 out of the total population of 47,000 but only 900 of the 10,000 employed by the mill are Negro, according to a union official. In a letter to some 90 U. S. Senators, officials of the D. C. P. A. said, "The shame of Danville can end immediately with a phone call from the president of Dan River Mills."

As the situation in Cambridge, Md. grows tense under imposed martial law, local leaders called for James Forman, Exec. Dir. of SNCC and Avon Rollins, SNCC Exec. Comm. member here, to come to Cambridge immediately. In a telegram to President Kennedy, SNCC worker Bob Zellner wired: "SNCC URGES YOU TO MOVE IMMEDIATELY TO BLOCK THE NATIONAL GUARD FROM DENYING CIVIL RIGHTS ADVOCATES IN CAMBRIDGE, MD. THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS."

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Look
7/16/63
Pub. Accomm. Miss.

FIVE DAYS IN MISSISSIPPI

A search for an unknown blonde turns up a stark view of reality in the South

By THOMAS B. MORGAN

The face of the future: A winsome Negro demonstrator, parading without a license in Jackson, Miss., is undaunted by arrest.

EARLY IN JUNE, LOOK photographer Douglas Jones and I spent five days in Jackson, Miss., searching for the blond girl in the photograph at the right. A few days earlier, a silent, stoical handful of Negro and white sit-ins and a mob of more than 150 white men, boys and girls had created this and other scenes at the lunch counter in the F. W. Woolworth store on Capitol Street.

On TV and in newspapers, the world saw big Benny G. Oliver, at 26 a former member of the Jackson police force, stomping a sit-in boy's face (see following page), and our blond girl shown here shaking catsup on a sit-in girl's hair, while onlookers smile. During the melee, Jackson boys in clean summer clothes also painted "Go home, nigger" and the inevitable obscenities on the backs of the sit-ins' shirts and blouses. Armed police in blue helmets and pale-blue tieless shirts finally stepped in—two hours later.

The catsup blonde, even more than Benny Oliver, had the power to shock us. So we looked for her in Jackson, hoping she could tell us why.

As it happened, we did not find her. We talked to some 60 likely people, but no one told us her name. We plowed through back numbers of the two local daily newspapers and pored over hundreds of photographs in high-school yearbooks.

One of the sit-ins told us that she had heard the blonde call out, "Take my picture!" to a local TV cameraman just before the catsup was slopped. We soon found a cameraman who said he "knew" the girl, but he "couldn't remember" her name. Later, he offered to rerun some of his film for us. (The violent parts, he said, had been edited out for Jackson TV viewers.) But he withdrew the offer at the last minute, and we never heard from him again. We were told later that he'd gone off on his vacation, a day early.

Meanwhile, by checking up at one of the white high schools, we got the names of three teen-age boys who stood and watched the riot. We visited the home of each. One refused to answer the door. The second hid behind his mother while she assured me that her son knew nothing about that girl in the picture. We met the third in his driveway painting a dinghy with his father. The

continued

The face of prejudice: As seen

nationally on NBC-TV, the "unknown" blonde pours catsup over stoical sit-ins at Woolworth's lunch counter, Jackson. Sit-in at left is Annie Moody; far right, John Salter (see text).

A glimpse of the white problem in Jackson, Miss., U.S.A.

Jackson police, trained in military techniques, somberly confiscate demonstrators' flags, posters. Moments later, Negro youth at left gaily winked at photographer.

father took the picture from me, looked it over carefully, and said *he* didn't know the girl. He was sure his boy didn't either. He didn't.

It went that way for five days. We exhausted every lead, invariably losing the trail somewhere in the white silence that hangs over Jackson. We gave up. But in the process, we discovered, we had had a glimpse of the white problem in Mississippi.

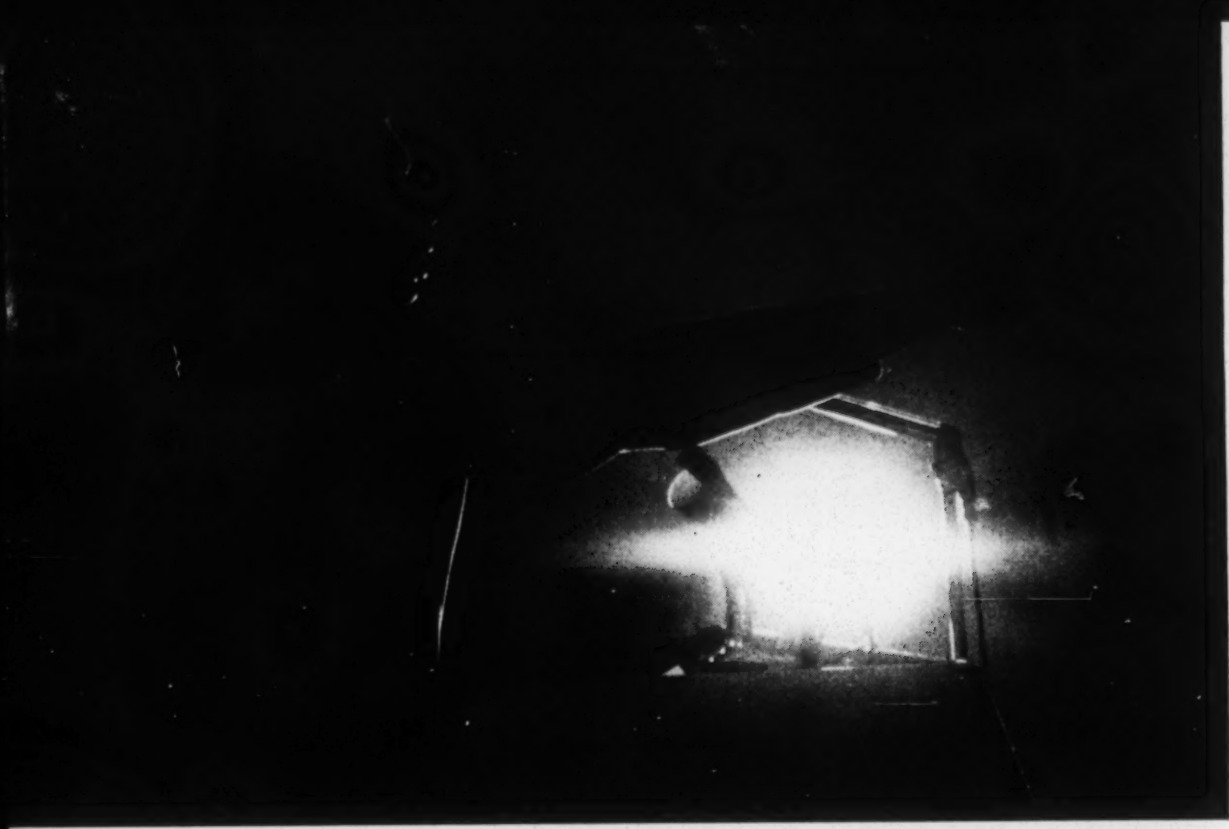
Jackson was having a heat wave when we arrived. Once, the temperature reached 104 degrees. The American flag and the Confederate flag hung limply from poles in front of the Robert E. Lee Hotel. Scores of Negroes and a few sympathetic whites were in jail for having demonstrated day after day in the streets and stores of downtown Jackson following the Woolworth riot. On Capitol Street, the police were out in force—on foot, on motorcycles, in squad cars and in the paddy wagon—waiting for the next demonstration. *Hud* was playing at the Paramount, and *Mutiny on the Bounty* at the Lamar. Both theaters are for whites only. "Sure made the niggers mad," a man leaning on a mailbox said to me, "when that nigger movie *Raisin in the Sun* came to town, and they couldn't get in here to see it."

FBI men patrolled the streets too. You could recognize them by the radio receivers they wore, like hearing aids. And a doughty little man from the Department of Justice was around a lot, keeping an eye on things, a police sergeant confided, "for Bobby Kennedy." Business was almost as usual, although many Negroes were boycotting the Capitol Street stores.

Like the foolish hare, the whites thought they were winning.

There was the white school principal who carefully used the word "Negro" in the early stages of a long conversation with us. Then he slipped to "nigrah." And for the last half hour, he relaxed with "nigger." He said he knew lots of good niggers, though they were prone to venereal diseases, but their schools were just as good as

Sit-in Memphis Norman, bleeding from mouth and nose, is kicked again by Benny Oliver.



Medgar Evers, left, field secretary for the NAACP, addressed his people at a Jackson rally. He told LOOK: "Someday Jackson will be a better place for Negroes than New York." Three days later, he was shot dead through the back, in an after-midnight ambush in front of his home in Jackson.

Dick Gregory uses bitter humor to inspire new hope in audience.

Negroes stand up to sing at close of rally. Their song: We Shall Overcome.

the whites', and except for outsiders coming into Jackson, none of this would have happened, although he'd worked alongside of them on his dad's farm, only, the South will fight if you push a man into a corner, but, well, there's plenty of niggers who like things just the way they are.

At a roadhouse on the edge of town, you could buy bootleg whiskey a dollar cheaper than you could at the hotels in town. (Mississippi is the only dry state in the Union.) Better yet, a swinging, two-piece white combo was playing popular jazz, and white teen-agers were dancing an exciting, loose-jointed step. I asked one couple what they called it. "The nigger twist," they said.

Benny Oliver was duly fined $100 and sentenced to 30 days for his part in the Woolworth riot. (Negro and white demonstrators were fined as much as $200 and collected sentences of up to six months in jail for saying a prayer on the steps of the Federal building on Capitol Street.) Freed on an appeal bond, Oliver took a job as a member of the campaign staff of a Jackson chiropractor running for lieutenant governor in the August Democratic primaries. The chiropractor said he had hired Oliver because he knew how to handle the racial problem.

A prominent professional man in Jackson invited us to dinner one evening, but made us promise not to tell anyone. He was what many Southerners call "moderate." While he's against integration, of course, he's not willing to risk *everything* to preserve segregation.

One local newspaperman said that during the first four days of demonstrations, his paper had printed his stories just about the way he wrote them. Now, though, when he referred to the Negroes as "demonstrators," he said, his editor changed the word to "agitators."

The afternoon paper ran a front-page "Agitation Box Score" on police action against "pavement packers, sign toters, stool sitters, curb squatters, sluggers, chunkers and knee benders."

It also published a regular front-page column by the editor. "Well," he wrote, "Dickie Boy Gregory, a professional Negro and an alleged comedian from Chicago's slumland, is in town. As far as Jackson is concerned, this fellow's visitation recalls the story about the tom-cat who was courting a skunk and was heard to remark, 'I've enjoyed as much of this as I can stand.' "

In another column, he said, "Did you hear about the new Bobby Kennedy doll? You hum 'Dixie' in its ear and it calls out the troops." And, referring to front-page stories under the headline, RACIAL TURMOIL LINKED TO REDS, he stated: ". . . it is understandable why the vast majority of Jackson Negroes will not participate in racial agitation. Our good colored people are to be commended for their foresight and good citizenship."

Jackson's morning paper has a columnist too. "Senator Jakie Javits," he wrote one day, "wants '10 million more immigrants in the next 20 years,' yet the New York rabble-rouser professes alarm

continued

PHOTOGRAPHED BY DOUGLAS JONES

Nine-year-old demonstrator urges adults to join fight.

Question: Will Negroes save the white South from itself?

over the scarcity of suitable jobs and decent housing for Negroes."

At our motel, in the privacy of the parking lot, a Negro said to us, "Take care of yourselves. I mean really take care. You remember what happened to that French reporter up at Ole Miss. He stayed at this motel, and I was sorry the way he got killed. . . . So, now I worry about guys like you. . . . *We need you!*"

Several "outside" reporters in Jackson advised us that telephone calls from our rooms or from the NAACP headquarters might be tapped. They also suggested that a local reporter was quite possibly exchanging information about the demonstrators' plans with the police or other Jackson officials. One afternoon around two, I deliberately called the LOOK office in New York about an imaginary demonstration scheduled for 4:30 p.m. that day. Ten minutes later, on Capitol Street, a friend of ours told us *he'd* just had a tip from a man about a 4:30 demonstration.

If phone calls were actually being monitored, it might then be said that at least one channel of communication between white and black Jackson was still open. Certainly all others were closed or clogged by emotion. The local editors, TV men and politicians had utterly failed to inform themselves or the white public of the truth about Negro despair and determination. Not many whites realized the depth of the Negroes' passion and their willingness to go to jail *now* for "freedom someday." Except for a few white ministers, cautiously exchanging ideas with a few Negro ministers, there was no dialogue. All of which raised the question in our minds of what might happen in the South—or the North, for that matter—given the whites' ignorance of Negro strength, indifference to Negro intentions and dangerous miscalculation of Negro impatience.

Perhaps only Negroes could save the whites from themselves, but one could not be sure that they would.

A field secretary for the NAACP, Medgar Wiley Evers, 37, born and raised in Mississippi, was in command of the uprising in Jackson. He used to sell insurance, but for nearly ten years had been devoted to the cause, full-time. He named his son, now 9, Darrel Kenyatta Evers, for Jomo Kenyatta, premier of Kenya and former Mau Mau leader. We talked to Evers for a harassed 10 minutes at the NAACP headquarters in the Masonic Building on Lynch Street. He was on the run. No, he said, he didn't know the girl in the picture. No, he couldn't imagine who would. But he would help any way he could. . . . No, there was not a chance in the world that the NAACP would give up in Jackson. "It's as I've said many times," he smiled. "Someday, Jackson is going to be a better place for Negroes to live than New York City."

At 12:25 one morning, a few days after we had returned from Jackson, Medgar Evers was shot by an unknown rifleman in front of his home. The bullet hit him in the back, passed through his body and tore into the house, where his wife and three children were asleep. Evers stumbled a few feet and collapsed on his doorstep. He died less than an hour later.

Among the other leaders of the Jackson integration movement was John R. Salter, a young Arizona-born professor at Tougaloo Southern Christian College (a Negro school not far from Jackson). Salter had been a *white* sit-in at Woolworth's. To help plan strategy at headquarters, he was staying out of demonstrations—and out of jail—for the moment.

"You cannot imagine the violence, the gutter obscenity of the mob," he said. "It wasn't just a blonde throwing catsup. I received a cut on the face, and then someone came up and poured salt into it. Someone else mixed pepper with water and dashed it into my eyes. Two of our girls were dragged from their stools and along the floor to the door. Someone threw a sugar bowl and knocked out one of our boys. And all this *after* Benny Oliver was arrested. But, somehow, worst of all was the language they used, the things they called us. It was beyond vulgarity. It was pure hate." Salter said that nonviolence, for him, was a tactic and not a matter of principle. "After what has happened," he said, "I'm not against violence."

Annie Moody, 22, a Tougaloo student from Centreville, Miss., was "afraid to go back home" because of her work with NAACP in Jackson. She said she was trying to love "these people," but finding it very difficult. "Four of us went to the Woodland Hill Baptist Church," she told me, "a white church on Old Canton Road, and before we could park the car good, a man came out and the doors were sealed tight shut. We said we would like to go to church. And the man said, 'This is a private house of God, and you are not welcome.' And then we asked, 'As sisters and brothers in Christ, we're still not welcome?' and he said, 'You're still not welcome.' So then, as we drove away, he took down our license number—imagine! A *private* house of God!"

That same day, after Jackson's largest Methodist church turned away five Negroes, the pastor and assistant pastor said they would ask their bishop for another appointment. "I know in conscience," said the Rev. W. B. Selah, "there can be no color bar in a Christian church."

Jesse DeVore, an NAACP man from New York, was in Jackson handling the movement's press relations. He told us that 664 demonstrators had been arrested in the first 13 days of activity and that almost all were out on bonds, backed by the NAACP, totaling $64,000. "Man," he said, "where's the *money* going to come from?"

Toward the end of our five days, more than 100 teen-age Negroes gathered in a small meeting hall on the ground floor of the Masonic Building. The temperature in the room was high up in the nineties, and it was muggy, but no one seemed to mind. The youngsters were preparing themselves to march and, ultimately, to go to jail.

Some gave speeches: "They hate us because they hate themselves. They call us niggers, but they're the ones who raped our grandmothers."

Some led cheers: "Let's have three big ones for the NAACP!"

All of them listened to a prayer for themselves and for the white people of Jackson. Then they joined in a march around the room, between the rows of chairs, hands clapping, feet dancing, voices chanting, "We're going to walk and talk, walk and talk, WALK and talk, TALK and walk. . . ."

Late that afternoon, while sitting in at a restaurant, or parading on Capitol Street with little American flags and "Register to Vote" signs, or attempting to play softball in Riverside Park, 47 of them were arrested. (Doug Jones photographed the restaurant sit-in for LOOK and, in turn, was photographed by the identification specialist of the Jackson police department.)

In the evening, two days after the funeral of his youngest son (age two months, dead of pneumonia), Dick Gregory, the comedian, flew from Chicago to rally the Negro community of Jackson at a mass meeting in the Masonic auditorium. About 2,500 Negroes and a sprinkling of whites crammed into the big room to hear him, along with Lena Horne, the singer, and a 9-year-old boy who said a Jackson policeman had arrested him and had twisted his arm until he called him "Sir." Gregory's speech lasted more than an hour. It was a joyous, bitterly funny, roof-raising monologue that brought the audience to its feet, cheering and laughing, again and again.

"Tell 'em! Tell 'em! Tell 'em!" a voice cried, and Gregory, sucking on a cigarette, said:

"You folks gonna get the vote down here ("Tell 'em, Dick!"), and when you do, you're going to have more votes than the white folks. ("It's true! You-all-right, Dick!") And when you got more votes than the white folks, I promise YOU that the Kennedys will be down HERE eatin' chittlins with you."

Gregory bore down: "People, we're goin' march. Yes, and we're goin' get arrested. Maybe we all goin' get arrested. ("We will! Pour it on!") And if we all get arrested, well, I still got two sons left—and they can come here from Chicago and get arrested, too!"

And, at last, with the audience perfectly in tune with the rhythm of his speech, Gregory said: "You *know* that I was arrested over in Alabama. ("We know!") Well, I was. Now, this white policeman, he put his hand on my arm. He put his hand on my arm, and do you know what I said to him? ("What'd you say, Dick, baby!") I said to that policeman, 'Get your hand off of me, nigger!'"

Pandemonium.

In the room then was a sense of Negro passion and power, a depth of feeling and expectation rarely acknowledged by white Americans. It seemed all the more telling because Gregory had inspired it with humor, which, finally, involves laughing at one's self. Had he wished it, Gregory could have suggested a march on the State Capitol, and the audience would have marched for him.

But, of course, he did not.

Instead, the members of the audience crossed arms, held hands and sang, *We Shall Overcome.*

health? Has it threatened the independence of the church? The Federal Government started off with complete separation of church and state; it was in the States that discrimination on the basis of religion lingered on. When Madison proposed that the prohibitions of the first amendment be applied to the States, his proposal was defeated.

Has the National Government threatened the integrity of arts and letters and science? On the contrary. Since the early years of the 19th century, the National Government has maintained such institutions as the Library of Congress, the U.S. Geological Survey, the National Observatory, the Smithsonian Institution, and, more recently, the National Archives and the National Gallery of Art. Have these institutions been free? Certainly they have been more free than many State universities. Congress has never interfered with the Library of Congress, for example, as the legislatures of Ohio and Colorado are even now interfering with their State universities.

It is precisely because the National Government is so generous to arts and sciences that the proponents of States rights fear it, for they do not really believe in freedom, nor in those institutions that preserve and prosper freedom: universities, libraries, scientific institutes. All of these foster the open mind and the cosmopolitan spirit. How alien these are to the philosophy of States rights can be observed in the South of 1860—or of 1960.

Has the National Government threatened the general welfare, or failed to promote it? On the contrary. That whole body of welfare legislation whose woof is interwoven with the warp of private enterprise to make the fabric of our life today finds its authority and support largely in the National Government: Social security, public health, conservation and, now, education, and civil rights.

It is precisely because the Federal Government does promote the general welfare that proponents of States rights fear it. They proclaim that these enterprises should not be performed by the National Government, but by the States. But they are not truly concerned with the general welfare, but only with that of members of their own faction. And they have failed egregiously to promote the welfare of even these—to provide schools and housing, for example. All too often, the States have wasted their resources of water and forest and soil, or handed them over to predatory private interests. Ever since the days of Theodore Roosevelt it has been the United States which has stepped in to protect these resources.

Has the National Government failed to form a more perfect union, to provide for the general defense, to insure domestic tranquility? Quite the contrary. There has never been a serious threat to the Union from the National Government, or to the domestic tranquillity. There has never been an adventurer, a soldier of fortune, a dictator, or a tyrant in the Executive chair.

The only threats to the Union have come from the States. States' rights imperiled the Union in 1803 when New England States flirted at secession because Congress had bought Louisiana. States' rights threatened the disruption of the Union during the War of 1812, when States refused to permit their militias to serve outside State territories. States' rights threatened the integrity of the Union in the 1820's when Georgia nullified Federal treaties and Supreme Court decisions protecting the Cherokee Indians, and in the 1830's when South Carolina nullified tariff laws and enforcement laws. States rights actually broke up the Union in 1861, and precipitated the most tragic war in which the American people have ever been engaged. We cannot say that the doctrine of States' rights threatens the Union today, but clearly it disturbs domestic tranquillity by defying the constitutional mandate of equality and justice.

And what of the States? Have they, in fact, lost any of the rights or powers they originally possessed? They have lost the right to secede. That, at least, was settled by Appomattox. They have lost the right to deprive persons of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny the equal protection of the laws; they have lost the right to deprive any person of suffrage on account of race or color. These rights they did indeed forfeit, and it was Appomattox which settled them all.

It would be a mistake to imply that the current revival of States rights had been entirely insincere or misguided. Bigness is dangerous; the welfare State can dry up initiative; power does tend to corrupt, and there is much to be said for fragmentation of political authority; eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

But a States' rights philosophy that has its origin in fear of Government itself, and is rooted in a deep distrust of majority rule and of the democratic processes, forfeits its claim to respect. A States' rights philosophy which is never inspired by generosity, never excited by a passion for freedom or for justice, never exalted by magnanimity, but takes refuge in narrowness and selfishness and vindictiveness, exhausts its claim to tolerance.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. YOUNG of Ohio in the chair). Is there further moring business? If not, morning business is closed.

LOCATION OF CHANCERIES OR OFFICES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS IN CERTAIN RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the unfinished business be laid before the Senate.

There being no objection, the Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 646) to prohibit the location of chanceries or other business offices of foreign governments in certain residential areas in the District of Columbia.

Pub. Accom. Ben.

THE 14TH AMENDMENT AND PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, in a July 11 Senate floor speech, I presented my general objections to the enactment of S. 1731, the omnibus civil rights bill presented by the administration to the Congress. At that time, I stated:

> I seriously doubt that the groups and individuals who have been called upon by the administration to endorse its far-reaching proposals received a full explanation of the fundamental and basic constitutional issues which are involved and the threat which this bill poses to individual rights, liberties, and freedom. I do not believe that fully informed Americans would sponsor or support resolutions which endorse the surrender of principles and concepts which are so inseparable from our cherished system of government.

I wish to enlarge on that statement and more clearly and more fully set forth the implications of this bill and the radical departure from established constitutional principles it would represent. Today I shall confine myself largely to the legal principles involved. This bill proposes a novel and dangerous legal philosophy. Many of its provisions are so clearly unconstitutional that I cannot conceive their being enacted by this Congress.

Title II is the so-called public accommodations section of S. 1731. A similar section appears in S. 1732. My remarks today will be limited primarily to consideration of the authority of Congress to enact these sections under the powers granted by the 14th amendment to the Constitution.

I believe it is agreed by all that Congress is a body with limited legislative powers. Any bill that it passes must be bottomed upon a constitutional grant of power. Otherwise on its face the bill would be invalid.

These provisions attempt to impose Federal authority directly and primarily on the individual citizens of the United States. Section 202 of S. 1731 provides simply that—

> All persons shall be entitled, without discrimination or segregation on account of race, color, religion, or national origin, to the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages and accommodations of the following public establishments.

The following provisions than enumerate the facilities involved and circumstances under which it is attempted to secure these accommodations.

Those services include hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, and related service groups.

It is clear from a mere perusal of this section that an attempt is here made to create separate and independent Federal rights and actions, and it is likewise unmistakably clear that no such authority or power is granted to the Congress by the 14th amendment. Section 1 of the 14th amendment states:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 5 of the amendment provides:

> The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

The key word in that amendment is State. The civil rights bills, especially in respect to public accommodations, are bottomed on the 14th amendment and the authority that the proponents hope to squeeze from its contents.

The provisions of section 1 have uniformly been held to mean that the prohibitions therein set forth are restrictions on the actions of the several States only and do not operate in any mann to inhibit the actions of individuals a ing alone.

An illustration of that point woul an individual who operates a restaur

Yet it cannot be disputed that the visions of the bill now under consid tion purport to regulate and rest

purely private acts of individuals. It has been held by the Supreme Court, of course, that any action on the part of a State or any of its political subdivisions, whether such action be by its legislative, executive or judicial branch, shall be sufficient to make the amendment operative in a given situation. But S. 1732 and title II of S. 1731 do not pretend to require any action on the part of any State agency.

Further, the Supreme Court has uniformly held since the adoption of this amendment that its provisions are self-executing, and that the authority conferred on the Congress by section 5 to enforce the enumerated rights is corrective only. That is, Congress can only enact legislation to prevent the States from violating the provisions of the amendment or to abrogate prohibited State action, but the Congress cannot, on the basis of the amendment, act directly and primarily on the people and thereby create any new rights. It must restrict itself to preventing the States from encroaching on the rights of its citizens.

These questions have been looked upon as political and moral issues. We live under a government that protects the rights of everyone. Before the Congress can pass a law, the bill must be bottomed on a constitutional grant of authority.

Having stated these constitutional principles as to the meaning of the 14th amendment and the powers conferred thereby on Congress, let me now briefly review the decisions of the Supreme Court and other court decisions interpreting the amendment. The authorities presented here, while far from being exhaustive, clearly present the status of the law today.

The U.S. Supreme Court first interpreted the meaning of the 14th amendment in *The Butchers' Benevolent Association of New Orleans* v. *The Crescent City Live-Stock Landing and Slaughter-House Company*, 16 Wall. 36, 83 U.S. 36, 21 L. Ed. 394 (1873). This decision, popularly known as the Slaughter-House cases, dealt primarily with the meaning of the citizenship clause and the privileges and immunities clause, and it is not now necessary to set forth the facts giving rise to the case. The Court did, however, discuss the meaning of the equal protection of the laws clause, and with reference to both the 13th and 14th amendments, laid the basis for later pronouncements when it stated:

> In the light of the history of these amendments, and the pervading purpose of them, which we have already discussed, it is not difficult to give a meaning to this clause.
>
> The existence of laws in the States where the newly emancipated Negroes resided, which discriminated with gross injustice and hardship against them as a class, was the evil to be remedied by this clause, and by it such laws are forbidden. (83 U.S. 36.)

Only a few years after the adoption the 14th amendment, we thus find Supreme Court stating that it was existence of State laws—and that ot be repeated with too much emis: it was the existence of State —which the amendment was de-d to prohibit.

Greater clarity was given to the meaning of the due process and equal protection clauses when the Court rendered its decision in *United States* v. *Cruikshank*, 92 U.S. 542, 23 L. Ed. 587 (1875), wherein certain defendants were indicted in Federal court on 32 separate counts. The indictment was brought under the Enforcement Act of 1870 and charged the defendants with banding together and conspiring to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate two U.S. citizens of African descent with the intent thereby to hinder and prevent them in the free exercise and enjoyment of rights and privileges alleged to be granted and secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States. The indictment charged, in part, that the defendants had sought to hinder and prevent the plaintiffs in exercising their right to peaceably assemble, to keep and bear arms, to vote, and further to deprive them of their lives and liberty without due process of law and to deprive them of the equal protection of the laws. In a rather lengthy discussion of the respective powers and the relationship of the Federal and State Governments, the Court found the indictment to be faulty in each and every count but stated, however, that even had it been sufficient, this action could not be maintained because:

> The 14th amendment prohibits a State from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; but this adds nothing to the rights of one citizen as against another. It simply furnished an additional guaranty against any encroachment by the States upon the fundamental rights which belong to every citizen as a member of society (92 U.S. 542, 554).

And, likewise:

> The 14th amendment prohibits a State from denying to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws; but this provision does not, any more than the one which precedes it, and which we have just considered, add anything to the rights which one citizen has under the Constitution against another. The equality of the rights of citizens is a principle of republicanism. Every republican government is in duty bound to protect all its citizens in the enjoyment of this principle, if within its power. That duty was originally assumed by the States; and it still remains there. The only obligation resting upon the United States is to see that the States do not deny the right. This the amendment guarantees, but no more. The power of the national government is limited to the enforcement of this guaranty (92 U.S. 542, 554).

The next major decision of the Supreme Court, and possibly the most well-known, involved five separate cases which collectively are cited as the *Civil Rights* cases, 109 U.S. 3, 3 S. Ct. 18, 27 L. Ed. 835 (1883). Each of these cases arose under the Civil Rights Act of 1875—chapter 114, sections 1 and 2, 18 Stat. 335—section 1 of which provided:

> That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theatres, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude.

It will be readily noted that the provisions of this act were very similar to those now proposed in S. 1731 and S. 1732. The language is almost identical. Let us see what the Supreme Court said about that act. The Constitution has not been changed one iota since that time.

Section 2 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 provided that any person guilty of violating section 1 by denying to any person the full and equal enjoyment of such accommodations would be liable to the person aggrieved in the amount of $500 for each offense, and further provided that such action would constitute a misdemeanor with appropriate penalties.

The Court rendered a collective opinion in these cases, two of which involved indictments for denying Negroes accommodation and privileges of a hotel, two of which involved indictments for denying to Negroes the full enjoyment of theater accommodations, and one of which involved an indictment for denying to a Negro the full and equal use of a railroad car. All of said indictments were brought under the aforementioned Civil Rights Act of 1875.

The Court declared this act unconstitutional, holding that Congress had no authority by virtue of the 14th amendment to enact said legislation. In reaching this conclusion, the Court said:

> It is State action of a particular character that is prohibited. Individual invasion of individual rights is not the subject matter of the amendment. It has a deeper and broader scope. It nullifies and makes void all State legislation, and State action of every kind, which impairs the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, or which injures them in life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or which denies to any of them the equal protection of the laws (109 U.S. 3, 11).

The Court further held that, to enforce the provisions of the amendment, section 5 thereof gives the Congress authority to enact corrective legislation only; that is, to adopt appropriate legislation for correcting the effects of such prohibited State laws and State acts. The Court clearly stated:

> This is the legislative power conferred upon Congress, and this is the whole of it. It does not invest Congress with power to legislate upon subjects which are within the domain of State legislation; but to provide modes of relief against State legislation, or State action, of the kind referred to (109 U.S. 3, 11).

In its full discussion of the meaning of the equal protection clause and the power of Congress to enforce the rights secured thereby, the Court further stated:

> In this connection it is proper to state that civil rights, such as are guaranteed by the Constitution against State aggression, cannot be impaired by the wrongful acts of individuals, unsupported by State authority in the shape of laws, customs, or judicial or executive proceedings. The wrongful act of an individual, unsupported by any such authority, is simply a private wrong, or a crime of that individual; an invasion of the rights of the injured party, it is true, whether they affect his person, his property, or his reputation; but if not sanctioned in some way by the State, or not done under State author-

ity, his rights remain in full force, and may presumably be vindicated by resort to the laws of the State for redress. An individual cannot deprive a man of his right to vote, to hold property, to buy and sell, to sue in the courts, or to be a witness or a juror; he may, by force or fraud, interfere with the enjoyment of the right in a particular case; he may commit an assault against the person, or commit murder, or use ruffian violence at the polls, or slander the good name of a fellow citizen; but, unless protected in these wrongful acts by some shield of State law or State authority, he cannot destroy or injure the right; he will only render himself amenable to satisfaction or punishment; and amenable therefor to the laws of the State where the wrongful acts are committed (109 U.S. 3, 17).

This decision of the Supreme Court rendered in 1883 thus clearly and forcefully announces, first, that the prohibitions of the 14th amendment apply solely to denials by the several States of the rights guaranteed thereby, and second, that section 5 of the amendment does not grant unto Congress the authority to enact direct and primarily legislation to enforce its provisions, but only grants authority to enact corrective legislation to prohibit the States from denying the rights set forth in section 1. Wrongful acts of individuals, unsupported by State law or some State action through its officers or agents, are not prohibited by the amendment and the Congress has no authority to enact legislation designed to prevent such purely private acts.

The decision of the Supreme Court in the civil rights cases has been followed and reaffirmed without exception to the present time.

Mr. President, I stand on that statement. The decision of 1883 has been followed and reaffirmed without exception down to the present time. In the very recent case of *Williams* v. *Howard Johnsons Restaurant*, 268 F. 2d 845 (U.S.C.A., Fourth, 1959), for example, the plaintiff brought a class action against the defendant, alleging that he had wrongfully been refused service in the defendant restaurant solely because of his race. He sought a declaratory judgment that his exclusion on racial grounds amounted to discrimination against a person moving in interstate commerce as well as being a violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. He conceded that no statute of the State of Virginia, where the restaurant was located, requires the exclusion of Negroes from public restaurants, but he cited other statutes of the State requiring segregation of the races in facilities furnished by carriers, and he emphasized the long-established local custom of excluding Negroes from public restaurants and contends that acquiescence of the State in these practices amounts to discriminatory State action.

The court stated:

The essence of the argument is that the State licenses restaurants to serve the public and thereby is burdened with the positive duty to prohibit unjust discrimination in the use and enjoyment of the facilities.

On motion of defendant the suit was dismissed in the district court, and the court of appeals affirmed, holding that the dismissal was in accord with the decisions of the Supreme Court and other Federal courts.

The court cited as authority the holding of the Supreme Court in the civil rights cases of 1883, and further held that the licensing of the defendant restaurant to operate did not constitute such State action as is required to make the provisions of the 14th amendment applicable. The court stated in this regard:

This argument fails to observe the important distinction between activities that are required by the State and those which are carried out by voluntary choice and without compulsion by the people of the State in accordance with their own desires and social practices. Unless these actions are performed in obedience to some positive provision of State law they do not furnish a basis for the pending complaint. The license laws of Virginia do not fill the void (268 F. 2d, 845, 847).

The court then cited the applicable section of the Virginia Code which makes it unlawful for any person to operate a restaurant in the State without an unrevoked permit from the Commissioner, who is the chief executive officer of the State board of health. Speaking of this statute, the court said:

The statute is obviously designed to protect the health of the community but it does not authorize State officials to control the management of the business or to dictate what persons shall be served (268 F. 2d 845, 848).

The Supreme Court has, of course, in several cases found that certain acts of individuals were either supported by some State action or the acts of the individuals or organization constituted State action by the very nature of the act. For example, in *March* v. *Alabama*, 326 U.S. 501, 66 S. Ct. 276, 90 L. Ed. 265 (1946), the Court held that the ownership and operation of a small "companytown" by the Gulf Shipbuilding Corp. amounted to a "public function." A member of the Jehovah's Witness was refused the right to distribute literature on a sidewalk of the town and was subsequently arrested and convicted under a State statute making it a crime to enter and remain on the premises of another after having been warned not to do so. The Court held that the private ownership of property in such a case could not justify restricting the fundamental liberties of its townspeople, but the decision was primarily directed at the act of the State in enforcing through its courts the restriction established by the property owner.

In *Smith* v. *Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649, 64 S. Ct. 757, 88 L. Ed. 987 (1944), the Court held that Negroes could not be excluded by the Democratic Party from participation in its primaries when the primary election constituted an integral part of the general election. The Court found that the primary elections in Texas were conducted by the party under the statutory authority of the State and said:

We think the statutory system for the selection of party nominees for inclusion on the general election ballot makes the party which is required to follow these legislative directions an agency of the State insofar as it determines the participants in a primary election. The party takes its character as a State agency from the duties imposed upon it by State statutes (321 U.S. 649, 663).

The Supreme Court has also held that the enforcement of discriminatory acts through the judicial machinery of a State also constitutes "State action" and therefore is subject to the provisions of the 14th amendment. For example, in *Shelley* v. *Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1, 68 S. Ct. 836, 92 L. Ed. 1161 (1948), the Court held that a racial restrictive covenant established by a private property owner cannot be enforced in the courts of a State. However, the Court clearly recognized the rule established in the civil rights cases when it said:

Since the decision of this Court in the *Civil Rights cases*, 109 U. S. 3 (1883), the principle has become firmly embedded in our constitutional law that the action inhibited by the first section of the 14th amendment is only such action as may fairly be said to be that of the States. That amendment erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful.

We conclude, therefore, that the restrictive agreement standing alone cannot be regarded as violative of any rights guaranteed to petitioners by the 14th amendment. So long as the purposes of those agreements are effectuated by voluntary adherence to their terms, it would appear clear that there has been no action by the State and the provisions of the amendment have not been violated (334 U.S. 2, 13).

In other cases the Court has held that the granting of a license in the nature of a franchise, such as those granted to public utilities and common carriers, constitutes the recipient an agency of the State to the extent that the utility or carrier is subject to the provisions of the equal protection of the laws clause. It is clear beyond doubt, however, that there is a significant distinction between this type of license and that required, for example, for the operation of a restaurant, a barber shop, or other place of public accommodation. A very clear and lucid explanation of this distinction is found in the recent case of *Boman et al.* v. *Birmingham Transit Company*, 280 F. 2d 531 (U.S.C.A., Fifth, 1960). It was there held that a city transit company could not require separation of the races on its buses, but the Court stated:

Because of the peculiar function performed by this transit company as a public utility, and its relation to the city and State of Alabama through its holding of a special franchise to operate on the public streets of Birmingham, we conclude that so long as such an ordinance was in force, the acts of the bus company in requiring racially segregated seating were State acts and were thus violative of appellants' constitutional rights (280 F. 2d 531, 534).

The ordinance referred to provided that carriers of passengers for hire could formulate such rules and regulations for the seating of passengers on public conveyances as are reasonably necessary to assure the speedy, safe, orderly, convenient, and peaceful handling of its passengers.

The court also stated:

It is, of course, fundamental that t justification for the grant by a State t private corporation of a right or franc to perform such a public utility servic furnishing transportation, gas, electri or the like, on the public streets of the is that the grantee is about the pu business. It is doing something the S deems useful for the public necessity

convenience. This is what differentiates the public utility which holds what may be called a special franchise from an ordinary business corporation which in common with all others is granted the privilege of operating in corporate form but does not have that special franchise of using State property for private gain to perform a public function (280 F. 2d 531, 535).

In conclusion, the court specifically stated:

Moreover, we fully recognize what has been known by all to be the law since the Supreme Court decided the *Slaughter-House* cases * * * that "the action inhibited by the first section of the 14th amendment is only such action as may fairly be said to be that of the States * * *" (280 F. 2d 531–535).

The most recent decisions of the Supreme Court involving this question were rendered on May 20, 1963, just 60 days ago, in what has popularly become known as the sit-in cases. In *Peterson* v. *City of Greenville*, 373 U.S. 244 (1963), petitioners, who were all members of the Negro race, attempted to sit in the white section of a lunch counter in the S. H. Kress & Co. store in Greenville, S.C. They were refused service, were subsequently arrested by city police officers, and convicted for violating the trespass statute of the State. On appeal to the Supreme Court, these convictions were set aside, but the Court specifically cited and recognized the ordinance of the city of Greenville which required the separation of restaurant facilities for white and Negro customers. The Court stated in this regard:

It cannot be denied that here the city of Greenville, an agency of the State, has provided by its ordinance that the decision as to whether a restaurant facility is to be operated on a desegregated basis is to be reserved to it. When the State has commanded a particular result and thereby "to a significant extent" has "become involved" in it, and, in fact, has removed that decision from the sphere of private choice (373 U.S. 244, 247, 248).

In so ruling, the Court cited with approval the following statement from its decision in *Burton* v. *Wilmington Parking Authority*, 365 U.S. 715, 81 S. Ct. 856, 6 L. Ed. 2d 45 (1961):

Private conduct abridging individual rights does no violence to the equal protection clause unless to some significant extent the State in any of its manifestations has found to have become involved in it (365 U.S. 715, 722).

In the case of *Lombard et al.* v. *State of Louisiana*, 373 U.S. 267 (1963), a similar set of facts existed except that there was no State law or city ordinance requiring segregation in restaurants. There the Court found the required State action in public announcements of the superintendent of police and the mayor of the city of New Orleans. Four days before petitioners' arrest, for example, the mayor stated publicly:

I have today directed the superintendent police that no additional sit-in demon- tions * * * will be permitted * * * re- ess of the avowed purpose or intent of articipants.

e Court further stated that there evidence which tended to indicate the actions of the particular store officials involved was coerced by the city, and held that these facts constituted State action, stating:

A State, or a city, may act as authoritatively through its executive as through its legislative body. See *Ex Parte Virginia*, 100 U.S. 339. As we interpret the New Orleans city officials' statements, they here determined that the city would not permit Negroes to seek desegregated service in restaurants. Consequently, the city must be treated exactly as if it had an ordinance prohibiting such conduct (373 U.S. 267, 273).

The existence in every State of the Union of a specific State statute requiring discrimination of the most flagrant nature based on race, creed, or color, could not provide the constitutional authority for Congress to enact these measures to regulate the conduct of individuals and their private acts.

Now, Mr. President, I have briefly discussed a number of decisions involving the application of the provision of section 1 and section 5 of the 14th amendment. As stated at the beginning of my remarks, I have not cited each and every decision of the Federal courts on the points under consideration, but those here mentioned do accurately reflect the status of the case law today under the holdings of the Federal courts. Some of those which I have discussed reached the conclusion that only individual acts were involved; in others the court found the presence of a State law or some other State action in support of or sanctioning individual discriminatory acts. My purpose in presenting cases reaching both conclusions is to point out as emphatically as possible that in every single case in which this question has ever been considered, the Supreme Court, as well as the lower Federal courts, have repeatedly held that section 1 of the 14th amendment is a prohibition against State action only. This is the original holding of the Slaughter-House cases, as affirmed and made more clear in the Civil Rights cases. No principle of law could be more clear than this. There is no other principle of constitutional law to which the Supreme Court has more uniformly and consistently adhered than this one. What authority is there to the contrary? There is absolutely none.

Thus, we have a definite and clear constitutional interpretation which has continued, unbroken and unaltered, and repeatedly affirmed by the Court from 1873 until 1963—a period of 90 years. The first major decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1873 and 1883, came soon after the adoption of the 14th amendment. The membership of the Court in 1883, as well as in 1873, were of the same generation which adopted the amendment. The members of the Court personally knew the history and the purposes of the amendment.

The Civil Rights cases decision of 1883 declaring invalid an act of Congress similar to the proposal of 1963 was not challenged by the Congress or by the people of the Nation. No proposed constitutional amendment to offset the decision was seriously considered.

I point out with emphasis that here was a Court which was composed of a membership that was of the generation that adopted the 14th amendment, the same generation that had passed the law of 1875. The Court knew the purposes, the argument, and the political and moral, as well as the legal side, in and out. Nevertheless, they declared and firmly set forth the extent of the powers and the amount of authority under the 14th amendment. Then they cut down a law which had been enacted by Congress, and said Congress had no such authority. Every Court from then until now, as recently as 60 days ago, has affirmed, reaffirmed, and followed consistently that basic principle, without any kind of exception.

Moreover, as heretofore pointed out, the 1883 decision has been expressly affirmed and followed by the Court for these 900 years, including the recent case, Williams against Howard Johnson's Restaurant, decided by the U.S. Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, in 1959.

Still, in this wave of hysteria and as a part of this colossal grab for naked power by the Attorney General, in these bills, we are asked by the President and the Attorney General to ignore this long line of Court decisions on a constitutional principle and pass this law in defiance of the plain wording of the Constitution and the Court decisions. Congress is now asked to reverse the Supreme Court on a constitutional question with a statute. Then, in order to uphold the legislation, the Court will be asked to reverse itself with a decision upholding the more modern law.

In short, the Congress has no power whatsoever to overrule the Court on a constitutional question by the passage of mere legislation. The Congress has no power to overrule the Court on a constitutional question by the passage of a simple bill. The only way the Supreme Court can be overruled on a constitutional question is by the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution. Of course, this must be done in the manner set forth in the Constitution itself.

In order to amend the Constitution, each House must by a two-thirds vote propose such amendment, and this must be followed by the ratification of the proposed amendment by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States; or the proposed amendment must originate with the States and be approved by three-fourths of them.

I have not heard a single advocate of these bills proposing such an amendment.

If the people of the Nation want to amend the Constitution on this point, they can do so. But, as the Constitution is writen, every citizen regardless of race or color, has the constitutional right to earn and save money and, with it, to buy property. Every citizen has the right to use his own property in keeping with his desires and wishes, subject only with regard for public health, publice safety, and related matters. This right is fundamental, and cannot be destroyed or impaired under the guise of the Federal Government enforcing the alleged or real civil rights of another individual. This fundamental right applies to every citizen, including, of course, the owners of restaurants, hotels, motels,

theaters, and other business activities included in these bills.

This proposed legislation therefore would destroy far more rights than it could ever possibly protect.

Even limiting the legislation to those who would come within the limits of the bill would not be the end of the tragedy. There would be a collapse and a breaking down, not only on that subject, but on all subjects of basic constitutional limitations upon the legislative branch and the executive branch of the Government—limitations which protect all the people. It is a question of authority. Congress does not have the authority under the wording of the amendment or under any of the interpretations.

After all possible points are fully weighed, this basic hard fact remains: The Federal Government is totally without jurisdiction insofar as the 14th amendment is concerned in all the matters covered by title II of S. 1731 and S. 1732, the so-called public accommodations provisions.

Insofar as the 14th amendment is concerned, the Congress is totally lacking in authority to pass the "public accommodations" provisions of these proposals.

At a later time I shall address myself to the commerce clause and other provisions of these bills.

Everyone had better be skeptical when a great mass of far-reaching proposed legislation is bottomed on two different provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and real doubt is engendered by the mere putting it on two bases. However, we do not have to stop with inference. We can go to the Attorney General's testimony. He is the one who has written the proposed legislation, or at least it was written under his direction. He is the man who would be given this power. I read from his prepared statement given before the Commerce Committee on July 1, 1963:

> In addition to the commerce clause, we rely on the power of Congress under the 14th amendment to prohibit the denial of equal protection of the laws to any person. The 14th amendment also provides that Congress may enforce this provision by appropriate legislation.

Mr. President, I challenge the Attorney General to make such statement or reach such a conclusion if he has read the plain, unmistakable and unbroken decisions of the Supreme Court interpreting the 14th amendment.

I quote further from the statement of the Attorney General:

> We recognize that in 1883 the Supreme Court held in the *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, Congress did not have power under the 14th amendment to prohibit discrimination in privately owned places of public accommodation, and that Congress' power under that amendment is only over discrimination accomplished by the action of a State.

The Attorney General of the United States, in a formal statement, agrees with the interpretation of that amendment and the Supreme Court decision of 1883, which has been affirmed as recently as 1963.

He agrees with that interpretation. He says it is a correct one. I quote him further:

> But in 80 years, much of the force of that decision has disappeared. State regulation of private business has increased. State relationships with business have become more varied and complex, and views of what action may be attributed to the State have changed.

There is a bold, brazen attempt to amend the Constitution of the United States, to reverse it, to make it say and do something it does not say in language, and by a contrary interpretation, in order to have the power, the springboard, for a legislative enactment that has heretofore been condemned by the Supreme Court, merely on the flimsy statement and argument that times have changed and there has been more regulation of business by the States. The Attorney General does not cite any opinions or give anything in proof of his bare, bald statement, a statement unsupported by logic, and certainly unsupported by any legal reasoning. I quote him further:

> There are a number of recent cases in which the Federal courts have held that private decisions to discriminate may be attributed to the State for purposes of the 14th amendment.

I have already reviewed those kinds of cases. They are beside the point. The Supreme Court took them up and refused to change its own decision or to use new situations, circumstances, or facts in any way, except in keeping with the original decision by the Supreme Court in 1883. The Attorney General said:

> Consequently, if the Supreme Court were now asked to pass upon the constitutionality of a public accommodations law based on the 14th amendment, it might well uphold the law.

The Attorney General did not even say, in the statement I have just quoted, that he believed the Court would reverse itself after all these years and after the repeated affirmances, as recently as just a few years ago. He said the Supreme Court "might," if called upon to pass upon such a statute, uphold a new statute now. I quote him further:

> However, the 1883 decision has not been overruled and remains the law of the land.

That is the very argument I have made. Further quoting the Attorney General:

> It is for this reason that we rely primarily on the commerce clause.

I have posed this question for every Senator. I said in my previous speech that I was certain every Senator wanted to do what he believed was his duty. He wants to uphold the Constitution of the United States, rather than to violate it and trample on it. Senators do not want to use any authority that is not granted to them by the terms of the Constitution. But here we have an argument made by the Attorney General to the effect that a public accommodations bill can be bottomed on the 14th amendment. In the face of this flimsy argument, which has no substance, the Attorney General himself comes before the committee and says:

> It is for this reason that we rely primarily on the commerce clause.

Congress is asked to write off the 14th amendment. That is like a man coming before a jury and pleading self-defense by one set of witnesses, but proving accidental discharge of a weapon by another set of witnesses. He cannot stand on both grounds.

The Attorney General begins by trying to stand on both provisions of the Constitution. That is a fatal admission in substance by the Attorney General himself, when he says, in effect, "We rely primarily on the commerce clause." How can any Senator say, in view of what the law is, and of what even the Attorney General says it is, that such a proposed law can be bottomed on the 14th amendment? I quote the Attorney General further:

> Some Congressmen, who seek objectives similar to those of the bill, would place sole reliance on the 14th amendment.

I do not know who they are.

> There are others who strongly oppose any reliance on the 14th amendment.

I quote this statement because it shows how desperate the Attorney General was for some kind of authority which he could present to the committee, when the clear point at issue was, Where is the law under the 14th amendment that gives Congress the authority to pass such bills?

I quote the Attorney General further:

> We recognize that there is some merit in both positions.

He had just said, in a sentence or a paragraph earlier, in effect, that there is precious little in the 14th amendment, because he said:

> It is for this reason that we rely primarily on the commerce clause.

I quote him further:

> However, we feel it is absolutely clear that Congress has the power to end discrimination in places of public accommodations under the provisions of the commerce clause.

I shall not recite the commerce clause. I shall continue to quote the Attorney General. I continue to quote the Attorney General because, in fairness to him, his statement should be placed in the RECORD.

> Should it ultimately be decided that Congress can regulate these businesses under the 14th amendment, the fact that the bill describes them in terms of their impact on interstate commerce would not diminish Congress' power.

There is a bold, brazen statement by the Attorney General of the United States, and others, admitting doubt about each of these provisions; admitting that there is little, if any authority to stand on the 14th amendment. Here is a bold statement to the effect, "We will run the bills through the Halls of Congress on both wheels, on both grounds; and then, if either of them is upheld by the Court, we will still be in business." That shows the inherent weakness, the lack of firmness, the lack of faith as a basis for the enactment of the bills.

I have also a statement by the distinguished senior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], who asked questions at that time, showing that he had his doubts. I mention this to show that there is concern in the committee. I did not want to omit anything that might be a defense. The quotation

have given from the testimony of the Attorney General were taken from the reporter's notes; they are not available now in printed form. However, I am certain that they are accurately quoted because they have been taken directly from the reporter's notes.

In discussing earlier certain rights of individuals in connection with my point that Congress has no authority to pass such a law under the 14th amendment, the Senator from Mississippi intended to cite section 1983 of title 42, with reference to certain civil actions, that are based on civil law statutes of many years past, passed in 1871, which give persons certain civil rights on a person-to-person basis. I quote that section now:

> Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

That section does not have any application to the subject being discussed; but I desired to point out that it exists, that it has not been overlooked, and that it fills out the picture of the pertinent law, so as to put the whole subject in a different category.

Later I shall submit, for the consideration of the Senate, articles on the commerce clause, as well as other articles on these bills.

I am certain—and I believe that the great majority of the Senate will reach this conclusion—that authority does not exist in either of these constitutional provisions as a proper basis for the enactment of the proposed laws, and that they will fall by the wayside, for the very reason that 80 or 90 years ago the Supreme Court held that such a law was invalid; and since that time no such congressional statute has been permitted by the courts to stand.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Mississippi yield?

Mr. STENNIS. I am glad to yield.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator from Mississippi knows the great respect I have for him and for his learning as a lawyer and a judge. Later, I shall speak on the application of the 14th amendment to the issue of public accommodations. However, I thought that at this time I would intervene briefly, because, together with the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] and other Senators, I have introduced a bill which rests upon the 14th amendment.

Is it not correct that in the 1883 decision of the Supreme Court there was a specific finding by the Court that it did not pass upon the issue as to whether there was an equal right of access for all citizens to the public accommodations named in the act of 1875? That issue was not determined by the Court, was it?

Mr. STENNIS. I recall language to what to that effect in that decision. The Court moved on.

I am glad to yield to the Senator from Kentucky; I have a high regard for his judgment.

Mr. COOPER. And the Senator from Mississippi knows my respect for him.

Later I shall elaborate upon this point. It is that the Court specifically said that it was not ruling on the question of whether there was equal access for all citizens to the public accommodations named in the statute of 1875.

Mr. STENNIS. As I recall, the Court said, in substance, that it was not necessary to decide on that involved point, because by all standards it was beyond the constitutional authority of the Congress to pass such an act. So it was struck down.

Mr. COOPER. The Senator from Mississippi is correct in saying that the Court held it was not necessary; but the Court did specifically state that it was not passing on the question of whether there was such a right.

Is it not also correct that what the Court actually passed upon was the language incorporated in the 1875 act; and in its findings, the Court said that nothing in the language of the 1875 act specified in any way State involvement?

Mr. STENNIS. Neither the language nor the facts showed it; but since then the Court has passed on many matters in which a State was involved; and in the absence of any law the Court has upheld the power of the 14th amendment, as the Senator from Kentucky knows.

Mr. COOPER. I am sure the Senator from Mississippi will agree that the 1875 act incorporated no language or statement which indicated State involvement.

Mr. STENNIS. That is correct.

Mr. COOPER. Is it not also correct that in considering any statutes which may be enacted by Congress, the issue for the Court would be whether the language of such an act and the findings upon which it was based showed an involvement by a State—or, more precisely, as the Supreme Court has said in its recent decisions such a manifestation of State activity or authority as to bring it within the scope of the 14th amendment?

Mr. STENNIS. That is what the Court has consistently held; it has recognized at all times that under this amendment, Congress has no authority to pass such a law, and has stated that the Court would, of its own accord, correct a State action or State manifestation.

Mr. COOPER. I respectfully disagree, because Congress has passed various acts under its powers under the 14th amendment.

I merely state the point, which I shall make in more detail later, that if Congress passed an act which showed on its face the involvement of a State's authority and if that was also shown by the facts, the Court could pass upon the specific act, and distinguish its decision and the 1883 decision, rather than be called upon to reverse the 1883 decision. I do not think this point has been made in the congressional debates or in the general debate in the country.

Mr. STENNIS. I believe the situation would be that the facts of any case tried or heard would have to show a State involvement or a State pattern or manifestation of some kind. If so, the Court could take action in the absence of such a statute.

However, State involvement cannot be shown merely by the language used in a preamble or in a congressional finding of facts. Congress has no mission of finding facts, anyway. These are declaratory statements in the introduction of the bill—discussions of the experience all over the Nation, and so forth. Such things have no place in the bill.

Mr. COOPER. I agree wholly with the Senator from Mississippi that a bill which contains only a preamble, and does not have an operative section, would present no issue for the Supreme Court. I have taken the position, that the administration bill does not rely at all on the 14th amendment, as is asserted, because there is only a finding in the preamble, but nothing in the operative section.

Mr. STENNIS. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. The cases passed on thus far by the Supreme Court have dealt with legislation by a State or ordinances of a State subdivision or orders of a State offered acting officially under color of law—positive State action.

Mr. STENNIS. Yes.

Mr. COOPER. There have been some other cases. I recall one in which a franchise had been given to a private bus company—in Alabama, I believe.

Mr. STENNIS. A public utility.

Mr. COOPER. In that case the court held that discrimination could not be practiced, because the State had given a franchise.

Mr. STENNIS. I cited that case in my argument.

Mr. COOPER. I thought so.

I point out that this holding marked a step from the original holding that State legislation or ordinances—were necessary to bring discriminatory acts under the 14th amendment.

Mr. STENNIS. With all deference to the Senator from Kentucky, the courts have uniformly held that if there is any State action—legislative, judicial, or executive, the 14th amendment applies of its own vigor and effect. That was expressly held by the Court. But the Court also held that a mere licensing, even on an interstate highway, was not sufficient to bring the action before it.

Mr. and Mrs. Murphy do not have a franchise; they have only a permit to operate their business.

Mr. COOPER. The point I make is that if Congress should inact a law which, in its language and upon the facts, showed sufficient State involvement, there would be an issue which could be brought before the U.S. Supreme Court; and the Court would not be called upon to reverse its 1883 decision, but could distinguish between its 1883 decision and its decision on a different set of facts.

I know the Senator from Mississippi is an able lawyer and judge, and I believe he knows that distinction can properly be drawn by a court.

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I am glad to yield to the Senator. I appreciate his comments. I hope to hear his speech when he makes it.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to consideration of executive business, to consider the nomination on the Executive Calendar under "New Reports."

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PROUTY in the chair) laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no reports of committees, the clerk will state the nomination on the Executive Calendar.

FEDERAL COAL MINE SAFETY BOARD OF REVIEW

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles R. Ferguson to be a member of the Federal Coal Mine Safety Board of Review for the term expiring July 15, 1966.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be immediately notified of the confirmation of this nomination.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

RICHARD R. CONLEY—RECOMMITTAL OF NOMINATION

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the nomination of Richard R. Conley, to be postmaster at Rome City, Ind., which is presently on the Executive Calendar, be recommitted to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONVENTION ON POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN—REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, there was transmitted to the Senate today a Convention on the Political Rights of Women, Executive J, 88th Congress, 1st session, which was signed at New York on March 31, 1953, in behalf of certain governments, but not the Government of the United States of America. I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from the Convention, and that the Convention, together with the President's message, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the message from the President be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to accession, I transmit herewith the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, which was signed at New York on March 31, 1953, in behalf of certain governments, but not the Government of the United States of America.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Convention.

In the event that the Senate advises and consents to accession to the Convention, it is recommended that it indicate that such accession is subject to the understanding that in Article III the phrase "public office" does not include military service and the phrase "public function" is co-terminous with "public office."

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 22, 1963.*

CONVENTION RELATING TO ABOLITION OF FORCED LABOR—REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the President of the United States also transmitted to the Senate today a convention concerning the abolition of forced labor, Convention No. 105, being Executive K, 88th Congress, 1st session, adopted by the International Labor Conference at its 40th session, Geneva, June 25, 1957. I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from the convention, that the convention, together with the President's message be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the convention concerning the abolition of forced labor (Convention No. 105), adopted by the International Labor Conference at its 40th session, Geneva, June 25, 1957.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State concerning the Convention, together with the copy enclosed therewith of a letter from the Secretary of Labor.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 22, 1963.*

SUPPLEMENTARY CONVENTION ON ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES SIMILAR TO SLAVERY—REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the President of the United States further transmitted to the Senate today the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, being Executive L, 88th Congress, 1st session, which was signed at Geneva on September 7, 1956, in behalf of certain governments, but not the Government of the United States of America. I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from the supplementary Convention, that the Convention, together with the President's message be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message from the President is as follows:

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to accession, I transmit herewith the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, which was signed at Geneva on September 7, 1956, in behalf of certain governments, but not the Government of the United States of America.

I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Secretary of State with respect to the Convention.

JOHN F. KENNEDY.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *July 22, 1963.*

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

LOCATION OF CHANCERIES OR OFFICES OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS IN CERTAIN RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 646) to prohibit the location of chanceries or other business offices of foreign governments in certain residential areas in the District of Columbia.

STATE COMMERCIAL FISHERY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the pending bill, S. 646, be laid aside temporarily and that the Senate resume the consideration of Calendar No. 312, Senate bill 627, and that it be made the pending business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (S. 627) to promote State commercial fishery research and development projects, a for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is objection to the request of the Se from Montana?

There being no objection, the Se resumed consideration of the bill.

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people of America. You have my best wishes for continuing success and an expanded program in the future.

With warmest personal regards. May the Almighty be with you and yours always.

Sincerely,

JOHN A. BURNS,
Governor of Hawaii.

THE LAW AS IT AFFECTS DESEGREGATION: IMPLICATIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, much has already been written about the need for civil rights legislation this session of Congress. Much more will be written before Congress adjourns sometime this fall. While there is no dearth of material dealing with this critical national issue, I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to a frank and forthright essay, "The Law as it Affects Desegregation: Implications of the Supreme Court Decision," prepared by Miss Pauli Murray, tutor of law, Yale University Law School. This essay was delivered at the Radcliffe Alumnae College, June 14, 1963, in Cambridge, Mass.

Miss Murray has served as visiting professor of law at the Ghana School of Law and is the author of "States' Laws on Race and Color" and coauthor of the "Constitution and Government of Ghana." Aside from these qualifications, Miss Murray notes that she was one of the earlier generation of freedom riders when the struggle for equality was a far more lonely one, and a leader of successful nonviolent sit-in demonstrations in Washington restaurants exactly 20 years ago. Thus Miss Murray freely admits to a certain lack of scholarly objectivity when she writes of the current civil rights crisis.

Nevertheless in this essay Miss Murray achieves a remarkable combination of personal involvement and legal objectivity. She examines four major questions: First, what is the central issue in the present conflict? Second, what has been the role of the law, and particularly of the courts, in resolving this issue? Third, what are the new factors which demand new solutions? Fourth, what is the role of the law in solving the present crisis?

Miss Murray's essay was written prior to President Kennedy's historic message on civil rights and consequently she was unable to consider these proposals in her analysis. While this paper represents only the views and opinions of the author, it is worthy of the attention of every Member of Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from this essay be printed in the body of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE LAW AS IT AFFECTS DESEGREGATION: IMPLICATIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

INTRODUCTION

During the past several weeks, American Negroes have confronted the Nation with what has been described as a "massive insistence" upon drastic changes in the social structure to achive rapid and total integration. They have abandoned their traditional role of patience; they have rejected tokenism and gradualism; they are saying, "One hundred years of fractional citizenship is enough. We want full citizenship now."

This mood pervades the entire Negro community as seen in the tremendous outpouring of hundreds to tens of thousands of Negroes into the streets of the Nation. Police violence, kicking, beating, the use of fierce dogs and fire hoses, even murder—none of these has stopped them. For the 7-day period ending June 2, an estimated more than 30 demonstrations took place in widely separated areas of the country. A week later, the New York Times reported that demonstrations had occurred in nearly 50 localities since May 1. This week has been marked by defiance of the Governor of Alabama in a confrontation with the Federal Government, a televised appeal to the Nation by President Kennedy and the fatal shooting in the back of an NAACP official in Mississippi. Clearly, this is our most serious domestic crisis since the Civil War.

Describing it as the "Second American Revolution," the Washington Star editorialized on June 2 that the real problem in this situation is—

"* * * how best to cope wisely with a rapidly developing revolution. The current outbreak of mass demonstrations by Negroes * * * is a manifestation of as genuine and justified revolution as any of the revolutions in history, history being largely an account of a sequence of revolutions."

Actually, we are experiencing the climax of a phase of the continuing social revolution in the United States which began with our Declaration of Independence and our war to throw off colonial rule. Periodically our country has been thrown into convulsions as various groups of the population have taken the initiative in reaffirming their fundamental rights and freedoms. These upsurges have been part of the growth and maturing of our democracy.

Now in the 1960's, Negroes are engaged in a desperate effort to end segregation and discrimination everywhere in the United States. All the evidence indicates that they will not be stopped short of their goal. President Kennedy correctly placed this struggle in its proper historical perspective, when he observed in his recent Vanderbilt University address, that it was in the best American tradition.

The issues involved in this confrontation are moral as well as legal; the alternatives have become total equality or total repression, and there is no turning back. Each of us is caught up in an atmosphere of impending conflict, of a mounting urgency to come to fundamental grips with our most longstanding and explosive domestic issue and one which rates high priority among the most crucial issues of our foreign policy.

At this turning point of our history, I find it difficult to maintain a balance between academic objectivity and deep personal emotional involvement. As one of en earlier generation of freedom riders with a prison sentence as a reminder of the days when the struggle was a lonely one, and as a student leader of successful nonviolent sit-in demonstrations in Washington restaurants exactly 20 years ago, I cannot pretend a scholarly detachment from these events.

In our time we are being compelled to return to our revolutionary roots. Potential violence has been inherent in this issue from the beginning of our history. I am glad that this long unsettled business of democracy is now coming to a head. I rejoice that Negroes in ever greater numbers are today standing where the American patriots stood in 1776; that they are now willing more than ever to risk their lives for personal liberty and human dignity. They are reenacting the American Revolution in 20th century form. I believe that if the American people as a whole could identify Negroes with our revolutionary traditions of liberty, we will have taken the first significant step toward eliminating the schism which has so divided and almost destroyed us as a nation in the past.

This revolutionary upheaval has not come about through formal decision of any single group, but through a consensus made up of individual commitment by thousands of people taking a stand, igniting and inspiring others to do the same. Many of the demonstrations have been planned; others are spontaneous. Out of this personal commitment to the struggle for liberty is emerging a new self-image, a new self-respect. And if I read the signs correctly, the Nation is gaining a new image of the Negro, for it is our tradition that when people have self-respect, nothing can keep them from asserting the inalienable rights of free men, women, and children.

I emphasize children here, for in reality, Negro children in the South, for the past 9 years, have led the crusade for human dignity. I need not remind you of the children who have braved hostile communities to exercise their right to attend nonsegregated schools. You are aware of the Birmingham children who recently, as if by prearranged signal, marched out of a school assembly and into the streets to demonstrate for their rights leaving an astonished faculty and an empty school building. You have doubtless read of the schoolchildren of Mississippi carrying signs directed to their adults which read: "We have gone to jail for you. Will you register and vote for us?"

In Washington, one of my friends is having difficulty with her teenaged son who remonstrates with her because she has not let him join some of the demonstrations in nearby Maryland. He feels ashamed because his cousin—a mere girl—has already demonstrated, been arrested and taken to prison. This fire and idealism among Negro schoolchildren today is so intense that their parents are left no alternative but to join the demonstrations themselves to maintain their honor and their children's respect.

By now, it must be clear to all of us that, for the second time in our Nation's history, we stand on the threshold of a major decision on human rights of the most fundamental character. In 1963 it has been forcefully brought home to us that our Nation cannot endure with fractional degrees of equality or citizenship. The right to human dignity is indivisible.

Against this background, let us address ourselves to the following questions: (1) What is the central issue in the present conflict? (2) What has been the role in the law, and particularly of the courts, in resolving this issue? (3) What are the new factors which demand new solutions? (4) What is the role of the law in solving the present crisis? In approaching these questions, we must continually bear in mind that the law operates in a moral climate and reflects that climate.

I. THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN THE RACIAL CRISIS

As a point of departure, let me tell a story which seems relevant. I have a friend who would be described as a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant and who lives in suburbia. One day her little girl came home from school weeping uncontrollably and her mother was unable to get her to tell what happened. So the mother went to school to investigate. She learned that her daughter's playmates had refused to let her join a ropeskipping game. She was a fat little girl and not a good ropeskipper, but what really broke her heart was that the other children would not even let her hold the rope and turn it for others to skip. When she could talk about it she told her mother, "Mommy, what hurt me so was that they wouldn't even let me be a steady-ender."

The exclusion from participation as an equal with one's fellows, in work and in play in any society, makes one an outcast. It robs the individual of a feeling of personal worth and of belonging. The permanent effects of such exclusion may be apathy, self-depreciation, violence and aggression, stunted growth, lack of ambition, or sometimes refuge in the exclusion itself as an excuse for poor performance.

In the language of my friend's little daughter, for three centuries the Negro has not even been allowed to be a "steady-ender" in American life. It is against the crushing weight of these three centuries, and against a background of a world revolution in human rights that Negroes now rebel in mass upheavals. Dr. Martin Luther King has explained this mood of impatience as a father who finds it difficult to wait for promises.

"When you suddenly find * * * your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your 6-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her little eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see the depressing clouds of inferiority begin to form in her little mental sky, and see her begin to distort her little personality by unconsciously developing a bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a 5-year-old son asking in agonizing pathos: 'Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?' "

The central issue in this rebellion is human dignity—the inherent rights of free men and women. This issue is not merely the American dream: it is the foundation of our society. We cannot reaffirm too often the principle upon which our Nation stands or falls:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed—That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

These rights are entrenched in the U.S. Constitution. Therefore, they are not only inherent in our beings; they are also guaranteed by our fundamental law and placed beyond the reach of transient legislative majorities. No government can rightfully take them away or permit others to impair them.

II. THE ROLE OF THE LAW AND THE COURTS

In the American legal system, as you know, the Supreme Court has the function and the authority of ultimately interpreting and applying the constitutional principles underlying guaranteed rights to myriad fact situations, and of adjudicating between various rights if they are in conflict. Having declared what the supreme law is, the Court's interpretation is binding upon all the people. Hence, we say that our society is based upon the rule of law and not upon the rule of men.

From its inception, however, our fundamental law contained an irreconcilable contradiction, in that the same basic document which affirmed basic human rights also recognized the institution of slavery—the complete denial of these rights to some men. How was this intolerable contradiction in the law to be resolved?

In 1857, Chief Justice Taney of the Supreme Court attempted to resolve it in the Dred Scott case by determining that some human beings have inherent rights and others do not. He concluded that Negroes were not intended to be included in the Declaration of Independence or in the term "people" in the opening phrase of our Constitution—"We the People of the United States"; nor were any persons of African descent, whether slave or free, intended to be citizens of the United States; "that they had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior race, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations, and so far inferior that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Thus, according to Taney, the framers of the Declaration of Independence "knew that it would not in any part of the civilized world, be supposed to embrace the Negro race, which, by common consent, had been excluded from civilized governments and the family of nations, and doomed to slavery."

This attempt by the Supreme Court to resolve the issue by exclusion did much to make the conflict irrepressible. When the supreme law of the land is consistent with human dignity, controversies as to which rights are paramount can be determined peacefully within the orderly legal processes of our constitutional system. History has shown again and again, that when the fundamental law is interpreted in such a way as to be inconsistent with human dignity, conflict is inevitable.

After a bitter Civil War of 4 years, the Nation reaffirmed and made more explicit inherent human rights in the form of the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States. Congress was expressly given the power to enforce these amendments by appropriate legislation. The purpose of this constitutional change was to sweep away all political and legal barriers to the exercise of equal rights with all other citizens.

Since the institution of slavery had been supported by detailed legislation in the various slaveowning States, and since these formerly rebellious States attempted to reenslave Negroes through the enactment of the black codes after the war, the thrust of the 14th amendment was against State action. That amendment provides in part:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It was clear to the framers of the Reconstruction amendments that Federal protection was necessary for the full and free exercise of citizenship rights. In the 10 years following the Civil War, it also became clear that these rights had to be protected from violation by private persons as well as by State action. These rights also had to be protected uniformly throughout the United States, if citizenship was to be meaningful. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875 which declared in part:

"That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude."

The act made it a misdemeanor for any person to violate the law by denying to any citizen the full and equal enjoyment of public accommodations, and granted a civil remedy of damages up to $500 to persons aggrieved by such denial.

What was not sufficiently clear to Congress or to the Nation at the time of Reconstruction was that the institution of slavery over a period of two centuries had had a dehumanizing affect upon blacks and whites alike in the entire region where it had become entrenched and had affected the moral climate of the Nation as a whole. A national effort of rehabilitation and restoration of the dignity of impoverished whites and newly freed Negroes in the former slaveowning States ravaged by war was essential if the Nation was to recover from this dehumanization. This was not done. The Freedmen's Bureau, created at the end of the war to give relief to the needy Negroes and whites in the conquered South, was imperfectly conceived, poorly administered and short lived, lasting only 7 years. What was sorely needed was a 19th century version of UNRRA or Marshall plan for the South. The absence of such planning set in motion forces of reaction, and we are today reaping the whirlwind of those forces.

At the judicial level, there followed perhaps the most inglorious period in our history with reference to human rights. Judges of the Supreme Court were conditioned by the same attitudes which produced the Dred Scott case; the majority of the Court found it expedient narrowly to interpret the Reconstruction amendments, permitting the Nation to drift backward instead of marching forward. Bit by bit the Court whittled down the broad protection of these amendments. First, it limited the concept of "privileges and immunities" in the 14th amendment and the rights which flow out of Federal citizenship. In light of the current issue of desegregation, two of the Court's important decisions are relevant to our discussion.

In the famous civil rights cases of 1883, the Court, by an 8-to-1 decision, declared that the Civil Rights Act of 1875, prohibiting discrimination by private persons in places of public accommodation throughout the country, was unconstitutional and void on the ground that Congress had no power to enact legislation operative upon individuals in this field under either the 13th or 14th amendments. While it conceded that the language of the 13th amendment was broad enough to reach individuals, it rejected the argument that the 13th amendment was intended to abolish not only the technical legal relationship of master and slave but also all of the incidents of slavery and the badges of inferiority the institution had imposed upon Negroes, whether slave or free. The Court also held that the 14th amendment applied only to State action and not to individual invasion of private rights. Presumably, suggested the Court, these rights could be protected by resort to the laws of the various States.

Mr. Justice John M. Harlan, a former slaveowner from Kentucky who had bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery before the war but who was dedicated to the supremacy of the Constitution, wrote an eloquent and masterful dissent on both of these points and left a beacon light to guide future lawyers upholding human rights. In light of the President's speech on Tuesday night calling for another Federal statute on public accommodations, Mr. Justice Harlan's dissent warrants rereading today. Unquestionably, the decision in the civil rights cases opened the door to widespread discrimination by private persons against Negroes, leaving the protection of the most basic aspect of human dignity—the right not to be humiliated by unequal and exclusionary treatment—to the whim of the various States. In my opinion, the civil rights cases were wrongly decided and are an important factor in the current unrest. As late as 1959, the Supreme Court refused to reexamine a case brought under the 1875 act. Around the same time several lower Federal courts also denied the applicability of this act to restaurants on interstate highways. Having no remedy in the courts, as President Kennedy aptly pointed out in his nationwide address, Ne-

groes took the issue into the streets. It is significant that the first mass sit-in cases arose in early 1960 following the latest refusal of the Supreme Court to declare an available remedy.

In 1896, the Supreme Court decided the case of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* and upheld the constitutionality of a Louisiana statute which provided separate railway cars for Negroes and whites in circumstances (a) where regulating intrastate commerce and (b) where such accommodations were "separate but equal." Here the Court denied the view that a segregation statute implied inferiority of Negroes. Although it conceded that the object of the 14th amendment was to establish absolute legal equality, it held the amendment was not intended to abolish distinctions based upon color. Again Mr. Justice Harlan dissented vigorously. His reasoning against the background of contemporary events has been proven to be eminently sound. His words were prophetic. He wrote:

"In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. * * * What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than State enactments which in fact proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens? * * * The sure guarantee of the peace and security of each race is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our Governments, National and State, of every right that inheres in civil freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States without regard to race. State enactments, regulating the enjoyment of civil rights, upon the basis of race, and cunningly devised to defeat legitimate results of the war, under the pretense of recognizing equality of rights, can have no other result than to render permanent peace impossible and to keep alive a conflict of races, the continuance of which must do harm to all concerned."

The Plessy decision opened the door to massive segregation laws in the Southern States and various degrees of permissive segregation in other areas. Legislative intervention in many Northern States following this decision took the form of State civil rights statutes forbidding discrimination in public accommodations. These laws, however, varied as to places covered and as to degree of enforcement.

Distinction and exclusion on grounds of race and color became fixed in our law. As late as 1927, the Supreme Court upheld a Mississippi court ruling that it could constitutionally segregate children "of the brown, yellow, and black races" from white children in the public schools, and denied a child of Chinese ancestry the right to enroll in white schools in that State.

Rigid enforcement of segregation laws in the South, desolutory enforcement of civil rights laws in the North and West, constituted the posture of the country with reference to racial segregation as it moved toward World War II. With the exception of a 1917 decision outlawing a Louisville ordinance which, in effect, created residential segregation, the Court showed no inclination to question legally enforced segregation.

Beginning in 1938 with an attack on the exclusion of Negroes from the State universities of the South, the Court, in a case-by-case approach began the task of realining the law with our fundamental constitutional principles. In 1946, it struck down segregation on interstate carriers, incidentally, declaring void as to interstate passengers, the Virginia statute under which I was arrested and imprisoned 6 years earlier. Bit by bit it overturned the barriers erected on the legal foundation of the Plessy case, but it was not wholly clear until the school desegregation cases of 1954 that the Court was deciding foursquare on the issue of inherent and constitutionally entrenched human rights and their incompatibility with legal segregation. Here the Court met the real issue in the following words:

"Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. * * * To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

With this decision, the Supreme Court sounded the death knell of all segregation where the exercise of state power is involved. Since 1954, that Court has handed down numerous decisions reiterating and applying the basic principle of that case, ordering desegregation of State or municipal public facilities, and more recently, reversing convictions of sit-in demonstrators and their leaders under trespass, and other statutes in cases where a local segregation ordinance was present, or local officials voiced a policy of segregation. The Court put over for further argument a case in which there is no segregation law or ordinance or no declared official policy of segregation, and yet sit-in demonstrators are arrested for trespass at the request of the owner of a place open to the public. Thus, by radical surgery in a series of operations, the "separate but equal" doctrine on grounds of race has been removed from our constitutional law. What remains to be decided or legislated is an affirmative remedy for privately enforced segregation or exclusion from public facilities.

III. THE NEW FACTORS WHICH DEMAND NEW SOLUTIONS

With the Supreme Court giving this reaffirmation of basic rights and slowly correcting the earlier deviations from our fundamental law, why have we suddenly found ourselves in a national crisis? This present explosion, of course, is not sudden. Warnings by Negro leadership have been sounded for years, but most of the Nation has been too preoccupied to listen. One important factor is the difference in outlook and tempo between Negroes and the rest of the Nation with respect to the central issue. As Dr. Ralph Bunche pointed out last week, no government ever does enough when people are denied their basic rights. The Nation has been looking at how far Negroes have come in the past two decades, while Negroes, on the other hand, are looking at how far they have to go. They see the slow pace of desegreation—four-tenths of 1 percent of Negro children attending desegregated schools in the 11 States of the old Confederacy 9 years after the Supreme Court decision. They look at their limited employment opportunities, their disproportionately high rate of unemployment, the de facto school segregation in the North which is just as damaging to the personalities of their children as the legally enforced segregation condemned by the Supreme Court in 1954. They find their way out of the ghetto to decent integrated housing blocked by various devices, one of which was used in the infamous Deerfield, Ill., case where local authorities in collusion with certain local residents condemned an integrated housing project in process of being built and took over the land for public parks. They experience the daily affronts and humanliations with reference to exclusion from public facilities. The very fact that important improvements have been made in recent years has whetted the appetite for total inclusion. It is axiomatic that the closer one gets to one's goal of human dignity, the more intolerable become the remaining indignities.

A second factor is the rise of a generation of Negroes born during or since World War II into a climate of opinion in which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights represents the common aspirations of peoples everywhere and into a world of revolutionary upsurge of colonial peoples against foreign rule with its implications of racial superiority. This generation has grown up in an atmosphere of incredible speed of events. Gradualism and patience form no part of its heritage, as those of you with children readily appreciate.

A third factor is that by accepting gradualism as the timetable for the solution of this problem, we have permitted the gains of a bloodless social revolution to be threatened by a violent counterrevolution. My good friend, Dr. Caroline F. Ware, social historian and a Ph. D. from Radcliffe, constantly reminds me that social revolutions are not violent; that violence comes into play after social change has occurred or is plainly in sight, and counterrevolutionary efforts are then made to turn the clock back.

What is new about the present revolt is the realization by many Negroes that there is an effective answer to violence and an effective alternative to sullen endurance. There is a new consciousness of strength pervading the whole of the Negro community, a total involvement including children and a mass reaction to the problem.

Dr. Martin Luther King and other leaders of his type have been able to harness seething revolt to organized, disciplined, nonviolent direct action. The legal implications of this action are that it is within the protection of freedom of expression guaranteed by the first amendment. The moral implications are, in my opinion, far more significant.

There is a growing national consensus that racial discrimination is essentially a moral problem. If so, it must be attacked at the moral as well as legal level. Nonviolent direct action is based upon the conviction that in social conflict, the power of the spirit is stronger and more enduring than the power of force in a physical contest. By discipline of the spirit, the nonviolent demonstrator determines that violence, if at all, will be on only one side of the controversy. Thus, the demonstrator exercises a certain amount of control over the conflict situation because he eliminates or reduces the immediate provocation to retaliate and transfers the struggle to the conscience of the opponent. He believes that the opponent's hatred, if given only itself to feed upon, must eventually run its course and that, in these circumstances, reconciliation is more possible after the conflict has been resolved. The Negroes have seen this method work with Ghandi in India and have adapted it to peculiarly American situations. Where this method has consciously been used in the demonstrations, despite indignities on the part of the police, violence has been minimized.

As Dr. King wrote in his book, "Stride Toward Freedom":

"We will match your capacity to inflict suffering with our capacity to endure suffering. We will meet your physical force with soul force. We will not hate you, but we cannot in all good conscience obey your unjust laws. Do to us what you will and we will still love you. Bomb our homes and threaten our children; send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our communities and drag us out on some wayside road, beating us and leaving us half dead, and we will still love you. But we will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process."

The wider significance of these nonviolent demonstrations by Negroes and their white supporters is that they have brought to-

gether two revolutionary ideas: the equality of the rights of man and the assertion of those rights through a spiritually and morally powerful nonviolent technique. They are outpacing the application of the law and making a creative contribution to rapid social change with a minimum of violence. Historians may well record this as one of the important social developments of the 20th century. Nonviolence has filled the vacuum between the declaration and the implementation of the fundemental law.

IV. THE ROLE OF THE LAW IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

At the beginning of our discussion, I said that we are a society built uopn the rule of law and not rule by the passions of men. What, then, is the role of the law in resolving the current conflict?

It cannot be too strongly emphasized here that the history of race relations in the United States has proven conclusively that the right to be free from discrimination because of race or color—and I might add sex—is so crucial to human dignity and the exercise of the rights of citizenship, that we have been tragically wrong to leave the protection of this right in so large degree to local regulation. Local laws and policies can supplement but not substitute for a clearly formulated and enforceable National policy binding upon all persons.

The public humiliations which do such violence to human dignity are dramatized by laws, customs, and attitudes of exclusion in places of public accommodation, and amusement. Congress rightly saw in 1875 that this issue was so important it must be resolved in a manner which operated uniformly throughout the United States. It recognized that there could be no piecemeal or fractional coverage in a matter which involves such explosive human emotions. And so it granted total coverage.

Negroes have lived too long with uncertainty to make the recognition of their rights dependent upon any other individual's degree of color-blindness, or whether he operates in interstate or local commerce. The quest for certainty is at the bottom of the present revolt. As Martin Luther King, replying from an Alabama prison to the statement of local white religious leaders that the Birmingham demonstrations were "unwise and untimely," put it:

"I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the sting of darts of segregation to say 'wait.' But when you take a cross country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tip-toe stance never quite knowing what to expect next, and plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of 'nobodiness'—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait."

CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRESS IN AMERICA: A FURTHER INSTALLMENT

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, last week I announced that periodically I would call to the attention of the Senate the encouraging news of civil rights progress in the United States.

It is just as important to report the hopeful and optimistic news as it is to acknowledge the hard facts of civil discord and discrimination that still exist in all sections of the Nation. Much remains to be accomplished—to be sure—but we should not overly minimize the definite progress that has been achieved.

One of the clearest, firmest, and most impelling voices calling for such continued progress belongs to the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable LYNDON B. JOHNSON. At Gettysburg and again at the Governors' conference, the Vice President raised the moral imperative of prompt action by private persons and at all levels of government to guarantee equality and justice for all Americans.

The Washington Post recently published an editorial praising the Vice President for his courageous leadership in the cause of civil rights. This editorial commendation is thoroughly merited and I ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the July 27 edition of the Washington Post be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Also, the mayor of Atlanta, Ga., the Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr., delivered a most moving and courageous statement in behalf of racial justice in his testimony before the Commerce Committee.

Obviously the mayor of Atlanta comes before the Congress with excellent credentials to speak in behalf of the President's civil rights legislation. Atlanta has achieved a measure of desegregation of public accommodations, facilities, and schools that serves as evidence of what is possible when men of good will sit down together and seek mutually beneficial arrangements to banish segregation and discrimination from a community.

The mayor of Atlanta has told the Congress to finish the job started a century ago with the Emancipation Proclamation. I devoutly hope that Congress will heed the advice of this outstanding public servant and statesman.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial praising Mayor Allen printed in yesterday's New York Times be printed at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, July 27, 1963]

A POWERFUL ADVOCATE

Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON has been speaking out on civil rights issues with increasing frequency, force, and clarity. He is doing a great deal to shape public opinion and alter public outlook. Frequently he gets to the gist of the matter with a directness and vigor that pierces the fog of legal dispute into which we so frequently become mired. In his address at the Governors' Conference in Miami he made his point with a paragraph notable for its moral tone and simple eloquence:

"Whatever the legalisms or traditions, it is wrong that the tax-paying, arms-bearing, vote-casting Americans should be unable to find a bed for the night or meals for their children along the highways of our free and decent society. Whatever the reasons, it is wrong that Americans who fight alongside other Americans in war should not be able to work alongside the same Americans, wash up alongside them, eat alongside them, win promotions alongside them, or send their children to sit in schools alongside the children of other Americans."

The Presidency always has been known as a great platform from which to appeal to the mind and heart of America. The Vice Presidency is being made into a great platform by Vice President LYNDON JOHNSON.

[From the New York Times, July 28, 1963]

ATLANTA'S MAYOR SPEAKS

On rare occasions the oratorical fog on Capitol Hill is pierced by a voice resonant with courage and dignity. Such a voice was heard when Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta, testified before the Senate Commerce Committee in support of President Kennedy's bill to prohibit racial discrimination in stores, restaurants, and other public accommodations.

On the basis of the very substantial accomplishments that his city of a half million, the largest in the Southeast, has made in desegregating publicly owned and privately owned facilities, he might have come as a champion of States rights and of the ability of localities to banish discrimination without Federal law. Certainly, he would have had much more warrant to espouse that view than the Barnetts, the Wallaces, and the other archsegregationists who raise the specter of Federal "usurpation" as a device for keeping southern Negroes in subjection.

But Mr. Allen was not in Washington to boast. He was there to warn that even in cities like Atlanta the progress that had been made might be wiped out if Congress turned its back on the Kennedy proposal and thus gave implied endorsement to the concept that private businesses were free to discriminate. He left behind this charge to finish the job started with the Emancipation Proclamation a century ago: "Now the elimination of segregation, which is slavery's stepchild, is a challenge to all of us to make every American free in fact as well as in theory—and again to establish our Nation as the true champion of the free world."

THE CRISIS IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, in this mail over the weekend I have received from Mr. Maurice R. Franks, president of the National Labor-Management Foundation and editor of Partners magazine a copy of the editorial which Mr. Franks is going to have in the next issue of the magazine.

Because this editorial is so timely in view of impending congressional consideration of legislation effecting the crisis in the railroad industry, I called Mr. Franks, requesting permission to have this editorial inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD prior to its publication in the forthcoming edition of Partners magazine. Mr. Franks granted his consent and I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed at this point in the RECORD for all my colleagues' information.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CRISIS IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THE NEED FOR STATUTORY DEFINITION OF ITS FUNCTIONAL DOMAIN

(By Maurice R. Franks)

The 4-year-old railroad work rules dispute which today has culminated in the threat of a disastrous nationwide rail strike next Tuesday, points to the need for clarification by act of Congress just what constitutes the legitimate domain of collective bargaining and what in all common sense and economic justice lies outside its proper bounds.

Although collective bargaining is one of the proudest institutions of a free society like ours, the obviously required surveys have yet to be made and lines defining and delimiting the legitimate province have yet to be established. Instead, an unruly expansion by means of creeping encroachment has

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U. S. News & World Report 8/5/63

WHY RACE TROUBLES HIT ONE CITY, SPARE ANOTHER—A CASE STUDY

Cambridge, Md., erupted in a violent clash of the races. Nearby Salisbury remained quiet.

The two cities were much alike. Why one was struck, and not the other, is a local puzzle.

In late July, whites and Negroes reached a shaky truce, and Cambridge calmed down. But both cities were still uneasy, wondering where the demonstrators would hit next.

Reported from
CAMBRIDGE and SALISBURY, Md.

Race trouble this summer has reached a new peak of violence in the small city of Cambridge on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

After a truce between Negroes and whites, reached on July 23, Cambridge entered a "cooling off" period. The truce was precarious, with patrolling by National Guard troops, and brought about only under the strongest pressure from the White House.

Before the truce was arranged, the Governor of Maryland had found himself powerless to get a solution to the trouble. So had a committee of citizens. Negro leaders in Cambridge had refused to negotiate even with White House agents.

At one point, a Negro leader in Cambridge warned President Kennedy that he might have to make a personal appearance there to avert a "civil war."

The story in Salisbury, 32 miles east of Cambridge, is different. The Cambridge troubles had started more than a year earlier with the arrival of "Freedom Riders" from outside the community. Salisbury and most other communities of the Maryland Eastern Shore had escaped with no more than passing trouble in that earlier experience.

But did something more deep-seated account for the difference? That question was put to John W. T. Webb, chairman of Salisbury's biracial committee and a local lawyer. This committee was first set up in 1960.

Mr. Webb put it this way:

"We were very lucky in Salisbury. They have been very unlucky in Cambridge. But our battle is not yet won. It is still possible that a squad of hotheads could come into Salisbury and blow us sky-high in 24 hours.

"There has been traditionally," Mr. Webb continued, "a way of getting along between whites and Negroes in the South which involves mutual respect and tolerance between the whites and the Negroes, each for the other. Over the years, it has become instinctive. This is the reason why the South, properly led, has a much better chance of coming out of this developing revolution in less time and with fewer scars than does the North.

"The way we are doing it here—if we can hold this thing together—we will emerge with a change in the social order, and we'll do it without the scars that for years will remain in the places where race problems have gotten out of hand."

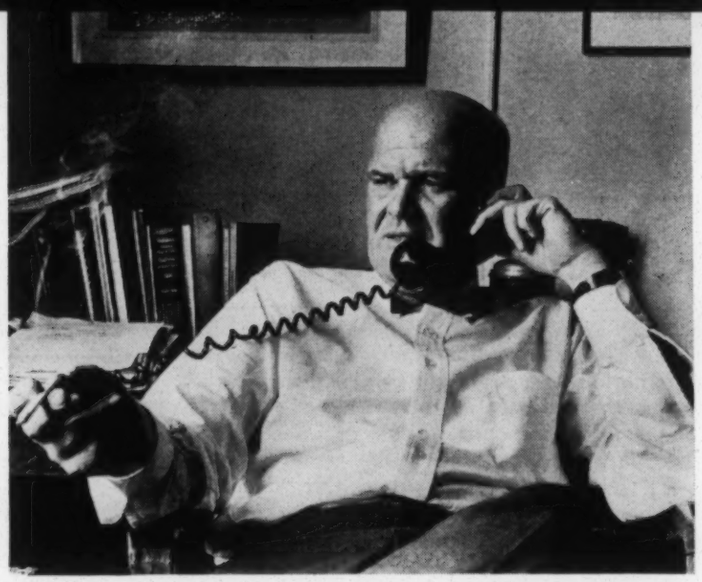
Early stirrings. Explaining his view that Salisbury had been lucky and Cambridge unlucky, Mr. Webb gave the following background:

In late 1961 and early 1962, "Freedom Riders" staged a number of "sit-in" demonstrations at restaurants in various Eastern Shore communities. At that time, Salisbury had all of its major restaurants and theaters desegregated. Plans for opening up the schools and more job opportunities for Negroes were in the discussion stage.

A group of the "Riders" stopped in one of Salisbury's desegregated cafés early

TROOPS still patrol Cambridge, although there is a truce. Pictured is a check point in Negro section of city. Nearby Salisbury has avoided serious racial trouble—so far.

- 7/23/63



"WE WERE VERY LUCKY," says John W. T. Webb, a Salisbury civic leader. He is chairman of city's biracial committee.

in 1962. The Salisbury "Times" reported that some of them ordered food, but most just wandered about the café asking for water and disturbing others. The proprietor told them to leave.

Immediately after this incident, the Salisbury biracial committee got in touch with leaders of the outside Negro organizations. They asked for and received a pledge that there would be no more incidents in Salisbury unless community leaders first were given an opportunity to work out any complaints.

Said Mr. Webb: "It was primarily Negro members of our committee who were able to convince the leadership of the outside Negro organizations that we fully intended to integrate this community as rapidly as we could do so."

Cambridge at the same time had been trying to set up a biracial committee, but was having temporary trouble. Even so, there had been considerable desegregation of restaurants. In fact, three of the four restaurants along the highway just outside of town were desegregated.

The "Freedom Riders" kept returning to the segregated restaurant, and some riots ensued. With each succeeding incident, the lines between whites and Negroes hardened, communication broke down and the stage was set for the deep trouble of 1963.

Actually, the pace of integration in Cambridge has been comparable in many respects to that in other Eastern Shore communities.

For example, Cambridge had begun to open all schools to Negroes on a grade-by-grade schedule in the autumn of 1956, starting with the twelfth grade. This coming autumn, the schools would have been open to Negroes from the fifth through the twelfth grades. The truce agreement signed on July 23, however, provides that all grades will be opened to Negroes this autumn.

Only five Cambridge Negroes had applied to attend white schools during the years when grade after grade was being opened. All five were accepted, but after attending for a few days dropped out and returned to the Negro schools. James G. Busick, school superintendent, said neither the Negro students nor their parents had complained about their treatment in the white schools.

Salisbury's pace. In Salisbury, five of the seven elementary schools were integrated in the autumn of 1962. Of the 120 Negro pupils who would have been affected, 40 elected to stay in all-Negro schools and another 40 moved, leaving about 40 in integrated schools.

Of the two elementary schools not integrated, one is all-white and one is all-Negro. There will be integration in the all-white school this autumn.

Also to be integrated in the autumn are two white junior high schools that will have a total of 24 Negroes entering. Integration of high schools, according to Salisbury school officials, will take place when physical facilities have been worked out.

Three of the churches in Salisbury have been integrated for some time—the Roman Catholic, the Episcopal and the Lutheran. All major denominations more than a year ago agreed to accept Negroes' applications for membership.

Mr. Webb says his Episcopal church has half a dozen or so Negro members in a congregation of about 1,000. He detects no rush of Negroes to join white churches.

"A serious spill-over." Mr. Webb feels that Salisbury's progress is threatened by what has happened in other communities where Negroes have staged demonstrations.

"We are getting a serious spill-over from these highly publicized outbreaks of violence," said Mr. Webb. "It is affecting both the white and the Negro community here. You can sense a tremendous reaction among whites to the position the Negroes have taken in these

(continued on next page)

—USN&WR Photos

CHEERS for Mrs. Gloria Richardson, Cambridge Negro leader, shown being introduced at a mass meeting. At right, Negroes attending rally clap and sing.

[continued from preceding page]

RACE TROUBLES—A CASE STUDY

other places. It is making it more difficult for us to get whites here to accept the way we are doing things.

"By the same token, the young Negro in a poor job asks why he shouldn't wave a banner and march down the street."

Mr. Webb feels that politicians are making a serious mistake in trying to make capital out of the race issue. He said:

"Civil rights are too dangerous for the politician to deal with. He lives by vote-getting. When these pressure groups that represent votes go to work on him, he reacts.

"The decisions in this area have to be made without regard to personal popularity, but rather with regard to what is right and what has to be done.

"The White House, in my judgment, did not start until last month to do what should have been done at least a year ago. All the danger signals were there. We read them in Salisbury three years ago.

"The White House, and other political leaders, too, have been too reluctant to use personal prestige to enlist the genuine leadership needed in this crisis."

Committee make-up. Salisbury has put its racial problems in the hands of people who, for the most part, are little involved in politics. The biracial committee, formed in 1960, was named on that basis. Originally it was made up of 12 whites and five Negroes. In January, 1963, it was made permanent with a membership of 14 whites and six Negroes. Each member serves a four-year term, and the terms are staggered.

Negro leaders who were representative of the Negro community and who would speak out were sought for membership on the committee.

"The mistake so many communities make is in letting only conservative Negroes speak for their people," said Mr. Webb. "The conservative Negro may say only what he thinks the white man wants to hear. So the white community is often misled."

There is deep resentment, not only in Cambridge but in Salisbury as well, against much of the press coverage of race problems on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

Comparisons drawn between the two communities, said Mr. Webb, have generally been "unfair to Cambridge and unfair to Salisbury." He added:

"We have our share of hotheads and Cambridge has its share of responsible leaders. Events got away from them in Cambridge, and once that happened, nothing could head off the trouble. It could have happened to us. It can still happen to us. If the press keeps picturing Salisbury as a model in civil rights, which it isn't, we could wake up and find ourselves a prime target."

Mr. Webb objects strongly to press statements that no more than an urge to save its businesses lay behind Salisbury's efforts. Said he: "We are hardheaded, but it goes beyond that. If this had not been a genuine community effort, based on trust and confidence between white and Negro, the whole thing would have fallen to pieces long ago."

Negro leader's view. Mr. Webb's points were affirmed by the Rev. C. Henry Mack, a Negro member of Salisbury's biracial committee and minister of the St. James A.M.E. Zion Church. Commented Mr. Mack:

"Salisbury Negroes will assure you that this is no civil-rights utopia. I'm not satisfied with it. Our progress could be faster. If the community continues to work toward complete equality for Negroes, I won't try to disrupt things. But if progress should stop, I, for one, would welcome demonstrations by the national Negro organizations."

Behind Cambridge bitterness—. In Cambridge, leaders of the white business community readily admit that the press could not overlook the race riots there.

"What we bitterly resent is that Cambridge has been pictured to the world as a dying and stagnant community living in the past," said Herman Stevens, head of the industrial-development commission of the Chamber of Commerce. "We've worked like dogs since 1958 to bring industry into this community, and I think the record shows we have accomplished a great deal."

What the record shows in Cambridge's industrial development is this: a new industrial park adding industries at a rapid clip; ten new industries with a total of 750 jobs added since 1958; unemployment down from 14.4 per cent in 1958 to 9 per cent now; a million-dollar development under way on the Choptank River, to give Maryland its only port for ocean-going vessels in addition to Baltimore.

A tour through one of the new plants revealed a number of Negro employes, some of them in supervisory positions.

Asked how many Negroes his plant employed, the manager replied: "I don't know and I've told my personnel manager I would fire him if he knew. It's all wrong to strive for a certain percentage. We test aptitude and hire on that basis. I believe this, and I want my children to believe it: You take a person for what he is regardless of color."

This plant manager, who came to Cambridge from the Midwest, is critical of the community in one respect. "They have opened up job opportunity," he said. "Now they have to open up the property right. Today, there's just no place for the Negro to go in that direction."

A vote hurdle? A major obstacle remains in Cambridge to the truce signed on July 23. It is the final outcome of a city-charter amendment passed by the city council to desegregate all public accommodations, such as restaurants and lodging places.

The amendment goes into effect on August 20, unless petitions now circulating bring it to a referendum vote. Leaders of the white community who signed the truce are pledged to try to keep the amendment from coming to a vote. If they are unable to do so, trouble may again explode.

—USN&WR Photo

INTEGRATED PRINTING PLANT in Cambridge, one of several new industries that have come to the city in recent years. Negroes and whites share supervisory jobs.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF S. 1732—PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS PROPOSAL

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Commerce Committee has recently concluded a thorough and comprehensive schedule of hearings relating to President Kennedy's proposal to guarantee equal access to public accommodations to all Americans regardless of race, color or religion. The distinguished chairman of this committee [Mr. MAGNUSON] and the distinguished acting chairman [Mr. PASTORE] has given both proponents and opponents of this legislation full opportunity to develop their respective cases before the members of this committee. The entire membership is to be complimented for the constructive nature of these hearings.

I have submitted a written statement supporting prompt approval of S. 1732. I ask unanimous consent that this statement be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HUMPHREY

Mr. Chairman, I would like to compliment you and your committee for the diligent, fair, and comprehensive examination of S. 1732. All sides have been given full and fair opportunity to voice their opinions to the Congress. All positions have been set forth for your careful consideration.

The significance of your work and the importance of this portion of the civil rights bill cannot be overestimated. The eyes of the country and of the world have been centered on this committee during the weeks of these hearings. The bill that you report to the Senate will reflect, I am sure, the dedication of your labor.

A great deal of time has been expended in attempting to determine the efficacy and constitutionality of basing the public accommodations section of the administration's civil rights bill on the commerce clause (art. I, sec. 8) rather than on the 14th amendment to the Constitution.

As far as the efficacy of this particular bill is concerned, some of those who have testified before this committee have contended that prejudice and intolerance cannot be legislated against and that it makes little difference, therefore, whether this bill passes or not. They say that it will not be easy to erase the memories of centuries of custom and that attempting to impose a solution from outside will merely exacerbate the situation. I agree that there is no easy or entirely pleasant way in which to change the mores and customs of a nation. This difficulty should not deter us.

It was not easy to colonize this country; nor to establish our Constitution; nor to defend the freedom of our seamen; nor to abolish slavery; nor to make the world safe for democracy; nor to oppose Nazi racism and tyranny; nor to conduct a cold war. We have done those things, though, either through necessity or because we thought they were right.

There are those that contend that those battles entitle us to self-righteousness and repose. They contend that we have achieved perfect democracy and need fight no more difficult contests. Some want to know why we cannot leave this problem of inequality alone and stop filling the Negroes with dangerous ideas. It is my contention that God filled man with the desire to be free and that there is very little that we here in Congress can do to counteract it. Freedom and equality are the birthright of every American. We cannot give or withhold it from anyone, or any class, or any race. These ideas of equality and opportunity are heavy brews. The Founding Fathers drank deep and we can still intoxicate the world with their dreams. Abraham Lincoln let American Negroes taste of the cup 100 years ago; now it must go fully round.

There will be opposition to legislation requiring the sharing of this right of equal access. Basing this bill on the commerce clause will not make it more popular than any other means. I am convinced, though, that it will be effective and that such a decision can be logically grounded on precedent and experience. I wish that no action were necessary on this subject; I would prefer that every State would equitably solve its own racial problems; recent events make it painfully clear that that is not the case.

However, since there has been considerable debate among those sincerely interested in seeing a meaningful bill over whether we should rely on the commerce clause or the 14th amendment, I support the suggestion that the bill be based on both. There is ample precedent for this; the Tennessee Valley Authority, for example, was based on three constitutional powers. I believe that the Supreme Court would uphold the constitutionality of this public accommodations provision if we relied upon both the interstate commerce clause and the 14th amendment. My reasons for so thinking are based on Supreme Court decisions concerning the 14th amendment, the commerce clause, and our common law heritage.

I believe that many of those who contend that this bill is revolutionary would find, through reference to history, that this is not the case. The principle of free public access to business establishments is rooted deep in the Anglo-Saxon law. Throughout the 13th century, and for hundreds of years thereafter, the duty to serve all who come to public establishments was covered by criminal statute. Reference to legal precedent will reveal that even in the South it was common practice to serve all who might come. Unfortunately, after the civil rights cases of 1883, many laws were passed which denied this right to some. This was a departure from accepted practice and custom.

Interestingly enough, in those decisions of 1883 the Supreme Court specifically referred to those powers obtaining to Congress under the commerce clause:

"Of course, these remarks do not apply to those cases in which Congress is clothed with direct and plenary powers of legislation over the whole subject, accompanied with an express or implied denial of such power to the States, as in the regulation of commerce * * * among the several States * * *. In these cases Congress has power to pass laws for regulating the subjects specified in every detail, and the conduct and transactions of individuals in respect thereof."

More recently, the Court's findings in the case of *Wickard* v. *Filburn*, in which the farmer's action, though indirect and trivial, was held to be illegal, and *NLRB* v. *Reliance Oil*, where it was decided that the restrictions of the commerce clause applied even though the oil in which Reliance was dealing had come to rest within the State prior to its purchase by them, indicate clearly the opinion of the Court on the "reach of Congress" in relation to the regulation of interstate commerce.

The fact that the Supreme Court, in 1883, held some civil rights laws based on the 14th amendment unconstitutional should not deter us, in 1963, from also basing this legislation on that amendment. Recent decisions, like the restrictive covenant cases, *Shelly* v. *Kraemer*, and the Delaware restaurant case, *Burton* v. *Wilmington Parking Authority*, indicate that the present Supreme Court views the 14th amendment from a perspective considerably removed from the one which existed in 1883. These decisions, as well as the other epochmaking actions of the Court in the field of civil rights, lead me to conclude that the 1883 civil rights decisions may well be overruled in the same manner as *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* was overruled in 1954.

There is nothing unique or potentially threatening to our liberties in the letter or intent of this bill. It only requires that those who have practiced discrimination against customers, purely as a matter of racial prejudice, will be required to extend the right of access and service to all. To the vast majority of Americans there is no question about the reasonableness or rectitude of this requirement. As an example of national opinion on this issue, it should be noted that 31 States have already, voluntarily, enacted public accommodations laws. And despite the fact that some of these laws have been far more stringent than the measure we are here considering, there has been no evidence of the economic and constitutional disasters conjured up by opponents of this bill. In some of the 19 States not having equal accommodations statues, the business community is restrained by State law from opening its doors to all customers. Such laws, I should add, are clearly proscribed by the 14th amendment. I am sure that many businessmen in those States would welcome the opportunity to serve this large market which is presently barred to them, especially if they could cite law and uniform practice as their reasons for so doing.

Finally, in reply to the assertions and implications I find hardest to understand and countenance, I would like to comment on the remarks which have attempted to link this honest effort to give constitutional rights to Communist influence.

My contention has always been, and remains, that the most effective way which we can combat communism is to demonstrate positively the superiority of our free enterprise system. Segregation is obviously an impediment to us in this contest. The Communists are desirous of fomenting discord on this subject only so long as we do nothing about the situation. As we act to eliminate areas of discrimination and thus strengthen our democracy, we also progressively reduce the number of situations available to Communist propagandists in their campaigns of ridicule. Therefore, even if the weight of moral and philosophical rectitude were not on the side of this measure, I would still say that it is mere sophistry to contend that the exposure of this problem aids the Communists. The solution of the civil rights crisis will be a historic setback to the Communists throughout the world.

The very essence of this bill is anticommunistic and anticollectivistic. Its raison d'etre is the stimulation of private enterprise and the freer distribution of the products of a free society, produced by free businesses.

NATIONAL SERVICE CORPS ACT

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 1321) to provide for a National Service Corps to strengthen community service programs in the United States.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 23, line 16, beginning with the word "and" it is proposed to strike out all through the word "Act", in line 18 and insert in lieu thereof the following "and for the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1964, not to exceed $10,000,000."

TRANSMITTAL FORM - U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

FORM CD-82
(8-2-60)

LWD

DATE 8/14/63

Return to Research

TO: Mrs. Barbara Patterson

FROM: Andrew F. Brimmer
Deputy Assistant Secretary
FOR: for Economic Policy Review

Attached is a copy of the testimony by Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., on the Public Accommodations Bill before the Senate Commerce Committee. You may find it of interest.

Attachment

DO NOT USE FOR PERMANENT RECORD INFORMATION

USCOMM-DC

Pub. Accom.-Gen. - '63
(contains excellent table on amounts spent, by race, on travel)

STATEMENT OF ACTING SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
ON S. 1732
BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE
JULY 23, 1963

PRICE p. 18 and p. 13

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to appear before your Committee in support of S. 1732, the Public Accommodations Bill.

The main theme of my statement is the adverse effect of racial discrimination in public accommodations on interstate commerce, and the evidence we present leaves no doubt in our minds on this point. But let me say at the outset that we in the Department of Commerce support this legislation primarily because we believe that discriminatory practices are inconsistent with our democratic ideals and cannot continue to be tolerated in a democratic society. We believe, as the President has said, that we have a moral obligation--and not simply a strong business motive--to pursue this end.

In my personal view I think all of us must appreciate the changing mood of the American Negro community. We must recognize that their impatience and unrest spring from real and long-standing grievances. The denial of their rights to use public accommodations is only one of many accounts which require settlement. The corrosive experience of Negroes with discrimination over many years--in voting, employment, education, housing as well as public accommodations--has placed a cumulative burden on the typical Negro citizen far greater than that placed on interstate commerce. I think we have the moral responsibility to

ease that burden immediately. I am certain that all of us in the Federal government from the President on down clearly see the necessity for pressing ahead with this task as rapidly as possible.

With particular respect to the legislation at hand, we believe it is fundamental that all citizens should have equal access to places of public accommodation, including hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, amusement and recreational facilities and other businesses offering to the general public goods and services which are a vital part of interstate commerce. Stated so simply, this sounds like a platitude. For the vast majority of people it is nothing more than that. But for virtually every Negro citizen--and for many other citizens, including Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, and persons of Mexican descent --the absence of this right is one of the most galling facts of life in the U.S. today. The simple fact is that for them equal access to public accommodation does not exist as a general and ordinary matter anywhere in the country. Even in the North, Midwest and Far West (where the denial of equal treatment is less obvious than in the South), all public accommodations are by no means fully available. But the really critical obstacles are in the South. Despite the numerous instances of desegregation reported in the last few months, the general rule in these states is one of discrimination and the virtually total exclusion of Negroes from a wide range of places of public accommodation. Moreover, while we applaud the apparent progress made by business and civic leaders in a number of forward-looking communities in the South, such as Atlanta,

Dallas, Miami, and Richmond, we believe the overall efforts so far are insufficient in relation to the tremendous magnitude and urgency of the task before us. No one is unaware of the fact that the question has become of explosive national concern in recent months and is crying for an answer.

We believe this legislation is indispensable in the solution of this problem.

We believe that it is required because the record clearly shows that state and local actions are insufficient to carry the burden of desegregation at a pace adequate to cope with the present rapidly moving situation.

We believe that it is required because voluntary action by businessmen (where businessmen have undertaken to desegregate their establishments) has proved too difficult and too sporadic to eliminate discrimination in the near future.

We believe that it does not constitute an unwarranted interference with property rights. Rather we accept without reservation the President's position that the duties of property holders using their property to earn a profit through serving the general public require that they respect human rights and refrain from arbitrary racial discrimination.

In short, it is my belief that S. 1732, the proposed public accommodations legislation which this Committee is now considering, is an essential element of our response to the demands of the situation.

So, the narrow question before this Committee in considering S. 1732 is whether it is right and proper to base this legislation on the

constitutional authority of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, as well as on the Fourteenth Amendment.

I am not going to go into the legality of this use of the commerce power at any length. The Attorney General has testified fully on it, and he either has submitted to the Committee, or is about to submit, his definitive legal opinion on the subject.

I am convinced that this use of the commerce power is completely constitutional. We use the commerce power to prohibit interstate transportation of women for immoral purposes--and I might point out that is an instance of using the commerce power on a purely moral issue, if there ever was one. We use the commerce power to prohibit sales of narcotics. We use the commerce power to control minimum wages and to prohibit the use of child labor. We use it, as the Attorney General has pointed out, to control the service of oleomargarine in public facilities and to require the labeling of aspirin. We have even used it to control the amount of wheat a farmer may grow for his own consumption. If we can constitutionally use the Commerce clause for all these purposes, then I do not have any doubt that we can also use it to prescribe the rights of Negroes to have free access to public accommodations. This, as I think my statement will show, may affect the free flow of interstate commerce far more than some of the matters I have mentioned above.

The question is not whether we can lawfully invoke the commerce power; the question is whether we should. I believe we should. I think it is appropriate because I think the free flow of interstate commerce

is importantly involved in the segregation issue. In an economy of increasing mobility and interdependence, businesses which offer public accommodations--such as hotels, motels, restaurants, retail stores, theaters, gasoline stations and similar enterprises--are increasingly and substantially catering to interstate travelers as well as to local citizens. Clearly therefore racial discrimination practiced by these firms affects interstate commerce. It imposes an unwarranted burden on interstate commerce in two ways.

In the first place, segregation imposes unnatural limitations in the conduct of business which are injurious to the free flow of commerce. It inhibits businessmen in making rational investment decisions; it compels wasteful and uneconomic duplication of resources; it may even spell the failure of numerous marginal businesses, because segregation limits their opportunity to draw fully upon their natural markets. This legislation will help to remove this burden.

In the second place, the current instability and unrest swirling about various places of public accommodation from time to time is directly injurious to interstate commerce. We live in a time of racial unrest, gentlemen, and this unrest is not going to dissipate without assistance. Voluntary efforts have been helpful, but they are not doing the job. I am satisfied that broadly applicable legislation such as this will solve the problem more neatly, cleanly, and quickly than half measures, unevenly undertaken. For that reason, I think that by and large our businessmen, North and South, will welcome it.

Let me indicate for you briefly the facts as to the significance of segregation for interstate commerce.

Evidence of Burdens on Interstate Commerce

When our staff began to examine the question of the adverse effects on interstate commerce of discrimination in public accommodations, it quickly became evident that detrimental effects not only exist but are in fact considerable. These include (1) obstacles to interstate travel; (2) distortions in the pattern of expenditures by Negroes because of limited access to places of public accommodations; (3) limitations on the ability of organizations to hold national and regional conventions in convenient places; (4) adverse effects in the entertainment field; (5) disruptions in trade resulting from demonstrations protesting discrimination in retail establishments, and (6) numerous other hurdles to the normal conduct of business (for example, difficulties in recruiting professional and skilled personnel and rejection of otherwise desirable plant locations).

We are prepared to supply evidence, obtained through informal inquiries by Commerce Department Field Offices and otherwise, to support each of these positions.

Burden of Discrimination in Public Accommodations on Interstate Travel

First, let us look at the damage done to interstate travel. There is a tremendous volume of such travel, running into billions of passenger miles annually. The Bureau of Public Roads in the

Table I

PERCENTAGE OF ALL PASSENGER CAR TRAVEL

BY OUT-OF-STATE PASSENGER CARS

BY HIGHWAY SYSTEM, 1957

HIGHWAY SYSTEM	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL
Interstate	25.8	10.8	19.9
Other Federal-aid Primary	17.9	9.2	15.3
Federal-aid Secondary	6.9	5.8	6.7
All Federal-aid Systems	16.0	9.1	14.0
Other than Federal-aid (including toll roads)	8.1	4.6	5.7
All roads and Streets	14.2	6.3	10.7

From Highway Cost Allocation Study Data for 1957
Bureau of Public Roads 38-26

Department of Commerce estimates that in 1957 about one-seventh of all the passenger car traffic on the Federal-aid highway system consisted of out-of-state cars. These figures are shown in Table I.

To provide a rough measure of the amount of interstate highway travel along routes in the South, where the public accommodations problem is most acute, the Bureau was asked to estimate out-of-state traffic along certain selected routes: (1) Washington, D.C. to Florida; (2) Chicago to New Orleans, and (3) Washington, D.C. to New Orleans. Information collected during the summer months of 1962 shows the following:

Washington, D.C. to Florida

At a location in Virginia on U.S. 301, 80 per cent of the passenger cars had out of state registrations.

In North Carolina on U.S. 1 approximately 25 miles north of Raleigh, 43 per cent of all passenger cars were from other states.

(The preceding two locations are on the traveled route of the interstate system.)

In South Carolina on U.S. 17 and 321, about 10 miles north of the Georgia line near Savannah on the traveled route of interstate 95, 83 per cent of all passenger cars were registered in states other than South Carolina.

In Georgia on U.S. 1 and 301, 4 miles north of the Florida line and 50 miles north of Jacksonville, 36 per cent of all passenger cars were from other states.

In Florida on U.S. 1, the traveled route of interstate 95, 20 miles south of Daytona Beach, 49 per cent were out-of-state passenger cars.

Chicago to New Orleans

In Illinois on U.S. 51, the traveled route of interstate 57, 4 miles north of Cairo, 30 per cent of the passenger cars were from states other than Illinois.

In Kentucky on U.S. 51 about 2 miles north of the Tennessee line, 60 per cent were from other states.

In Tennessee on U.S. 51, 30 per cent were from other states.

In Mississippi on U.S. 51, the traveled route of interstate 55 about 5 miles north of the Louisiana state line, 52 per cent of the passenger cars were from other states.

In Louisiana on U.S. 51, the traveled route of interstate 55, 20 miles south of the Mississippi state line, 26 per cent of the passenger cars were from states other than Louisiana.

Washington, D.C. to New Orleans

In Virginia on U.S. 460, 4 miles northeast of Roanoke, 18 per cent of the passenger cars were from states other than Virginia.

In Tennessee on U.S. 11, interstate 81, 49 per cent were from other states.

In Alabama 1 mile east of the Mississippi state line, 71 per cent were from other states.

In Mississippi on U.S. 11, interstate 59, approximately 50 miles southwest of Meridian, 40 per cent of the passenger cars were registered in states other than Mississippi.

These statistics, although they simply describe a rough approximation along three typical routes in the South, show that the volume of interstate travel is considerable.

However, Negroes trying to make any one of these trips would have an extremely slender choice in attempting to find over-night accommodations in hotels and motels serving white travelers along the same routes. To illustrate the magnitude of the travel problem we have drawn on the expert knowledge of Mrs. Marion Jackson, of this city, a person who specializes in problems of Negro travel. In fact, she publishes a unique travel guide called "GO-Guide to Pleasant Motoring".

The very existence of this guide is a dramatic testimony to the difficulties for which we are seeking a remedy. The guide contains listings of hotels, motels and other traveling facilities, whose owners have stated in writing that their facilities are open to all desirable guests regardless of their race, religion or nationality. The guide lists hotels and motels owned by white as well as Negro businessmen. Of the white-owned hotels (60 per cent of those listed), there are practically none in the southern states.

We asked the publisher of GO to consider the following problem. Assume a middle class Negro family planned two trips by automobile through the South--(1) along Routes U.S. 1 and 301 from Washington, D.C. to Miami, Florida; (2) from Washington, D.C. via Columbia, South Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Tuskegee and Mobile, Alabama, to New Orleans, along routes U.S. 1, 301, 29, 31 and 90. Where along the way could such a middle-class Negro family expect to find reasonable sleeping accommodations?

The answer to this question is shown in Table II, and the results are disturbing. On the Miami trip, the average distance between accommodations is ~~145~~ 141 miles. On the New Orleans trip, it is ~~228~~ 174 miles, ~~and on one leg it is as high as 576 miles.~~ Moreover, the places available are typically small--averaging only 15 units.

These are extremely crude estimates. But they do illustrate the tremendous problem faced by Negro travelers along the highways in the South. In fact, even if we cut in half the average of ~~145~~ 141 miles on the Washington to Miami trip, or the ~~228~~ 174 miles on the New Orleans drive, we would still have considerable distances over which Negroes would typically have to drive before they could expect to find reasonable accommodations open to them on the same basis as white travelers. If they get tired 40 miles out from the last available stop, they have a bitter choice to make in deciding whether to go back or push on. Frequently the choice they make will be one which violates the National Safety Council's admonition that the non-professional driver should stop after 6 to 8 hours driving.

Table II

Illustrative Trip, Washington, D.C., to Miami, Florida

and Washington, D.C., to New Orleans, Louisiana

Showing Location of Hotel-Motel Accommodations

of "Reasonable" Quality Readily Available

To Negroes.

WASHINGTON, D.C., --MIAMI, FLORIDA	ROUTE	MILES
Washington - Petersburg, Va.	U.S. 1 and 301	135
Petersburg - Raleigh, N. C.	U.S. 1	150
Raleigh, N.C. - Columbia, S. C.	U.S. 1	185
Columbia - Savannah, Ga.	U.S. 1	116
Savannah - Jessup	U.S. 301	65
Jessup - Jacksonville, Fla.	17	100
Jacksonville - Ormand Beach	U.S. 1	142
Ormand Beach - Miami	U.S. 1	232
Total Mileage:	Washington/Miami	1,125
Average Miles Between Locations		141

WASHINGTON, D.C.,--NEW ORLEANS, LA.		
Washington, D.C.---Columbia, S.C. (Including stops shown above)		470 ~~648~~
Columbia - Atlanta, Ga.	29	215
Atlanta - Tuskegee Institute, Ala.	29	134
Tuskegee Institute - Mobile, Ala.	29 and 31	250
Mobile - New Orleans, La.	90	148
Total Mileage:	Washington/New Orleans	1,217 ~~1,395~~
Average Miles Between Locations		174 ~~199~~

There is another anomalous aspect of the travel problems confronted by Negroes. Some well-to-do individuals, with enough money for a mid-winter vacation, find it far more pleasurable to go abroad than to risk the insults and rejections which they are likely to face in many of the Miami Beach hotels and luxury resorts. In fact, there is a steady stream of such travelers to the British West Indies.

Distortion of Negro Expenditure Patterns

The lack of equal access to public accommodations by Negroes not only limits their interstate travel, but distorts their consumption pattern and places an unnecessary burden on interstate commerce. The business community generally has begun to recognize that the Negros' rising disposable income represents a large and growing portion of the nation's buying power. However, this is far less true in the area of public accommodations.

In the amusement, restaurant, and hotel and motel industries, one can see a pattern of Negro spending that appears to be related more to the availability or non-availability of desegregated facilities than to any special kinds of taste or conspicuous consumption. I have asked my staff to prepare a tabulation of average Negro and white expenditures for "Admissions," "Food eaten away from home," and "Automobile operations" (a key to travel, and therefore spending for hotels and motels). The tabulation is based on a study published several years ago by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania.

These data (summarized in Table III) show that Negroes in large northern cities spend more than southern Negroes of the same income class in all of these expenditure categories, even though white families in northern cities spend less than similar families in southern cities.

In the same income group, northern Negroes spend more than northern whites for "Admissions," but southern Negroes spend less than southern whites and Northern Negroes. Negroes in both the North and South spend less on "Food eaten away from home" than white people in the same income groups, but the difference is much greater in the South.

Table III

Average Family Expenditure for Admissions, Food Eaten Away from Home, and Automobile Operations, for Three Income Classes, Large Northern and Southern Cities by Race, 1950.

Income Class & Region	Admissions			Food Eaten Away from Home			Automobile Operation		
	Negro	White	Negroes % of White	Negro	White	Negroes % of White	Negro	White	Negroes % of Whites
$2,000 - $3,000									
Large Northern Cities	$31	$29	107	$148	$184	80	$ 52	$ 86	60
Large Southern Cities	23	36	64	113	194	58	52	95	55
North. Exp. as % of South.	135%	81%		131%	95%		100%	91%	
$3,000 - $4,000									
Large Northern Cities	$45	$37	122	$138	$170	81	$ 67	$158	42
Large Southern Cities	37	39	95	117	180	65	86	170	51
North. Exp. as % of South.	122%	95%		118%	94%		78%	93%	
$4,000 - $5,000									
Large Northern Cities	$57	$48	119	$182	$234	78	$148	$220	67
Large Southern Cities	39	45	87	166	257	65	136	225	60
North. Exp. as % of South.	146%	107%		110%	91%		109%	98%	

Source: Study of Consumer Expenditure Income & Saving, tabulated by Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, for Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1956-57.

The table shows also that Negroes in both the North and South spend much less than whites of the same income class on "Automobile operations" (40 to 60 per cent). This statistic certainly suggests that Negroes are doing considerably less traveling by automobile than white people in the same income group. Since Negroes spent close to the same amount, on the average, for the purchase of automobiles as did whites of the same income level, I believe the absence of suitable facilities along our important North-South highway routes must be the discouraging factor.

Conventions

The burden on interstate commerce of racial discrimination in public accommodations is clearly illustrated in the way many organizations select the cities in which they will hold conventions. A most striking example of a large organization steering away from a city because of discrimination in hotel and restaurant accommodations is provided in the case of the American Legion. The Legion had originally scheduled its 1963 Convention (to be held in September) in New Orleans. However, they were informed that the availability of non-segregated facilities could not be insured in New Orleans. The Convention was then shifted to Miami, Florida, where they did receive an assurance of desegregated facilities. It is expected that attendance at the Legion Convention will be as high as 50,000 persons, and that Miami will gain additional business amounting to between 4.5 and 5 million dollars.

A similar story with respect to conventions is reported by Atlanta. Just a few weeks ago the Atlanta Convention Bureau stated that they had been overwhelmed with favorable response from the Convention trade to the desegregation of some hotels in the city. They had already booked several meetings both of a regional and national nature and they felt they could not have had these bookings had desegregation not occurred in hotels. Among the conventions are a hospital group, a YMCA group, a national technical organization, three different labor organizations, one of the health agencies of the Federal government and a Presidential Commission.

Another striking example of the effects of discrimination--and of civil rights demonstrations protesting such discrimination--on convention trade is provided by the experience of Birmingham. Prior to disturbances in that city in April and May of this year, inquiries received from various southeastern states indicated a positive interest in Birmingham as a convention site. According to reports received by the Commerce Department field office in Birmingham, this interest waned substantially following the April and May demonstrations. Convention business has been lost in several instances where inquiries specified that accommodations for a mixed racial membership were necessary. Hotels being obliged to advise that under municipal law such accommodations were not available have been unable to realize this potential business. Recent examples have included the National Music Teachers Association and possibly the Southern Baptist Convention of Nashville, Tennessee, who had been negotiating for convention facilities in 1965 for some 6,000 to 8,000 delegates.

Effects on Entertainment

The effects of discrimination in public accommodations show up also in the entertainment field. Where segregation is practiced in theaters and auditoriums, the entire community, both white and Negro, is denied access to a variety of cultural and entertainment activities. The Metropolitan Opera Company cancelled its annual season in Birmingham because municipal authorities failed to desegregate theater facilities. Although they had formerly had very successful seasons in Birmingham, there are no plans for resumption in the immediate future.

Actors' Equity adopted a rule about a year ago, written into every contract, that performers need not perform in theaters where discrimination is practiced either against performers or patrons. White and Negro performers have been enforcing this rule, and refusing to appear. Equity has been using this clause on a limited basis for many years. Many of you probably recall that the National Theater here in Washington was closed for several years, and during some of this time there was no live, professional theater in Washington--not until the old burlesque theater was remodeled and opened to Negro as well as white patrons.

Entertainers in the American Guild of Variety Artists have also been refusing to book where either the stage or the audience is segregated. The Guild's resolution is fairly recent, but many of the booking agencies have insisted upon this clause for a long time. Ray Charles, Harry Belafonte, and Sammy Davis are examples of prominent Negro entertainers who have been refusing to play to segregated audiences.

Effects on Environment of Business

These are not the only adverse effects upon interstate commerce of racial discrimination in public accommodations. There is difficulty in recruiting professional personnel and skilled labor. Increasingly these people, who are in short supply, are unwilling to live and work in an environment in which racial discrimination in public accommodations is dominant. The pattern of plant locations is also distorted, because many firms turn away from such areas as plant sites. Moreover, these decisions frequently have an adverse impact on local efforts to redevelop communities by attracting new firms.

Difficulties in Recruiting Professional and Skilled Manpower

With respect to personnel, there is evidence that business organizations have been hampered in obtaining the services of professional persons and skilled workers who are likely to encounter discrimination based on race, creed, color, or national origin in restaurants, retail stores, and places of amusement in the area where their services are needed. Moreover, demonstrations and other forms of protest against this type of discrimination create a general atmosphere which frightens away trained local people and persuades others not to migrate to some places where their services may be in great demand.

The experiences of the Alabama Medical Center in Birmingham are typical. The Center is the city's second biggest industry, ranking only behind Tennessee Coal and Iron, a subsidiary of U.S. Steel. The 15-block complex, which already represents a $100 million investment, has plans

for an additional $30 million of construction in the next few years. Despite an outstanding reputation, Birmingham's adverse publicity over sit-in demonstrations and other forms of protests has posed problems for the Center in attracting additional top-flight scientists.

Again in Little Rock, although racial unrest was sparked by school desegregation, protests over segregated public accommodations further inflamed the environment. Under these conditions, recruitment of technical people became extremely difficult. According to the provost for medical affairs of the University of Arkansas, "The University Medical Center, being within the community of Little Rock, could not help but be affected by the distrubances. I think it would be only fair to say that because of this complicating social change, the Medical Center has had its faculty recruitment program brought to a virtual standstill. So many of the persons we approach and invite to join the faculty are diverted by the events that have been taking place in the community."

Several local witnesses at a civil rights hearing in New Orleans earlier this month testified that business and industry in the South was penalizing itself when it discriminated against Negroes by limiting their access to public accommodations, job opportunities, and inflicted other forms of racial restrictions. Because of these types of discrimination, the brighter and better-educated Negroes migrate to the North and never return. One consequence of this migration is highlighted in the experiences of the Boeing Company and Kaiser Aluminum. Both have national policies of equal opportunity in employment, and both testified they had found difficulty finding skilled Negro help in New Orleans.

Effects on Plant Location and Investment

With respect to plant location, a typical example of how a city can lose new industries because of the turmoil over segregated public accommodations is also found in Birmingham. A company had planned to locate there to make products out of steel. Birmingham was negotiating for the plant when the riot over Freedom Riders erupted in 1961. The company decided Birmingham was out of the question and eventually built its plant in Tennessee, although it has to ship its steel in from Birmingham.

Again, with respect to the disturbances in Birmingham, a top official of one of the city's leading banks declared, "We've been hurt and hurt bad. I bet I've spent $50 in telephone calls trying to convince a big Ohio company that it should locate a pilot plant in Alabama. But I'm afraid we've lost it to New England and lost it strictly because of the unrest down here. The pilot plant in its first stage was scheduled to cost about $3 million and if it had worked out, the company was thinking in terms of a further investment of $40 million to $50 million. Well, we asked for it, and now we're getting it."

In the two years before the crisis over schools and desegregation of public accommodations erupted into violence in Little Rock in

September, 1957, industrial investments totaled $248 million in Arkansas. During the period, Little Rock alone gained 10 new plants, worth $3.4 million, which added 1,072 jobs in the city. In the two years after the turbulence which brought Federal troops to the city, not a single company employing more than 15 workers moved into the Little Rock area. Industrial investments in the state as a whole dropped to $190 million.

Adverse Effects on General Business Conditions

It is common knowledge that discrimination in public accommodations and demonstrations protesting such discrimination have had serious consequences for general business conditions in numerous cities in recent years. The following damaging examples are typical of the many which could be cited.

Retail sales in Birmingham were reported off 30 per cent or more during the protest riots in the spring of 1963. One local businessman said several retailers had told him their books had shown a net loss for the first time in a generation. Another businessman of 35 years' experience said there were more stores for rent in Birmingham last fall than there had been during the Depression. In April, one downtown block had eight of its 20 stores empty, with "For Rent" signs in the windows.

One newspaper account said that downtown stores privately report that business in April was off 40 to 50 per cent. They were hit first by a Negro boycott and then by a tense atmosphere that kept customers at home or in suburban shops. A story in the back pages of the Birmingham newspapers in May noted that a chain store was closing its downtown branch in two weeks because of a lack of business.

The Federal Reserve Bank in Atlanta reported that in the four-week period ended May 18, 1963, department store sales in Birmingham were down 15 per cent below the same period in 1962. Since January 1, 1963, the city's department store sales dropped five per cent from 1962. During the same four and one-half months, department store sales were up seven per cent in Atlanta, up 10 per cent in New Orleans and up 15 per cent in Jacksonville, Florida.

In Atlanta, after several months of intermittent demonstrations in 1960-61, and a boycott sparked by student groups to remove racial barriers in lunch counters and department store restaurants, merchants agreed that the Negro boycott of the downtown area was almost 100 per cent effective. Department store sales for a one-week period in February, 1961, were down 12 per cent from the previous year, the Federal Reserve Bank reported. Receipts of some variety stores showed a far greater drop. During the demonstrations, early in 1961, one store executive said, "The most important thing that can be done is to convince the power structure that this situation can ruin the downtown area. The effect is not going to be confined to the retail stores. It will hit the banks, the office supply concerns, the insurance firms, the real estate interests and all the rest."

In Savannah, Georgia, a citizens' negotiating committee announced the end of lunch counter discrimination in downtown stores in July, 1961. The action followed a 15-month boycott of the stores by Negroes, apparently because the Negro refusal to buy hurt merchants. The boycott cut retail sales as much as 50 per cent in some places.

In the fall of 1962, businessmen in Charlotte, North Carolina, hit by drives for desegregation of public accommodations, estimated their business was cut by 20 to 40 per cent.

Similar protests in Nashville, Tennessee, produced a boycott which was maintained for approximately seven weeks at what has been estimated at about 98 per cent efficiency, a figure downtown merchants generally agreed on. Negroes in Nashville spend an estimated $7 million annually downtown and their absence had varying results. In one department store, they represented 12 to 15 per cent of the business; in another department store, five per cent. The transit company found its revenues dwindling seriously; the two newspapers found advertising lineage figures falling.

In addition to the boycott supporters, other shoppers stayed away from the downtown Nashville area. While conditions remained unsettled as a result of sit-ins, they could either stay home or shop in suburban areas. This, too, hurt business in the central city, for these out-of-towners represent 20 per cent of the shopping totals.

Variety stores were hit particularly hard. With their lunch counters a sit-in target, even those who did venture downtown avoided the food counters, which sometimes account for as much as 50 per cent of the gross profit. Even businesses not involved in the sit-ins and which had reputations of good service to Negroes found business dropping.

State Budget Director E. J. Boling said violence in Tennessee associated with desegregation of public accommodations threatened the state's

credit ratings: "We go up to New York to talk to investment bankers... they start off talking about such things as these dynamitings. Sometimes that's all they talk about...they only want to know about all the acts of violence." State Comptroller William Snodgrass concurred, and added that violence or the threat of violence can add a small fraction to interest rates--and this adds up to millions of dollars eventually.

Objections to Bill

Now let me deal with some of the objections I have heard to the bill before this Committee. As I have already said, it seems to me it is clearly within the power of Congress to base this legislation on the Commerce clause, as well as on the Fourteenth Amendment. And I do not think that requiring the owners of public accommodations to serve the public without discrimination is an unwarranted encroachment on private rights. The owners of these places are already subject to all kinds of controls, in order to advance the public safety, health, order and morality. No one doubts the propriety of requiring them to build fire escapes, to keep their kitchens clean, and to prevent disorderly or immoral conduct on their premises. Moreover, as the Attorney General has pointed out, many southern states compel the owners of public accommodations to spend their money to enforce segregation. Surely it is no more of an encroachment on private rights to compel them to end segregation than it is to compel them to perpetuate it.

I have also heard it said that using the commerce power does not meet the moral issue. I do not understand this point. Good sense dictates that the moral policy against discrimination be carried out by using all available constitutional authority. Other moral policies (against prostitution and gambling) have previously been translated into law based on the Commerce clause.

I do not think that basing this legislation on the Commerce clause detracts in any way from the dignity or importance of the constitutional rights involved. The dignity of those rights is best recognized by doing

something about them. The justification for using the Commerce clause is that it will work. It is constitutionally sound, and there is no adverse legal precedent which must be overcome, as is the case with the Fourteenth Amendment. The argument that the Fourteenth Amendment approach alone must be used because it is a "higher" basis for the legislation seems to me something of a snare and delusion. It risks putting so-called principle ahead of performance. It risks ending up with nothing, and risks it needlessly.

I have also heard an objection to the Commerce clause approach on the ground that it will not cover all businesses impartially, but only those which affect interstate commerce, whereas the Fourteenth Amendment is not so limited. If I understand the Mrs. Murphy argument correctly, I think there are many people who do not want the bill to apply to the smallest businesses, where the relation between proprietor and customer is almost personal or social. It seems to me that limiting coverage of the Act to businesses where there is an appreciable effect upon interstate commerce is an appropriate way to meet this point.

The important point about coverage of the Act is that it be complete enough so that a substantial majority of the businesses in any area or region of the country are required to comply. It does not have to have 100% coverage, but it has to be comprehensive enough so that in all areas of the country, north and south, rural and urban, most public accommodations will be desegregated. If that is done, no hardship will be worked on individual businessmen, and the climate in this field of civil rights will quickly change.

In this connection, there have been numerous references to the possibility of defining coverage under the act in terms of dollar volume of sales. Some statistics prepared by my staff show that different types of business vary widely in the average volume of sales. Moreover, the same type of business may vary widely in average size from one area to another. I have with me several tables and charts (labeled Appendix I) showing the distribution of sales by selected types of businesses in ten major cities. I would like to offer these for the Committee's information.

What these statistics show is essentially as follows:

From Appendix I, Table 1: A $150,000 sales figure would afford adequate coverage only in the case of department stores in these cities. At least 56 per cent of the variety stores in these cities would be excluded; at least 76 per cent of the gasoline stations would be excluded; 83 per cent of the eating places; and 93 per cent of the drinking places.

If the figure were reduced to $100,000 annual sales volume, it would still be true in these cities that at least 49 per cent of the variety stores would be excluded; 69 per cent of the gasoline stations; 79 per cent of the eating places; and 91 per cent of the drinking places.

At $50,000, 22 per cent of the variety stores would still be excluded; 34 per cent of the gasoline stations; 64 per cent of the eating places; and 65 per cent of the drinking places.

Finally, using a $30,000 annual sales volume as a definition of coverage would mean that a minimum of 12 per cent of the variety stores

would be excluded; 14 per cent of the gasoline stations; 34 per cent of the drinking places; and 46 per cent of the eating places.

The series of charts following the Tables in Appendix I presents a graphic description of the same information.

Bear in mind that these are figures for major cities, with the population shown in Appendix I, Table 2. In the southern states, more than half the population lives in rural areas as is shown in Appendix I, Table 3. And the figures cited are for those cities where coverage is greatest. In many cities the coverage is sharply less than in those referred to above.

Another measure of coverage limitations is that shown in Appendix I, Table 4, furnished by the American Restaurant Association. It shows that, on a countrywide basis, only 8 per cent of the restaurants gross over $100,000 annually, and only 22-1/2 per cent gross over $50,000 annually. In other words, three quarters of the restaurant establishments in the country would not be covered if a $50,000 standard were applicable to restaurants.

In summary, the use of a specified sales volume may have some disadvantages. It may result in unevenness of coverage as between types of businesses and as between urban and rural areas. It might also lead to inequities among competitors, and to attempts to capitalize upon established exemptions by advertising their existence.

This is a highly technical area as the above figures show. We have compiled them for the Committee's general guidance in considering this legislation and we will of course be glad to assist further if we can.

Conclusion

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my prepared statement. I urge you to report favorably on S. 1732, and I will be happy to try to answer any questions which Committee members may have.

Pub. Accomm. Sen

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA, SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1963

Florida

Ancient City Teems With Unrest

Priest Compares Conditions With Birmingham

ST. AUGUSTINE (AP) — The Florida Advisory Committee on civil rights said last night St. Augustine, oldest city in the U.S., is "a segregated superbomb aimed at the heart of Florida's economy and political integrity—the fuse is short."

The group culminated daylong hearings on discrimination with four recommendations to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights asking:

—**That the Commission** seek to halt the use of $350,000 federal funds for promoting the St. Augustine Quadricentennial in 1965.

—**That it recommend** the suspension of federal contracts for Fairchild Stratos Corp. of St. Augustine until it ends discriminatory practices and the intimidation of Negro workers.

—**That remedial** steps be taken against the International Machinists Union, AFL-CIO Local 1224, to end discrimination.

—**That the U. S.** withhold federal funds from the State of Florida until it releases two minor (Negro) children taken from their families and sent unjustly to a correctional institution for participating in segregation protests.

St. Augustine has been called a second Birmingham, and the committee said it was the most segregated city on Florida's East Coast.

Fr. Louis L. Mitchell, Daytona Beach, an Episcopal Church priest and executive director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, compared conditions in this ancient city with those in Birmingham where massive violence broke loose earlier this year.

Fr. Mitchell testified that he was in Birmingham through the worst of its racial troubles and has been in Florida several months—long enough to see the picture here.

"The White community in St. Augustine thinks the Negroes are out to cause trouble and the young demonstrators feel the Police Dept. is out to get them.

He predicted that unless some way is found to bring leaders of White and Negro communities together for talks, there will be more demonstrations, more hostility and more bitterness on both sides.

Fr. Mitchell said he has not been able to get Sheriff L. O. Davis or Chief of Police Virgil Stuart to initiate biracial talks.

Another witness was Dr. R. B. Hayling, Negro dentist and advisor to the NAACP Youth Council which has been doing most of the demonstrating here in efforts to win better job opportunities and the right to be served at lunch counters and restaurants.

Hayling told of racial activities and tensions in recent months including details of a shooting outside his home in which four Negroes were slightly wounded.

The White youths who did the shooting went free, Hayling said, but a Negro youth arrested for possession of a weapon which was not fired is serving a jail term.

Other witnesses included the mothers of two Negro juveniles declared delinquent because of participation in a drug store sit-in and sent to the State Industrial School at Marianna.

Another who appeared was a Negro minister who said his son was taken into custody for distributing handbills and put on probation pending good behaviour.

A White attorney, Frank Howatt, who has represented three Negroes in recent racial cases, testified he thinks the situation would improve if biracial talks are held. But at the committee's invitation, Howatt would not suggest the names of any White residents who might agree to serve on a biracial group.

City and county officials were invited to the sessions and the advisory committee chairman, George Lewis II, Tallahassee, asked several times if there were any present. None responded.

Virtually all of the overflow crowd in the 100 seat county courtroom were Negroes.

Dr. R. W. Puryear, president of Florida Memorial College, gave what observers termed his most outspoken remarks in favor of integration in the 13 years he has been president of the Negro school here.

"I've been called 'Uncle Tom' by my own people," Puryear said. "But now I want to say that nothing is more pleasing to me than to see men and women, boys and girls born in this town expressing a desire for freedom."

Puryear said Mississippi, where he came from, was a "pretty bad place but you could get people to sit down and talk."

The college president said he was embarrassed "to live in this town." He said recently Florida Memorial had an opportunity to get $20,000 from a foundation if it could raise matching funds.

"I wrote 556 letters in St. Augustine (to local people) and got three gifts from White people here," he said.

Puryear said he lost half the possible grant because he could not raise the money.

"Now," he said, "the Board of Trustees of the college has voted to move to another location."

He said the time for moving the college, with 350 students, has not been decided, nor the city.

Committee members heard reports that Fairchild Stratos Corp., which has government contracts for repairing air force planes, had advised its Negro employes not to take part in any racial demonstrations.

Three present or former Negro employes testified that they were called together in groups and informed by a company representative and a union representative that if they did demonstrate they would lose their jobs.

Two representatives of the firm — W. A. Baker, manager of industrial relations, and E. A. Bowe, supervisor of personnel, testified they knew of no such meetings.

Bowe and Baker said they would check further into the reported meetings.

Baker also was asked if he knew about signs formerly displayed designating rest rooms by race. Baker said he knew of none. Then a member of the committee asked how long he worked for the company here. Baker replied "one month and three days."

The packed room burst into spontaneous laughter.

8/23/63

of this treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country."

My misgivings arise out of the last sentence in article IV, which says that the withdrawing party "shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other parties to the treaty 3 months in advance." Secretary Rusk furnished one helpful clarification of this sentence in his testimony before this Committee last Monday when he said: "If the Soviet Union were to test in violation of the treaty, the fundamental obligation that is the consideration for our adherence would disappear. In that case the United States could, if it chose, consider itself released from its reciprocal obligation and could resume testing without delay." The Secretary's clarification eliminates one difficulty. But another serious difficulty remains. The situation in which the United States may find it necessary, in the interests of its own security, to resume testing first, is more difficult.

Perhaps I can best explain the reason for my concern by constructing a hypothesis which is not at all farfetched. Let us suppose that after the treaty goes into effect, the Soviets start producing AICBM's in substantial quantities, deploying them around their cities (as they are already reported to have done in the case of Leningrad), and training crews in their use. At first, American policymakers, relying upon the current estimate of our overwhelming strategic superiority, would probably deprecate Soviet efforts in the antimissile field. I would not be at all surprised if the Soviets themselves should play down the importance of the AICBM, or keep a discreet silence, until after they have made some real headway. But after 2 or 3 years, American defense experts might begin to exhibit a certain amount of concern over the possibility that the Soviets were substantially reducing the American margin of superiority. I am ready to concede that my scenario may leave something to be desired. It does not, for example, take into account other arms control agreements which may be concluded subsequently to this treaty, and which might affect the size of nuclear stockpiles or the number of missiles or the total deliverable megatonnage to be retained by each side. To be sure, in the new international climate which may be ushered in by the treaty, no one can predict with certainty what the relative military positions of the Soviets and ourselves might be 3 years from now. But that is not my point. I simply wish to suggest that there is a conceivable set of circumstances in which our Executive branch may become sufficiently worried as to conclude that the United States, in prudence, must speed up its own antimissile program by conducting tests in one of the three environments. Under this hypothesis, the Soviets have not been testing in violation of the treaty terms. They have placed the supreme interests of our country in jeopardy by exploiting fully the findings obtained from pretreaty tests. Perhaps those who drafted the treaty had some such contingency in mind when they formulated the phrase, "extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this treaty." If the United States should determine that Soviet weapons development, based presumably on the results of pretreaty tests, posed risks to the security of our Nation, I submit that this would constitute an extraordinary event related to the subject matter of the treaty, and that it would, under the wording of article IV, justify an act of withdrawal by the United States, regardless of the fact that the Soviets had not violated the treaty. But once the United States has made an authoritative determination that the supreme national interest has been placed in jeopardy, a question arises as to why 3 months should elapse before tests would be resumed. It seems to me that where national security interests are at stake, the time lapse between the decision and the testing should be limited solely by the state of our technological preparations. If, as we have been assured, the Government expects to sustain a readiness for immediate resumption, then it should resume testing as quickly as possible.

We must recognize frankly that a mandatory delay of 3 months contains a built-in political disadvantage for a democratic society such as the United States. During this period we would probably experience an acrimonious debate between those whose primary concern was preventing an exacerbation of international tensions as a result of U.S. test resumption and those whose primary concern was preserving an adequate security posture for the United States. This would be especially true in those situations—more probable than improbable—in which there would be conflicting reports about whether a violation by the Soviets had actually occurred, or whether other Soviet weapons developments posed a threat to American security. There would be endless arguments over the kind of evidence possessed by Western intelligence sources, the seriousness of the violation or other technological development, and its significance for the international strategic balance. Under these ambiguous circumstances, extremist groups all over the world would have ample opportunity to organize a massive protest against the scheduled resumption of testing by the United States, and the opponents of resumption would issue warnings that we must not outrage world public opinion by canceling the agreement. If we do ratify the test ban treaty, we should not penalize ourselves by inviting controversy after the appropriate authorities have already decided that the supreme interest of the United States has been placed in jeopardy. There should be vigorous and free debate before that determination is made; but once made, this country should not be inhibited from moving as swiftly as possible to remedy whatever deficiencies may appear in its defenses. There is little doubt in my mind that if the Soviets should ever decide to resume testing, and to bear the opprobrium of withdrawing from the treaty publicly, they will do what they did in the late summer of 1961—make the announcement on one day and test the next.

Another serious implication of the treaty is the precedent which it sets for future arms control or disarmament agreements with the Soviet Union. This agreement is quite different from the one which our diplomats tried so hard to obtain at Geneva. In the Geneva talks, the central isue was international inspection, and on this issue the Soviets and the United States were not able to reach any final agreement. Hence there is no way of knowing whether the Soviets today are any closer to accepting the principle of international inspection in practice than they were 17 years ago, when they turned down the Baruch plan. Not long ago, it was argued that the chief utility of the projected test ban consisted in the fact that it would establish an invaluable precedent for future disarmament agreements, for it would involve the acceptance by Soviet leaders of international inspectors on their soil. Presumably, in adhering to a test ban, the Soviets would be setting aside their traditional phobia of international inspectors as "espionage agents." They would be abandoning their traditional insistence upon the preservation of an excessive national sovereign exclusivism. They would be accepting, even though in modest form, the principle which the United States has insisted upon for 17 years as the basis of any arms agreement, viz, international control and inspection. American analysts have always argued that it would be much safer for the United States to conclude armaments agreements with the Soviets if the latter could be induced gradually to give up their neurotic secrecy complex and to begin opening up their closed society. We were anxious, therefore, to use the test ban agreement to establish a certain kind of precedent. But now, we have signed a test ban agreement which may establish exactly the opposite kind of precedent. Ignoring the question as to whether the absence of an inspection feature in the treaty poses any direct security problems to the United States, we should ask what it signifies for future arms agreements. We cannot fully blame the Soviets: We ourselves proposed a nationally inspected ban on atmospheric tests in April 1959, and a nationally inspected three-environment ban just 1 year ago. But even if the Soviets had accepted either of those proposals, the Senate would have been obliged to examine the significance of a shift from the principle of international inspection to the principle of national policing. We should try to understand what such a shift may portend for the "next steps." I have no way of knowing what those administration officials who have been shaping our national arms control policy within the last 2 years may now be contemplating as logical "next steps," or what proposals may have been exchanged in the post-Cuban correspondence between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev, or what possibilities may have been explored by East and West in the recent Moscow talks. But you will recall that President John F. Kennedy last November 3, after Khrushchev's pledge to remove Soviet missiles from Cuba, announced that the United States would insist on international ground inspection in Cuba. However, as you know, when we were confronted by Premier Castro's refusal to allow international inspection of the wtihdrawal of Soviet missiles, the United States dropped its demand. Now we have departed from international inspection in the test ban treaty, except for a ritual mention of the principle in the preamble. Who is to say whether the "next step" might involve nuclear disengagement in Central Europe wtihout effective international inspection and control. It would be a serious lapse from a previously held, and strongly held position, if the United States were to lose interest, for all practical purposes, in international inspection and control as an essential condition of disarmament.

Pub. Accomm. Sen.

COMMUNIST CONNECTIONS AND INFLUENCES IN THE CURRENT NEGRO DEMONSTRATIONS

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on August 2 and 7 I placed in the RECORD a series of articles showing Communist connections and influences in the current Negro demonstrations, riots, and agitational efforts. On August 13, I placed in the RECORD police reports and other articles dealing with immorality and Communist deception and duplicity in using Negro movements and demonstrations. Today I wish to present to the Senate other tactics used by the Communists to incite and exploit racial tensions—treachery and terrorism.

The activities of Carl Braden and his wife, Anne Braden, fit the master plan of communism to use the Negroes to bring about strife and bloodshed in the United States. On February 17, 1959, the Honorable DALE ALFORD, of Arkansas, summarized on page 2319 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Bradens' activities with these comments:

Traveling about the South today, distributing the doctrine of totalitarian government, is a husband-wife team by name of Carl and Anne Braden. Carl Braden is free to roam the Nation, these days, because of a ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court that

Federal statutes against sedition have preempted State sedition laws. Braden is now a field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which was formed after the SCHW was revealed as a Communist front. As a Communist boss in Louisville, Ky. Carl Braden was indicted on charges of sedition in Jefferson Circuit Court, State of Kentucky. He was convicted in December 1954, subsequently sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment and fined $5,000. Evidence at the trial, with the prosecution conducted by State's Attorney Scott Hamilton, showed that Braden purchased a home in a suburban Louisville community occupied exclusively by white families and then, transferred ownership to a Negro named Wade. It was further shown at the trial that the home was dynamited on June 27, 1954, and the grand jury determined, after visiting the scene of the crime, that the dynamiting was "an inside job" perpetrated to create an incident. The prosecution maintained that Braden was the "common denominator" of the explosion. Shortly after this home purchasing and bombing incident, Carl Braden received a letter from a comrade who signed his name as "Al," otherwise unidentified in the trial record. The letter stated that the latest project of the Bradens—the Wade home acquisition—constituted a "breach in the wall" of what Comrade Al referred to as "the real estate trust." Al told Carl and Anne their project "left us breathless."

These comments of Mr. ALFORD are as valid today as in 1959, as the Bradens have appeared in the Negro demonstrations in Danville, Va., as late as last month.

At this point, Mr. President, to show sworn testimony of Carl Braden's Communist Party membership, I shall now read testimony taken in the Jefferson Circuit Court at Louisville, Ky. and used in evidence at his sedition trial in 1954.

Question. I hand you what purports to be a transcript of some testimony taken in the Jefferson Circuit Court, the Criminal Branch of the Second Division, of Kentucky, at Louisville, of December 11, 1954, in a case entitled *Commonwealth of Kentucky* v. *Carl Braden*, and ask you if that is one of the documents you received?

Answer. It is.

Question. Does that transcript contain any sworn testimony concerning Carl Braden and affiliation with the Communist Party of the United States?

Answer. It does.

Question. Who is the witness who testifies in that regard in that case?

Answer. The witness is known as Alberta Ahern.

Question. Turn to page 2276 of that transcript of testimony and read what that witness swore under oath in regard to Mr. Braden.

Question. Will you please state your name to the court?

Answer. Mrs. Alberta Ahern.

Question. And where do you live, Mrs. Ahern?

Answer. 2311 Payne Street.

Question. And what is your occupation?

Answer. Seamstress.

Question. Mrs. Ahern, I will ask you if you have been employed in an undercover capacity for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Answer. I have.

Question. I will ask you, please whether or not the defendant, Carl Braden, got you into the Communist Party?

Then there was an objection, and—

The COURT. No, that is leading. Objection sustained.

Very well, Your Honor.

Question. Now, you are a member of the Communist Party?

Answer. That's right.

Question. I will ask you if, of your own knowledge, the defendant, Carl Braden, is a member of the Communist Party?

Answer. Mr. Braden is a member of the Communist Party.

Question. Now, Mrs. Ahern, I will ask you whether or not you were a member of the same group or the same cell of the Communist Party in Louisville, Ky., with the defendant, Carl Braden?

Answer. I was.

Question. I will ask you, please, whether or not on July 9 of this year, 1954, you attended a meeting of the Communist Party here in Louisville? If you did, where was that meeting held?

Answer. I attended a Communist Party meeting at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden, 4403 Virginia Avenue, Louisville, Ky.

Question. By Mr. Hawes. Turn, Mr. Strickland, to page 2280 of that transcript of testimony and read what this witness swore under oath further in regard to Mr. Braden. I will ask you if on June 3, 1954, you attended as a member of the Communist Party a called meeting of your cell or group? Did you attended a meeting on June 3, 1954?

Answer. I did.

Question. Where was that meeting held?

Answer. It was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden.

Question. And who were present, please?

Answer. Mr. I. O. Ford, Mr. Carl Braden, and myself.

Now I wish to present to the Senate a résumé of the grand jury investigation on the facts concerning the explosion which occurred at 12:30 a.m., June 27, 1954, at the home of Andrew Wade IV, at Rone Court, near Louisville, Ky. This record is one of the best and most clear-cut examples of crimes committed by Communists interested in causing racial strife between Negroes and whites. It reveals the activities of highly trained saboteurs, trained to expertly detonate explosives by use of a battery, portable-type radio. This was the act of a professional by the name of Vernon Baun, who in the record shows as having served in Spain during the Spanish civil war. He was cited for contempt when he refused to answer whether he had been, or was a Communist.

I ask unanimous consent to have this grand jury report printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RÉSUMÉ OF GRAND JURY INVESTIGATION

(The following is an outline of the facts concerning the grand jury investigation into the explosion which occurred at 12:30 a.m., June 27, 1954, at the home of Andrew Wade IV, at Rone Court, near Louisville, Ky.)

During the late winter or early spring (approximately the first part of March, 1954), Andrew Wade IV and his wife, entered into an agreement with Carl Braden and his wife, Anne, to purchase a house in what might be referred to as a predominantly white residential neighborhood of Louisville, or vicinity. The Wades are young colored people, approximately 30 years of age and the parents of two children, one being about 2 years old, and the other 2 months old. The Bradens are white people, probably in their early forties. Both Braden and his wife formerly were employed by the Courier-Journal and the Louisville Times, but several years ago Mrs. Braden gave up her employment and Braden severed his relationship with the paper for a period of time, but subsequently was reemployed.

Apparently the Bradens and Wades endeavored to buy one or more houses, but for some reason were unable to complete the transactions. Finally, however, during the month of May 1954, the Bradens represented to a real estate dealer, Mr. Hudson, who was the representative of a Mr. Rone, and also to Mr. Rone that they, the Bradens, desired to purchase a house which recently had been constructed by Mr. Rone. They stated that they desired to move into the house and went so far as to discuss with the real estate agent the possibility of listing their home on Virginia Avenue, in Louisville, with him for sale or rental, knowing all the while that they intended to convey the house to the Wades immediately. The house was, in fact, conveyed to the Wades a short time after it was transferred to the Bradens and, before moving into the house, and before any acts or threats of violence whatsoever had occurred, the Bradens and the Wades, or someone interested in them, sought a police escort to accompany them while they moved. Because there had been neither threats nor violence and, in fact, apparently no one but the Wades and Bradens knew that the Wades intended to move into the house at that time, police protection was denied them. They thereupon moved into the residence, and the investigation has disclosed that at least 18 firearms, made up of high powered rifles, shotguns, and pistols, were taken into the house for the alleged purpose of defending it.

Shortly after the Wades moved into the residence, a cross was burned in an adjoining field, and the identity of three young white men was established as being the persons who burned it. Thereafter a rock was thrown through a window of the Wade house, and rifle shots were fired into the front door. The identity of the persons responsible for the shooting has not been established, although some people seem to believe that this was done to create trouble, rather than as an effort to frighten the Wades into moving from the neighborhood. The three young men involved in the cross burning readily admitted that they did this, and stated that it was somewhat of a prank and done on the spur of the moment. One or two of the three involved in this incident live in the immediate neighborhood.

Immediately after the first act of violence occurred, the Jefferson County Police furnished police protection all around the clock, keeping a man at the scene at all times. In addition, the occupants of the house likewise had persons, both white and colored, to stay on the premises to guard the residence. A committee, made up of both white and colored people, was formed for the alleged purpose of stimulating interest in the protection of the Wades and their right to live wherever they desired. It developed that many of these persons had a reputation of being Communist sympathizers or active Communists.

This committee sought to obtain the support of the NAACP, and we have been informed that this organization would not participate in the movement.

One of the persons who was active in the group was one Vernon Bown, whose true name is Vernon Baun. He also has used the name of Vernon Brown. He has resided in Kentucky only approximately a year and a half, and from the investigation, has lived for comparatively short times in other parts of the United States, among them, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, and New York. This man was in the merchant marine during the war, and also served in Spain during the civil war in that country. Bown, a white man, volunteered to act as a guard at the Wade residence. He gave up his living quarters and moved into the house. Either shortly before, or shortly after moving into the Wade home,

Bown purchased and took there, a battery, portable-type radio. After the explosion, which occurred at exactly 12:30 a.m., this radio was found beneath the house and the speaker was missing. We have been informed that dynamite can be discharged by using a radio such as this, and the electronic authorities say that the fact that the speaker is missing is significant, that apparently being a possible source of current to set off the explosive.

Bown refused to testify before the grand jury in response to whether or not he is, or had been, a Communist, whether or not he ever had been beneath the house, and whether or not he ever had taken a radio underneath the house. His refusal to answer was based on the fifth amendment, and section 11 of the Kentucky Constitution, on the ground that his answers might be self-incriminating. Bown was indicted for contempt of court when he refused to answer certain other questions after the Court had instructed him to answer.

Our investigation disclosed that Bown had not known the Wades before moving into the premises. He had been, and after the explosion again was living with one I. O. Ford, who moved to Louisville from Paducah within the past year or two. When the officers went to his residence to execute the bench warrant for his arrest, they saw certain communistic literature in the living room, and upon making a further search, found what might be referred to as a huge quantity of communistic literature, letters, and records, which indicated that both Bown and Ford were Communists.

Among the papers found was a letter, a photostatic copy of which, marked "Exhibit I" is attached hereto, from a person in California to Ford, calling his attention to the fact that the residence of a colored family in or about Los Angeles had been damaged by explosives, and further pointing out that it had caused a great deal of trouble in that community.

Exhibit II is a photostatic copy of an undated letter, which, by reference to certain facts contained therein, is believed to have been written on July 5, 1954. In this letter Ford is congratulated for the work he is doing in Louisville. We believe this pertains to the explosion at the Wade residence on June 27, 1954.

Exhibits III and IV consist of a newspaper clipping of an explosion which occurred at a grocery owned by a colored man in eastern Kentucky, and a typewritten letter, signed "G," and mailed from Lexington, Ky., to Braden, in Louisville. Written in longhand beside the clipping is a notation concerning the disturbance this caused and, in parentheses, it is stated that the writer of the letter was 20 miles away when the explosion occurred.

In addition to Brown, the Bradens, and Ford, at least two other persons whom we believe to be Communists, were active on the Wade committee. They both came to Louisville from Indianapolis some time ago after the loyalty of either one or both was questioned in that city. Both Miss Gilbert and Miss Spiker were called before the grand jury and at first refused to be sworn and were sent to jail for contempt of court. After spending approximately 3 hours in jail, Louise Gilbert sent word to the court by her attorney, Grover Sales, of Louisville, that she would be sworn and thereupon purged herself of the contempt charge. After being sworn, she refused to testify concerning her Communist connections on the ground that it might incriminate her. Miss Spiker spent a day and night in jail and finally sent word to the court that she, too, would be sworn and, after being sworn, she, too, refused to answer such questions on the ground that the answers might incriminate her.

Due to certain references in letters concerning Ford, particularly praising him for work that he has done on the picket line, and considering the fact that he moved to Louisville from Paducah comparatively recently, we are wondering if he might not have had some connection with all of the labor trouble that has existed at the atomic energy project at Paducah.

The grand jury and the officials conducting the investigation were dismayed at certain statements made by a radio and television commentator on the stations connected with the Louisville Times and Courier-Journal. Copies of two scripts are attached hereto, marked for identification, exhibit V and exhibit VI.

We also were dismayed at the editorial policy of these two papers, both of which are owned by the same individual, and are the only newspapers of general circulation is this community. Two editorials, marked exhibit VII and exhibit VIII, regarding the Wade case are attached hereto. Also attached, and identified as exhibit IX, is another editorial which pertains to a bill introduced by the attorney general at the last session of the legislature for the control of subversive organizations in this State. We do not charge anyone connected with the Courier-Journal and Louisville Times as knowingly encouraging or condoning the activities of Communists and Communist sympathizers but, as stated, all concerned were dismayed at the stand taken by these papers and their satellite radio and television stations.

The executive committee of the Louisville Bar Association adopted a resolution commending the grand jury for its work and, in substance, criticized the editorial position above referred to.

At the outset of the investigation, it was made clear to all concerned that there were at least two possible motives for the commission of this crime, one being that the white residents of the neighborhood were endeavoring to cause these Negroes to move, and the other that it was committed by persons interested in causing racial strife in and about Louisville. This community has not, in many, many years, had any trouble to speak of between the white and Negro people living here.

It also has been significant that the conflicts between the statements of various witnesses only occurred between those who might be suspected of causing the trouble for the purpose of effecting racial difficulties and was noticeably absent among the other witnesses.

The grand jury called before it 53 individual witnesses, and some of these were recalled. The grand jury called, among other witnesses, those who were interested in the Wades' behalf, and every name which was submitted by the Wades, even though these people could give no reason as to why they should have been called as witnesses. In many of these instances, the Wades alleged that various individuals they demanded the grand jury call, had been seen riding past their house with "an evil look." Actually, when these witnesses testified, they knew nothing whatsoever concerning the matter, and were not even residents of the neighborhood. The only people asked concerning Communist connections were those whom we had reason to believe were so connected, or were Communist sympathizers, and they, without exception had prepared statements ready to hand to newspaper reporters and, on each occasion, wanted to make speeches in open court. The law in Kentucky provides that grand jury proceedings shall be held in secret, and the only publicity given in this matter was brought on those who were publicized by their own actions.

Among the facts which caused the grand jury to investigate the possibility of Communist involvement are the following: The house was under guard as above stated; the radio with the missing speaker was found underneath the house; there was no outside fuse; the explosion was located under the house near a wall which was on the opposite side of the only means of entrance. These items, together with Bown's refusal to state whether or not he had been under the house—and we might say that it can be established that he had been—and his failure to state whether or not he ever had taken a radio under the house, would seem to cause a reasonable person to believe beyond a reasonable doubt that Bown set off the explosion. It also is significant that the occupants of the house were on the outside porch, on the opposite side from where the explosion occurred; and had taken their 2-year-old child to stay with its grandparents that night. The reason given for this was so the child could go to Sunday school the next morning.

Based upon the evidence developed from this investigation, the grand jury indicted Vernon Brown for blowing up the house and also for advocating and teaching sedition and criminal syndicalism. The grand jury also indicted Larue Spiker, Louise Gilbert, I. O. Ford, Carl Braden, and Anne Braden for advocating sedition.

Large quantities of Communist material were found at the residence of the Bradens and the residences of Ford and Bown. Some was found at the home of Larue Spiker and Louise Gilbert.

The following are only a few samples of the material found:

1. "Exhibit of Bacteriological War Crimes Committed by the Government of the United States of America." This was printed in Peiping, China, by the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace.
2. "How To Be a Good Communist."
3. "Thirteen Communists Speak to the Court."
4. "Constitution of the U.S.S.R."
5. Soviet Literature, a monthly magazine printed in Moscow.

There were other articles of the same nature, too numerous to mention.

Exhibit X, attached, is a photostatic copy of a letter apparently written by a man in Lexington, Ky., to I. O. Ford relating to the situation in the coal fields in the Eastern United States. It will be noted that in this letter the writer admits that they are Communists, Marxists, etc., and points out that the miners are fertile subjects for exploitation by the Communists.

Exhibit VI, also attached, is a photostat of a letter dated October 1, 1954, signed "KL," and written on two sides of the page, and photostated in that way, addressed to I. O. Ford. The envelope was postmarked "Los Angeles, Calif." and the letter expresses concern about the communistic material being found in Ford's home and refers to Ford having been on the picket line and also performing other duties.

It is the opinion of the grand jury and the officials that this presents a very serious situation and, in conformity with the recommendations of the Jefferson County Grand Jury of September 1954, a copy of this statement, the attached exhibits, and the grand jury report is being forwarded to those who are interested in such matters. We believe that this matter should be pursued by the Federal authorities, since it does relate to national security, and apparently concerns persons in other parts of the country.

Respectfully submitted.

A. SCOTT HAMILTON,
Commonwealth's Attorney,
30th Judicial District of Kentucky.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, Carl Braden, except for action by the U.S. Supreme Court, would today be in jail where he belongs instead of being field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, associated with Rev. Martin Luther King, and

causing racial strife and agitation throughout the South. The Kentucky telephone directory lists the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc., at 4403 Virginia Avenue, Louisville, Ky., telephone number SPring 4-3331. The same directory lists the same address and same telephone number for Carl Braden.

The present activities of Carl and Ann Braden are clearly outlined in the following news articles and columns: "Commies Recruiting Members in Hinds?" Jackson Daily News, September 1, 1962; "Southern Conference Educational Fund, led by Shuttlesworth, called Red Trent," the Danville Register, July 11, 1963; "White Women Exhorters Are Known Left Wingers," the Danville Register, July 17, 1963; "Moses Admits He is Carl Braden's Friend," Jackson Clarion Ledger; two columns by Jack Lotto, "U.S. Commies Seek Freedom for Duddies" which appeared in the Houston Chronical and "Dixie Drive by Pro-Reds," Los Angeles Herald Examiner.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, to have these news items printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, Sept. 1, 1962]

COMMIES RECRUITING MEMBERS IN HINDS? APPLICATION FORM AT WORKSHOP CITED

(By James M. Ward)

REGISTRATION BLANK: ADULT EDUCATION WORKSHOPS CONDUCTED BY THE MISSISSIPPI ADULT EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Name----------
Age----------
Street address----------
City----------
State----------
Telephone----------

I. If you are a student:

1. What school are you attending?--------
---

2. What is your classification?

Freshman ---- sophomore ---- junior ---- senior----

* * * * *

16. Do your political views differ basically from those of your parents? Yes ----. No ----.

Do they approve of your working in programs for the greater equality of the races? Yes ----. No ----.

Do they or have they participated in such programs themselves? Yes ----. No ----.

17. Do you think that the Negro has a better life in Mississippi —— or in Africa ——?

18. If you had the opportunity to move to Africa, would you be willing to do so? Yes ----. No ----.

19. Do you think that a transition to the Communist system of government would better or worsen the lot of the Negro in Mississippi? Better ----. Worsen ----.

20. Do you think that the need to improve the lot of the poor white is greater than ----, equal to ----, or less than ---- the need to improve the lot of the poor Negro in the South?

SEMINAR REGISTRATION FORM

The Jackson Daily News has intercepted an inflammatory registration form to be completed by Negroes attending "workshops" and "seminars" that are conducted under the sponsorship of Carl Braden, an identified Communist who recently visited Mississippi to drum up support for voter registration and integration activity. The Braden meetings are being held at Mount Beulah Christian College near Edwards, Tougaloo Christian College, and other points throughout the State. Special attention is called to question No. 19.

At a "voter registration" workshop held at Mount Beulah Christian Institute near Edwards under the sponsorship of Carl Braden, an identified Communist and field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an inflammatory registration blank was passed out for prospective participants.

A source qualified in such activity said the questionnaire has all the earmarks of a snare for Communist Party membership.

Soliciting various personal background data on candidates for the workshop, the registration blank also asks for information on the participant's desire to engage in voter registration work and agitation for integration in schools, churches, and private facilities.

The explosive portions come near the end of the long form with such questions as:

"Do your political views differ basically from those of your parents. Do they approve of your working in programs for the greater equality of the races?

"Do you think that the Negro has a better life in Mississippi—or in Africa—?

"If you had the opportunity to move to Africa, would you be willing to do so?

"Do you think that a transition to the Communist system of government would better or worsen the lot of the Negro in Mississippi?"

WHAT IT MEANS

An authority on subversion said the latter question was highly interesting. After giving a group of Negroes a heated lecture on how they are being mistreated they would tend to answer they favored a transition to the Communist system. If they did answer in that manner, they were then considered ripe prospects for recruitment into the party. If they signed "yes" and later changed their mind, their original answer could be used as blackmail to make them conform to party discipline and the victim could be used as a dupe.

The questionnaire was used at Mount Beulah in connection with an adult education workshop conducted by the Mississippi Adult Education Committee.

A confidential report by Carl Braden published in full in yesterday's Jackson Daily News revealed Braden instrumental in setting up the workshop and Braden reported that he and Bob Moses, 27-year-old Negro native of New York who has been active in integration attempts in Mississippi within the past 2 years, recruited participants, signing up some 50 to 75 people.

Moses was arrested in Indianola yesterday on a charge of passing out handbills without a permit. Police said he went to jail and made no effort to post the $50 cash bond necessary to be released.

Braden has revealed that he will return to Mississippi in the near future to set up a special workshop at Mount Beulah to plan means of getting the maximum amount of national publicity on "violence and police brutality" in Mississippi.

In connection with his plan, Braden said: "The continued (police) beatings have caused the leadership people in the State to see the great need for a constant stream of reports going out across the country."

Braden's deep interest in voter registration, integration of schools, churches, and private places is not new. Upon release from a Federal prison last February he has resumed a busy schedule of agitation in the South.

Much of the planning for his current crusade was made at a conference on "The Deep South: Ways and Means to Integration" at Birmingham last April 13-14.

The conference was sponsored by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, Student Non-Violent Co-Ordinating Committee and the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc.

Participants on the program included Bishop Edgar A. Love, president, Southern Conference Education Fund, Baltimore; Aubrey W. Williams, president emeritus, who made a financial reward to the Reverend F. L. Shuttlesworth, president, Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and agitation leader in Alabama; Miles Horton, director of the Highlander Center at Monteagle, Tenn., an institution that was closed by the State of Tennessee upon exposure of its pro-Communist training work.

Braden's chief role at the Birmingham rally was to explain his plan for "getting better and fuller coverage in the news media."

Listed on the printed program was the Reverend Murray Cox, Gulfport minister and chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Reverend Cox, like Braden, has an intensive dislike for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He recently was a cosigner of an ad in the New York Times urging abolition of the committee.

Reverend Cox did not attend the meeting due to "a conflict" but he said he gave his name to be used as a participant.

Highlander Folk School, shut down by Tennessee as a public nuisance, is out of business and its property is being auctioned.

With Braden's intensive interest in Mount Beulah near Edwards and Tougaloo College, is the successor to Highlander Folk School to be established at one or both institutions?

[From the Danville (Va.) Register, July 11, 1963]

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, LED BY SHUTTLESWORTH, CALLED RED FRONT

The man who substituted for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as the speaker at a rally here last week to protest segregation has been identified as head of a big pro-Communist front, according to a Cincinnati newspaper.

In an article published Sunday, June 9, in the Cincinnati Enquirer, the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth was identified as the new president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

According to the article, both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have described the SCEF as an organization set up to promote communism throughout the South.

This has been confirmed, according to City Manager T. E. Temple, who received a copy of the article.

The same news item notes that new additions to the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund include the Reverend James A. Zellner, Methodist minister in Panama City, Fla., and father of Bob Zellner, a young white man who has been active in the demonstration movement here. Young Zellner is among 13 who have been indicted for inciting racial violence as a result of the demonstrations.

The article also points out that the field secretary for the SCEF is Carl Braden, of Louisville, Ky., who was among the speakers at a rally here March 26 when King was the featured speaker.

King reportedly is expected here today. He was to be the speaker at a rally July 3 but was replaced by Shuttlesworth after canceling out the previous night.

Shuttlesworth vowed at the time he would return here "and march" but local leaders say he will not be among the group accompanying King here today.

According to the Cincinnati newspaper, Shuttlesworth is pastor of a church in the Ohio city. However, he has become better known as a leader in the Birmingham, Ala., integration movement. He was identified here as national secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which

King heads, and president of the Alabama Christian Movement.

Asked for comment by the Enquirer, Shuttlesworth said: "To a segregationist, integration means communism. I can think of nothing more un-American than the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

Following is the text of the Cincinnati Enquirer article (written by Jack Lotto):

"One of the top leaders of the integration movement in the South has been named head of a big pro-Communist front.

"He is the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth (965 Dana Avenue), pastor of the Revelation Baptist Church, 1556 John Street.

"The post he was elected to is president of the 'Southern Conference Educational Fund,' with headquarters in New Orleans, and active in 17 Southern States.

"Both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have described the SCEF as an organization set up to 'promote communism' throughout the South.

"This group has a long history of activity in the South. It originally was known as the 'Southern Conference for Human Welfare.' One of its founders was a veteran Communist, the late Louis E. Burnham.

"When the SCHW was cited as a Communist front in 1947 by the House committee, it ostensibly went out of business.

"It quickly reopened at the same New Orleans address, under the new name and with the same telephone number.

"According to the Senate subcommittee, the Southern Conference Educational Fund was 'operating with substantially the same leadership and purposes' of its predecessor.

"Said the House report on the SCHW:

"'It seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South. Its professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'

"The field secretary for the SCEF, and editor of its publications, 'The Southern Patriot,' is Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky. Braden, identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party, recently finished serving a 1-year prison term for contempt of Congress.

"New additions to the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund included the Reverend James A. Zellner, Methodist minister in Panama City, Fla. He is the father of Bob Zellner, the 'freedom-walker' active in the 'Student Non-Violence Committee' and now serving a jail term in Alabama.

"Another board member is Mrs. Diane Bevel of Cleveland, Miss., active in Nashville student demonstrations, and currently working in Alabama and Mississippi.

"She is jailed in Gadsden, Ala., for taking part with Zellner in a prointegration march, following in the steps of William Moore, the postman shot and killed during a one-man protest march.

"Communists and pro-Communists are moving into the South to provoke friction between whites and Negroes. On the scene is James E. Jackson, a member of the four-man secretariat of the U.S. Communist party.

"Jackson, who is propaganda boss in the United States for the Reds, is also the party's secretary for southern and Negro affairs—a polite term for chief racial troublemaker.

"This Moscow-trained Negro has been in the forefront of Communist organizational and agitational work in the South for years.

"In 1959, he went to Russia as representative of the U.S. Communist party at the 21st World Congress of Communist Parties. There, he hailed the Soviet Union and denounced the United States."

Following is the statement given the Enquirer by Shuttlesworth:

"I do not intend to become involved in verbal gymnastics with those, who for years, have prided themselves and made themselves famous for slandering the character of others without proof and for making a mockery of the democratic process which says a man is innocent until proven guilty.

"I have the highest regard for this organization (SCEF), for the work it has done since I have been a member of the board, and I have seen nothing on the part of any persons, with whom I have been associated, to give any substantiation to these charges.

"Generally, the House committees are governed by southerners who will label any organization subversive or communistic that seeks to further the American aims of integration, justice, and fairplay.

"To a segregationist, integration means communism. I can think of nothing more un-American than the House Committee on Un-American Activities."

[The Danville (Va.) Register, July 17, 1963]

WHITE WOMEN EXHORTERS ARE KNOWN LEFTWINGERS

Anne Braden addressed Danville Negroes last night at St. Pauls AME Church. Two weeks ago, Dorothy Day spoke to them at High Street Baptist Church.

Both women have numerous leftwing connections.

Mrs. Braden, for instance, is the wife of Carl Braden, a man who has been identified as a Communist and who has served a prison sentence for contempt of Congress.

A woman who did undercover work for the FBI testified in court both Mrs. Braden and her husband were members of a Communist cell.

Mrs. Braden, a 1943 graduate of Stratford College was described by her husband as editor of the Southern Patriot when the latter accompanied Martin Luther King to Danville in March.

The Southern Patriot is published in Atlanta. It formerly was an organ of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, an organization which went out of existence after the House Un-American Activities Committee described it as a Communist front.

Carl Braden was associated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Now he is field secretary of the Southern Conference Education Fund, which has been described in Congress "as an organization set up to 'promote communism' throughout the State." When the SCEF was founded, it had the same address and telephone number formerly used by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The Washington Star of December 12, 1954, carried an Associated Press dispatch telling about Carl Braden's trial. It read in part as follows:

"LOUISVILLE, KY., December 11.—Newspaperman Carl Braden was branded a Communist today by a surprise rebuttal witness testifying at his sedition trial.

"Mrs. Alberta Ahearn, 44, a Louisville seamstress, said she had been doing undercover work for the FBI in a Communist cell of which both Braden and his wife, Anne, were members.

"Braden testified earlier in the week he was not a Communist and had never been one."

"Dorothy Day, editor of the "Catholic Worker," is a woman who frequently lends her name to leftwing causes.

For instance, she was one of the signers of a petition for executive clemency for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson when the cases of the latter two were before the Supreme Court on appeal in February 1961. Wilkinson is head of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and has been identified as a Communist.

Miss Day is sponsor of an organization known as Friends of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and was present at a reception for the Flynn woman on March 29 at the Belmont Plaza Hotel in New York City. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is chairman of the Communist Party of the United States.

According to the Communist Party organ Daily Worker on May 12, 1963, Miss Day praised "the Alderson Story," a biography of Elizabeth G. Flynn.

The Brooklyn Tablet on October 20, 1962, carried an article in which it was stated Miss Day had made a trip to Cuba and attacked American policy toward Cuba.

In the June 18, 1963, issue of the weekly magazine National Review, a book review of Garry Wills described her in this manner:

"Dorothy Day goes among the poor to prove things about poverty and anarchy that the poor would be the last to believe in—as she went to Cuba last year to help the Cubans by pointing out to them how Castro resembles Christ."

Priscilla L. Buckley, managing editor of National Review, yesterday called Miss Day politically very naive and a far-left passivist who, in her peace-promotion efforts, will do such things as refuse to take shelter during civil defense test alerts.

She described the Catholic Worker, which Miss Day edits and publishes as a tiny little mimeographed sheet that is totally lay and is neither sponsored nor connected with the Catholic Church. The Catholic Worker, she said follows fairly closely to the Communist line on peace.

Shortly after the execution of the Red spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the Catholic Worker carried an article written by Miss Day entitled "Meditation on the Death of the Rosenbergs."

This article said, in part: "They were children of that race in which Mary and Jesus and Joseph, the Holy Family, belonged. In their humanity, they more closely resembled Jesus than we do who are not Jews. Let us have no part with the vindictive state and let us pray for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion Ledger]

MOSES ADMITS HE IS CARL BRADEN'S FRIEND

GREENVILLE.—Voter registration worker Robert Moses of New York testified Thursday he was a friend of Carl Braden and had seen him recently at a workshop sponsored by the Southern Conference Education Fund.

Moses' testimony came during a hearing before Federal District Judge Claude Clayton on a Justice Department suit seeking release of 45 Negroes arrested during a march at Itta Bena last month.

A. H. Bell, attorney for the Leflore County Board of Supervisors, questioned Moses about his connections with Braden and the SCEF, which a House Un-American Activities Subcommittee cited as a Communist-front group. Braden refused to answer questions about whether he was a Communist.

Moses testified he was not a Communist.

Asked about Braden, a Louisville, Ky., man, the 28-year-old Moses said, "I consider him a friend." He also said he had seen Braden recently at a SCEF workshop at Atlanta.

The hearing was expected to continue several days.

Defending the county were Bell and Assistant State Attorney General Guy Rogers. Representing the Justice Department were special Assistant Attorney General John Doar and Attorney John Martin.

Moses, a New York City Negro, said he was in Mississippi "Because I'm interested in helping my people in Harlem. If Mississippi Negroes can defeat with their votes the men in Congress who block and defeat worthwhile legislation, then all Negroes will benefit."

He also said he came "to help alleviate injustice" and said he felt Mississippi voting laws were unjust.

Moses, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was questioned about food distributed to needy

Negroes by SNCC in Leflore County this spring.

Asked if SNCC required recipients to seek registration as voters, Moses said:

"We required that a minimum requirement because there was a shortage of food and we didn't have enough to go around. But there were cases of great individual need when we gave the food without requiring that * * *."

Asked if SNCC workers had credit cards for use in telephoning the Justice Department, Moses said they did not and:

"We usually pay for the calls ourselves. When there is a matter that the Justice Department is particularly interested in, we sometimes call collect."

He said "SNCC workers were paid expenses, room and board, and $10 a week when we have the money."

Also testifying were workers Willie Baxter, 19-year-old Itta Bena woman, and Willie H. Magee, 22, also from Itta Bena. They were among the 27 Leflore County prisoners called to testify.

The woman said a tear gas bomb was thrown into an Itta Bena church June 18 while a voter meeting was in progress.

Magee testified the group decided after that to go looking for police protection. He said at one point they found an officer 2 blocks from the church, so returned to continue the meeting.

But, he said, "the church was full of gas and we came out again. The officer we saw, I don't know who he was, was gone, so we decided to go looking for protection, walking two by two."

He said another group of Negroes began throwing bottles and bricks at them and the arrests followed. Officers testified the original group did the throwing.

Magee said he had never been intimidated by Leflore officials because of his activities and the offcials had not interfered with his meetings.

Asked if the group had been refused police protection, he said, "I don't know."

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, 1962]

U.S. COMMIES SEEK FREEDOM FOR BUDDIES

(By Jack Lotto)

Pro-Communists and their supporters are doing their Christmas shopping early this year.

They have asked President Kennedy to play Santa Claus and free two identified Communists jailed for contempt of Congress.

Red sympathizers and/or dupes are working also to get the general public behind their petitions for Executive clemency.

In effect, the groups trying to open prison doors for Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles and Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky., want the President to slap the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Freeing the defiant pair could be interpreted as a sign of Presidential disapproval of the committee.

Wilkinson is the coordinator of the intensive nationwide pro-Red effort to destroy or utterly discredit the important House group.

He and Braden, active in the South, were jailed for 1 year for refusing to answer any committee questions, including whether they were party members.

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld their convictions. They began serving their terms May 1.

At least four groups are distributing signature petitions for clemency. They are the New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities, the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and the Southern Educational Fund, headquartered in New Orleans.

A few days ago, two delegations turned over petitions collected so far to President Kennedy's special counsel.

One delegation was headed by Prof. Otto Nathan of New York. Nathan, executor of the late Albert Einstein estate, has refused to affirm or deny Communist Party membership in congressional appearances.

Braden is field secretary of the Southern Conference Education Fund, cited officially as a national Communist front by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Identified under oath as a Red, Braden also was active in the drive to abolish the House committee.

The biggest Red front leading the operation to kill the House subversion-probing committee is the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

ECLC Chairman Harvey O'Connor, of Little Compton, R.I., is soon starting a coast-to-coast tour to drum up public support for his pals and collect funds.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald-Examiner]

DIXIE DRIVE BY PRO-REDS

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—To help its readers keep on guard against propaganda, the Herald-Examiner brings you this authoritative weekly roundup.)

(By Jack Lotto)

One of the top leaders of the integration movement in the South has been named head of a pro-Communist front.

He is the Reverend Fred L. Shuttlesworth, of Birmingham, Ala.

The post he was elected to is president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, headquartered in New Orleans, and active in 17 Southern States.

LONG HISTORY

Both the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities have described the SCEF as an organization set up to promote communism throughout the South.

This group has a long history of activity in the South. It originally was known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. One of its founders was a veteran Communist, the late Louis E. Burnham.

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The field secretary for the SCEF, and editor of its publication, The Southern Patriot, is Carl Braden, of Louisville, Ky. Braden, identified in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party, recently finished serving a 1-year prison term for contempt of Congress.

OTHERS

New additions to the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund included the Rev. James A. Zellner, Methodist minister in Panama City, Fla. He is the father of "Freedom Walker" Bob Zellner, active in the "student nonviolence committee," and now serving a jail term in Alabama.

Another board member is Mrs. Diane Bevel, of Cleveland, Miss., active in Nashville student demonstrations, and currently working in Alabama and Mississippi.

She was jailed in Gadsen, Ala., for taking part with Zellner in a prointegration march, following in the steps of postman William Moore, who was shot and killed during a one-man protest march.

Communists and pro-Communists are moving into the South to provoke friction between whites and Negroes. On the scene is James E. Jackson, a member of the four-man ruling secretariat of the U.S. Communist Party.

MOSCOW-TRAINED

Jackson, who is propaganda boss in the United States for the Reds, is also the party's secretary for Southern and Negro affairs.

This Moscow-trained Negro has been in the forefront of Communist organizational and agitational work in the South for many years.

In 1959, he went to Russia as the representative of the U.S. Communist Party at the 21st World Congress of Communist Parties. There, he hailed the Soviet Union and denounced the United States.

[From The Worker, Dec. 3, 1960]

RALLY TO ABOLISH THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE—TO URGE CHRISTMAS CLEMENCY FOR FRANK WILKINSON AND CARL BRADEN—TO PAY TRIBUTE TO FIRST AMENDMENT DEFENDANTS WHO HAVE FOR YEARS FOUGHT IN THE COURTS AGAINST HUAC AND SIMILAR COMMITTEES

Speakers: Prof. Fowler Harper, Yale Law School, civil liberties; James Higgins, assistant editor, York, Pa., Gazette & Daily Advocate; Ring Lardner, Jr., Academy Award Winner screenwriter; Ernst Mazey, Detroit Trade Union Official; Pete Seeger, folklorist and singer, first amendment defendant; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala., integration leader; Gore Vidal, playwrite, author, "The Best Man"; Mrs. Frank Wilkinson, wife of HUAC abolition leader.

Place: Wednesday, December 6, 8 p.m. sharp, Manhattan Center, 34th Street and 8th Avenue. Contribution 99 cents.

Auspices: New York Council to Abolish HUAC, 150 W 34th Street, New York, Staten Island. Dr. Otto Nathan, chairman; Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, honorary chairman; Rev. Lee H. Ball, treasurer and Youth To Abolish HUAC; Mrs. Sandra Rosenblum, chairman. Telephone PE 6-3228.

Contribute to New York Council To Abolish HUAC, 150 West 34th Street, New York 1, N.Y.

I enclose $____ for ____ tickets at 99 cents each December 6 rally.

Name _____

Address _____

Make checks payable to Rev. Lee H. Ball, treasurer.

Mr. THURMOND. Having placed in the RECORD certain information on Mr. Braden and his connections with the Negro demonstration movements, I call to the attention of my colleagues another example of a direct connection of a supposed former Communist with the proposed August 28 march on Washington as exposed in the Plain Dealer of Cleveland, Ohio, on August 16, 1963. I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article entitled "Two Freedom March Buses Booked by Admitted Red: Reinthaler Acts Here for CORE" be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWO FREEDOM MARCH BUSES BOOKED BY ADMITTED RED—REINTHALER ACTS HERE FOR CORE

(By William C. Barnard)

Eric J. Reinthaler, who has admitted Communist Party affiliations, has been identified by Cleveland police as the reservation agent

for one of the Cleveland groups sending freedom march buses to a mass Negro demonstration in Washington on August 28.

Reinthaler, 39, a longtime participant in civil rights movements here, has a long record of affiliations with the Communist Party and its front organizations, police said yesterday.

In a 1958 trial Reinthaler admitted he had been a Communist up until 1954.

Members of the Cleveland department's special investigation unit said Reinthaler identified himself as the contract agent for the Cleveland chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a militant Negro civil rights organization, in the chartering of two Greyhound buses for the trip.

CORE has announced it will send 78 persons to Washington to participate in the freedom march. The 2 CORE buses are part of a cavalcade of 8 chartered buses and a private plane that will be taking more than 350 Clevelanders to the Nation's Capital for the Negro civil rights demonstration.

Civil rights leaders have said that more than 100,000 persons from scores of cities will participate in the protest.

The Cleveland delegation is being organized by a newly formed civil rights group, the United Freedom Movement (UFM). A spokesman for UFM last night denied knowledge of Reinthaler's role with CORE and said UFM's arrangements were not connected with CORE.

Following Plain Dealer efforts to reach Reinthaler and other CORE officers, a call was received from Bruce Warshal, who identified himself as vice president of Cleveland's CORE chapter. He made this statement:

"CORE has certain admission requirements which Reinthaler has met. We ask two questions of prospective members: (1) Do you believe in civil rights and equality between the races? (2) Do you believe unequivocally in nonviolence?

"Every member is asked this and we do not ask what his other affiliations are or have been."

Lt. Martin P. Cooney and Sgt. John J. Ungvary of the special investigation unit of the police department said Reinthaler made arrangements for the buses through a travel agent. At that time he left a $50 deposit.

Last Saturday Reinthaler and an official of CORE sent a telegram to the agent confirming the arrangements, the officers said. In the telegram Reinthaler listed himself as the contract agent for CORE and gave his home phone number, they said.

In 1958 Reinthaler and six other persons were convicted on charges of conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley law in U.S. district court here.

The seven were found guilty of conspiracy to file false non-Communist affidavits with the National Labor Relations Board. U.S. District Judge Paul C. Weick, now an appellate judge, sentenced Reinthaler to 18 months in the Federal prison at Milan, Mich., and fined him $2,500. Reinthaler served the term after losing higher court appeals.

Reinthaler was identified in the trial as an officer of a Cleveland local of the United Electrical Workers which was expelled in 1948 from the Congress of Industrial Organizations, now merged into the AFL–CIO. The Taft-Hartley law requires union officers to submit affidavits stating whether they ever were Communist Party members.

In the trial, Reinthaler admitted being a member of the Communist Party at various periods from 1938 to 1954. He said he was a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland, Steubenville and Youngstown and had been a Communist organizer in the Steubenville area.

The Reverend Charles W. Rawlings, director of the Office of Religion and Race of the Cleveland Presbytery, who is assisting in the UFM protest cavalcade, said: "We cannot stop fighting for racial justice because these causes have been exploited by organizations such as the Communist Party for their self-interest."

Clarence H. Holmes, president of the Cleveland branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and leader of UFM, said he was surprised that CORE was sending its own buses. He said all arrangements for the civil rights movement in Cleveland were to be coordinated by the UFM.

The Plain Dealer was unable to reach Reinthaler last night for comment.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks additional articles from the Plain Dealer as follow:

"Reinthaler Joined Communists Twice; Was Only 14 First Time," on August 16, 1963.

"UFM Brass Denies Link to Reinthaler," on August 16, 1963.

"CORE Weighs No Policy Change," on August 17, 1963.

Also, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of these articles an excerpt from hearings by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on legislation to limit the appellate jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court and dated February 26, 1958.

There being no objection, the articles and excerpt were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UFM BRASS DENIES LINK TO REINTHALER

Leaders of the United Freedom Movement, which is sending 363 Clevelanders to Washington for the August 28 March for Freedom demonstration, yesterday denied any ties with Eric J. Reinthaler who has arranged for two buses to take part.

"Our six buses are completely separate from the two being sent by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)," explained Mrs. Carriebell Cook, general chairman for the UFM Washington project.

Mrs. Cook was called by the Plain Dealer following disclosure by Cleveland police that Reinthaler, who has admitted Communist ties in the past, figured in the CORE bus arrangements.

"The first I knew that CORE was sending buses was when I read it in the newspapers," said Mrs. Cook, who is employed at city hall as director of manpower retraining for the city.

"I never even heard of Eric J. Reinthaler," she said. "We are screening out all who would violate the spirit of this march. The purpose is peaceful throughout. Only responsible citizens sincerely interested in civil rights will ride on our buses."

When asked whether he knew of Reinthaler's Communist background, Arthur Evans, Jr., chairman of the arrangements for CORE's Freedom March activity, said: "I don't think it's my responsibility to tell you that."

Later Evans said: "I know him as a member of the local chapter of CORE. What other organizations he had belonged to was no concern of mine."

Mrs. Cook has been busy taking reservations from individuals for the UFM buses at the Cleveland office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 9293 Cedar Avenue SE. She said reservations for the CORE buses would not be accepted there.

Both CORE and NAACP are part of the United Freedom Movement, a federation of more than 30 organizations active in the civil rights field. It was formed several months ago under leadership of the NAACP to gain Negro rights in housing, education, and employment.

Nationally, CORE and the NAACP have been feuding. The NAACP's traditional approach to obtain Negro rights has been through the courts. The Supreme Court decision of 1954 ruling out segregated schools crowned these efforts by the NAACP. CORE on the other hand, uses direct action such as sitins.

The maverick CORE buses, two in number, are priced at $12.50 per seat. The UFM buses will leave Cleveland at 7 p.m. August 27 from the Karamu House parking lot 2355 East 89th Street. The CORE buses leave at midnight from the Church of the Covenant (Presbyterian), 11205 Euclid Avenue.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Aug. 16, 1963]

REINTHALER JOINED COMMUNISTS TWICE; WAS ONLY 14 FIRST TIME

Eric J. Reinthaler, who is listed as a bus contract agent for the Cleveland branch of the Congress Of Racial Equality, began his Communist affiliation at a young age.

At his Federal conspiracy trial here in 1958, Reinthaler testified he joined the Young Communist League in Youngstown in 1938 when he was 14 years old and attending Youngstown Chaney High School.

At the time he was working in the steel mills in Youngstown, he said, the Communist Party was active in the Little Steel Strike. He said he stayed in the party league until 1941.

In 1943 Reinthaler went into the Army and served in France and Germany as a machine gunner. He was wounded December 12, 1944, and was hospitalized, he related. He was discharged from the Army in 1946.

Reinthaler said he received the Purple Heart, the Good Conduct Metal and European campaign ribbons for his military service.

Reinthaler said he joined the Communist Party in 1946 when he went to work for Republic Steel Corp. in Youngstown.

He told the court he remained in the Communist Party until 1954.

From 1948 until 1950, he related, he had been an organizer in the Ohio Valley Section of the Communist Party with headquarters in Steubenville.

In 1949 the Daily Worker, the Communist party organ in the United States, reported Reinthaler was among protestors in New York on behalf of top Communist leaders on trial in the first of a series of Communist conspiracy trials.

Labor records show that Reinthaler had been a steward, an executive board member, the legislative secretary and an editorial writer for Local 735 of the United Electrical Workers Union.

Reinthaler, whose last known address was 1568 Ansel Road NE., was born in Salem, Oreg., on January 7, 1924. He moved to Youngstown in 1936 and to Steubenville in 1948.

He came to Cleveland in 1950 for treatment at Brecksville Veterans' Administration Hospital.

Reinthaler had attended Bethany College in Bethany, W. Va., and later studied at Western Reserve University. He was dismissed at WRU in 1953 for bad grades.

In 1952 he represented himself to city officials as a member of the Progressive Party when he was protesting the arrest of a friend.

In 1953 the Cleveland Council on World Affairs expelled Reinthaler after his Communist affiliations were disclosed. The Plain Dealer at that time ran news stories revealing that Reinthaler had worked his way up to membership on a policymaking group of the council.

Reinthaler served 18 months in a Federal prison for his conviction in the conspiracy trial. Six others, including Fred and Marie Reed Haug, once influential labor leaders here, were convicted of a conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley law by filing false non-Communist affidavits with the National Labor Relations Board.

CORE WEIGHS NO POLICY CHANGE

(By William C. Barnard)

No change in the membership policy of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is contemplated, a spokesman for the organization said yesterday following disclosure Eric J. Reinthaler is an active member.

Reinthaler, 38, of 1568 Ansel Road NE., was convicted in 1958 of a Communist conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley law by filing false non-Communist affidavits with the National Labor Relations Board.

Reinthaler was identified by police as the reservation agent for two buses chartered by CORE to take interested Clevelanders to Washington on August 28 to participate in the Washington freedom march.

Bruce S. Warshal, vice president of the Cleveland chapter of CORE, said his group had nothing to hide and confirmed that Reinthaler is on the CORE bus committee.

"His past is known and he freely admits it. Eric has met all the requirements of our organization and is a sincere member," Warshal said.

Warshal said he knew Reinthaler was not a Communist at present because of his actions. He said Reinthaler was a dedicated worker for civil rights. "We cannot ask any more of him as a member," Warshal said.

The only requirements for membership in CORE, Warshal said, are that the applicant believe in civil rights and in nonviolent action. He said Reinthaler subscribed to these policies.

Warshal criticized the Plain Dealer for publishing the story.

"It was gutter-type journalism by a third-rate newspaper," he said.

"The story was a smear on the entire civil rights movement," Warshal protested.

He would not comment, however, on whether Reinthaler's membership in CORE was detrimental to the civil rights movement.

In the 1958 conspiracy trial, Reinthaler admitted being a member of the Communist Party at various times from 1938 to 1954. He served 14 months of an 18-month sentence. Police said his participation in Communist activities was extensive.

Anton Krchmarek, who identifies himself as spokesman for the Communist Party of Ohio, issued a statement to the Plain Dealer yesterday. Commenting on the Reinthaler case, he said:

"The position of the Communists * * * is no secret. Why then did the Cleveland Police Department at this time choose to publicize actions of individuals in supporting the historic freedom march to Washington? Clearly, it can be only for one purpose—an effort to disrupt the freedom march by use of the old Red-baiting tactics.

"In doing so the Cleveland Police Department is lending itself as a cat's paw to the racists, the Birchites, and reactionaries who are seeking to block human progress."

EXCERPTS FROM SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE HEARINGS ON LIMITATION OF APPELLATE JURISDICTION OF THE SUPREME COURT

FEBRUARY 26, 1958

Mr. FORBES. On January 6, 1958, 8 persons were brought to trial in Federal court in Cleveland, Ohio, on "charges of conspiracy to file false non-Communist union officer affidavits (form 1081) with the National Labor Relations Board" under a provision of the Taft-Hartley law. According to a Department of Justice release dated January 23, 1957, the indictment alleged these individuals "were aware that statements and representations * * * made in the affidavits" denying membership in the "Communist Party, were false." The indictment accused the defendants of conspiring "to fake resignations from the Communist Party and conceal the plot by using aliases, secret codes, and other deceptions." (See the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Jan. 24, 1957, p. A-30.)

(The additional incidents referred to follow:)

"Two of the defendants, Marie Reed Haug and her husband, Fred Haug, are also charged with having signed false non-Communist affidavits in a previous indictment. The other six defendants who allegedly conspired with the Haugs to willfully violate the Taft-Hartley law provision were Edward Joseph Chaka, Hyman Lumer, Sam Reed, Andrew Remes, Eric Jerome Reinthaler, and James S. West. This case was the first of its kind in which prosecution was instituted by the Department of Justice. The indictment charged a direct relationship between alleged subversives in the labor field and national leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Listed in the indictment as coconspirators but not as defendants were the following eight known Communist officials: Joe Brandt, Martin Chancey, Gus Hall, Frank Hashmall, Anthony Krchmarek, Steve Nelson, Sidney Stein, and John Williamson. Since their January 1957 indictments, the defendants have been supported by two newly created defense organizations in the Midwest. According to recent letterheads, Mrs. Betty Chaka is secretary of the Committee for Taft-Hartley Defendants, room 202, 2014 East 105th Street, Cleveland 6, Ohio, and Rev. Harold H. Hester and Harry J. Canter are affiliated with the Provisional Committee To Aid Victims of Taft-Hartley, room 402, 189 West Madison Street, Chicago 2, Ill." (See National Guardian, Dec. 23, 1957, p. 3.)

"As chairman of the Provisional Committee To Aid Victims of Taft-Hartley, Canter is a veteran of the Communist movement in the United States. In 1930, he was a Communist candidate for Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. During that period, he served 1 year in a Massachusetts jail for carrying a banner 'in Boston's Sacco and Vanzetti demonstration, denouncing the Governor Fuller as the murderer of these two workers * * * '. Canter was listed as an instructor at the Communist Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, Ill., during its 1943 fall session." (See Special Committee on Un-American Activities, appendix IX, 1944, p. 292. Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, Investigation of Communist Propaganda, pt. 5, vol. 4, 1930, p. 757; and HUAC, Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1957, p. 5.)

"In 1956, Canter was secretary of the James Keller Defense Commission, of room 325, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 5, Ill. This organization was apparently a defense front for James A. Keller, who had been 'ordered deported in 1953 on charges of past membership in the Communist Party.' A 1955 indictment against Keller was dismissed last year when the Supreme Court ruled in the case of *United States of America* v. *George I. Witovich* that 'an alien awaiting deportation was not compelled to answer questions about Communist activities.' According to the June 23, 1957 issue of the Worker, Sunday edition of the recently defunct Communist Daily Worker, Canter wrote a congratulatory letter to this paper's editor." (See Daily Worker, May 17, 1957, p. 3, and Firing Line, July 1, 1957, pp. 6 and 7.)

"The Provisional Committee To Aid Victims of Taft-Hartley is currently using the office facilities of the Chicago Joint Defense Committee To Defeat the Smith Act. Formerly known as the Claude Lightfoot Defense Committee, the Chicago Joint Defense Committee's October 1957 letterhead reflects their following officers: Leon Katzen, chairman; John T. Bernard, vice chairman; Geraldine Lightfoot, projects director; and Richard Criley, publicity and research. Katzen, Bernard, and Criley were identified as members of the Communist Party before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1952. Both Katzen and Criley have been listed as Communist leaders. Like Canter, Geraldine Lightfoot and Katzen are former instructors of the aforementioned Abraham Lincoln School." (See HUAC, annual report, 1952, pp. 29 and 31, and HUAC. Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communists Activities in the United States, 1947, p. 52.)

Mr. THURMOND. These articles report that an active participant in the march on Washington is Eric J. Reinthaler, who twice joined the Communist Party and who was convicted and was sentenced to serve 18 months beginning in 1958 for conspiring to "fake resignations from the Communist Party and concealed the plot by using aliases, secret codes and other deceptions" in violation of the Taft-Hartley Act. The Plain Dealer articles report that Mr. Reinthaler was convicted in 1958 of "a Communist conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley law by filing false non-communist affidavits with the National Labor Relations Board." They also show that leaders of the CORE chapter in Cleveland have confirmed that Mr. Reinthaler is a member in good standing and that the only requirements for membership in CORE, according to Mr. Bruce S. Warshal, vice president of the Cleveland chapter, is that the applicant believe in civil rights and nonviolent action.

Mr. President, it is incomprehensible that any organization in this country would have such a lax policy for accepting membership and particularly in permitting leadership such as has evidently been given to Mr. Reinthaler with his authority to arrange for transportation of CORE members to Washington for the march on the Nation's Capitol. This appears to be in line, however, with the stand that Mr. A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the march on Washington committee, has taken with regard to his vice chairman, Mr. Bayard Rustin, whose unsavory record as a former member of the Young Communist League and who has been convicted as a sex pervert and for refusing to serve in the Armed Forces of this country, was laid bare on the Senate floor by me on August 13. Mr. Randolph and other spokesmen for his committee continue to insist that Mr. Rustin will be Mr. March on Washington despite his ludicrous record. Evidently, Mr. President, many ministers, rabbis, priests, and others will march under his command on August 28 because even with the revelation of this information none of these religious leaders indorsing the march has backed off.

Mr. President, as further evidence of the tie-in between communism and the Negro demonstrations, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in my remarks an article from the September 1963 issue of the Christian Herald

entitled "Road to Riot: George S. Schuyler Presents One Negro Viewpoint." The author of this article, Mr. President, is the associate editor of the Negro newspaper, the Pittsburgh Courier.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROAD TO RIOT—GEORGE S. SCHUYLER PRESENTS ONE NEGRO VIEWPOINT

Considering the recklessness of the agitators currently leading Negroes, it need surprise no one if we see in America a bloody massacre similar to that which disgraced South Africa at Sharpeville in 1960, when police fired into a crowd, killing 89 demonstrators.

That the Negro demonstrations in America are spontaneous and unrehearsed is a major imposture of the times. Far from being a grassroots flareup of indignant innocents panting for drastic reforms, they are a part of a carefully concocted program generaled by experts in mobism.

It would be a grave error to overlook the real grievances of the Negro, as it would also be to ignore the great advances made in his status since World War II. When the present generation was born, prominent Negroes had already perfected the techniques of exploiting discontent, and there was plenty to be discontented about.

Save in a few northern and eastern communities, racial discrimination, segregation, and exclusion were rife, lynching was still going on although declining, all transportation into and out of the South was rigidly segregated, there were separate racial schools everywhere in the South and in many parts of the North and West, and of course there were no general hotels and restaurants that would serve Negroes, nor any filling stations whose facilities they could use.

Department stores were reluctant, or refused, to permit Negroes to try on garments: the service was studiedly rude so that bourgeois colored women either sent their maids to shop for them or waited until they could go to New York or Chicago. Theaters and movie houses relegated Negroes to balconies or galleries, if they admitted them at all, and the Nation's Capital was the worst offender. Everywhere Negroes were bulldozed or beaten by the police.

Civil service, even outside the South, was largely a white preserve. Housing was an acute problem whenever the Negro wished to move from his racial district, even more so than it is today. The columns of Negro newspapers have been filled for years with accounts of colored homes bombed, burned, or defaced, because their owners had the effrontery to move into a white district. Even if a Negro wished to operate a business, he could do so only in his own neighborhood, rarely downtown because of the virtual impossibility of getting a lease.

Publicly owned recreational facilities such as swimming pools, golf courses, tennis courts, and zoos were barred to Negroes or a special time set aside for them.

At the same time Negro illiteracy was being wiped out rapidly, tens of thousands of Negro students were matriculating in colleges and universities the country over, great athletes were bringing honor to the United States in Olympic games and to the alma maters at home, black boxers were dominating the field, a million young Negroes in uniform had been segregated and discriminated against at home and abroad.

It would have tried the patience of Job, and the Negro is not made of the stuff that will take treatment like this lying down. He was and always has been—contrary to some unlettered opinion—ready to fight. The question was how, where, and when.

During the same period, through the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the large church denominations, and labor unions, the lot of the Negro was being gradually improved. Through the years the NAACP had won a score or more cases before the U.S. Supreme Court which broke the color bar in tax-supported colleges, killed the white primary, ended the Jim Crow car and bus in interstate travel, compelled the equalization of school moneys and teachers' salaries, forced open tax-supported recreational facilities, outlawed residential covenants excluding Negroes. Finally, with the Supreme Court decision of 1954–55 desegregating schools, it did not seem far to the promised land of full equality.

The Army, Navy, Air Force and Coast Guard had been integrated by President Truman. Washington's racial barriers had been cast down by President Eisenhower. A score of States had fair employment practices laws, and because of this, significant advances had been made in jobs and in union membership.

The rigid Jim Crow barrier in organized religion was slowly being lifted in token fashion. Some big corporations were at last seeking out Negro graduates even before graduation. In a half hundred cities the Urban League was getting an increasing share of Community Chest funds for Negroes and making significant openings in employment. In the theater, on the concert stage, in art and literature, the postwar period was the golden age for Negroes.

Quite likely the rapidity of these successive reforms stimulated rising expectations and increased the appetite for more. There was a growing impatience with moderate advances and gradualistic approaches. The erstwhile nostrum of politics nowhere brought the advertised utopia, although it did bring some Negroes political preferment and minor reforms. Negroes became keenly aware, more so than ever, of the vast gulf separating them from their white neighbors in wages, job opportunities and social restrictions. A cause of vast bitterness was the persistent circumvention of court rulings on desegregation of public schools, and the dead end confronting the ambitious young Negro throughout the South who sought anything better than menial work in his community.

Where at first the Negro demands were far from extreme and the agitation was locally generated and controlled, it was not long before the direction of the campaign against Jim Crowism was seized by professionals from afar, versed in mass pressure techniques and in creating hysteria. From mild demands which local authorities might have granted, there were soon strident shouts for immediate revolutionary changes which officials could not meet because the majority of whites would not tolerate them. The evidence from Albany, Ga., Jackson, Miss., Birmingham, Ala., indicates that it was outside agitators, the trained men from Nashville, Atlanta, New Orleans and New York, who kept the fires burning.

The NAACP was caught flatfooted by the well-trained corpsmen of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Students Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee, many of them schooled in special techniques at secret sessions subsidized by certain white individuals sharing the philosophy of mass pressure. The NAACP is now stressing immediacy as strongly as the less responsible groups. Like them it has refused to let up pressure anywhere along the line, although it is being hurt by the bite of other groups into the civil rights dollar while it has to pay the fines and go the bail of youngsters arrested for sitting-in, swimming in, kneeling-in and other challenges to local law and order.

Now the Negro cries for revolutionary changes are rising more loudly. Demands are being made that leaders know cannot be fulfilled, but they have a tiger by the tail and dare not let go for fear of being labeled "Uncle Tom" and deserted by the more hysterical. There are many who seem to welcome the strife that must inevitably come when the patience of law enforcement officers runs out. They daily warn that demonstrations will continue unless all their demands are met. They say literally or in effect that "the white man is scared." They have seen him run out of Asia and Africa; have noted that Washington rushed to recognize Castro, laid out the red carpet for Lumumba and Adoula, supported Nasser and Nkrumah; and they figure whites will surrender here without a real struggle, if they keep on challenging them. They perhaps rightly observe that the West has gone soft due to unprecedented luxury and high wages. They fail to distinguish the difference between globally oriented Washington politicians, international-minded big-city officials, and persons in the hinterland; or the undisciplined neurotic and vainglorious white youth in congested urban centers.

Examination of the cast of characters reveals that it consists of a hierarchy of professional agitators schooled in sit-in tactics that were imported by American labor unions in 1937, after a successful trial by the French Confederation of Labor the year before. These sit-in strikes were revelatory and effective, and were not lost upon Negroes seeking solutions to the color bar and its attendant evils. There was also ample though not encouraging precedent in the Coxey's Army march of 1894 and the pathetic Bonus Marchers of 1932, as well as the jobless demonstrations engineered by the Communists of that period.

One of the most respected leaders today is A. Philip Randolph, president of the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a longtime advocate of mass pressure and founder of the march on Washington movement. It was this threat to march a band of 10,000 Negroes into Washington that pressured President F. D. Roosevelt into issuing his Fair Employment Practices Executive Order 8802, 3 days after the Nazis attacked their erstwhile Moscow allies. Ever since then, Randolph has been in the forefront of Negro leadership. Today's marches on city halls and executive mansions, culminating in the proposed march of 100,000 Negroes on the Nation's capital to speed passage of a sweeping civil rights law, is an indication of the effectiveness of these ideas now re-echoed by younger men. Other Negro leaders who now wholeheartedly support this program in the name of non-violent civil disobedience, had sat on their hands in 1941—when it was first proposed by Randolph—content to confer and draw up resolutions.

A year later the Congress of Racial Equality was founded by James Farmer, a pacifist, which brought to perfection the tactic of sit-ins in public places excluding Negroes from service. For years CORE restricted its activities largely to nonsouthern areas, enlisting an interracial corps of intrepid individuals willing to brave clubbings and arrests to break down the color bar. CORE took the lead in testing supposedly integrated buses and trains in Dixie, and later waiting rooms and lunch counters in bus and railroad stations.

There were other organizations set up in the period after World War I which concentrated on Negro agitation. One of the earliest was the African Blood Brotherhood headed by a "voluntary" Negro, Cyril Briggs in the twenties in Harlem; the American Negro Labor Congress of 1925, headed by Lovett Fort-Whiteman, who soon took off for the Soviet promised land and remained. This was followed by the League of Struggle for Negro Rights of 1930. Others included the Communist-dominated Federal writers' and theater projects; the very profitable Scotts-

boro case which the astute colored Communist leader, Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., snatched from the NAACP, thus keeping the Reds' larder filled for years; the International Labor Defense, an arm of the Third International, which was able to penetrate Negro churches and organizations by parading a succession of Scottsboro "mothers" all over the country, taking up collections and delivering incendiary speeches. Other directly Red-inspired or at least pink-tinted organizations were the Sharecroppers Union; the Negro Labor Councils; the Negro Labor Victory Committee; and the Civil Rights Congress.

They all had their part in training adherents and agitators.

Most influential of the efforts to mold Negro opinion favorable to a Soviet America was the National Negro Congress. Ostensibly formed by Howard University professors, the plan for it actually originated in the New York County Committee of the Communist Party and was carried to Howard by Manning Johnson and another Communist. According to Johnson, who was a member, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, was later elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party. The president from 1936 to 1940 was A. Philip Randolph. He resigned, saying, "I quit the congress because it is not truly a Negro congress." Out of some 1,200 or more delegates, over 300 were white, and obviously of Communist persuasion.

The first Negro president of Howard University, Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, now a member of the Washington, D.C., Board of Education, was publicly identified with Communist doctrines by Judge James A. Cobb, of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia, testifying before the House Committee Against Un-American Activities.

Another witness, the very respected Dr. Kelly Miller, for 45 years a faculty member, testified about a conference held at Howard on May 18, 19, and 20, 1935, presided over by President Johnson. Miller said that he was astonished to hear the fiery speeches by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Professors Emmet Dorsey and Abram Harris, James Ford (quadrennial vice presidential candidate of the Communist Party), and Eric Waldron, correspondent of the Communist Daily Worker and surprised that President Johnson sat through it all without comment and apparently with approval. (HUAC, vol. 3, p. 2148, Oct.-Nov. 1938.)

Lawrence A. Oxley, an official of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor, attended every session of this conference and found it "distinctly communistic in character. * * * There seemed to be but three ways out for the Negro. (1) The answer of the Socialist Party; (2) the answer of the Communist Party; (3) the answer of the American Labor Party."

"During the course of the last session, May 20," said Mr. Oxley, "I heard Mr. Ford and Mr. Dorsey advocate the overthrow of the American Government, if necessary, to secure the objectives of the program sponsored by the conference" (p. 2149 HUAC, vol. 3, November 1938).

It is illuminating to read what was outlined at the secret Communist Party convention in Bridgeman, Mich., on August 22, 1922, attended by subversives and unkindly raided by the Michigan constabulary who carted off two barrels of documentary proof. The blueprint for Negroes reads: "In order that the Negro may be reached with education and propaganda and that he may be organized for activity, the following methods are recommended:

"1. Nuclei shall be established in all existing Negro organizations, such as fraternal, religious, and labor organizations, cooperatives, tenant farmers' leagues, etc.

"2. Colored organizers and speakers shall be sent among Negroes to inform them and win their confidence.

"3. Newspapers and publications shall be established or, when this is not feasible, news service shall be established by friendly cooperation with colored newspapers of liberal tenets.

"4. Friendship of liberal-minded Negro ministers shall be sought as these men are at the present time the leaders of the Negro masses and many of them are earnest but lack scientific knowledge.

"5. Conferences on the economic conditions shall be held from time to time with these ministers, educators and other liberal elements, and through their influence the party shall aim to secure a more favorable hearing before the Negro masses.

"6. By means of its membership the party shall penetrate the existing forums, literary societies, lyceums, schools, colleges, teachers' institutes, etc., of the colored people, and establish forums of its own for the enlightenment of the Negro population.

"Where other forms of activity are impossible or impracticable, as in certain southern districts, cooperatives may be formed."

This prescient program of 40 years ago has been followed to the letter. Thousands of Negro students, professors and preachers are prepared to lead and support extremist strategy. With opportunities for leadership sparse, Negro intellectuals were easily beguiled with honorary positions in front organizations, chairmanship at dinners and meetings, and grosser forms of interracial persuasion at which the Communist conspiracy is adept. Many did not even know where their guidance was coming from and indignantly denied any Red membership or connection—as if that made any difference so long as they served the Communist purpurpose. A fancier of old Communist-front letterheads and the columns of Red newspapers will find enough names of prominent Negro leaders to fill a book; many of these people are the intellectual authors of the present disturbances.

When Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, with one stroke of the pen, in 1946 snatched the Communist Party U.S.A. away from 20th century Americanism, which it had opportunistically adopted while American arms were making the world safe for the Soviet Union, the party fell upon evil days. Security agencies were smiting the comrades hip and thigh. The revival of Self-Determination-for-the-Black-Belt, the outsing of nine Red unions from the CIO, the Peekskill riot, the presentation to the United Nations by the NAACP's Dr. DuBois and Walter White of a charge of American genocide against Negroes, even the triumphant Communist Peace Conference at New York's Waldorf-Astoria (endorsed by the first Negro president of Fisk University, Dr. Charles S. Johnson) could not rescue the above-ground party from the doldrums. It was then that a new Red policy on Negroes was adopted. It meant abandonment of front organizations and concentration on boring from within existing Negro groups.

In July 1931, when Robert Minor, a veteran Communist boss, quoted approvingly an editorial "No Menacing Red" in the powerful Negro weekly, Afro-American, it was almost alone among the 150 colored weeklies in its position. Twenty years later this was a popular view in editorial offices, and one big newspaper had as many as four fellow-traveling columnists.

The Afro editorial said in part: "The Reds are going our way. Like ourselves they represent a feared and hated cause. They are the first white group since Emancipation to advocate race, social equality and intermarriage for those who wish it. In fact there is more real Christianity among white Communists than in the white YMCA the white Christian Endeavor Societies or the white so-called Christian churches. The Reds are no menace to Negroes. In fact, it is comforting to find groups of such people as Communists in this color-mad world."

Interestingly this newspaper had no comment when in the midfifties the Communists set up a Jim Crow school in Harlem because of racial tension and discrimination at its Jefferson School in Greenwich Village.

The People's Voice, a Negro weekly of large Harlem circulation founded by Congressman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, was soon dubbed the "Uptown Daily Worker" because of its news and editorial content and fiery volumns by Paul Robeson and Lena Horne, which left no doubt of its ideological kinship with the Afro-American. On the Pacific coast, the widely circulated California Eagle was equally a mouthpiece for Red ideas.

These are among the influences that shaped the thinking of the current crop of agitators.

Irresponsible demagoguery on both sides will lead some day, somewhere, to a bloody conflict which could spread as rapidly and as far as the demonstrations have, and the outcome of which will have to be martial law and eventual dictatorship. As Bernard Shaw has observed: "Bravery is sometimes a form of stupidity," and some may cynically agree with the Communists that "You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs," but the risk is an American Sharpeville. While this may satisfy those who favor Red revolution, it is scarcely guaranteed to advance the cause of the Negro. Even Gandhi discovered that nonviolence frequently leads to violence because few leaders can control hysterical followers, and bedeviled police armed with shotguns and rifles may not always withstand showers of rocks and bottles with calm and fortitude.

It is a most alarming development when leaders of a people shout, "No compromise." "No moderation." Since the Negro wishes to remain in America, embittered violences on both sides will not bring any real integration or guarantee our national security nor insure our survival as a democracy which has brought the greatest freedom and highest living standards in all history to its citizens, black and white.

Mr. THURMOND. I expect to have additional information to present to the Senate on the question of whether there are Communist connections and influences in the Negro demonstrations and agitational efforts. I have stated, and I state here again today that I am certain that many persons involved in these demonstrations are sincerely seeking to serve some end other than advancing the cause of communism. I am convinced, however, that there are also some who are sincerely carrying out the orders and aims of the Communist Party U.S.A. So I renew here today my request that this entire matter be looked into without further delay by the Congress.

In concluding my statement, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD my weekly newsletter for August 19, 1963.

There being no objection, the newsletter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHO IS WORKING FOR THE KREMLIN

(By U.S. Senator STROM THURMOND)

The CONGRESSIONAL RECORDS of August 2, 7, and 13, and the Senate Commerce Committee hearings on S. 1732, are filled with information from public sources which prove that there is Communist influence in and penetration of the current Negro demon-

strations and agitational efforts in this country. Unfortunately, all requests for investigations of these demonstrations, which have caused violence and bloodshed across this country, have fallen on deaf ears and closed minds. The only antidote suggested to solve all this—as if anything could, including complete surrender by the Congress to all demands of the rioters—is passage of the President's power-laden and unconstitutional civil rights program.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has emphasized to the Congress and also to the public in his books, "Masters of Deceit" and "A Study of Communism" that a primary objective of the Communists in this country is to foment and exploit racial strife and disorders. Indeed, the key propaganda terms used by the Communist Party U.S.A. are the words "equality" and "peace."

Testimony by a former Communist before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1957 corroborates Mr. Hoover's point about the Red goal in the United States of America. Frank S. Meyer told the subcommittee: "The major drive * * * to penetrate the movement of the Negro people * * * has nothing to do with any interest in the aims and desires of the Negro people, but is a realization by the Communist Party that that movement can be used as the most important and strongest cutting edge against the constitutional structure of the United States, by trying to develop a removal of division of power guarantees in the Senate, and secondarily, by the fact that they believe * * * that at this time in a prosperous country this is the only place in which serious trouble can possibly be stirred up, in which there are serious possibilities of developing what they call mass struggles of building up extraconstitutional and extralegal actions, and so on."

Here is a quote from Mr. Hoover's book, "Masters of Deceit": "The party's sole interest, as most American Negroes know, is to hoodwink the Negro, exploit him, and use him as a tool to build a Communist America."

Later he told the House Appropriations Committee on March 3, 1961: "The sit-in demonstrations in the South were a made-to-order issue which the party fully exploited to further its ends."

The evidence in the hearings and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shows that the man most generally credited with inciting and organizing the riots, Dr. Martin Luther King, has had top assistants with questionable backgrounds. One of these, Bayard Rustin, has admitted being a former member of the Young Communist League and having served jail sentences for sex perversion, lewdness, and refusing to serve in our Armed Forces. He has also been arrested on numerous occasions. Now he is Mr. March on Washington, serving as vice chairman of the August 28 march on Washington. How can ministers, rabbis, and priests march to Lincoln Memorial on August 28 under such leadership?

Dr. King has been a lecturer at the Highlander Folk School with admitted Communists and pro-Communist characters. This school has been closed by the State of Tennessee and cited as subversive by the attorney general of Georgia. There is much more public evidence in the RECORD and even more to be obtained by a penetrating investigation into the current riots.

There is no question but that many persons participating in these disturbances are sincerely seeking to obtain some end other than advancing the cause of communism. However, there are also some who are sincerely carrying out the orders and aims of the Communist Party, U.S.A. A recent article by the National Editorial Association say Gus Hall, head of the CPUSA, has issued secret orders for Reds to infiltrate the demonstrations, especially the march on Washington.

Columnist Holmes Alexander has made the point that "if it's true, as seems evident, that the Communists are trying to exploit the civil rights issue, the best way to spoil their game is to expose them." The Washington Evening Star has also stated that "all concerned—both white and colored—have a right to know just who is working for the Kremlin in this matter."

With these comments, I concur completely, as do many others who are likewise not satisfied with the efforts to sweep this vital question under the rug with passage of more unconstitutional civil rights legislation and addition of more dictatorial police powers for the Attorney General.

Mr. THURMOND. Also, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at the conclusion of these remarks a news dispatch which was printed in the Los Angeles Times of Los Angeles, Calif., on August 14, 1963. This article, which is entitled "Senator Raps March Organizer as Ex-Red: Target of THURMOND Attack Admits Being Former Communist, Jailed Draft Evader" written by Mr. Andrew J. Glass, of the New York Herald Tribune staff, contains a report of my remarks on the Senate floor on August 13 about Mr. Bayard Rustin. It also has an interview with Mr. Rustin on the charges I made, and it is interesting to note that he affirms the principal charges I made, refusing to comment on one which is a matter of public record, and denies only one point I made.

Mr. Rustin specifically denies that he ever traveled to the Soviet Union as was reported in my speech, but he does admit that he was one of the organizers of the 1958 pacifist march to which he referred "and would have been proud to have joined them in Red Square." I wish to point out to the Senate that my point about Mr. Rustin having visited the Soviet Union in conjunction with this parade came from an Associated Press news dispatch from New York which quoted Mr. Rustin to this effect. However, regardless of the accuracy of the AP report on this point, I think Mr. Rustin's reply to this charge makes a distinction without too much of a difference.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR RAPS MARCH ORGANIZER AS EX-RED—TARGET OF THURMOND ATTACK ADMITS BEING FORMER COMMUNIST, JAILED DRAFT EVADER

(By Andrew J. Glass)

WASHINGTON.—Senator STROM THURMOND, Democrat, of South Carolina, charged Tuesday that the chief organizer of the August 28 civil rights march on Washington is a former Communist who spent 28 months in jail during World War II for refusing to register for the draft.

The South Carolina Democrat inserted what he said was the police record of Bayard Rustin, the 53-year-old deputy director of the march, into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The file, he said, includes a 1953 conviction for sex perversion and a subsequent arrest for vagrancy and lewdness.

CITES DISSATISFACTION

"Many people across the country," the southerner told the Senate, "are not satisfied with the Attorney General's efforts to whitewash the question of Communist influence or involvement in these Negro demonstrations which have been turning into race riots in various cities in this country."

(Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy informed the Senate Commerce Committee last month that the Justice Department had "no evidence" that the Negro equality drive was inspired by Moscow.)

Rustin, who runs the march headquarters from the community center of Harlem's Friendship Baptist Church, confirmed both his wartime prison term and his former Communist membership.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

"As a Quaker and a pacifist," he told the Herald Tribune News Service, "I was opposed to all participation. I notified the draft board 2 years before I was arrested that I could not support the military effort in any way."

While a student at City College of New York in 1936, Rustin said, "I joined the Young Communist League because at that time, I thought they were deeply concerned with social justice." He said he "broke completely" with the YCL in June 1941, after the Nazi attack on Russia. At the time, the league accepted racial segregation in the Armed Forces and "their true intentions became crystal clear."

RUSSIAN TRIP DENIED

"In 1958," Senator THURMOND further alleged, "(Rustin) saw fit to travel to the Soviet Union and meet with the butchers of the Hungarian freedom fighters to participate in a Communist propaganda show called 'Non-Violent Action Committee Against Nuclear Weapons.'"

Rustin termed this "an absolute lie." He said he had never been to the Soviet Union, although he was one of the organizers of the 1958 pacifist march and "would have been proud to have joined them in Red Square."

Rustin declined to comment on the morals charges which allegedly were lodged against him in Pasadena, Calif., and involved two other men.

A spokesman for the march said all comments on the affair must come from A. Philip Randolph, director of the rally. Randolph was at an AFL-CIO summit meeting at Unity House, Pa., and could not be reached.

RUSTIN BACKGROUND

The spokesman, however, recalled that the ministers backing the march had spoken of "redemption." He also noted that the conviction was 10 years old.

"They can not get Randolph, they can not get King, they can not get Wilkins—so they go after Rustin," the spokesman said.

Rustin was secretary to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference from 1956 to 1960. Wilkins is executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peaple.

Arrested more than 25 times in the South for his role in the civil rights fight, Rustin said he once spent 30 days on a North Carolina chain gang. Along with Randolph, he came here last week to brief 60 legislators on the coming mass demonstration.

Asked recently whether he wanted Rustin to resign, Randolph replied: "Why Heavens, no. He is Mr. March himself."

Mr. THURMOND. I think it would also be appropriate at this point, Mr. President, to include in the RECORD an editorial from the Columbia Record on August 20, 1963, entitled "Red Influence on Capital March." I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial placed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RED INFLUENCE ON CAPITOL MARCH

Administration spokesmen looked up and declared innocently that they saw no Com-

munist cloud hanging over the August 28 March on Washington. They couldn't see it for the rubescent smog.

Senator THURMOND took the Senate floor to call attention to the pink haze in the atmosphere. He cited public documents for proof.

The vice chairman of the committee in charge of the Nation's biggest civil rights demonstration is Bayard Rustin, who has a long record of Communist and leftwing associations, although he declined to join the Communist Party.

He was incarcerated 28 months in Federal prisons during World War II for failure to abide by the selective service law. More than a conscientious objector, he refused to do patriotic Government work or to stand a physical examination.

Rustin admits that he was a member of the Young Communist League and attended a Communist Party convention, as an observer. He participated in a Communist propaganda show in Moscow. He is a friend of Communist Dictator Nkrumah, of Ghana. He has been actively associated with organizations that have been officially designated as Communist fronts.

One of his boasts is that he has been jailed more than 20 times for civil rights activities. He has police records in California, New York, and North Carolina. He pleaded guilty to a charge of sex perversion and has been convicted for vagrancy and lewdness.

This unsavory record was called to the attention of A. Philip Randolph, of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, chairman of the march on Washington committee. Asked if he wanted Rustin to resign, he replied, "Heavens, no. He's Mr. March himself."

Granting that it is true that Rustin is "Mr. March on Washington," even the most ardent and colorblind integrationists should be able to see the red aura of influence that is pervading the Washington protest scene. If their eyes and ears do not inform them, at least their nostrils should.

ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the Senate now has before it for consideration one of the most crucial and vital issues of our time. I refer to the nuclear test ban treaty before the Senate on the question of ratification.

On any issue before the Congress, but particularly on this vital issue affecting the military security of our Nation, it is absolutely necessary that the testimony presented to the Congress be candid, forthright, and unequivocal. Some of the testimony on the test ban treaty, in my opinion, fails to meet the standard which should be enforced. Unfortunately, since the subject is both technical and subject to security restrictions, it is most difficult for the Senate to enforce the forthrightness which it could otherwise require. As a result, there is an ever-present danger that both the Senate and the public may be misled by some of the testimony, particularly the public testimony, and the generalizations contained therein.

Official witnesses from the executive branch, as is to be expected, have sought to make the strongest possible case for ratification of the treaty. We can and do expect the officials of the administration to make the strongest arguments in support of their conclusions that the treaty is in the best interest of the United States. The facts upon which those conclusions are based, however, should not be subject to bias in presentation. It is against the facts themselves, upon which the Senate must weigh the conclusions of the executive branch and, thereby, the merits or demerits of the treaty.

I am particularly disturbed by the testimony of the Secretary of Defense on August 13 before the Committee on Foreign Relations. Let me say at this point that while I disagree completely with many of his conclusions, it is not with his statement of conclusions that I take issue now; rather it is with the manner in which the facts were presented. The presentation of factual matters was unbalanced to the extent that it was misleading. The testimony of the Secretary of Defense was lengthy, and I will make no attempt to point out all of the instances of unbalance. I will illustrate by point with one particular aspect of his testimony—that pertaining to the antiballistic-missile field—in some detail; and then briefly call attention to several other rather glaring instances.

Historically, the U.S. position in support of a prohibition of nuclear testing has been based, whether publicly acknowledged or not, on the premise that a cessation of nuclear testing would have a strong tendency to preserve an existing U.S. superiority in nuclear power. This is a worthy motive, but one which is based on a fundamental premise that the United States does, in fact, have such a superiority to protect. Probably the most fundamental question to be answered by the Senate on the issue of ratification of the proposed treaty, therefore, is whether the United States does now have a superiority in nuclear power.

In approaching the estimate of whether the United States or the Soviet Union has a superiority, the question initially resolves itself into two related, but distant aspects—technology and arsenal, or knowledge and weapons. And in each field of nuclear power, strategic and tactical, offensive and defensive, this distinction exists. It is possible that the two elements—technological superiority and arsenal superiority—do not coincide. One side may have the greater quantity and quality of weapons in a particular field, while the other may have a superiority in technology, although lapse of time will usually insure that at some point the superiority of knowledge and weapons will coincide. Productive capacity, or the lack of it, on one side, could prevent the coincidence of the two, of course.

When the question of superiority, or "who's ahead," in a particular field comes up, therefore, it must necessarily relate, unless specifically limited, to both the questions of technology and weaponry. The field of antiballistic missiles is no exception. Superiority in the field of ABM's involves really two questions, knowledge and weapons.

The Secretary of Defense testified on the subject of antiballistic missiles, and in order that there may be no question of quoting him out of context, I ask unanimous consent that the portion of the Secretary's prepared statement dealing with antiballistic missiles, and the closely related subject of penetrability of U.S. ballistic missiles, be printed in full in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request by the Senator from South Carolina? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. THURMOND. The Secretary, after describing in general terms the nature of the problems in any antiballistic missile system, stated: "The last of these two items, resistance to blackout effect and warhead technology depend on nuclear testing." The Secretary then pointed out that the United States has the capability, without further testing, to weaponize ABM warheads. He did not specifically mention the Soviet capability in this regard.

On the question of resistance to blackout effect, the Secretary stated:

> As for the blackout problem—and these observations, incidentally, apply to communications blackout as well as to ABM radar blackout—Soviet and United States experience appears to be comparable although obtained in different ways.
>
> Each side has had about the same number of high altitude tests, and over yield ranges and altitude ranges which are comparable though not identical. By theoretical analysis of presently available data, we believe we can adequately predict effects over the range of yields and altitudes in which we are most interested. We will be able to design around the remaining uncertainties.

Mr. President, it is in the field of resistance to blackout effect that the most serious problem of technology arises. This falls generally into the field of weapons effects. On this question, the Secretary of Defense stated:

> As for the blackout problem—and these observations, incidentally, apply to communications blackout as well as to ABM radar blackout—Soviet and United States experience appears to be comparable although obtained in different ways.

That, Mr. President, is a most deceptive statement.

Testimony in classified session has spelled out the particular tests in detail which have been conducted by both sides. This testimony cannot be discussed in public. Two statements which have been released to the public belie the Secretary's assertion, however.

The statement of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, delivered by General Taylor, included this statement on weapons effects:

> It is indicated that the U.S.S.R. is ahead of the United States in the high-yield (tens of megatons) technology, in weapons effects knowledge derived from high-yield nuclear explosions.

Thus, the Joint Chiefs of Staff assert categorically and without equivocation that the Soviets are ahead in weapons effects technology in the high yields.

Dr. Edward Teller put it even more emphatically, and I quote from his publicly released statement:

> There is one field of particularly great importance where we have reason to believe that the Russians have acquired a decisive lead. This is the investigation of the effects of nuclear weapons.

The Secretary's most carefully worded statement that "each side has had about

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America's Underdeveloped Tenth

THIS summer's racial outburst in the United States comes one hundred years after the Emanicipation Proclamation and thirty years after the New Deal: it revives the battles of both and the answer to it can only be a synthesis of both. Emancipation brought full citizenship to Negroes in theory but not in practice ; the New Deal laid a floor under poverty but left many Americans sitting on that floor—and most of those who are still sitting there today are Negroes. Wednesday's march on Washington was for "Jobs and Freedom"—and jobs were put first. This year revolt has spread all over the country because it has become a demand for the economic opportunities that are denied to the Negro everywhere, not just for the civil rights that are formally available to him—even in the South if he dares to use them.

More and more Negroes are daring to use them even there, as has been shown lately by the numbers who have exercised their right of assembling to petition for the redress of grievances. These demonstrations have shown, too, that America's Negroes are no longer prepared to give way before their white fellow citizens, that the subservient mentality of slavery has at last been thrown off, not only by the Negro leaders—the Ralph Bunches, the Robert Weavers, the Martin Luther Kings, the James Baldwins—but by most of the rank and file as well. This should have become obvious years ago, when the first Negro children walked calmly through the jeering ranks of white adults to their desegregated schools. It certainly became obvious this year as battalions of Negroes of all ages faced fire hoses and flocked willingly to gaol—and on Wednesday when 200,000 of them paraded (see page 744) with impressive respectability and more impressive restraint. But the economic and cultural legacies of slavery have to be thrown off. The twenty million Negroes are no longer a submerged tenth of the American nation but they are still an underdeveloped tenth. They are, overwhelmingly, on the seamy side of affluence and, as long as they lag behind the rest of the country in this way, no real integration is possible.

What is needed, it has been suggested, is a domestic Point Four scheme, a crash programme to make up to the Negro for a century of neglect, to give him the opportunities that came automatically to other immigrants (and which they were better prepared to take). Negroes, it is claimed, need special assistance to bring their way of living up to the general level of American society, to get them out of the slum of cultural backwardness that inhibits all but a few of the exceptionally gifted from trying to escape. Only in this way, it is said, can the average Negro child become one whom white parents are happy to have their children go to school with ; undeniably, as things are, a heavy influx of Negro pupils lowers standards of behaviour as well as of education ; this is no slur on the Negroes but on those other Americans who have not given them the aid for their development that America offers to poor peoples everywhere else. Only in this way can the average Negro family become one that those other Americans will greet as neighbours.

Crash programme or not, such a scheme for Negro development cannot work out its benefit for at least a generation. Meanwhile, what would satisfy the Negroes, or at least enough of them to lessen the ever-present and growing danger of race violence, would be more and better work. The percentages of long-term and teenage unemployment, high as these are for the American labour force as a whole (over 10 per cent in June), are far higher among the

Negroes in these groups. In both cases the only real remedy lies in acquiring more education and more skill. But until now jobs have not been offered to Negroes even if they have had the necessary training—and so few of them have bothered to obtain it. Those who have still find that they earn less than whites ; this includes even college graduates.

Many of this summer's demonstrations—boycotts of businesses and picketing of building sites, for example—have been directed against this kind of discrimination by employers and by trade unions ; and so, for much longer, have the efforts of both the Administration and the national labour organisation. Things have got better. It is at any rate becoming worth while for Negroes to take advantage of the various schemes for making them—and all the jobless—more employable which the President has been urging Congress to pass.

Some, if not all, of these measures will probably get through by the end of the year. So, probably, will some, if not all, of the President's proposals for giving the federal authorities more power to bring lawsuits on behalf of Negroes who have been denied their right to vote, to send their children to white schools, to eat in a hotel or to use a lavatory. But, inevitably, the impact of all this will be frustratingly slow also—too slow, it is feared, for the Negroes who have not yet had time to stomach the restraint that goes with power, who are disillusioned, and have reason to be, with the gradual approach. Yet this is the only sure way of making progress without disrupting the country, in the opinion both of the Administration and of the Negroes' own traditional leaders. This week's march on Washington, begun as an attempt to bring pressure on Congressmen, became an attempt to take pressure off them by enabling those who have been demonstrating all summer to let off their remaining steam in one final blast.

The more sophisticated of the younger Negroes are unlikely to be content with this. What their older, more responsible leaders, who are Americans first and Negroes second, fear is that, under the influence of such groups as the Black Muslims and the men who are now proposing a Negro political party, the United States will be split on racial lines even more glaringly than it is already. The whites are helping to make this a real danger ; many who accept the aspirations of the Negroes, or who think they do, have been shocked by the recent Negro assertiveness. This year's demonstrations have brought Northerners bang up against the real facts of racial segregation for the first time ; many find themselves openly sympathising with what in the past they called southern prejudice. And the civil rights legislation in Congress brings yet another encroachment by the federal government on the powers of the states and on the independence of private property. America's race problem reaches into the recesses of all its other problems.

All this has suddenly made the Negro question the most serious political issue in the country and one that must have an important, though as yet incalculable, effect on next year's election. The racial crisis, even though it is the mirror image of the same problems in other and different countries, is also one more reason why the attention of Americans is returning to their own problems and away from those of the world. What really would do most good would be sweep away the pockets of economic depression, the inadequate schools and worse housing that blight American affluence. A joint effort to do this would benefit whites and Negroes alike. Presidents have been asking for such an effort ever since the war with little success. Just possibly, this year's flare-up of the American conscience may burn such a programme through Congress. If it does, it will mean a fresh drain on America's money and on its trained experts. Full employment could help powerfully but, unless disarmament frees resources, there will be that much less left for the underdeveloped abroad ; development, which is the only right form of charity for free men, will begin at home, even though it cannot end there.

What Price the Grand Design ?

General de Gaulle's Europe is not the only possible one

BEING the product of a team of anonymous journalists, *The Economist* does not, at least deliberately, make a habit of arguing with itself in public. But this week it proposes to make an exception to the rule for a review of two books on America and Europe, appearing on page 753, which comes from a valued outside contributor. The review's importance is that it throws cold water on Mr Kennedy's grand design for a partnership between America and Europe which *The Economist* has believed, and continues to believe, to be the right goal for the West.

That there should now be signs of a revulsion from the orthodoxies of the period when Britain was actively seeking to enter the European common market is natural after the failure of that endeavour. Many people who doubted the wisdom of " going into Europe," and the real prospects of the Atlantic purpose it was supposed to serve, but who were silenced by the roar of the flowing tide, are now emerging from cave and grotto to point out that the tide was bound to ebb and that rocks, rockier even than the person of General de Gaulle, would have stopped it sweeping inland in any case.

Thus, the reviewer objects that, on the American side, support for European unity has no roots in the " tradition of American foreign policy " and that for many Americans it has been a covert form of neo-isolationism, " a means of safely liquidating a series of European commitments into which the United States has been drawn over the past twenty years " ; and, on the European side, that there never has been a potential counterweight to America, because the rump of the continent west of the Elbe is too vulnerable to nuclear attack. Even if a partnership could be set on its feet, probably " a true co-ordination of policy would give way to spheres of influence." In short, the Americans were always wrong to encourage the Frankenstein of European union ; Gaullism is inevitable ; partnership has always been a pious fraud.

At a time when we still reel from General de Gaulle's bodyblows, the thesis is alluring. But its underlying assumptions about the nature of modern national power seem old-fashioned, just as the general himself does even to Europeans to whom his independence from America has its appeal. For

Pub. Accomm.
Kentucky

Hotel-Motel Desegregation in Kentucky

by

Frank D. Bean, Jr.

A Report Prepared for the
Commission on Human Rights,
with the Assistance of the
Social Research Service,
University of Kentucky

Commission on Human Rights
Commonwealth of Kentucky
Frankfort, Kentucky
August 1963

Pub. Accomm. Gen.

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56 STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Governors' Executive Orders Against Discrimination

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DIGEST: Governors of five states have issued executive orders to insure equal opportunities regardless of race or color.

One result of the growing sensitivity in this country to the need to eliminate racial discrimination has been the recent issuance of Executive Orders by State Governors. Their objective is to assure the fullest possible cooperation of the executive branch of the state government in the efforts to achieve the goal of equal opportunity for members of racial minorities in those areas in which the executive arm of the state exercises some control. Five such executive orders are summarized below.

It should be pointed out that the scope of the authority of a Governor to issue an executive order depends on the constitution and the statutes of that particular state. Hence, an executive order issued by one Governor cannot be used as a model in another state without examination of that state's constitution and laws.

Some provisions in these executive orders may be subject to contest as exceeding the Governor's authority; in such case, it will be for the courts to determine their validity.

INDIANA

Executive Order No. 4-63 issued on June 10, 1963 by Governor Matthew E. Welsh

In the preamble the Executive Order refers to the Civil Rights Act of 1961 as amended in 1963 which declares the equal access to and use of public accommodations a civil right. The preamble further points out that the executive branch of the government is charged with an obligation to assure that those laws are fairly administered.

Part I of the body of the Order contains a direction to all executive departments and agencies whose functions relate to providing, supervising or licensing persons or organizations doing business as places of public accommodation, to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent racial or religious discrimination

(a) in public parks, state forests, museums, libraries, meeting rooms, health services and other public facilities owned or operated by the state government;

(b) in all places of public accommodation licensed by or subject to the supervision of any department of the state government.

Part II of the Order requires all executive departments and agencies involved to use their good offices and to take such other appropriate action "permitted by law" to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices by all permittees or licensees. Each department and agency must submit to the state's Civil Rights Commission within 60 days a report outlining all programs it administers which are affected by the Order.

Part III of the Order directs the chief administrative officer of each executive department or agency administering such programs to proceed "with all deliberate speed" toward full compliance with the state laws against discrimination and the Executive Order. This responsibility is declared to be non-delegable.

MINNESOTA

Executive Order issued on June 10, 1963 by Governor Karl F. Rolvaag

The Order starts with the statement that the public policy of Minnesota prohibits discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin. It declares that every government contract may be cancelled or terminated by the state when there is racial or religious discrimination in the hiring of labor by the contractor, subcontractor, material supplier or vendor performing work pursuant to a contract for the State of Minnesota or any of its subdivisions.

The Order provides that when there is a complaint of discrimination in connection with a government contract, the Commissioner of Administration shall investigate and, if necessary, conduct a hearing to determine whether or not discrimination exists.

In case a second act of discrimination is established, the Commissioner, in addition to suspending, cancelling or terminating a contract, may declare all money due or to become due, pursuant to such contract, forfeited to the State of Minnesota.

KENTUCY

Executive Order No. 63-485 issued on June 26, 1963 by Governor Bert Combs.

The preamble states that the denial of equal opportunity of access to places of public accommodation because of race, color, creed or national origin is unfair, unjust and inconsistent with the public policy of the Commonwealth of Kentucky. It further

states that the executive branch of the state government, in enforcing the anti-discrimination laws of Kentucky and the United States, is charged with the obligation to assure that those laws are fairly administered and that their benefits are made available to all citizens without discrimination.

The Order requires all executive departments and agencies whose functions relate to the supervising or licensing of persons or organizations doing business or practicing a profession to take "all lawful action necessary and appropriate" to prevent racial or religious discrimination. These departments and agencies are also required to take all "appropriate action permitted by law, including the revision of rules and regulations," to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices by all permittees or licensees under their jurisdiction. Each executive department and agency affected by the Order is directed to submit a report to the Governor within sixty days on its current program related to the Order. The Order concludes with a requirement that the chief administrative officer of each executive department or agency administering programs affected by the Order proceed "with all deliberate speed" toward a program of full compliance with the Order's purposes and intent. This responsibility is declared to be non-delegable.

NOTE: Subsequent to the issuance of this Order, Governor Combs issued a statement clarifying various points of the Order. He stated that under the Order first consideration should be given to the area covered by the recently adopted ordinance of the City of Louisville. This ordinance prohibits discrimination in places of public accommodation which are defined as places of business "offering or holding out to the general public services or facilities for the peace, comfort, health, welfare and safety of the general public, including places providing food, shelter, recreation, entertainment or amusement." (See Joint Memorandum No. 389, issued July 23, 1963) Gov. Combs further stated that his Order would be "construed to authorize only those steps which have been directed or clearly implied by decisions of the Federal Courts or Kentucky Court of Appeals."

ILLINOIS

Executive Order Establishing a Code of Fair Practices issued on July 10, 1963 by Governor Otto Kerner

The preamble opens by referring to the Emancipation Proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln 100 years ago. It notes that President Lincoln's home state, Illinois, has been a leader in implementing his principles assuring the full rights of citizenship to all its residents. The preamble then declares that today new challenges are confronting us, and that we must guarantee dignity and equality of opportunity to all if the land of Lincoln is to be true to its heritage.

The body of the Code starts with the declaration that all persons are entitled to equal and fair treatment by the state without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin. It states that any official or employee of the State of Illinois who denies to any person the full and equal enjoyment of the facilities or privileges of his office on racial or religious grounds commits an offense and subjects himself to the penalties of the law.

The next section of the Code deals with fair employment practices. All departments and agencies of the state are required to promote the principles and practices of merit employment. It is pointed out that racial discrimination in state employment is a violation of the State Fair Employment Practices Act.

The section dealing with state licensing requires all state agencies to grant licenses and other privileges without discrimination. It further provides that those state agencies with the power to license or regulate activities whose services are available to the public must "take all appropriate action within their legal power to assure that such services are extended by the licensees on a non-discriminatory basis."

Further sections of the Code deal with public works, state financial assistance, training and apprenticeship programs and the state employment service. In all these fields the Code required non-discrimination and the granting of equal opportunities. One section of the Code states that the state will withhold approval for professional training from schools and other institutions which refuse admittance to applicants because of race, color or creed.

The Code also directs executive agencies to cooperate fully with requests and recommendations of the Illinois Commission on Human Relations and the Fair Employment Practices Commission to achieve the purposes of the Code, and to report to the Governor by January 15 of each year the steps taken to implement the Code.

CALIFORNIA

Executive Order Promulgating Governor's Code of Fair Employment Practices, issued on July 24, 1963 by Governor Edmund G. Brown

The preamble states that the nation and state were founded on the principle that all men are created free and endowed with equal rights to secure the blessings of democracy without discrimination. It further states that all the laws, court edicts, and official pronouncements against discrimination are not enough. "If discrimination and segregation have been legally forbidden," it continues "a more subtle, but equally restrictive, de facto discrimination exists and grows." The preamble declares that "justice demands that we not

only banish all forms of discrimination but that we act affirmatively to assure those who contribute fully to our society a chance to share fully in its rewards."

Article I of the Code of Fair Practices declares non-discrimination to be the policy of the State of California in all of its activities. State employees are required not only to enforce that policy rigorously but also "to take affirmative action to assure equality of opportunity in the internal affairs of state government and in its relations with the general public." The balance of the Code seeks to implement this policy in various areas: Employment policies of state agencies (Article II), state services and facilities (Article III), state contracts and subcontracts (Article IV), and state employment services (Article V). Article VI directs all state agencies to cooperate fully with the Fair Emp oyment Practice Commission. The Commission is directed to emphasize programs of affirmative action in the field of human rights in addition to discharging its enforcement duties under the FEP Act. Article VII prohibits discrimination in educational, counseling, and vocational guidance programs and all apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs of state agencies, or in which state agencies participate. Article VIII deals with private educational institutions licensed or chartered by the state, including professional, business, and vocational training schools. Such institutions are required to show compliance with the state policy of non-discrimination as a condition of continued participation in any state program or eligibility to receive state assistance.

Article IX deals with state licensing and regulatory agencies. It provides that no person, corporation or business firm which is licensed or regulated by the state may discriminate against or segregate any person on racial or religious grounds, but must operate on a non-discriminatory basis. The article also provides that "any licensee or charter holder who fails to comply with this policy shall be subject to such disciplinary action as is consistent with the legal authority and the rules and regulations of the appropriate licensing or regulatory agency."

Article X, dealing with housing accommodations, contains similar provisions with respect to persons, corporations or firms licensed or chartered by the state to engage in the business of selling, leasing, vending, financing, building or developing housing accommodations. It provides that any real estate broker or salesman, corporate owner, lending institution, home builder, or realtor who fails to comply with the policy of non-discrimination is subject to such disciplinary action as is consistent with the legal authority and rules and regulations of the appropriate licensing or regulatory agency.

Article XI, headed "Public Schools," requires the State Board of Education to assist local districts "in eliminating racial imbalance and de facto segregation in California's public schools."

Article XII prohibits discrimination in the operation of state-administered programs involving the distribution of funds to qualified recipients for benefits authorized by law. Article XIII provides that the state through the Attorney General's office will encourage local law enforcement agencies to develop special training programs in the field of human relations and to establish formal procedures for the investigation of citizens' complaints of alleged abuses of authority by individual peace officers. Article XIV requires each state agency to report annually to the Governor all programs undertaken during the year to carry out the Code of Fair Practices. The final article requires posting of the Code in conspicuous locations in all state facilities.

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1. The Treasury itself estimates that if present silver stocks were used only for coinage, they would last for slightly more than 15 years. Actually this estimate is already unrealistic because sales are now being made for other uses, both to other governmental agencies and to private industry.

2. If Treasury silver is used not only for coinage but also to make up the deficit between U.S. demands—which keep increasing—and U.S. production—which is declining—the supply would only last for about 10 to 11 years.

3. In order to hold the price at $1.29, the U.S. Treasury must be prepared to sell silver at that price to all comers, foreign as well as domestic. It has already embarked on that program, having sold $2.8 million worth recently. The Treasury then faces the theoretical task of supplying silver to meet the world deficit which, in 1963, was 167 million ounces and which, over the past 10 years, has been increasing at the rate of 15 million ounces per year. If the Treasury stood alone in filling this gap, all its silver would be gone by 1969, or in 5 to 6 years.

4. But there is still one further assumption to face, which is not as fantastic as it may sound. If speculators, as well as silver processors, realize how little time the Treasury really has, they may begin to hoard silver against the inevitable day when the $1.29 price must be breached.

If and when this process begins, it could bring the end of the Treasury's stock as close as 2 to 3 years. And this, I submit could mean that if we do not begin soon to plan for a new subsidiary coinage containing a greatly reduced silver content, we may face serious trouble.

By this time everyone who produces or processes silver must realize that the price must break through the present ceiling. The Treasury can hold it for awhile at $1.29 as it did earlier at $0.905—but only by sacrificing still more of the silver it will need for coinage.

In making these various time-pattern projections, I have assumed that all other holders of silver stocks, including other nations, will hang on to their supplies waiting for the breakthrough. This will not be completely true; but I think it will be substantially so.

Of course, in such a situation the law of supply and demand should operate to bring forth a significant increase in silver production, which could eventually stabilize the price of silver.

NO SIMPLE ANSWER

I think that those in the arts and industry who use silver should be able to see the desirability of joining the silver producers in demanding Federal policies which would encourage rather than inhibit the development of profitable American silver producing mines.

Obviously, the problem is not a simple one. The production of silver is so deeply involved with the production of lead and zinc that before we can hope to increase silver production significantly, a whole new approach to the Government's attitude on these other metals will be required. In the face of this obvious need, as recently as last month in a hearing before the Senate Interior Committee, the administration made a slashing attack on the mining industry's request for even so mild a change as one which called for flexible instead of fixed import quotas on lead and zinc. Until this whole Government attitude is reversed, the American mining industry cannot make a real contribution toward the goal of bringing silver production and consumption more nearly into balance.

FUTURE FOR SILVER IS BRIGHT

To summarize, so long as consumption of silver in the world continues to outrun production, we can expect to see more and more silver coins taken out of circulation, both in the United States and in the world—either through official action or as a result of private activity in hoarding coins and melting them down.

Possibly within 2 or 3 years—or, at the most, within 15 years—our own Treasury must be prepared to supply a whole new set of subsidiary coins in greatly increasing numbers to serve not only the expanding population but the greater demand created by the growing use of automatic vending machines. The silver content of these coins must be reduced; or, as has been done in other countries, new coins without silver must be substituted.

If the Treasury decides, as I think it will, to reduce the value of the silver in the subsidiary coinage far below the face value of the coins, this should shock no one. Except for very brief inflationary or war periods, this is the situation that existed for the 85 years between 1874 and 1959.

Even though the Treasury has about 1½ billion ounces of silver on hand, it cannot repeal either Gresham's law or the law of supply and demand; and for the foreseeable future, the combination of these two assures a good market and a constantly rising price for any mining operator who, in the face of present or future national mineral policies, can find and produce an increased volume of silver. No matter how other metals may fare, the future for silver is very bright.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator from Kentucky. I ask that the remainder of the time yielded to me be yielded back to him.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum, the time for the quorum call to be taken from the time under my control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. RIBICOFF in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, before I begin the explanation of my amendment, I shall yield once more; I ask unanimous consent that at this time I may yield 5 minutes to the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], without losing the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered; and the Senator from New York is recognized for 5 minutes.

THE REPUBLICAN TRADITION OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS LEGISLATION

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, the Attorney General of the United States is testifying on civil rights before the Judiciary Committee of the other body. Tomorrow, I shall take occasion to comment upon that testimony and to sum it up, especially as it relates to the critical aspects of the bill in regard to the power of the Attorney General to sue in civil rights cases.

But, Mr. President, for today, inasmuch as the question of the so-called public accommodations section is in discussion in the committee of the other body, and inasmuch as the Senate Commerce Committee has ordered reported a bill embodying the public-accommodations section, and also because—as the Attorney General has emphasized—it is essential that there be Republican support if there is to be any civil rights legislation during this Congress—and of course I believe the Attorney General is absolutely correct as to that, I call attention to the fact that the public accommodations section of the civil rights program now working its way through Congress has received more public attention than any other aspect of legislative activity on civil rights. It seems to me that there has been a widespread mistaken impression in the discussions to date, even among many who support the principle of such legislation, that public accommodations legislation is a sweeping innovation. There are some, too, who have come away with the feeling that this public accommodations legislation originated with this Democratic administration as part of the President's June 1963 package.

The fact is that legislation providing equal opportunity in public accommodations has a long and impressive Republican history, both in Federal law and State law. This traditional Republican initative on civil rights is most important, in view of the fact that the administration does not have the votes to carry a public accommodations bill in Congress, and will need substantial Republican support to make it law.

At my request, the staff of the Senate Republican policy committee, with the assistance of my staff and the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, has prepared a history of legislation enacted by the States and the Federal Government on this subject.

This enlightening study demonstrates once again the great Republican heritage on civil rights. It shows, for example, that:

First. Of 31 States which now have public accommodations laws in effect, 24 were enacted under Republican Governors and/or by Republican-controlled legislatures.

Second. The first statute forbidding racial discrimination in places of public accommodations was enacted in Massachusetts, under a Republican—Unionist—State administration and a Republican legislature.

Third. The first Federal legislation on public accommodations was introduced by Republican Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, in 1870, and enacted in 1875. It was properly described as the most far-reaching civil rights legislation ever enacted by the Congress, before or since. It was later held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Fourth. The first public accommodations bill introduced in recent history was introduced by me and seven other Republican Senators on March 28, 1963, and proved to be the basis for legislation introduced by the administration months later.

Clearly the Republican Party has a great stake historically in public accommodations civil rights legislation. It has pioneered in this field in the past; it has shown great initiative and lead-

ership in the States and in Congress; and it will be following in this fine tradition by supporting public accommodations legislation at this session of Congress.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a table which shows the States which prohibit discrimination in places of public accommodation and the party control of the governorships and the State legislatures at the time of the enactment of such laws, as well as a memorandum on the history of public accommodations legislation.

There being no objection, the table and memorandum were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

States with laws forbidding discrimination in public accommodations and party control of governorships and State legislatures at time of enactment

Year	State	Governor	Senate	House
1865	Massachusetts	Unionist (R)	Unionist (R)	Unionist (R).
1869	District of Columbia			
1874	Kansas	Republican	Republican	Farmers Party.
1874	New York	do	do	Republican.
1884	Iowa	do	do	Do.
	New Jersey	Democrat	do	Democrat.
	Ohio	do	Democrat	Do.
	Connecticut	do	Republican	Republican.
1885	Colorado	Republican	do	Do.
	Illinois	do	do	Do.
	Indiana	Democrat	Democrat	Democrat.
	Michigan	Republican	Republican	Republican.
	Minnesota	do	do	Do.
	Nebraska	do	do	Do.
	Rhode Island	do	do	Do.
1887	Pennsylvania	do	do	Do.
1890	Washington	do	do	Do.
1895	Wisconsin	do	do	Do.
1897	California	Democrat	do	Do.
1949	Alaska [1]	do	8 Democrats, 8 Republicans.	Democrat.
1953	Oregon	Republican	Republican	Republican.
1955	Montana	do	do	Democrat.
	New Mexico	Democrat	Democrat	Do.
1957	Vermont	Republican	Republican	Republican.
1959	Maine	Democrat	do	Do.
1961	Idaho	Republican	do	Do.
	New Hampshire	do	do	Do.
	North Dakota	Democrat	do	Do.
	Wyoming	do	do	Do.
1963	Maryland	do	Democrat	Democrat.
	South Dakota	Republican	Republican	Republican.
	Kentucky [2]	Democrat		

[1] Enacted when Alaska was a territory. Revised and reenacted by State of Alaska in 1962.
[2] By executive order of Governor of Kentucky.

THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC ACCOMMOQATIONS LEGISLATION

The proposal that Congress enact legislation forbidding discrimination on the basis of race or color in places of public accommodation has aroused a great deal of controversy.

This is legislative ground that has been plowed before, both at the State and Federal level of government. The State record is perhaps not as well known and the chief purpose of this paper is to provide a brief history of State public accommodations legislation.

I. THE STATES ACT FIRST, 1865–1875

Massachusetts was the first State to enact legislation forbidding discrimination in places of public accommodation in 1865, 10 years before Congress enacted such legislation. The Massachusetts statute, which was the forerunner of many similar State laws, provided that—

"SECTION 1. No distinction, discrimination, or restriction on account of color or race shall be lawful in any licensed inn, in any public place of amusement, public conveyance, or public meeting in this commonwealth.

"SEC. 2. Any person offending against the provisions of this act shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $50."

One year later, in 1866 the law was amended to include "theaters" in the enumeration of public places, and the condition was added that there should be no exclusion "except for good cause."

Eight years later, in 1874, New York and Kansas passed civil rights legislation, including prohibitions against discrimination in places of public accommodation. In each instance the enumeration of public accommodations coming under the provisions of the law was considerably more detailed than in the Massachusetts law. Conviction under the Kansas statute could result in a fine of $1,000.

II. FEDERAL LEGISLATION, 1870–75

In 1870, Senator Charles Sumner, Republican, of Massachusetts, introduced a bill providing for equal rights in "railroads, steamboats, public conveyances, hotels, licensed theaters, houses of public entertainment, common schools, and institutions of learning authorized by law, church institutions, and cemetery associations incorporated by National or State authority; also on juries in courts, National and State."

Civil Rights Acts were passed by Congress in 1870 and 1871, but they provided in the main for guarantees and protections of the right to vote. The Sumner public accommodations proposals were rejected in these and successive sessions of Congress through 1874. The next year, however, the far-reaching Civil Rights Act of 1875 was passed providing, "That all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude."

The principal change from the original proposal was the elimination of any mention of schools and church institutions. The 1875 act could be considered the high-water mark in the history of Federal civil rights legislation.

III. THE CIVIL RIGHTS CASES, 1883

In 1883, seven cases came before the Supreme Court in each of which the defendant was charged with violating the public accommodation provisions of the act of 1875.[1] The cases arose in Missouri, California, Kansas, New York, and Tennessee, and involved refusals to accommodate Negroes in hotels, a theater, an opera house, and the parlor car of a train.

The majority of the Court held that the 14th amendment to the Constitution did not authorize the legislation under which these actions were brought. The Court stated that Congress could legislate under the 14th amendment to protect the civil rights of Negroes only as against actions by the States and officers or agents thereof. But the Civil Rights Act of 1875 sought to prohibit discrimination in public accommodations without reference either to their relation to interstate commerce or to any State action; and in these cases neither interstate commerce nor State action was proved. The majority specifically withheld any judgment as to the commerce clause as a basis for the statute.

However, both majority and minority opinions in the civil rights cases agreed that the States themselves had the basic power to "define and regulate civil rights which their own people, in virtue of State citizenship, may enjoy within their respective limits."[2]

Thereafter, the Federal role in civil rights matters steadily declined. In 1894, a bill was enacted by a Democratic Congress and signed into law by President Grover Cleveland repealing the statutes which had required that voting qualifications be equal for all persons and had provided for Federal supervision of Federal elections in the States if necessary to protect the Negro's right to vote.[3]

IV. STATE REACTION TO CIVIL RIGHTS DECISION, 1884–1900

Following the civil rights decision, racial discrimination in places of public accommodation was a problem almost exclusively handled by the States. Many States thereupon passed laws modeled on the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1875. Connecticut, Iowa, New Jersey, and Ohio passed such laws in 1884; Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Rhode Island in 1885; Pennsylvania in 1887; Washington in 1890; Wisconsin in 1895; and California in 1897.

Thus by 1900, 18 States, plus the District of Columbia, had laws against discrimination by reason of race or color in places of public accommodation.

There were no additions to the list of States with such legislation for 50 years thereafter, although the Territory of Alaska adopted a public accommodations law in 1949, which was later revised and reenacted by the State of Alaska in 1962.

A renewed interest in civil rights legislation, including public accommodations provision was shown by the States beginning in 1953. Oregon enacted such a law in 1953; Montana and New Mexico in 1955; Vermont in 1957; Maine in 1959; Idaho, New Hampshire, North Dakota, and Wyoming, in 1961; and Maryland and South Dakota in 1963. In one other State—Kentucky—discrimination in public accommodations was prohibited in 1963 by executive order of the Governor.

Thus, by October 1963, 31 States and the District of Columbia forbade discrimination on the basis of race or color in places of public accommodation.

[From the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service]

THE VALIDITY OF STATE STATUTES PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION ON ACCOUNT OF RACE OR COLOR IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION

Notwithstanding the invalidation by the Supreme Court in the *Civil Rights* cases, 109 U.S. 3 (1883) of Federal legislation prohibiting discrimination on account of race or color in places of public accommodation,

[1] 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

[2] See Appendix—"The Validity of State Statutes Prohibiting Discrimination on Account of Race or Color in Places of Public Accommodation."

[3] 28 Stat. 36 (1894).

many of the States, both before and after the passage of the Federal act, have enacted measures in this area. State activity in this field began with the 1865 passage by the Massachusetts Legislature of a statute, forbidding distinction, discrimination, or restriction on account of race or color in places of public amusement, public conveyance or public meeting. State action is still continuing as the issuance on June 26, 1963, by the Governor of Kentucky of a sweeping executive order in this area attests.

Under our Federal system, the issues with regard to the validity of State legislation are different from those upon which the constitutionality of Federal legislation (even that of a similar nature) hinges. It is settled that the State has broad authority to legislate under the police power to protect the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of its citizens. While the Federal Government may only legislate pursuant to power delegated and enumerated in the Constitution, the police power of the State is bounded only by the express provisions of the State or Federal Constitution including the requirements of due process of law. Due process does not require the demonstration of either the wisdom or sound policy of an antidiscrimination statute. However, such statute must not be clearly arbitrary and unreasonable, and it must bear some relation to the public health, safety or general welfare. (*Euclid* v. *Ambler Co.*, 272 U.S. 365, 395 (1926).) The Supreme Court has indicated in several cases that there is no Federal constitutional infirmity in State statutes creating a right to the full enjoyment of public accommodations without regard to race or color whose violation is civilly or criminally actionable. (*Bob-Lo Excursion Co.* v. *Michigan*, 333 U.S. 28 (1948). *Compare Railway Mail Assn.* v. *Corsi*, 326 U.S. 88 (1945).) A categorical statement as to the validity of State regulation in this area is found in *District of Columbia* v. *Thompson Co.*, 346 U.S. 100 (1953), wherein the Court declared, "And certainly so far as the Federal Constitution is concerned there is no doubt that legislation which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race in the use of facilities serving a public function is within the police power of the States." (Id. at 109.)

In many of the States, the validity of State regulation in this area has been generally assumed. For example there was no direct challenge presented to the Massachusetts statute, first enacted in 1865 (Massachusetts Laws 1865, ch. 277). However, the Massachusetts high court while rendering an advisory opinion, in *Re Opinion of the Justices*, 143 N.E. 808 (1924), made some pertinent comments upon the validity and reasonableness of this type of legislation:

"Numerous reasons lead to the conclusion that the maintenance of theaters and other places of amusement is for the use of the public and affected with a public interest. The character of the performances presented has an intimate connection with the preservation and promotion of public morality . . . They have a tendency to gather at one time large numbers of people under a single roof and under comparatively crowded conditions. In these particulars such places require constant supervision and inspection in the interests of the public at large in order to prevent disaster by fire and accident, spread of disease and general and individual disorder and crime. The construction and maintenance of buildings devoted to such uses demand approval and oversight by public officers acting for the general welfare. There can be no doubt as to the validity of a statute denouncing under penalty discrimination on account of race or color in admission to theaters and other places of amusement." (Id. at 810.)

And in California where the Civil Code, sections 51, 52, contained a prohibition against discrimination in places of public accommodation and amusement "for more than 50 years prior to the enactment of the (present) Unruh Act," the challenges to the statute have been based upon the scope of its application rather than upon its validity. In 1918 the California court remarked, after quoting the statute, "The general intent and significance of the foregoing provisions are clear enough. The purpose, of course, is to compel a recognition of the equality of citizens in the right to the peculiar service afforded by these agencies for the accommodation and entertainment of the public. There is no doubt of the constitutionality of the provisions and of the sound public policy of such legislation. (*Greenberg* v. *Western Turf Ass'n.*, 140 Cal. 363, 73 Pac. 1050. *Piluso* v. *Spencer*, 172 Pac. 412, 413 (1918). See also *Burks* v. *Poppy Construction Company*, 370 P. 2d 313 (1962).)

In other States where this type of legislation has been challenged, these laws have been sustained as a valid exercise of the police power of the State. In 1888, attack was made on the constitutionality of the New York public accommodation statute on the ground that, insofar "as it undertakes to prescribe that the owner of a place of amusement shall not exclude therefrom any citizen by reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, [it] is an unconstitutional interference with private rights in that it restricts the owner of property in respect to its lawful use, and as to an incident which is not a legitimate matter of regulation by law." (*People* v. *King*, 18 N.E. 245, 246 (1888).) In considering the assertion of invalidity, the Court discussed the police power as follows:

"This legislation is under what, for lack of a better name, is called the police power of the State—a power incapable of exact definition, but the existence of which is essential to every well-ordered government. By means of this power the legislature exercises a supervision over matters involving the common weal, and enforces the observance by each individual member of society of the duties which he owes to others and to the community at large. It may be exerted whenever necessary to secure the peace, good order, health, morals, and general welfare of the community; and the propriety of its exercise within constitutional limits is purely a matter of legislative discretion, with which the courts cannot interfere. In short, the police power covers a wide range of particular unexpressed powers reserved to the State, affecting freedom of action, personal conduct, and the use and control of property." (18 N.E. at 247.)

Then the Court addressed itself to the contention of unconstitutionality as follows:

"The final question, therefore, is, does the law in question invade this right of property protected by the Constitution? The State could not pass a law making the discrimination made by the defendant. The amendments to the Federal Constitution would forbid it. Can the State impose upon individuals having places of public resort the same restriction which the Federal Constitution places upon the State? It is not claimed that that part of the statute giving to colored people equal rights at the hands of innkeepers and common carriers is an infraction of the Constitution. But the business of an innkeeper or a common carrier, when conducted by an individual, is a private business, receiving no special privilege or protection from the State. By the common law, innkeepers and common carriers are bound to furnish equal facilities to all without discrimination, because public policy requires them so to do. The business of conducting a theater or place of public amusement is also a private business, in which anyone may engage in the absence of any statute or ordinance.

"But it has been the practice, which has passed unchallenged, for the legislature to confer upon municipalities the power to regulate by ordinance the licensing of theaters and shows, and to enforce restrictions relating to such places, in the public interest; and no one claims that such statutes are an invasion of the right of liberty or property guaranteed by the Constitution. The statute in question assumes to regulate the conduct of owners or managers of places of public resort in respect to the exclusion therefrom of any person by reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The principle stated by Waite, C.J., in *Munn* v. *Illinois, supra*, which received the assent of a majority of the Court, applies in this case? 'Where,' says the Chief Justice, 'one devotes his property to a use in which the public have an interest, he in effect grants to the public an interest in that use, and must submit to be controlled by the public for the common good, to the extent of the interest he has thus created. In the judgment of the legislature, the public had an interest to prevent race discrimination between citizens on the part of persons maintaining places of public amusement; and the quasi-public use to which the owner of such a place devoted his property gives the legislature a right to interfere. If the defendant, instead of basing his exclusion of a class of citizens upon color, had made a rule excluding all Germans, or all Irishmen, or all Jews, the law, as applied to such a case would have seemed entirely reasonable. (See *U.S.* v. *Newcomer*, (U.S. Dist. Ct.) 11 Phila. 519.) But the principle is the same; and if the law could be applied in the one case, it may in the other. The validity of similar statutes in Mississippi and Louisiana has been sustained by the courts in those States. (*Donnell* v. *State*, 48 Miss. 661; *Joseph* v. *Bidwell*, 28 La. Ann. 382.) The statute does not interfere with private entertainments, or prevent persons not engaged in the business of keeping a place of public amusement from regulating admission to an entertainment given for a social, public, or private purpose, as they may deem best; nor does it seek to compel social equality. It was, we think a valid exercise of the police power of the State over a subject within the cognizance of the legislature. The judgment should be affirmed."

In the case of *Bolden* v. *Operating Corporation*, 239 Mich. 318, 323 (1927), the Michigan court upheld the public accommodations act of that State as follows:

"The validity of the act in question is in no way affected by these decisions. The intent and purpose of the legislature in its enactment cannot be doubted. It clearly indicates a belief on their part that the public safety and general welfare of our people demand that, when the public are invited to attend places of public accommodation, amusement, and recreation, there shall be no discrimination among those permitted to enter because of race, creed, or color. It is bottomed upon the broad ground of the equality of all men before the law. It does not provide that all persons who present themselves at a theater must be admitted. The proprietor may exclude 'the rough, boisterous, and rowdyish element.' (*Meisner* v. *Detroit, etc., Ferry Co.*, 154 Mich. 545 (129 Am. St. Rep. 493).)

"In our opinion, the act is a valid regulation imposed by the State in its exercise of the police power."

Other cases in which State courts have construed these statutes and found them valid include the following: *Darius* v. *Apostolos*, 190 Pac. 510 (1920) (Colorado); *Chicago* v. *Carney*, 142 N.E. 2d 160 (1957) (Illinois); *Brown* v. *J. H. Bell Co.*, 123 N.W. 231

(1919) (Iowa); *Rhone* v. *Loomis*, 77 N.W. 31, 32 (1898) (Minnesota); *Messenger* v. *State*, 41 N.W. 638 (1889) (Nebraska); *Commonwealth* v. *Athens George*, 18 Dauphin 40 (1887) (Pennsylvania); *Bryan* v. *Adler*, 72 N.W. 368 (1897) (Wisconsin). (See also, Annotation, 49 A.L.R. 505, "Constitutionality of Civil Rights Legislation by State.")

FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, Fiorello H. La Guardia was one of New York's most beloved personalities, and certainly one of that city's greatest mayors.

Although the "Little Flower of New York" died 16 years ago, his achievements are still very much in evidence in that city, and he is remembered with great affection by millions of people in New York and throughout the country.

On September 15, the anniversary of his death, the La Guardia Memorial Association, a group of the "major's" friends, went to Woodlawn Cemetery, with Mrs. La Guardia, to reminisce about the days when Fiorello was the dominant figure in New York. The memorial address that day was given by Reuben A. Lazarus, a close friend and longtime associate of Mayor La Guardia; and I ask unanimous consent that his remarks be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF REUBEN A. LAZARUS AT MEMORIAL SERVICES—F. H. LA GUARDIA 16TH ANNIVERSARY—SEPTEMBER 15, 1963

It seems hardly possible that 16 years have elapsed since Fiorello H. La Guardia died. He was a top-ranking figure who left a deep impression on his time. The impact of his mind and personality was felt more in government than in any other field of human endeavor. The echoes of his passing are still heard and evidence of his works is to be seen everywhere in this city. The reverberation of his speeches spur good causes in the House of Representatives and his name is still a symbol of militant liberalism on the national scene.

The works of the old masters have been copied innumerable times but La Guardia was an original. Many have tried and failed to emulate the fiery Fiorello. He copied no one. He strove to improve things and did not hesitate to experiment. He had the courage and the vision to carry through his experiments to final achievement. Coupled with his courage was a brilliant mind and unmatched energy and drive. Many claim to have advised Fiorello La Guardia, but he had no advisers. He needed no brain trust. His sound judgment was forged in his successful struggles to overcome the problems and difficulties of a trying childhood and a more trying adulthood. Often cynical, he was also an incurable idealist. It is difficult if not impossible to compare the "major" with anyone else. He was different.

The 12 years of the La Guardia administration may be likened governmentally to the use of counterirritants in medicine. He irritated the political bosses. He irritated the vested interests. He often irritated his friends and supporters. His medicines were often harsh, but they cured.

We are now in the midst of a nationwide campaign to equalize opportunity for all of our citizens. Fiorello inaugurated this campaign many years ago and was pilloried and condemned for it. Ever shall I remember an incident occurring during that period of time that dramatized his deep sympathy for those subjected to racial discrimination. One day I accompanied the "major" on a trip north of 10th Avenue in the small police squad car. He suddenly commanded John Paluso to stop, jumped to the sidewalk while the car was still in motion and caught a small colored lad whom he saw take an orange from a fruit stand. He admonished the terrified boy for stealing, took a coin from his pocket and told the boy to buy an orange if he wanted it. During this time he held the boy and, passing his hand over the boy's head, turned to me and said: "You and I can change our names but this boy cannot change the color of his skin."

If La Guardia had a weakness it was children. Those of us who met with him at Gracie Mansion will remember the scores of photographs of small children that covered the entire wall back of his desk.

Which of us will ever forget the Christmas parties at the mansion, when all members of the administration and of the mayor's staff who had small children were invited to bring them. On one of these occasions, I exposed myself to a couple of the "Major's" lightning fast reprimands when I complained of the cacophony of child noises: "That's the sweetest music in the world," he scolded.

He was sportively boastful and endeared himself for being so. When he was questioned about having failed to do something he quipped: "I'm good but I'm not that good."

And he could turn aside the barbs of criticism by a frank and public confession of error. Everyone remembers how he disarmed his critics with the classic rejoinder, "When I make a mistake, it's a 'beaut.'"

After his election in 1933 he complained bitterly about the old charter and he campaigned for and won a new charter. Yet, most of his reforms were achieved under the old charter. In doing this he gave graphic proof of one side of the adage that a good man can get good government out of a bad law and a bad official cannot get good government out of a good law.

In an effort to shake a hostile press off his back, he took to the air and turned the city's radio station into a personal forum. Who will ever forget the Sunday noon broadcasts, that were launched by "Patience and Fortitude," after the inspiring opening bars of the "Halls of Montezuma," the Marine Corps battle hymn? WYNC became the city's regular weekly radio fare, which provided us with the news of the week in capsule form, La Guardia version. The tinhorns and gamblers were given hell; housewives were given cooking recipes. And through it all the news of the week was given a down-to-earth and often not too gentle treatment a la La Guardia. All listeners were invited to bring their problems to city hall and the frazzled condition of the staff bore eloquent witness to the fact that they did.

He delighted in being called "Major," a rank which he won in the Air Force in World War I.

He possessed histrionic ability. When it served his purpose, he would vibrate with anger, although he was not angry at all. He could don the impassive mask of a poker player.

He played at being fire chief and became spot news all over the country. He read, and acted, the comics when a strike deprived the children—both young and adult—of the newspapers. I thought it a poor idea and it turned out to be something that brought him lasting fame. That's why he was mayor. He had the gift of being able to communicate with the public.

He was the secret envy of all politicians who had to take orders, because he took none. He gave the orders.

Who but Fiorello could or would devise his kind of original approach. When an obscene publication was brought to his attention, he ordered sanitation trucks to go from newsstand to newstand and collect it as garbage. He then went after the unhappy distributor of the magazine, seeing to it that criminal proceedings were begun against this luckless individual. LaGuardia presided over these proceedings sitting as a magistrate and he directed me to act as prosecutor.

The trial or hearing was held in city hall. The distributor pleaded: "Mr. Mayor, I distribute more than a hundred magazines. I don't publish them. Am I supposed to censor each one?" The answer of "Judge" La Guardia still brings a smile to my lips: "What you are saying is the same as if Mrs. LaGuardia bought a dozen eggs and discovered that two of them were rotten and took them back to the grocer. Would it excuse him if he pleaded with Mrs. La Guardia, 'I am not the hen?' I fix the bail at $500."

When a certain McWilliams, trying to be a little Hitler, made wild, riot-inspiring speeches on street corners, Fiorello had him committed to Bellevue Hospital for observation.

I treasure one of the sketches made of the mayor which bears his autograph and an original message: "With pleasant recollections of unpleasant days in Albany." The sketch was made by Sam Woolf and the occasion was one of my weekly returns from the capitol, to report on the legislative situation.

The anniversary of the death of Fiorello H. La Guardia for me is like to tolling of an elegiac tocsin upon the passing of an era.

SALE OF WHEAT TO RUSSIA

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an editorial from the New York Times of October 10 and an editorial from the Wall Street Journal of October 11.

These editorials voice support for the President's decision—the President having found it in the national interest—to sell wheat and feed grains to the U.S.S.R. and other Communist-ruled countries. The editorials point out what I believe to be the key aspects of this proposed transaction. The New York Times article of October 12 reports the U.S. Chamber of Commerce endorsement of the sale and its call for further exploration of more liberal nonstrategic trade with the Soviets.

However, I have warned that this "one-shot" deal might be used as a way to engage in several trade deals which would call for much more from the Soviet Union.

Politically, the sale represents an effort on the part of our country to reduce the cold war tensions by showing the Soviet Union that meaningful economic relations between that country and the United States are not impossible and can serve the interests of both sides. This will prove most important in the days ahead.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a release on this subject from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

There being no objection, the editorials and the release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 10, 1963]

BEYOND THE WHEAT DEAL

Both economically and politically, President Kennedy made a convincing case last night when he explained to the Nation his decision to approve the sale of wheat and feed grains to the Soviet Union and other Communist-ruled countries.

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years later Genovese and fourteen other hoods were convicted of violating federal narcotics laws. The boss was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

After the Supreme Court refused to review his case, Genovese began to spend his money wisely. He hired Edward Bennett Williams, one of the nation's shrewdest trial lawyers. Williams promptly petitioned for a new trial. During their original appearance in court, he argued, the defense had not had access to the prosecution's notes on the pretrial testimony of the disgruntled dope peddler. In 1957, Williams pointed out, the Supreme Court had ruled in *Jencks* v. *U.S.* that a defendant in a criminal proceeding is entitled to see reports of pretrial testimony.

Lower courts denied Williams' motion. But the Supreme Court sent the case back to the Court of Appeals for "further consideration." While he waits for the next decision, Genovese is not likely to go free on bail, but the Supreme Court ruling is almost sure to have a strange side effect: the impending struggle for power among big-time U.S. hoods will be postponed while the top men wait to see whether Genovese is freed to resume his old place as No. 1.

STATUTES

Civil Rights Counterattack

Four young men have sweated out the comforts of the county jail in Americus, Ga., ever since August, when they were arrested during civil rights demonstrations. They cannot be freed on bail—they have been charged with "inciting an insurrection," a crime that, in Georgia at least, is punishable by death.

So harsh a sentence is hardly likely, but dusting off the long-unused 1871 statute serves a practical purpose: it provides a handy way to keep three annoying white men and one Negro locked up indefinitely. In some communities, so many Negroes are being held prisoner that detention facilities are swamped. In Leesburg, Ga., recently, 20 young girls aged 11 to 15 were kept for as long as a month in a single room without beds or blankets.

Ugly American. All over the South, officials impatient with the power of familiar statutes passed in the interests of public safety—laws against disorderly conduct, impeding traffic, loitering, and the like—have resurrected an odd armory full of rusty legal weaponry with which to mount a counterattack against the insistent forces of integration. Examples:

▶ In Danville, Va., 14 civil rights leaders are awaiting trial under a state law that makes it a crime to conspire to incite Negroes to "acts of violence and war" against whites, or vice versa. A relic of slavery days, the law was designed to prevent slave revolts.

▶ In Atlanta, Ga., last June a white minister who tried to enter a segregated church in company with two Negroes was tried under a 112-year-old state law declaring it a misdemeanor to interrupt "in any manner a congregation lawfully assembled for divine worship." He was fined $1,000 and sentenced to a year in prison, plus an extra six months of labor at "public works" after his prison term.

▶ In East Baton Rouge, La., two young men who visited a fellow civil rights demonstrator in jail were arrested themselves and charged with violating Louisiana's law against "criminal anarchy." Passed during World War I and updated during World War II, the law makes it a crime, punishable by up to ten years at hard labor, to teach or advocate "subversion, opposition or destruction" of the federal or state government. The principal evidence against the youths appeared to be that they brought their friend a copy of *The Ugly American*.

Legal Barbed Wire. Whenever the removal of antique laws has not satisfied segregationists, Southern states and municipalities have reached in the other direction and passed scores of new statutes. Seven states enacted laws against "barratry" (inciting lawsuits) to harass civil rights organizations and their lawyers. When civil rights pickets gathered at the only movie house in Americus one Saturday last July, members of the city council rounded up a quorum, swiftly passed an ordinance declaring that henceforth picketing would be permitted only between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m., that there must be no more than two pickets per city block, and that the pickets must stay at least 20 feet apart and within 24 inches of the curb. Several demonstrators were arrested under the new law that very evening.

Some Southern judges are becoming practiced in the use of the sweeping injunction to entangle civil rights leaders in legal barbed wire. In Danville, Va., for example, a state court enjoined civil rights leaders from "participating in, financing, sponsoring, encouraging or engaging in meetings or other activities" that could lead to a violation of state or local law, or "engaging in any act in a violent and tumultuous manner, or holding unlawful assemblies such as to unreasonably disturb or alarm the public within the city of Danville." That covered just about anything a civil rights organization dreams of doing.

Extraordinarily high bail for arrested demonstrators is also a highly popular gimmick, useful for depleting the treasuries of civil rights organizations. Some Georgia judges have been even more imaginative with their exploitation of a state law that says that whenever "the peace of any person is in danger of being injured or disturbed," the potential offender may be ordered to post cash that will be forfeited if he violates the court's order to behave himself. Normally, such "peace bonds" run to $500 or less. But bonds of more than $15,000 have been demanded from civil rights leaders in Savannah.

One Savannah judge ruled that peace bonds could be posted only in the form of title to real property, and only if the property were free of mortgages or other encumbrances. Under the court's terms, property value would be assumed to be the tax valuation, which in Savannah is about 25% of the market value. Says a civil rights lawyer: "We took the six largest office buildings in Savannah and looked at their encumbrances and their tax valuation. We found that all these buildings together would not be enough to furnish a $15,000 peace bond." Since the judge's terms make it financially impossible to put up a bond, the accused goes to jail without ever having been convicted of any crime.

DANNY LYON

CHILDREN JAILED FOR DEMONSTRATING IN LEESBURG, GA.
With gimmicks old and new.

INTEGRATION

De Facto Superintendent

Almost half the public school children of Chicago—225,000 of them—played hooky for a day last week, and 8,000 grownups circled city hall, waving signs and singing. It was the biggest demonstration ever held in the U.S. against *de facto* school segregation, which is measured in Chicago by new figures showing that enrollments in three-fourths of the schools in the city are 90% or more Negro or 90% or more white.

The target was School Superintendent Benjamin C. Willis, 61, who has long resisted Negro pressure, exerted through the board of education, to take drastic measures to mitigate segregation. Early in October, protesting that the board was moving into his area of authority, he resigned.

By this unyielding stand, Ben Willis confirmed himself as the symbol of the position that the job of the schools is education, not breaking down *de facto* segregation. In telegrams to the school board and by packing public meetings of the board, white homeowners backed Willis. Businessmen and educators chimed in to doubt the wisdom of dropping an expert administrator under pressure from one minority over one issue. The board majority, which had hoped to make Willis compromise on Negro demands but never intended to lose him, recognized that it was out on a limb and refused his resignation. After a week of reconsidering, Superintendent Willis withdrew it.

The Negro "Freedom Day" protest last week was vastly bigger than most Chicagoans had predicted, and set the white-Negro school issue up in sharper terms than in any other big U.S. city. Yet Willis, having had the board plead for his return and having shown massive political support from whites, seems to be in a stronger position than ever.

ART SHAY

CHICAGO'S WILLIS
Stronger than ever.

COLLEGES

Getting Bigger & Richer

These days a small college has to grow in order to survive. Last week this maxim was illustrated at two Midwestern campuses:

▶ Lawrence College (1,180 students) in Appleton, Wis., will become Lawrence University next summer by absorbing tiny (152 women) Milwaukee-Downer College in Milwaukee. Downer aims to sell its 43-acre campus for $10 million to the bulging Milwaukee branch of the University of Wisconsin. Lawrence is already distinguished as a proving ground for university presidents: its own past heads include Brown's former president Henry Wriston, Harvard's president Nathan M. Pusey and Duke's president Douglas M. Knight. Now, as a small university, it hopes to accomplish far more than it could as a small college.

▶ St. Paul's Macalester College (1,600 students) got another sharp boost from its Most Unforgettable Character, *Reader's Digest* Founder-Publisher DeWitt Wallace, 73, who grew up on the campus while his Presbyterian father was president. In recent years Alumnus Wallace and his wife Lila have given Macalester $15 million; last week, as the college announced a ten-year drive for $32 million, the Wallaces offered to match dollars each year that the college raises $750,000, up to a total of $10 million over the ten years.

STUDENTS

Conning the Professor

"Grades are your means of getting into graduate school; your means of keeping your parents happy; your means of avoiding the Army," says a student publication at the University of California at Berkeley. But, it adds with splendid candor: "Do not give the professor reason to suppose that your interest is in the grade. You must always act like an interested intellectual, no matter what your motive."

Here speaks an authentic voice of U.S. education, in contrast to the stately bromides of college presidents. It sums up the art of conning the professor for higher grades—a sick art that grows more feverish as more collegians compete for more degrees at ever more crowded campuses. Even schoolchildren get apprenticed in the technique in how-to-study manuals that warn "Study Your Teacher" and advise: "You have to work with people all your life; start making a science of it."

WILL RAPPORT

HARVARD'S DAVID RIESMAN & STUDENTS
One answer: "Try studying."

Gone: The Short-Skirt Bit. The old apple has to be polished a little more discreetly than it once was. The sweet Southern thing who sighs, "Ah'll do *anything* to get a good grade," is now likely to be told: "Try studying." Symbolic of the times, a Michigan State professor last year ruined the short-skirt bit by ordering all coeds to the back of the room. "I don't let myself get close to any student," says a grim Houston professor. "I try to look at all of them as enemies."

Yet, faced with 700 yawning faces, the big-campus lecturer yearns for one passionate learner—and this is what the good con man impersonates. "The very first lecture, the one everybody cuts, is the most important in the course," says a Wisconsin senior. Moving in fast, the con man lovingly establishes his own name with the prof. After that, says a Princeton honors student, one need only "sit in the first two rows of the lecture room and maintain continuous eye contact with the lecturer. Make him glad he's looking at you. Give him that receptive gaze, which implies amazement at his genius and quiet excitement at the information being transmitted."

Prof. Voltaire. At the University of Michigan, fraternity houses are stocked with not only old exams but also "teacher psych-outs"—dossiers compiled by A-students on professors' likes and dislikes. This allows con men to lug around the prof's favorite magazine, or to ape his lingo. If this fails, says a recent Michigan graduate, there is the "welfare approach" of pretending poverty by wearing "hand-pressed khaki pants" and asking the professor on the very first day "Ah, how much did you say that textbook was?" As a Wisconsin con man puts it: "These days, if you're not one up, you're one down."

Con men rely heavily on "respectful disagreement"—tantalizing the professor who pines for ardent student pro-

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cent—of the population. The dummy organs of government pick the bosses, and Khrushchev does the picking.

If the vast flop of Soviet agriculture, the shelves bare of consumer goods, the inflated prices for something as simple as a pair of shoes or trousers (assuming they are even available) are any indication of Khrushchev's managerial prowess, he would not be the man we would choose to run any business enterprise in which we were interested.

Congressman JOHANSEN said in the House that he wonders what explains "the foolish fascination" which takes American businessmen to Khrushchev's door to hear him insult the United States, capitalism, and themselves.

Some of the business leaders appraised Khrushchev as tough, a pragmatist, but a man with a sense of humor. We do not know whether proof of the sense of humor was found in his statement that the blockading of an American troop convoy by the Russians on the autobahn to Berlin could have led to a shooting and a nuclear war which would incinerate him and his guests. That's not our idea of a real boffo.

Pub. Accomm. Sen.

Mrs. Murphy's Private Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, October 16, 1963

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, I include an article from a recent issue of America by Father William J. Davis, S.J., on the public-accommodations section of the civil rights bill:

Of the many witnesses to come before the Senate Commerce Committee, testifying against the public-accommodations section of the President's civil rights bill, perhaps none was more eloquent or forceful than Gov. Farris Bryant, of Florida. In a packed Senate caucus room, he told the Senators that he came "to argue the case for freedom."

Customers are free to trade where they please, but this civil rights bill would deny owners a like freedom. If a customer can walk into a store, look over the owner or the merchandise, and then decide not to buy, for any reason whatsoever, or even for no reason at all; if he can base his decision even on the looks of the store owner—then "the owner of the property ought to have the same freedom." So runs the argument of Governor Bryant, and so runs the argument in the minds of many reasonable men who seem genuinely concerned about Federal interference with the rights of property owners.

To resolve the apparent conflict between civil rights and property rights, it is necessary to take a second look at our traditional view of private property. Just what rights, for instances, does the now famous Mrs. Murphy have in the running of her boardinghouse?

For Mrs. Murphy, and for Americans generally, the right of ownership is an unassailable absolute. "I earned this property. It's mine. I can do with it as I please." Some such expression of absolute ownership, including use, rises spontaneously to the lips of most Americans. Even those who cannot justify this right philosophically know that it is somehow guaranteed as God-given and inalienable, and the presumption is one of absolute independence in the ownership of property. The defenders of Mrs. Murphy contend that she (or her family) built her establishment independently and that she therefore can expect to do as she pleases with it. They decry Government interference as an infringement on her right to own and dispose of her property freely.

Their argument begins with the fact that this property was gained by private initiative. Was it really? Did the Murphys mill the boards that built it? Did they smelt the steel that fashioned the tools that drove the nails? While the building was under construction, who grew the wheat and ground the flour and ran the railroads and provided the thousand and one other services that the Murphys used? And even more fundamentally, who settled the land and built a society and maintained law and order, so that this building could be constructed? "Private" initiative, in any absolute sense, is a myth.

But if Mrs. Murphy could not originally acquire her boardinghouse without the aid of society, neither can she now maintain it privately. How can she keep it safe from thieves? How can she be assured that the commodities she needs to run it will not skyrocket beyond her means through the action of monopolists? How can she be assured that the food she buys for her guests will not poison them? And finally, how can she be secure from those today who have sworn to "bury her"?

The point is obvious. The individualist's exaggerated view of private endeavor is one of the greatest hoaxes ever to slip into the stream of conventional wisdom. No one owns a boardinghouse, or anything else for that matter, without being in partnership with a tremendously complex, cooperating, interrelated organism known as society. Like it or not, we are interdependent. And if property cannot be gained independently or maintained independently, then neither can it be used in total independence.

To say that owners have the right to do whatever they please with their property, irrespective of society, is simply false. St. Thomas Aquinas, while defending the right to acquire private property, makes it very clear that this right does not carry with it the right of indiscriminate use. The disposal of private goods must be in accord with the primary destiny of all goods—service of man. As Ambrose Farrell, O.P., puts it: "Ownership of every kind is a stewardship carrying with it social obligations."

Traditionally, we have emphasized the fact that man's very nature demands a measure of independent ownership. But what we must bear in mind, while insisting on this natural right, is that man's nature is a social nature and demands a concern for society even in his ownership. It is not as though man has independent rights to which are added a few social riders. The fact is that the right itself is essentially colored by man's social nature.

The social character of private property, therefore, is not a sort of afterthought of only relative importance. It is of the very essence of private property. Review the traditional arguments for private property and you will find that they all reduce to one: private property is the best way to make our God-given fund of material goods serve the common good of all mankind. The truth is that the social character of property is absolute; its private character is relative.

This is not to say, as Saint-Simon, Comte and their camp followers said, that society is the real owner of all property. Individuals are true owners, but society has a vested interest in their ownership. Especially those private businesses that draw constantly from the public must, in turn, recognize the rights of the public. If they do not, then public authority must intervene.

Some might object that government intervention is bad. In a sense it is; it's too bad. In fact, in a sense, it is tragic, because it is an indication that we as individuals have not recognized and fulfilled our social obligations. Because of our failure, government intervention becomes necessary and its desirability is no longer the question. And if there is danger involved (as there admittedly is) in such intervention, we have no one to blame but ourselves for failing to act on the individual or local level. We cannot hide behind an irrational hostility to public authority when we ourselves have necessitated the expansion of that authority.

Exaggerated individualism has traditionally blasted all social reforms with bromides about freedom from interference, private rights, private initiative, and creeping socialism. But the ironic truth is that no one makes social reforms more necessary than does the individualist. Numerous social problems, calling for government regulation, are the direct result of his laissez-faire principles. Granted, for instance, that I can do as I please with my property, then naturally enough I can shift the location of my plant without regard to employee dislocation; I can hire and fire without regard for collective bargaining; I can engage in rack-renting, in real estate speculation, and in a host of other activities that result in social harm. Discrimination against Negroes cap a long list of abuses resulting from the liberalist view of "the sanctity of private property."

In fact, even the various forms of collectivism, which the individualists so universally fear, frequently follow from this same false premise of the absolute nature of private property. Given the assumption that ownership carries with it the right to use things as the owner pleases, then the only way to correct misuse is by a change of ownership. And so the various collectivist systems conclude that the state must become sole owner if society is to benefit properly from material wealth. Even Catholic writers sometimes leave the impression that the only solution to the problem of injustice is some impractical equalization of ownings, and, in so doing, neglect to stress the social obligations of those who are owners.

In correcting abuses, however, we must not make the mistake of the collectivists. Government intervention must itself be controlled by strict limits. The day will never come when the right of ownership will be justly absorbed by the state. Private property will never become obsolete. It will remain as long as man is man. The forms that ownership takes may need constant readjustment by social authority to bring them in line with their essential purpose; but that authority cannot swallow up the basic right.

Obviously, if individuals and lesser organizations realize their responsibilities, the state need not and ought not to step in; but when we on the lower level fail, then it is the responsibility of the government to see to it that community rights are not trampled on by individuals. In Quadragesimo Anno Pius XI insised, while reiterating the warning to leave to subordinate groups as broad a control as possible, that public authority has not only the right but the duty to make adjustments in the matter of ownership. His words bear quoting at length:

"It follows from what we have termed the individual and at the same time social character of ownership that men must consider in this matter not only their own advantage but also the common good. To define these duties in detail when necessity requires and the natural law has not done so is the function of those in charge of the State. Therefore public authority, under the guiding light always of the natural and divine law, can determine more accurately, upon consideration of the true requirements of the common good, what is permitted and what is not permitted to owners in the use of their property (sec. 49)."

A Catholic can hardly deny the right of the state to intervene in the use of property

for the common good, as indeed the state already does by a number of accepted practices, such as lawsuits to redress injuries, zoning laws and eminent domain.

The attitude we should take toward such intervention was well expressed by Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta, Ga., testifying before the Senate Commerce Committee in favor of the civil rights bill. Asked about Federal intrusion into businesses in his city, he replied that such Government actions as child-labor laws, certain labor laws themselves, wage-and-hour acts and the like can hardly be considered intrusions since, for the most part, they have been for the benefit of most of the people of the country.

Finally—and this question brings us back to Mrs. Murphy—when should the Government act? Obviously, too much Government interference will create more evils than it corrects; but too little is equally harmful. When the state moves, it must keep all aspects of the common good in mind. Property has a social aspect, but it also has a private aspect. The state must preserve both. When a business is small and relatively more private, as we will presume is the case with the Murphy boardinghouse, the state should not interfere directly, even though Mrs. Murphy may be unjustly drawing profit from the public without realizing her social obligations to that public. But in the case of those businesses that substantially affect the common good, the state can and should interfere whenever there is serious abuse.

And how to decide what is a "Mrs. Murphy" boardinghouse and what is a substantial business? Reason and prudence must decide. Although we hate to give these factors a place in this world of scientific exactness, there is simply no substitute for them in human affairs. They guide us in interpreting what is substantial in the Clayton Act and in other acts; they must likewise guide us in the present matter. Perhaps, as has been suggested, the Murphys can be separated from the non-Murphys by the $10,000 gross-income level. Some division point must be agreed upon to preserve both privacy and public good. And while $10,000 is an arbitrary figure, it does not seem an unreasonable one. If someone thinks otherwise, he can advance reasons why the division point should be moved up or down, but he ought not to attack the very principle of the government's right to regulate.

In conclusion, therefore, let me return to the problem posed by Governor Bryant. He has shrewdly appraised the civil rights issue as a struggle "between conflicting demands for freedom." But are the demands for freedom equally justified on both sides, or are owners demanding freedoms that were never theirs? Those who make private property an unassailable absolute stretch property rights beyond reason. And if they have their way, they will not only destroy an important civil rights bill; they will strip social authority of the very possibility of effective reform. They will hack away from free society its strongest bulwark—its capacity for self-adjustment and reform.

There is no solution to "the conflicting demands for freedom" if we accept the individualist assumptions about the nature of ownership. The solution Governor Bryant suggests—to allow the owners the freedom to continue to make errors—is intolerable when so large a portion of the public, indeed, when the whole Nation, is suffering from those errors. The Communist or Socialist solution—to make the state the sole owner—is likewise intolerable in view of man's nature. This conflict can be resolved only by admitting that our right of ownership bears within it social responsibilities which should be promoted by the reasonable, controlled, and limited intervention of social authority.

Spain and Portugal: Red Target

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 13, 1963

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, serious students of military history have long recognized the strategic importance of the Iberian Penninsula consisting of Spain and Portugal, and how this area has served as the location for decisive stages in wars.

An informative article in the July 20, 1963, issue of the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., by Constantine Brown, distinguished geopolitical analyst now residing in Rome, Italy, gives the latest developments in plots to overthrow the Governments of Spain and Portugal.

The article follows:

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL: RED TARGET—LEFTISTS SHIFT PLOTTING CENTER IN ITALY, AND MOSCOW MAKES OIL OVERTURES

(By Constantine Brown)

ROME.—Communist and democratic groups plotting for the overthrow of the Governments of Spain and Portugal recently have received a new impetus. The main center of their activities has been transferred from Milan to Genoa.

The reason is that it is easier to ship men, arms and propaganda from a seaport than from an inland city. Since relations between France and Spain have become very friendly, the underground, which in the past moved from Yugoslavia and Italy to Spain through France, can no longer be used.

The Soviet Union and other anti-Facist governments are reported to be assisting these groups, which are composed mostly of Spanish and Italian Communists. But strangely enough, at the same time Moscow has begun flirting wth the Madrid government and suggesting better relations.

A delegation of Soviet labor union leaders is reported to have received visas from Madrid to attend an international labor meeting there this summer.

On the other hand the Soviet Government is reported to have sounded out the Spanish Government concerning some arrangements about the $800 million which Madrid accuses Moscow of having stolen from Spain in 1938 when the Loyalist government realized it had lost the battle.

At that time the Loyalist government transferred to Odessa the entire treasury of the Spanish Government for safekeeping. After the Loyalists fell and Generalissimo Franco became the undisputed head of state, demands were made to Moscow through neutral embassies for the return of the gold. The Russians answered that there was no such gold available. It was true they admitted, that a quantity had been shipped to the U.S.S.R., but that amount was due Russia for the military equipment purchased throughout the civil war.

Now the Russians appear to admit that there is a balance due to the Spanish Government—about $650 million—and that under certain conditions they are willing to discuss its return. There is no possibility, of course, say the Russians, that the actual gold will be returned to Spain. But if the present Madrid government were willing to discuss economic relations, Moscow might consider shipping to Spain crude or refined oil representing the amount involved.

Spain lacks oil; it has to purchase it from the United States and British companies at prices considerably higher than those of the U.S.S.R. The Russians are reported to suggest that the gold of the Spanish treasury be repaid in oil over a period of 5 or 6 years, according to the needs of Spanish industry. The proposition, which appears on the surface acceptable—no one as yet has had time to look under the rug—would deprive the American and British oil producers of an important market, especially at this time when Spanish industry has begun to boom in earnest.

The fact that Madrid seems inclined to consider economic discussions with the U.S.S.R. is attributed to gentle pressures from Washington for further democratization of the present Spanish regime.

Generalissimo Franco and his top counselors in the cabinet are being urged to liberalize Spain by permitting the creation of a Spanish Socialist Party. So far these gentle hints from Washington have had no effect on the Spanish Government and are unlikely to be received favorably by the Spanish people. The Government and the bulk of the Spaniards remember that Spain had had a Socialist government before the outbreak of the civil war. It started with moderate socialism, but eventually became infiltrated. The net result of the experience of the thirties was a civil war which brought, besides total economic ruin to Spain, casualties amounting to more than 2 million dead.

Spain, after years of unbelievable hardships caused by the unofficial economic embargo imposed by the West from 1945 to 1949, at present is moving up fast. Everybody in Europe speaks of the "Spanish miracle," comparable to that of Germany and France. Although only 10 years ago Spain had less than $100 million gold or hard currency in its treasury, it possesses today close to $1 billion.

The creation of a "Socialist Party," Washington is being politely told, might eventually get things back to where they were in 1936. And Generalissimo Franco and his cabinet, for the sake of their people, cannot accept such a risk. They point out that the present shaky situation in Italy—both political and economic—proves what a government to the left can do to the welfare of a country.

Al Reid, Newspaperman With a Heart

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT R. BARRY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, November 13, 1963

Mr. BARRY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Al Reid, distinguished writer and correspondent of the Home News & Times in Yonkers, N.Y., has been leading a worthwhile effort to help the Cross Country Hospital in Yonkers and the Lawrence Hospital in Bronxville.

He calls this effort "Operation Trading Stamps." Under this charitable plan, people send their trading stamps to Al Reid who then uses them to buy items such as toys and games for the two hospitals.

Al Reid says, "I licked every stamp." To date, this amounts to over 50,000. This is certainly a highly original idea. Moreover, it is one that other communities can use in order to bring comforting items to the children and adults in our hospitals.

11/29/63

Soviet Union ever has achieved. Both also export many industrial products although here, too, U.S. excess production is much greater than the Soviets.

In addition, trade is another weapon in the cold war in the minds of the Soviet strategists. The factors of demand and supply that govern trade in this country always can be subject to—and controlled by—political considerations in the Communist world. So it would be dangerous for this country ever to become dependent for any of its strategic supplies on the Soviet bloc countries.

The factor of political advantage to the Soviet Union also must be considered. Increased trade with the Soviet Union would tend to indicate U.S. approval of the status quo in Eastern Europe. It also would lessen the effectiveness of the special consideration that the United States now gives to Poland and Yugoslavia in an effort to wean them away from full dependency on the Soviets.

Yet all of these arguments do not offset the possible advantages to be gained. The United States needs new markets to replace those it is losing to the Common Market in Western Europe. The United States needs greater exports to reverse the balance-of-payments deficit. The United States by selling more consumer products to the Soviet Union would harvest Soviet dollars and gold that could not be spent for armaments.

So we hope that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee gives open-minded consideration to the prospect of greater trade with the Soviet Union and its satellites. Always, of course, the committee must keep in mind the protection of the best long-range interests of this country, just as, we feel, Mr. Kennedy did in approving the sale of wheat to the Soviet bloc.

Pub. Accomm. Gen.

CIVIL RIGHTS PUBLIC PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS

Mr. HART. Mr. President, one of the more controversial aspects of the current civil rights ferment has been its use of various kinds of public protests and demonstrations.

We have all heard these questions raised: Do these demonstrations represent a disrespect for law and order? Or are they in the mainstream of a great heritage and right of public protest protected by the Constitution? If so, are there limits to this constitutionally protected right of protest?

In August of this year, the American Civil Liberties Union, long a respected and vigilant guardian of the constitutional rights of all Americans, published a pamphlet entitled "How Americans Protest: A Statement on the Civil Rights Demonstrations."

This pamphlet surveys the constitutional development of the right of assembly from the Magna Carta, through early State constitutions, to its inclusion in the first amendment as "an independent right, equally as important as free speech and press." And it traces the history of public protest in this country from revolutionary days to the current civil rights movement.

Finally, the pamphlet examines the limitations on the right of assembly and finds that its abridgement can be justified only in order to protect other substantial rights.

Mr. President, I commend this ACLU pamphlet to all Americans, and I ask unanimous consent that its text and editorials on it from the Baltimore Sun and the Boston Herald be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HOW AMERICANS PROTEST—A STATEMENT ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS

FOREWORD

The American Civil Liberties Union views with firm hope the course being taken by the movement of our Negro countrymen toward full citizenship. A protest movement of such dimensions is bound to arouse opposition and be attended by disorders, perhaps some that will be more serious than have already occurred. But disorder is less to be dreaded than suppression of the right to protest. In our constitutional system this right is one of fundamental importance—a part of the purpose of our national being. It is also a means of resolving deep-seated problems—the loss of which threatens dangers of a much higher order.

We deem it essential, therefore, to revert to first principles—to inquire why the 1st amendment forbids Congress to make any law "abridging * * * the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances," why the 14th amendment forbids State action abridging the same right, how Americans have used this right before, and how all this affects what we do in response to today's headlines.

The first amendment prohibition was a fruit of colonial experience. Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, the Regulator movement in North Carolina, and the movement culminating in the Boston Massacre—all originated in denial to the people of a right to assemble and voice their grievances. The colonists therefore, had had bitter experiences at the hands of an unrestrained government willing to resort to shooting and hanging to suppress popular protest. Hence the architects of the Constitution rightly put the new government under restraint.

Yet in the very act of establishing a government they placed themselves under reciprocal restraint, acknowledging this in the word "peaceably" which they wrote into their definition of the first amendment right. Even so, the right they defined is quite as capable of being suppressed by violent citizen opponents as by an unrestrained government. Clearly, then, government is not only required to refrain from interference with peaceful assemblies; it must restrain the restrainers as well.

Those government officials and editorial writers, who have been quick to rebuke certain parts of the extraordinarily effective civil rights demonstrations of 1963, have forgotten this clear direction of the first amendment. They have likewise forgotten that the demonstrators have shown a keen awareness of the meaning and limit of the first amendment right. When breaches of order have occurred, the well-led civil rights assemblies have manifested truly remarkable self-discipline, and they have rarely been the aggressors.

But observers of these actions owe the protesters an additional concession; the grievances sought to be redressed are themselves the denial of a carefully defined constitutional right to equality. Members of the majority that has dominated the American society and its lawmaking machinery for the past century cannot escape responsibility for the years of callous indifference to the demands of nonwhite citizens. This indifference created the frustration which now finds expression in the current demonstrations. After decades of denial of rights, is it any wonder that demonstrations show such deep emotion? Or that some actions have been taken which inconvenience—or even interfere with rights of—other citizens? The American Civil Liberties Union does not assert that every civil rights demonstration has confined itself to constitutionally protected protests. But we remind every American who feels adversely affected by this activity that he is involved in the current crisis: he must face the issue of the deprivation of rights—rights having dignity equal with his own.

In the final analysis it is redress of the grievances that will measure the living value of the right to protest. In employing this time-honored American right, the people engaged in this movement have created an awareness of the extent of deprivation, and the justice of their cause, that never before existed among their countrymen. Yet ignorance of these matters persists, sometimes from almost conscious self-deception, more often from an unreal sense of distance from and noninvolvement in the issues. None of us is free from involvement.

The blot of inequality, of persisting vestiges of that slavery which the 13th amendment undertook to outlaw, is a curse upon all of us, and threatens the security with which we all enjoy the fundamental rights of an American. Until this lesson is brought home, until the grievances to which it relates are in fact redressed, we may expect an increasingly persistent employment of the right of protest. And a decent respect for our own interest in all of the rights of an American demands that we acquire and manifest a more perfect understanding of this one.

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE OF PUBLIC PROTEST

The major impact of the civil rights demonstrations in 1963 warrants our knowing more of the American heritage of public protest. Too many of us have forgotten the important role protests have played in the history of the United States, and the constitutional rights involved.

De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America" pertinently remarks that the exercise of the right of association in order to pursue common objectives is a potent weapon of free citizens to resist tyranny of the majority and to achieve desired legislative action.[1] The first amendment contained in the Bill of Rights (1791) guarantees the right of the people "peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." This Federal constitutional guarantee was preceded by provisions of several State constitutions guaranteeing the right of the people to "assemble together, to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives and to apply to the legislature for redress of grievances."[2] Although stemming historically from the right to petition the crown for redress, set forth in chapter 61 of the Magna Carta (1215), the U.S. Supreme Court has established that the American right is not limited to assembly in order to petition the Government but is an independent right, equally as important as free speech and press.[3]

The Declaration of Independence reminds us that this Nation came into being as an act of protest against discriminatory treatment of the colonies by the British Government. It is not surprising then that we find throughout our turbulent history numerous examples of public and even violent protest either against governmental action or to achieve the creation of new public policy. The formation of a Government of the United States followed such public protests as the Boston Tea Party and those of the earlier movements in Virginia and the Carolinas.

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[1] De Tocqueville, "Democracy in America" (New York, 1956), pp. 194–195.

[2] North Carolina Constitution, 1776, Declaration of Rights, art. 18. See also similar provisions in the constitutions of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.

[3] *DeJonge* v. *Oregon*, 299 U.S. 353, 364 (1937).

In New York the protest took a less violent but no less effective from when the Sons of Liberty of New York published, on November 29, 1773, a resolution branding as an "enemy of the liberties of America" whoever aided in transporting, selling or buying the taxed tea. The forceful suppression of these protests culminated in a war of revolution, whose successful conclusion made the paper independence of 1776 an ultimate reality. The relationship between these protests enshrined in history and the current protests on behalf of equal rights for Negroes was recognized by Senator JOHN O. PASTORE in the course of Secretary of State Rusk's July 10, 1963 testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee on the pending civil rights bill. When Senator THURMOND challenged Secretary Rusk's approval of civil rights demonstrations, Senator PASTORE asked Senator THURMOND whether he believed in the Boston Tea Party.

Slavery in the United States, prior to its abolition in 1865 by the 13th amendment, was the object of vigorous public attack and support in the North as well as in the South. William Lloyd Garrison, a leading abolitionist, was a pacifist; the agitation he led and countenanced did not include physical violence or go beyond the bounds of colorful speech and symbolic burnings of copies of the Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and of court decisions enforcing it.

Determined efforts to stop his nonviolent agitation for abolition involved disorderly public demonstrations and unlawful threats in several Northern cities. For example, on his return in 1835 from London, where he spoke against slavery, Garrison was criticized in the New York newspapers and met at the pier by a throng of 5,000 persons opposing abolition. His appearance in Boston was met with placards urging that he be tarred and feathered. Prominent people, including members of the clergy, joined in denouncing the abolitionists and Boston's Faneuil Hall, that historic cradle of liberty, was packed with a crowd of the best people to listen to speeches denouncing the abolitionists and in support of states' rights and slavery. A month later a mob gathered in front of the Boston office of Garrison's newspaper, the Liberator, and dragged him through the street at the end of a rope. In 1838 a mob opposing the abolitionists rioted for several days in Philadelphia and in the process burned down the newly built Pennsylvania Hall.

For years abolitionists could not meet in New York City without encountering organized disturbances. And even during the Civil War the New York City draft riots of 1863, which in large part reflected anti-Negro sentiment, resulted in thousands of deaths and several lynchings of Negroes. Southern States, such as South Carolina, of course, handled abolition talk very simply by threatening to hang any abolitionist who might fall into their zealous hands. (It is only fair to add, however, that the abolition movement had its start and, prior to 1831, most of its members in the plantation States.[4])

Even though Garrison refused to support or condone them, violent demonstrations also supported the cause of abolition. The enforcement of the Federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 requiring the return of escaped slaves met with violent resistance. In 1854 the capture and return of Anthony Burns was met with riot in Boston as well as by Thoreau's famous denunciation, "Slavery in Massachusetts." The Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision in 1857, holding that an escaped slave remained the property of his master, aroused indignation and protest throughout the entire North. The raids, violence, and killings in the struggle to determine whether Kansas would be a free or slave State culminated in John Brown's raid on the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry seeking to arm volunteers, white and Negro, to invade the South and free the slaves. Although Brown was promptly captured and hanged, his truth that slavery is an abomination did indeed go marching on and all of the violence on both sides merged into the Civil War.

After the ultimate violence of that fratricidal war, in which more Americans were killed than in any other war in which the United States participated, the struggle to secure the freedom and equal rights of Negroes guaranteed by the 13th (1865), the 14th (1868), and the 15th (1870) amendments, continued. The strongest measures were taken by the Federal Government, including the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875, and the series of Reconstruction statutes imposing military rule on the defeated South until 1877.[5] During this period, as at present, Negroes demonstrated to obtain in fact the equal treatment under the laws which the civil rights acts undertook to grant them and then, as now, their peaceful protest actions were met with counterattacks and physical violence. For example, in May 1871, in Louisville, Ky., Negroes who insisted on riding in streetcar seats reserved for whites were dragged off the cars by fellow passengers and bystanders and beaten. When the U.S. Attorney General promised Federal court action to support the rights of the Negro riders, the streetcar company capitulated and allowed passengers to sit where they pleased. The Kentucky press approved this desegregation of the streetcars as a model for good race relations and the community accepted the new state of affairs.[6]

The Supreme Court's 1883 decision in the *Civil Rights Cases*,[7] holding invalid the act of 1875 which prohibited discrimination in public accommodations, brought to a halt that era of demonstrations to support the rights of Negroes. The 1954 decision in the school segregation cases[8] was the forerunner of the protests currently developing.

Wholly apart from the many forms of proslavery and antislavery agitation, our history has recorded many vigorous public protests, either against action taken by State or Federal authorities or urging action to be taken. Even under the Articles of Confederation it was necessary for State authority to cope with such uprising as Shay's Rebellion. In 1794 the militia of the infant Federal Government was called to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania against the Federal excise tax on liquor. Public agitation against the Senate's ratification of the Jay Treaty terminating the War of the Revolution with Great Britain was so violent and extensive that John Jay, who negotiated the treaty for the United States, was burned in effigy in 1795 at the culmination of public meetings of protest in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, and other cities.[9] Convictions under the infamous Sedition Act of 1798 were protested by large assemblies before the jails demanding the release of the prisoners. In later demonstrations, the suffragettes helped secure voting rights for women; supporters of the Anti-Saloon League contributed to the enactment of prohibition; a "Bonus Army" of thousands of jobless veterans marched on Washington, D.C. in 1932; farmers in the Middle West protested against foreclosures of farm mortgages during the economic depression of the 1930's; and extensive agitation and picketing accompanied the attainment by labor of the right to organize. All these uses of the right of public assembly give solid precedent for the current demonstrations against unequal treatment of Negro citizens.

THE RIGHT OF PROTEST

Two vital questions are immediately presented to the public as it views the current protests: what are the proper limits to which these demonstrations may go, and are the participants under any obligation to avoid occasions where violence may occur?

There is no doubt that some demonstrations have exceeded the proper limits of the constitutionally protected right of protest. For example, last July 4 a protest against discrimination in employment by Jones Beach State Park in Long Island, N.Y., took the form, not merely of legal picketing, but in addition of blocking automobile approaches to the park by bodies of demonstrators lying across the highway. More recently the blocking of all access to the construction site for Downstate Medical Center in Brooklyn, N.Y., in protest against the hiring policies in the construction trades, prevented persons from entering the site on their own business. Each of these violated legal protections of the public's right of movement and thereby exceeded the limits of constitutionally protected activity. The ACLU does not support such excesses; specifically we believe that physical obstruction of the right of movement does not merit civil liberties protection.

But citizens will variously judge these invasions of the rights of others—deliberately done on these occasions by persons prepared to accept the consequences of law violation. We owe these persons acknowledgement that the discrimination they object to is itself a violation of law—more outrageous in these cases because the public's funds, and thereby a measure of official sanction, are involved. Moreover, it recognizes but part of the problem to editorialize, as did the New York Times recently, that "protest certainly cannot be allowed to interfere with the rights of innocent bystanders."[10] This analysis neglects the fact that the majority, long indifferent to racial discrimination, may scarcely be considered to consist entirely of innocent bystanders. Some men of conscience are moved to use extraordinary means only because ordinary ones have seemed to fail.

The Supreme Court has made it clear that the right of assembly is a relative, not an absolute right, subject to regulation to protect the rights of others.[11] But it may be regulated only to protect substantial rights, not merely to avoid inconvenience. Just as the distribution of noncommercial handbills (an exercise of the comparable right of freedom of press) may not be prohibited merely to avoid littering,[12] so the right to assemble and protest may not be denied to avoid possible public unrest, or even violent opposition.[13] A permit may be required for the

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[4] Charles A. Madison, "Critics and Crusades" (2d ed.; New York, 1951), pp. 3–4.

[5] Claude Bowers, "The Tragic Era" (New York, 1929).

[6] Alan F. Westin, "Ride-In," American Heritage magazine, August 1962.

[7] 109 U.S. 3.

[8] *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483.

[9] Claude Bowers, "Jefferson and Hamilton" (Boston, 1925), pp. 265–288.

[10] "Bounds of Protest," July 9, 1963; see also "Right Goal—Wrong Method," July 22, 1963; "Breakthrough or Breakdown?" July 31, 1963.

[11] *Hague* v. *CIO*, 307 U.S. 496, 516 (1939).

[12] *Lovell* v. *Griffin*, 303 U.S. 444 (1938).

[13] *Kunz* v. *New York*, 340 U.S. 290; *Terminiello* v. *Chicago*, 337 U.S. 1. As Mr. Justice Douglas said in Terminiello, of an intensely provocative speech made in a public meeting, "[a] function of free speech under our system * * * is to invite dispute. It may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are or even stirs people to anger. * * * It may strike

holding of parades or public meetings, and meetings and demonstrations may be regulated, for example, to prevent undue restriction of normal traffic or to limit use of facilities to one group at a time. But this power may not be used to "protect" the public from exposure to what some members of it—or some officials—do not want said.[14]

The American majority may well see the predominantly lawful activity which has characterized the current movement as bringing troublesome inconvenience. And indeed the protests forecast even more. Painful readjustments are demanded by the expressed grievances. Many people, in every section of the country, are only now beginning to understand how racism pervades our daily lives and to sense how profoundly all our ways will be affected in the process of eliminating it. As white citizens in northern communites begin to reexamine entrenched habits and customs, particularly those involving schools, employment, and housing, many of the same emotions may be stirred as in a deep southern community moving away from total segregation. Change is difficult and often frightening. But it is coming, and its accomplishment will occupy a towering place in history. Oliver Wendell Holmes said that a man must "share the passion and action of his time at peril of being judged not to have lived," and we are confident that Americans will increasingly welcome the sense of urgency which our time impels. We are also confident that as a beginning each community will bend to accommodate the immediate inconveniences engendered by today's legitimate protests.

The major aspect of the right to demonstrate which has had insufficient attention is found in the suggestions by many of the highest public authorities that assemblies likely to lead to breaches of peace should be avoided. Governors of various States and even the President of the United States have been among the authors of this misstatement of principle. The point that has not been made clear is that the important constitutional right of protest cannot be abridged by the violent threats of lawless individuals opposed to the objectives of the demonstrators.

The courts have plainly declared that important constitutional rights, such as free speech and assembly and equal protection of the laws, cannot be curtailed because of apprehension that the exercise of these rights will result in riotous disturbances by lawless opponents. The U.S. Supreme Court very recently reiterated this point in *Wright* v. *Georgia*,[15] in reversing the "breach of peace" conviction of six Negroes for peacefully playing basketball in a "whites only" public park. There the Court said "the possibility of disorder by others (whites, whom the police anticipated would be provoked to a breach of the peace by the Negroes' presence) cannot justify the exclusion of persons from a place if they otherwise have a constitutional right (founded on the equal protection clause) to be present." The constitutional rights of speech and protest are equally fundamental.[16] In *Cooper* v. *Aaron*,[17] the "lawless opponents" were State officials themselves who, encouraging mob violence and interposing State units of the National Guard forcibly to prevent compliance with Federal court orders, led the school authorities in Little Rock, Ark., to ask a Federal court to postpone implementation of a desegregation plan because of extreme public hostility. The Supreme Court rejected this petition and ordered immediate reinstatement of the plan, saying that "law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights." [18]

This issue arises in the streets, at police headquarters and at executive mansions before it reaches the courts and it is the Governors, the mayors, and the police officials who must bring home the truth that demonstrations for racial equality cannot be prohibited because lawless reaction is anticipated. Means must be found to turn the forces of law and order to the protection of the demonstrators and to prevent violence by those who would attack them.

It is unthinkable that the constitutional right to demonstrate peaceably should be abridged by the least tolerant element in the community. Reversing the denial of an injunction against interference with free speech of Jehovah's Witnesses, the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit in *Sellers* v. *Johnson* [19] explained:

"Under such a doctrine (that individuals may be deprived of their constitutional rights of assembly if their unpopularity threatens a riot), unpopular political, racial, and religious groups might find themselves virtually inarticulate. Certainly the fundamental rights to assemble, to speak, and to worship cannot be abridged merely because persons threaten to stage a riot or because peace officers believe or are afraid that breaches of the peace will occur if the rights are exercised."

Of course police may be compelled to stop a public meeting or demonstration if the situation develops to the point of imminent riot. But before the tension reaches that stage police must act to prevent hostile threats against peaceful demonstrators from being carried out and to arrest those seeking to break up an assembly.[20] There is no legal or constitutional right for other citizens to interfere with a public assembly.[21]

NEEDED: A NATIONAL COMMITMENT

The exercise of the right of assembly, protest and demonstration cannot guarantee a redress of all just grievances and of only those which are just. Not every movement of protest will be successful, nor will history necessarily judge to be just all those which are successful.

But grievances must be heard in order to be redressed—and in a forum where action can be taken that is responsive to the whole thrust of the problems raised. Underlying the emphasis which the civil rights movement now places upon public demonstrations is the proven inadequacy of the forums in which their grievances have previously been heard. The courts have responded to their suits with unequivocal declarations of the right to equal treatment. Yet 9 years after the decision in the school segregation cases, but a small proportion of Negro students in biracial districts attend integrated schools, and parks and other public facilities continue to discriminate. Presidents and Governors have issued Executive orders in response to the pleas of civil rights leaders, dealing among other things with discrimination in public employment. Yet lack of employment opportunities for nonwhite people is a problem approaching crisis proportions today. Congress has legislated that there shall be no discrimination in voting rights, but application of these laws has so far made only a small dent in the rejection that faces many Negroes seeking to vote.

Each of these forums—the judicial, the Executive, and the legislative—has responded, when it acted, with an unequivocal endorsement of the justice of the civil rights demands and each has contributed important gains which have in turn given impetus to both the demands and the awakening of the American conscience. But these gains, in the context of the total problem, have afforded only a token measure of redress. What has not yet come to pass is a commitment of the whole Nation to right the wrongs toward minority races embedded in the patterns of our national existence. Such a commitment can only come from a total awareness of the problems, and of the inconsistent clash that exists between our historic and constitutional standards of equality and our everyday practices. Only appeal in a larger forum—the public demonstrations—can achieve that total awareness. Only then will legislation, Executive action, judicial decree and private response concur to redress not merely some grievances, but an entire pattern of second-class citizenship.

Thus it is that our aggrieved countrymen have come to state their case in the largest forum our free society provides. They follow the path of countless others—from the participants in the Boston Tea Party to the suffragettes and the trade unionists. They count on a core of humanity and decency in their fellow men to respond to a case that is well and forcefully stated. And, as their cause is just, so may we as confidently count on the Nation's ultimate response to be equal to it.

[From the Boston Herald]

PERSPECTIVE ON OLD RIGHTS

The American Civil Liberties Union's scholarly new pamphlet on the legal and historical justification of civil-rights demonstrations ought to be read by everyone who seeks an understanding of this extraordinary social phenomenon of our times.

Indeed, the pamphlet constitutes a whole new gloss on the treasured first amendment rights of peaceable assembly and of petition to the Government for redress of grievances.

Although the ACLU does not abandon its traditional role as a friend of the underdog, in no sense is its pamphlet onesided.

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at prejudices and preconceptions and have profound unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance of an idea." 337 U.S. at 4. These words apply equally to protest demonstrations.

[14] *Hague* v. *CIO*, note 11 above (holding void a municipal "permit" ordinance which had been used by local authorities to prevent public meetings on behalf of union organization); *Rockwell* v. *Morris*, 211 New York State 2d 25, affd. 10 N.Y. 2d 721, cert. denied 368 U.S. 913 (requiring issuance of a permit to hold a public meeting for a speech by a "'self-confessed advocate of violence' and Hitlerian methods").

[15] 373 U.S. 284.

[16] *Edwards* v. *South Carolina*, 373 U.S. 229 (peaceful protest on State capital grounds; *Rockwell* v. *Morris*, note 14, above; *Terminiello* v. *Chicago*, note 13, above (inflammatory speech which occasioned mob violence by opponents outside the meeting hall).

[17] 358 U.S. 1.

[18] 358 U.S. at 16.

[19] 163 F. 2d 877, 881.

[20] Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy, of New York City, on June 20, 1963, issued a public statement describing the responsibility assumed by the police of department he heads. In it he said: "The police are the representatives of the government—a government of laws, not men. The police have a sworn duty to enforce the law—impartially, objectively and equally. * * * They recognize and respect the right of the people to express their views on matters of public concern. The police will protect the rights of all to peacefully assemble and petition. They will brook no interference with these rights by anyone. Their impartial role is clear and set by law."

[21] See dissenting opinions in *Feiner* v. *New York*, 304 N.Y. 315; also, David Fellman, "The Constitutional Right of Association," pp. 29–33.

It acknowledges that the current demonstrations have at times exceeded the proper limits of the constitutionally protected right of protest, citing two cases in point—the July 4 demonstration at Jones Beach State Park in Long Island, where pickets blocked access by automobiles by lying across the highway, and the more recent demonstration against discrimination in construction trade hiring in Brooklyn, where pickets prevented persons from entering the site on their own business.

"Each of these (cases) violated legal protection of the public's right of movement and thereby exceeded the limits of constitutionally protected activity," says the pamphlet.

But even these demonstrations ought not to be condemned out of hand, the ACLU goes on to suggest. "We owe these persons acknowledgment that the discrimination they object to is itself a violation of law, more outrageous in these cases because the public's funds, and thereby a measure of official sanction, are involved."

America's heritage of public protest, the ACLU notes, is indeed a rich one, including such notable events as the Boston Tea Party.

"The Declaration of Independence," declares the pamphlet, "reminds us that this Nation came into being as an act of protest against discriminatory treatment of the Colonies by the British Government."

And the ACLU also points out the lack of either legal or moral justification in suggestions that demonstrations ought to be discontinued when they meet with violent disfavor.

"The courts," says the pamphlet, "have plainly declared that important constitutional rights, such as free speech and assembly and equal protection of the laws, cannot be curtailed because of apprehension that the exercise of these rights will result in riotous disturbances by lawless opponents. Means must be found to turn the forces of law and order to the protection of the demonstrators and to prevent violence by those who would attack them. There is no legal or constitutional right for other citizens to interfere with a public assembly."

[From the Baltimore Sun]

SPEECH WITH ORDER

The American Civil Liberties Union, widely respected for its vigilant constitutionalism, has come out with a statement on picketing and demonstrations. The statement refers obviously to current activities, but it draws on universal rules. The law of picketing and of demonstrations, arising from constitutional guarantees, was developed in the great labor surge of the early thirties and thereafter. The ACLU now applies this body of doctrine as enunciated in the Supreme Court decisions to the current problems.

The gist of the matter is that picketing and demonstrations come under the first amendment protections of the right to speak and assemble. The Supreme Court has held that the picket's placard is as much a publication as a newspaper or a constitutional treatise, and privileged in the same degree. The demonstration, a merely more complex or massive form of picketing or assembly shares the same protections under the Bill of Rights.

But every right involves a duty, and the duties keep the rights from being absolute. Just as there is an individual or a group right to speak, to publish, to persuade, by picketing and demonstration, so there is what the ACLU calls "the public's right to movement." It goes without saying that the picketing privilege does not extend to violent attack; neither does it extend to the blockade, however passive, of public ways. (A demonstration like that scheduled for next Wednesday in Washington, arranged with the help of law officers, does not constitute blockade of public ways—if it proceeds as planned.) "Physical obstruction to the [public's] right of movement does not merit civil liberties protection," says the ACLU.

Well, then, can provocateurs compel the prohibition of picketing and demonstration by threatening to precipitate violence or obstruction? Not at all, says the ACLU: "The important constitutional right of protest cannot be abridged by the violent threats of lawless individuals opposed to the objectives of the demonstrators." The rule, after all, is not a complicated one: Speech and assembly will be protected, and so will law and order.

ANNIVERSARY OF HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION OF 1956

Mr. HART. Mr. President, October 23 marked the seventh aniversary of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. In the nature of things, time assuages bitter passions. We seem now to be progressing toward resumption of normal relations with the Hungarian Government.

This seems strange in the light of our bitter resentment at the time of the uprising's suppressions. Even so, there is wisdom in taking measures which must ultimately ease world tensions and lead to a less austere existence for the people of Hungary.

Taking this step is not condoning the 1956 attack on a virtually unarmed civilian population. It certainly is not an abandonment of concern and hope that the Hungarian people soon will win the personal freedom and national independence for which they fought so gallantly.

Mr. President, there are many thousands of persons—many now citizens of the United States—who fought in the Hungarian revolution and who were fortunate to be able to escape from Hungary. They fled from Hungary but not from a moral concern for the welfare and the future of their brethren whom they left behind.

During October, throughout the United States, these fighters for Hungarian freedom are commemorating the events and ideals of the Hungarian revolution of 1956. They will reaffirm their determination that the Hungarian people's yearning for freedom shall not be forgotten.

Mr. President, I join with them in this desire.

SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR FILING OF DELINQUENT TAX RETURNS

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, today I wish to call attention to another situation wherein this administration after finding a glaring violation of the law by one of its Frontiersmen allowed this individual merely to submit a quiet resignation and then promptly proceeded to brush the whole episode under the rug.

On August 14, 1963, Mr. Herbert K. May, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, submitted his resignation, which was accepted by the administration with the usual profound regrets.

The record shows that Mr. May not only had an historical record of delinquencies in the filing of his tax returns but also had neglected to file any returns at all during the 8-year period 1953 to 1961. When this was discovered the only action taken was to allow him in 1963 to file returns retroactively for those delinquent years, 1953 through 1961, and then submit what as far as the public was concerned was an honorable resignation.

This is quite a contrast to what would have happened had this been an ordinary laborer or farmer without proper political connections.

Some explanation of this special treatment for this New Frontiersman should be forthcoming from both the Department of Justice and the Treasury Department.

At this point I ask unanimous consent to insert a letter dated October 3, 1963, signed by Mr. Mortimer Caplin, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, confirming this situation.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE,
Washington, D.C. October 3, 1963.

Hon. JOHN J. WILLIAMS,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR WILLIAMS: In response to your letter of August 21, 1963, there is shown below a summary of the income tax filing record of Mr. Herbert K. May for the years 1948 through 1962.

YEAR AND FILING RECORD

1948, timely filed.
1949, delinquently filed in 1951.
1950, delinquently filed in 1952.
1951, delinquently filed in 1953.
1952, delinquently filed in 1953.
1953 through 1961, delinquently filed in 1963.
1962, timely filed.

The district director in Baltimore, in whose office all of these returns were filed, reports that there are no outstanding unpaid assessments for any of these years.

I hope that this information satisfactorily answers your questions in the matter.

With kind regards,
Sincerely,

MORTIMER CAPLIN,
Commissioner.

SOME DIED

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President—

The average prescription costs a weeks wages for these people * * * something they could not possibly afford. Some went without drugs * * * they had to stay sick * * * some died.

These words spoken by the Acting Health Minister of Colombia, Dr. Alberto Escobar, paid grim tribute to the efficiency of a fearsome campaign by drug companies, including leading American firms, to choke off the sale of low-cost drugs in Latin America. In a recent report from Caracas, Venezuela, and Bogotá, Colombia, published by the Herald Tribune, William Haddad furnished firsthand evidence of the guerrilla warfare currently being waged by a combine of American and Latin American drug firms.

The Colombian and Venezuelan Governments, troubled by the poverty of their people, have been attempting to stimulate the marketing of low-cost generic-name drugs. Last year the Colombian Government succeeded in enlisting the cooperation of a major Amer-

news

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

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Richard Cohen, Director
Department of Public Relations

For Release
Sunday, Dec. 22

1963 A RECORD YEAR FOR PASSAGE OF STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS REPORTS

70% of Americans Covered by State Public Accommodation Laws and 65% by State Fair Employment Laws, Study Shows; Arguments Against Federal Laws Held 'Punctured'

NEW YORK, Dec. 21 -- Nearly 70 per cent of the American people live in states prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation and 65 per cent are covered by state fair employment laws, the American Jewish Congress reported today in its biennial summary of state civil rights legislation.

The survey also disclosed that more states adopted more anti-discrimination laws in 1963 than in any previous year. Twenty-five states adopted a total of 45 bills and three constitutional provisions during the year, the report said.

In a statement accompanying the 25-page report, Ephraim London, chairman of the American Jewish Congress Commission on Law and Social Action, declared:

"Much of the heat generated by opponents of proposed Federal civil rights legislation would be dissipated by a sober, objective study of the facts contained in this report.

"We may take, as an example, the shrill charge that a law prohibiting discrimination in theatres, restaurants and other public places would overthrow cherished rights of private property. Surely propert rights are still cherished in the 30 states and the District of Columbia where such laws have been adopted."

He said that 124,882,281 Americans -- 69.6 per cent of the total population -- live in states in which discrimination in places of public accommodation is prohibited. These, he said, include 42.6 per

MORE

cent of U.S. Negroes and 93.9 per cent of American Jews.

Mr. London added that "the elaborate arguments against Federal fair employment legislation are similarly punctured by the operation of no less than 25 state laws against job bias." He said these laws apply to 115,759,778 Americans or 64.6 per cent of the total population. These include 39.7 per cent of the total number of Negroes and 89.7 per cent of the total number of American Jews.

In his statement, Mr. London said the report showed that "the American people firmly believe that government has a responsibility to take action against inequality.

"The fact that minority groups continue to demand more laws prohibiting discriminatory practices is evidence that they have found the laws already enacted to be beneficial," he asserted. "The fact that legislatures continue to adopt them is persuasive evidence that they have caused none of the disruption sometimes predicted for them."

The report also noted that 74,261,515 Americans -- 41.4 per cent of the total population -- lived in states that have outlawed discrimination in housing. This covers 24.9 per cent of the country's Negro population and 78.4 per cent of American Jews.

State fair education laws now cover 51,802,722 persons -- 28.9 per cent of the nation's population, according to the report. In these states live 20.6 per cent of the U.S. Negro population and 66.3 per cent of the Jewish population.

The American Jewish Congress study was prepared by Joseph B. Robison, assistant director of the organization's Commission on Law and Social Action. Leo Pfeffer is director of the Commission.

'Impressive' Number of State Laws in Effect

As a result of the actions of state legislatures during 1963, the survey noted, "an impressive number of state anti-discrimination laws are now in effect." The American Jewish Congress report summarized them as follows:

1) Twenty-five states prohibit job discrimination -- 21 by administrative order and four by criminal penalties.

2) Seven states broadly prohibit discrimination in education, enforced by administrative agencies, while a number of other states have more limited legislation dealing with discrimination in schools.

3) Eleven states have by statute prohibited discrimination in a substantial portion of the general housing market and a twelfth state

MORE

appears to have done so by constitutional provision. A number of states have more limited statutes applying to public and public-assisted housing.

4) Thirty states and the District of Columbia have outlawed discrimination in places of public accommodation. Of these, 15 states provide for administrative enforcement.

The biennial report also listed nine anti-discrimination laws enacted in three states in 1962. Highlights of state civil rights legislation passed during the two-year period covered in the report are listed under these headings:

Employment

Eleven states in 1963 and one in 1962 enacted laws dealing with job discrimination. An "important breakthrough" was the Indiana statute making its fair employment law enforceable. Today every industrial state outside the South has an enforceable fair employment law.

Hawaii enacted a fair employment law providing for administrative enforcement by criminal penalty rather than court decree.

Oklahoma, a border state, enacted detailed provisions barring discrimination in state employment.

Education

Four states adopted seven bills and a constitutional provision banning discrimination in education. Illinois and California enacted statutes -- the first in the U.S. -- aimed at eliminating "de facto" public school segregation.

Housing

During the two-year period covered in the report, Alaska and California acopted comprehensive fair housing laws and three states -- Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York -- amended existing laws to cover virtually the entire housing market.

Public Accommodations

Twelve states adopted laws affecting discrimination in places of public accommodation -- two of them, Maryland and South Dakota, for the first time.

Human Rights Commissions

Oklahoma, a border state, established a human relations commission with power to investigate and attempt to eliminate discrimination.

Other

Three states -- Arizona, Nebraska and Utah -- repealed their laws prohibiting interracial marriage.

By the end of 1963, the proposed Constitutional amendment prohibiting poll taxes as a prerequisite to voting in Federal electionshad been ratified by the legislatures of 36 states.

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NIGHT LEAD RACIAL

CLARKSDALE, MISS., AUG. 1 (UPI)--FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES EXPERIENCED ANTI-SEGREGATION DEMONSTRATIONS TODAY BUT THE INCIDENTS WERE MILD IN COMPARISON TO RACIAL HAPPENINGS IN NEW YORK AND CHICAGO.

ONE NEW YORK POLICEMAN WAS BEATEN AND KICKED IN A CLASH WITH PICKETS DEMANDING MORE JOBS FOR NEGROES WITHIN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY, AND CHICAGO POLICE NARROWLY AVERTED A PRE-DAWN BATTLE BETWEEN HUNDREDS OF NEGROES AND WHITES AT ODDS OVER TWO NEGRO FAMILIES THAT SETTLED IN A WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD.

THE FOUR SOUTHERN CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS OCCURRED INCLUDED CLARKSDALE, MISS., HUMBOLT, TENN., CHARLESTON, S.C., AND WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

FOURTEEN NEGRO DEMONSTRATORS WERE ARRESTED IN CLARKSDALE WHEN THEY ATTEMPTED TO PICKET A DIME STORE WITH PLACARDS READING "GOODBYE UNCLE TOM, HELLO FREEDOM JOE."

EARLIER IN THE DAY A CLARKSDALE MUNICIPAL JUDGE CONVICTED 33 NEGROES ON CHARGES OF PARADING WITHOUT A PERMIT IN A SIMILAR DEMONSTRATION YESTERDAY. HE SENTENCED EACH TO 30 DAYS IN JAIL AND A FINE OF $101.

AT HUMBOLT, POLICE ARRESTED 36 NEGROES, MOST OF THEM JUVENILES, WHEN THEY ATTEMPTED A MARCH THROUGH THE DOWNTOWN SECTION WITHOUT FIRST OBTAINING A PARADE PERMIT. THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS AND THOSE 17 YEARS OF AGE OR UNDER WERE RELEASED IN THE CUSTODY OF THEIR PARENTS.

ABOUT 150 NEGROES PARADED IN THE PORT CITY OF CHARLESTON WITHOUT INCIDENT, AND AT WINSTON-SALEM REV. JAMES D. BALLARD, LOCAL HEAD OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE), WAS ARRESTED, BUT LATER RELEASED UNDER A 1942 ORDINANCE PROHIBITING LOITERING AND ASSEMBLY ON SIDEWALKS. PICKETING OF K&W CAFETERIAS IN WINSTON-SALEM CONTINUED.

IN ANOTHER DEVELOPMENT AT CHARLESTON, A CIRCUIT JUDGE ORDERED TWO INTEGRATION LEADERS--REV. I. DEQUINCY NEWMAN AND JAMES BLAKE--TO SHOW CAUSE AUG. 9 WHY THEY SHOULD NOT BE HELD IN CONTEMPT OF COURT FOR VIOLATION OF A JULY 5 ORDER BARRING CIVIL RIGHTS PROTESTS THAT INTERFERE WITH PEDESTRIAN TRAFFIC.

IN BIRMINGHAM, FEDERAL JUDGE CLARENCE W. ALLGOOD DECLINED TO ASSUME JURISDICTION OF A CIRCUIT COURT INJUNCTION PROHIBITING CERTAIN TYPES OF RACIAL DEMONSTRATIONS AT GADSDEN, ALA.

ALLGOOD SAID THE NEGROES FAILED TO SHOW A "FEDERAL QUESTION" WHICH WOULD PERMIT HIM TO MOVE JURISDICTION FROM THE ETOWAH COUNTY CIRCUIT COURT TO FEDERAL COURT.

NEGRO ATTORNEYS WANTED THE JURISDICTION MOVED TO GET FEDERAL COURT HEARINGS FOR MORE THAN 300 NEGROES ARRESTED IN ANTI-SEGREGATION DEMONSTRATIONS RECENTLY FOR VIOLATING THE INJUNCTION. NEGROES CLAIMED PROSECUTION IN STATE COURTS WOULD VIOLATE THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

THE INJUNCTION PROHIBITS NEGROES FROM BLOCKING DORWAYS OR OTHERWISE OBSTRUCTING PUBLIC TRAFFIC DURING DEMONSTRATIONS. IN HIS ORDER LAST JUNE, CIRCUIT JUDGE A. B. CUNNINGHAM PERMITTED PEACEFUL PROTESTS.

THE ORDER WAS LATER AMENDED TO MAKE IT ILLEGAL FOR NEGROES TO REFUSE TO LEAVE RESTAURANTS WHEN REQUESTED TO DO SO BY THE OWNER.

ALLGOOD HAD THE NEGROES' REQUEST UNDER ADVISEMENT FOR 10 DAYS. HIS REFUSAL TO ACCEPT JURISDICTION MEANS THE NEGROES WILL RECEIVE HEARINGS IN STATE COURTS ALTHOUGH THERE WAS NO INDICATION WHEN THE HEARINGS WOULD BE HELD.

OTHER RACIAL DEVELOPMENTS:

--THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY CUT OFF SCHOOL AID PAYMENTS TO THE ORANGE BOARD OF EDUCATION UNTIL IT REDUCES RACIAL IMBALANCE IN ITS SCHOOLS.

--THE CITY OF TORRANCE, CALIF., WENT INTO COURT SEEKING AN ORDER TO RESTRICT RACIAL PICKETING AT A HOUSING TRACT. ACTOR MARLON BRANDO WAS AMONG THE MORE THAN 100 INDIVIDUALS NAMED IN THE COMPLAINT.

--AN AMUSEMENT PARK IN OKLAHOMA CITY THAT WAS OPENED TO NEGROES AND THEN CLOSED TO THEM EXCEPT FOR ONE DAY A WEEK ANNOUNCED IT WILL BE REOPENED TO ALL RACES NEXT TUESDAY.

--FINAL ARGUMENTS WERE HEARD BY A CORPORATIONS COURT JUDGE IN DANVILLE, VA. ON THE ISSUE OF WHETHER THE COURT SHOULD LIFT ITS INJUNCTION AGAINST ANTI-SEGREGATION DEMONSTRATIONS. DESPITE THE CONCLUSION OF ARGUMENTS, THE HEARING WAS HELD OPEN BECAUSE OF A HOSPITALIZED WITNESS.

--NINE YOUNG ST. AUGUSTINE, FLA., NEGROES WERE CONVICTED OF STAGING ILLEGAL SIT-INS AND WERE SENTENCED TO 45 DAYS IN JAIL OR $100 FINES.

--THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA FORMALLY ACCEPTED ITS FIRST NEGRO STUDENT SINCE THE RECONSTRUCTION ERA.

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Appendix I

Statistics and Charts Relating to Annual Sales of Specified Types of Businesses in Ten Selected Cities

Appendix I, Table 1

Number of Establishments and Percentage with Sales of $150,000 or more, $100,000 or more, $50,000 or more, and $30,000 or more, and Average Sales, for Five Kinds of Business In Ten Illustrative Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, 1958

SMSA and Kind of Business	Number of Establishments 1/	Percentage of Establishments 1/ with Sales of: $150,000 or more	Less Than $150,000	$100,000 or more	Less Than $100,000	$50,000 or more	Less Than $50,000	$30,000 or more	Less Than $30,000	Average Sales, all Establishments ($ thousands)
Atlanta, Georgia										
Gasoline Service Stations	1,002	19	81	25	75	57	43	77	23	74
Eating Places	894	12	88	14	86	35	65	49	51	63
Drinking Places	104	5	95	7	93	35	65	66	34	45
Department Stores	8	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	17,109
Variety Stores	118	28	72	32	68	57	43	73	27	207
Birmingham, Alabama										
Gasoline Service Stations	566	16	84	22	78	57	43	78	22	66
Eating Places	622	7	93	9	91	23	77	40	60	52
Drinking Places	113	1	99	1	99	17	83	47	53	34
Department Stores	10	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	6,093
Variety Stores	55	36	64	40	60	55	45	78	22	297
Dallas, Texas										
Gasoline Service Stations	1,128	19	81	25	75	59	41	77	23	76
Eating Places	1,202	12	88	14	86	30	70	49	51	57
Drinking Places	149	7	93	9	91	24	76	49	51	44
Department Stores	18	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	7,650
Variety Stores	137	32	68	39	61	60	40	71	29	135
Houston, Texas										
Gasoline Service Stations	1,392	18	82	24	76	58	42	75	25	70
Eating Places	1,283	11	89	14	86	28	72	44	56	53
Drinking Places	558	1	99	1	99	5	95	16	84	20
Department Stores	17	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	7,780
Variety Stores	91	33	67	38	62	59	41	71	29	243

Appendix I, Table 1 (Continued)

SMSA and Kind of Business	Number of Establishments 1/	Percentage of Establishments 1/ with Sales of: $150,000 or more	Less Than $150,000	$100,000 or more	Less Than $100,000	$50,000 or more	Less Than $50,000	$30,000 or more	Less Than $30,000	Average Sales, all Establishments ($ thousands)
Kansas City, Mo. - Kans.										
Gasoline Service Stations	951	20	80	26	74	57	43	77	23	78
Eating Places	1,087	11	89	13	87	26	74	44	56	56
Drinking Places	506	2	98	3	97	24	76	53	47	37
Department Stores	20	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	5,300
Variety Stores	104	40	60	46	54	57	43	65	35	189
Memphis, Tennessee										
Gasoline Service Stations	550	20	80	27	73	60	40	80	20	75
Eating Places	701	6	94	8	92	21	79	40	60	42
Drinking Places	63	-	100	-	100	5	95	32	68	23
Department Stores	10	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	6,869
Variety Stores	67	30	70	36	64	46	54	54	46	129
Miami, Florida										
Gasoline Service Stations	787	24	76	31	69	66	34	86	14	85
Eating Places	1,176	17	83	21	79	36	64	50	50	84
Drinking Places	508	6	94	8	92	25	75	42	58	42
Department Stores	12	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	7,425
Variety Stores	86	40	60	46	54	78	22	88	12	257
New Orleans, Louisiana										
Gasoline Service Stations	552	23	77	31	69	61	39	79	21	78
Eating Places	920	12	88	15	85	30	70	46	54	63
Drinking Places	975	3	97	3	97	13	87	32	68	32
Department Stores	13	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	7,811
Variety Stores	63	44	56	51	49	60	40	65	35	343

Appendix I, Table 1 (Continued)

SMSA and Kind of Business	Number of Establishments 1/	Percentage of Establishments 1/ with Sales of: $150,000 or more	Less Than $150,000	$100,000 or more	Less Than $100,000	$50,000 or more	Less Than $50,000	$30,000 or more	Less Than $30,000	Average Sales, all Establishments ($ thousands)
Richmond, Virginia										
Gasoline Service Stations	461	17	83	22	78	57	43	78	22	76
Eating Places	607	7	93	8	92	28	72	54	46	48
Drinking Places	46	-	100	-	100	9	91	54	46	30
Department Stores	7	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	10,170
Variety Stores	50	20	80	22	78	38	62	72	28	178
St. Louis, Mo. - Ill.										
Gasoline Service Stations	1,845	21	79	28	72	59	41	81	19	84
Eating Places	1,976	1	99	13	87	27	73	46	54	54
Drinking Places	2,112	1	99	2	98	13	87	39	61	30
Department Stores	25	100	-	100	-	100	-	100	-	10,510
Variety Stores	190	40	60	47	53	66	34	74	26	215

Source: Based on data in 1958 Census of Business, Volume 1, Retail Trade -- Summary Statistics, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

1/ Establishments operated entire year.

Appendix I, Table 2

Population of Selected Department of Commerce
Field Office Cities, 1960

City	Population
Atlanta, Georgia	487,455
Birmingham, Alabama	340,887
Dallas, Texas	679,684
Houston, Texas	938,219
Kansas City, Missouri	475,539
Memphis, Tennessee	497,524
Miami, Florida	291,688
New Orleans, Louisiana	627,525
Richmond, Virginia	219,958
St. Louis, Missouri	750,026

Source: 1960 Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

Appendix I, Table 3

Number of Places Distributed by Population Size Group and
Percentage of State's Population in Each Group, for Southern States, 1960

State	1,000,000 or more		100,000 to 1,000,000		50,000 to 100,000		25,000 to 50,000		10,000 to 25,000		2,500 to 10,000		Under 2,500 (incl. rural places)	
	Number of Places	% of State Pop.	Number of Places	% of State Pop.	Number of Places	% of State Pop.	Number of Places	% of State Pop.	Number of Places	% of State Pop.	Number of Places	% of State Pop.	Number of Places	% of State Pop.
Alabama	-	-	3	20.7	3	5.9	8	8.0	15	6.2	80	11.3	250	47.9
Arkansas	-	-	1	6.0	2	6.2	3	5.5	12	10.4	48	13.6	366	58.3
Delaware	-	-	-	-	1	21.5	-	-	1	2.6	8	8.6	41	67.4
Florida	-	-	4	19.1	6	8.4	13	9.2	30	9.0	126	12.4	257	42.0
Georgia	-	-	3	19.1	3	5.0	5	3.9	23	9.4	90	10.8	489	51.8
Kentucky	-	-	1	12.9	2	4.1	5	5.5	13	5.8	67	10.5	311	61.3
Louisiana	-	-	3	29.0	2	3.5	4	4.4	20	9.4	72	10.6	192	43.0
Maryland	-	-	1	30.3	4	8.4	6	6.3	21	10.9	34	5.5	129	38.6
Mississippi	-	-	1	6.6	-	-	7	11.8	10	7.8	52	11.4	220	62.4
North Carolina	-	-	3	9.5	4	6.5	8	6.3	21	7.3	89	9.0	429	61.6
Oklahoma	-	-	2	25.2	1	2.6	5	7.5	18	12.6	63	13.2	455	38.9
South Carolina	-	-	-	-	3	9.6	3	4.8	9	5.6	61	12.6	232	67.4
Tennessee	-	-	4	25.5	-	-	5	4.0	22	9.2	63	8.7	212	52.6
Texas	-	-	11	38.4	10	7.2	19	6.7	62	9.8	218	11.1	572	26.7
Virginia	-	-	5	23.1	4	8.4	3	2.8	17	6.3	47	5.6	187	53.8
West Virginia	-	-	-	-	3	12.0	4	6.9	8	7.3	41	10.0	203	63.9

Source: 1960 Census of Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

Appendix I, Table 4

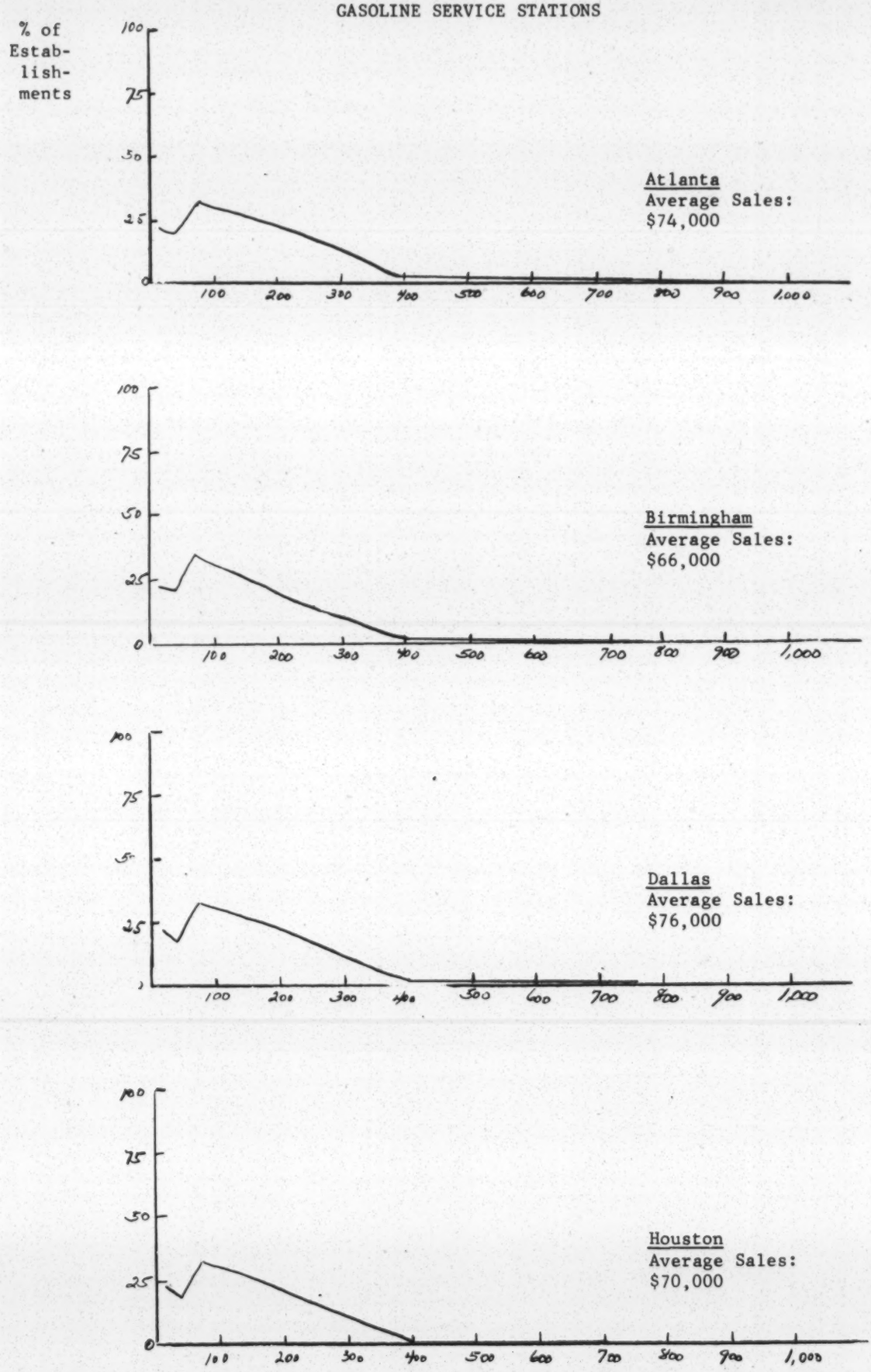
Distribution of Restaurants in the United States, by Size and Percentage of Sales, 1958

	Establishment Basis			Enterprise Basis		
Size of Business - Gross Vol. of Sales	Number of Restaurants	% of Total Number	% of Total Sales	Number of Restaurants	% of Total Number	% of Total Sales
Over $ 1,000,000	325	0.1	3.5	7,000	2.0	10.0
Over $ 500,000	1,625	0.5	10.0	10,000	3.0	20.0
Over $ 300,000	4,322	1.4	17.3	20,000	7.0	30.0
Over $ 100,000	24,760	8.0	40.9	40,000	13.0	50.0
Over $ 50,000	69,000	22.5	63.0	69,000	22.5	60.0
All Establishments:	306,000	100.0	100.0	306,000	100.0	100.0

Source: Prepared by the American Restaurant Association

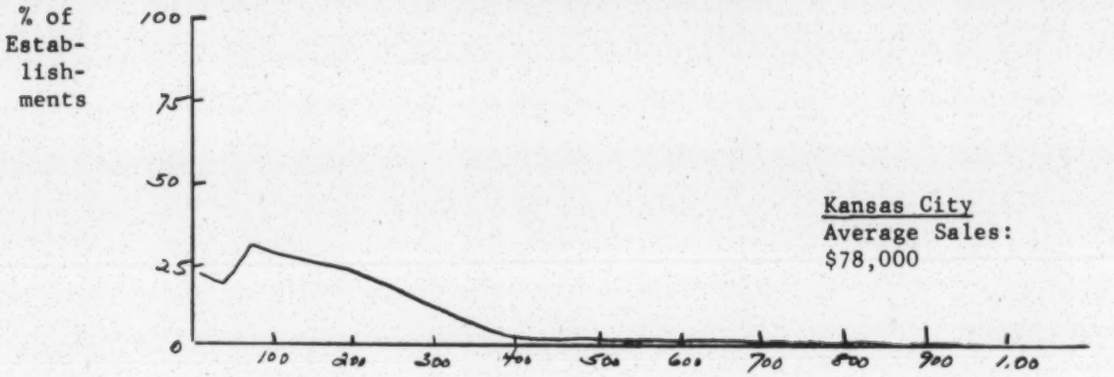
Appendix I
Chart 1

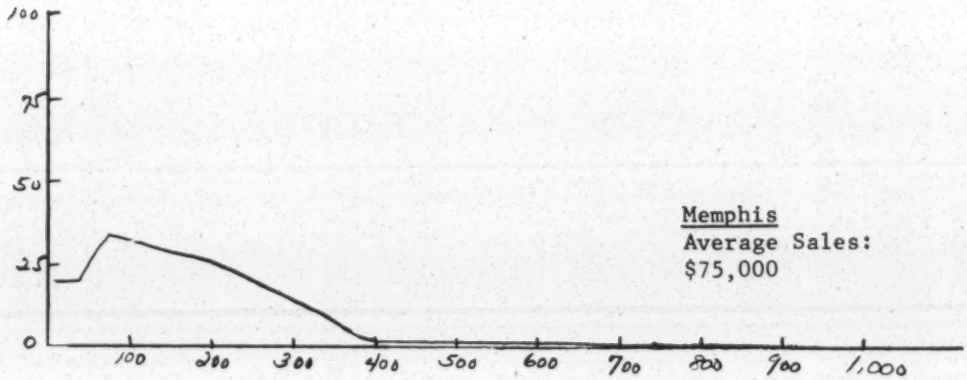
GASOLINE SERVICE STATIONS

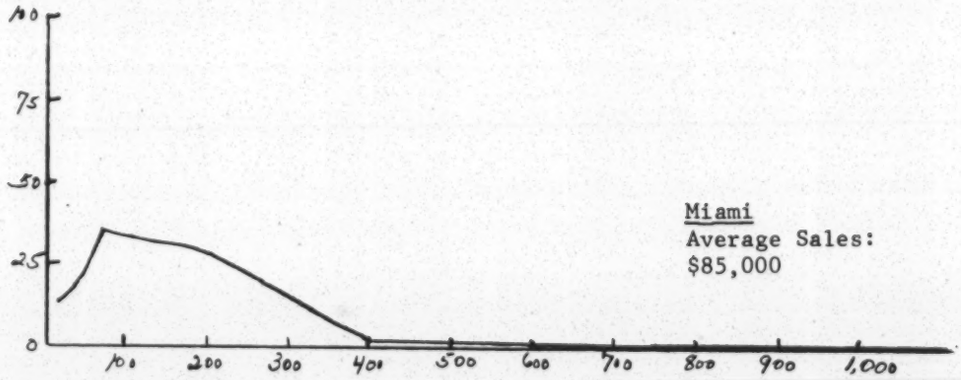


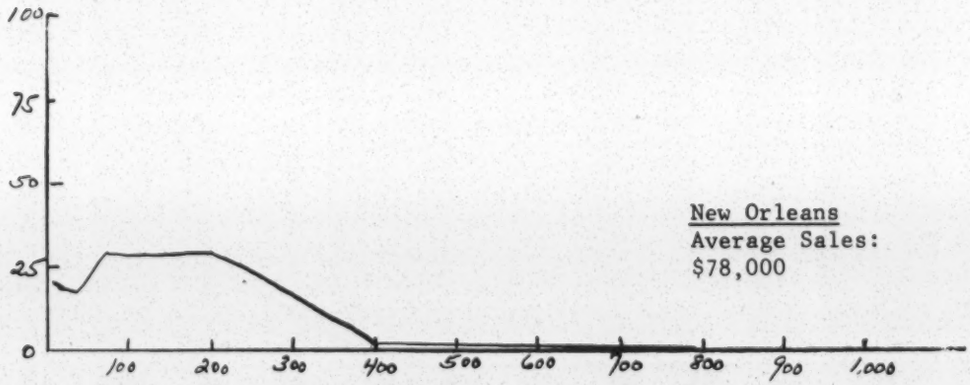
Appendix I
Chart 1 (cont'd)

GASOLINE SERVICE STATIONS



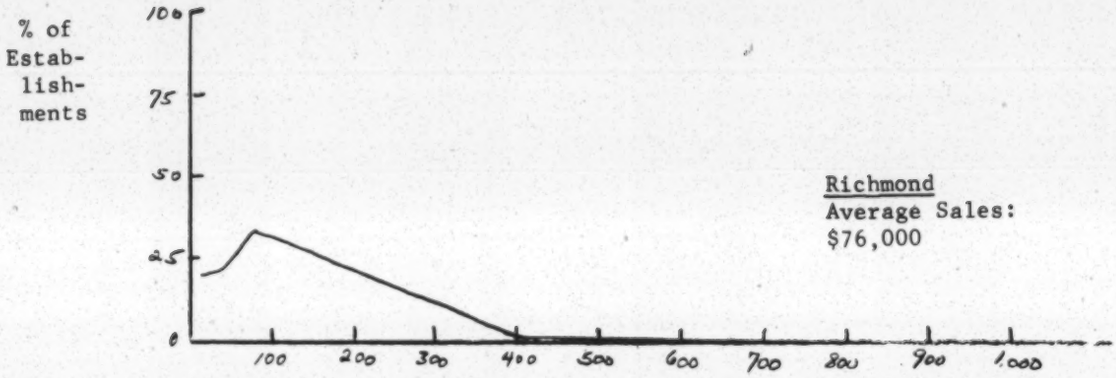


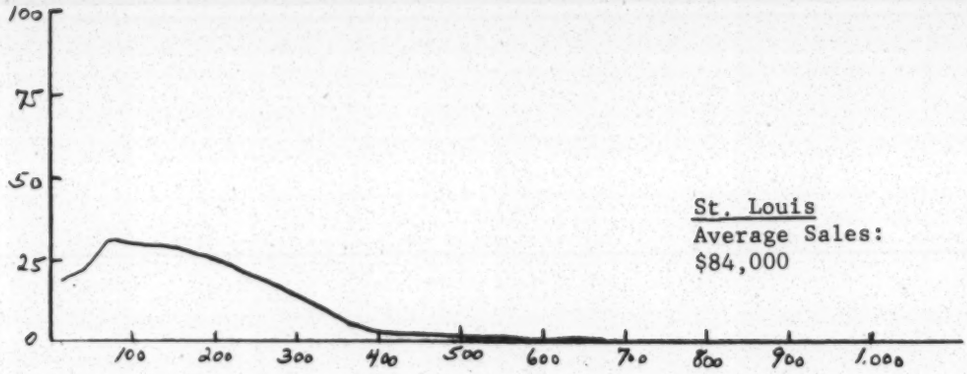




Sales (thousands of dollars)

GASOLINE SERVICE STATIONS

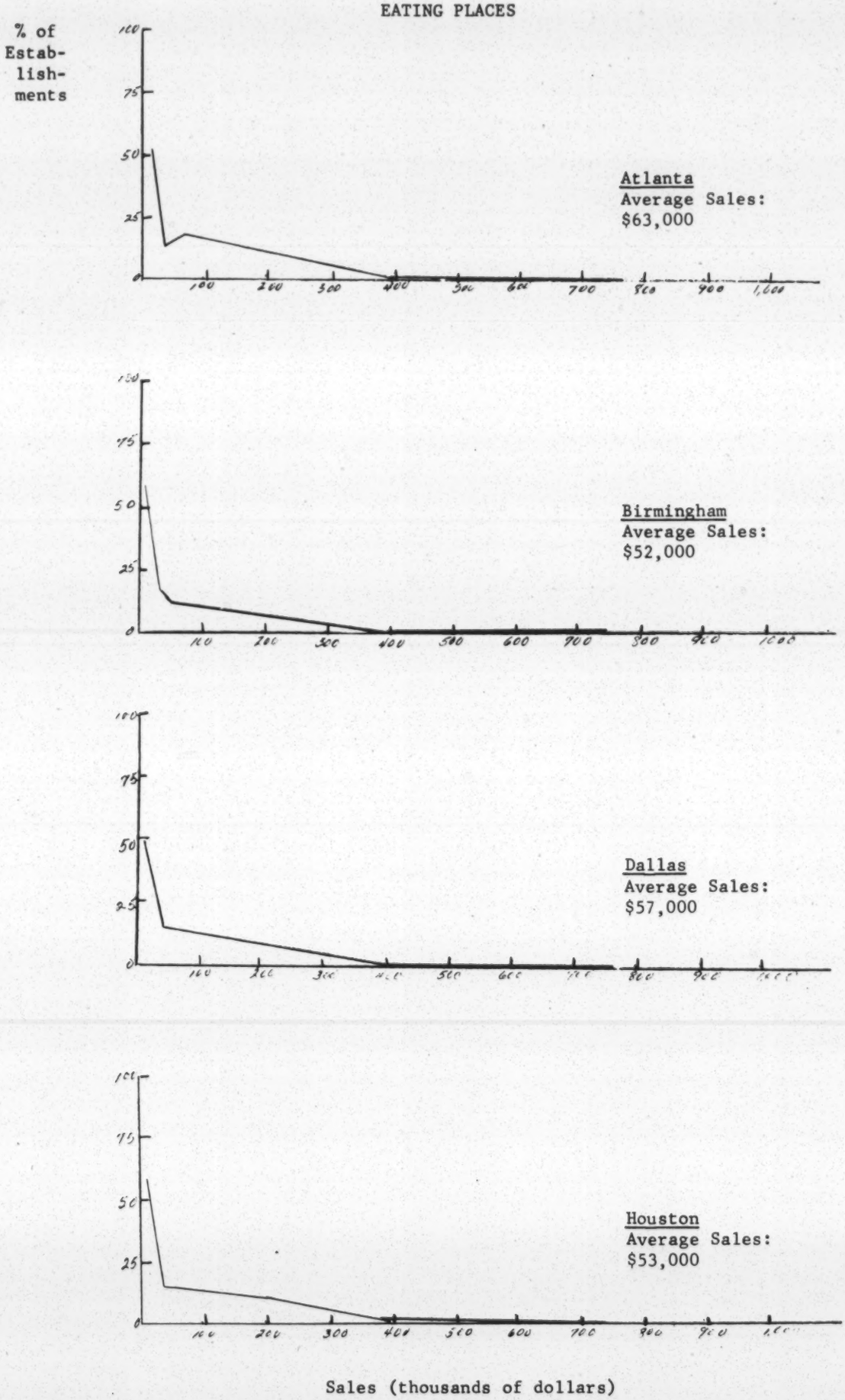




Sales (thousands of dollars)

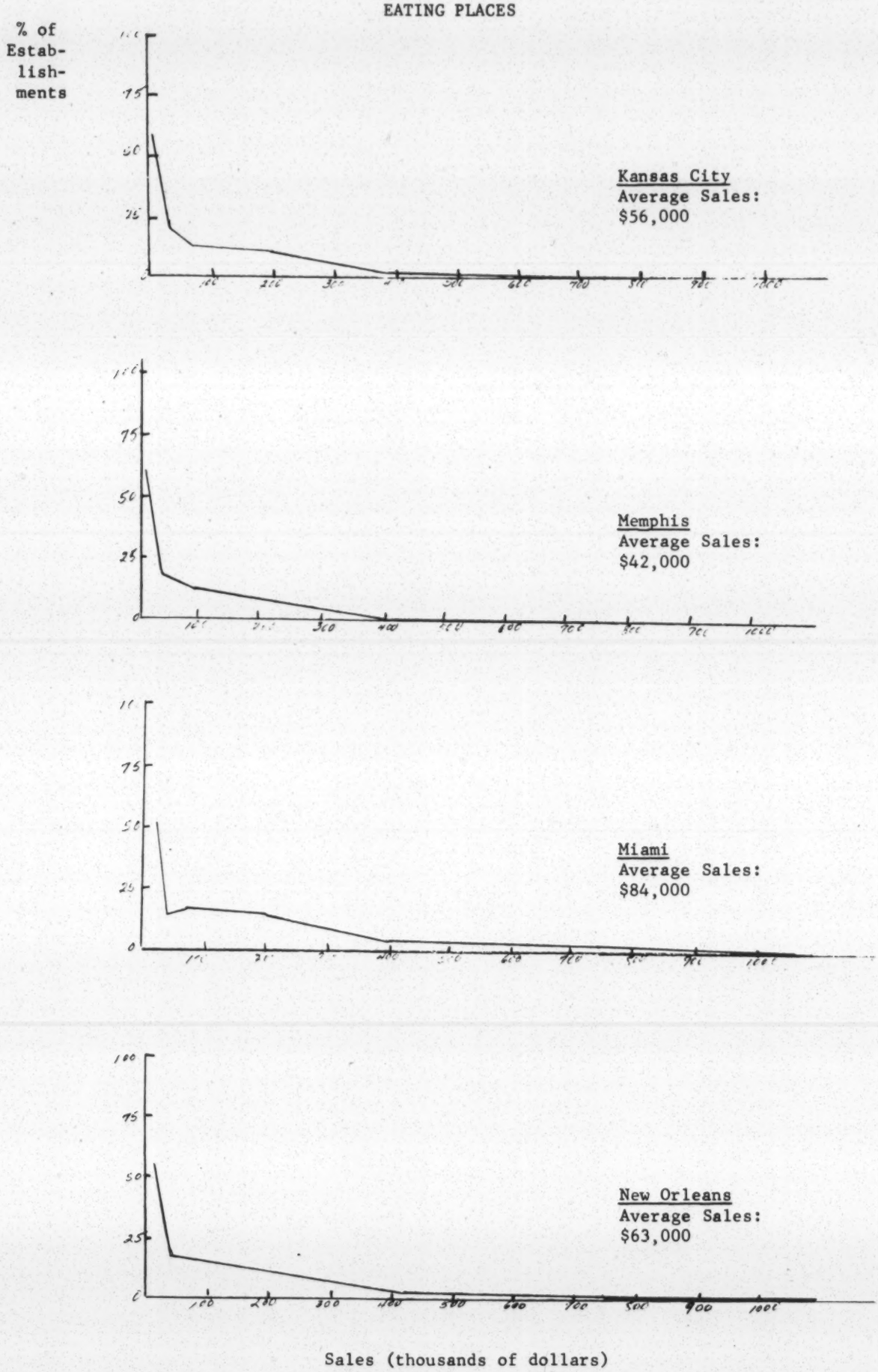
Appendix I
Chart 2

EATING PLACES

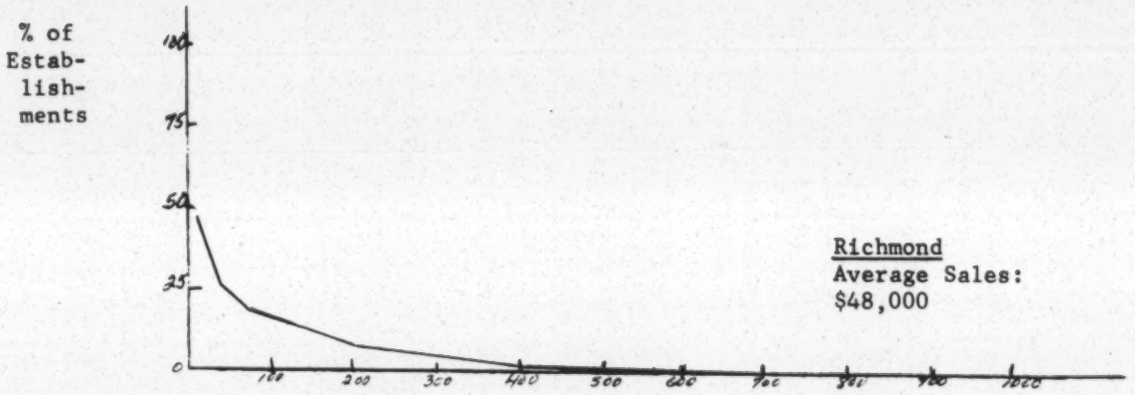


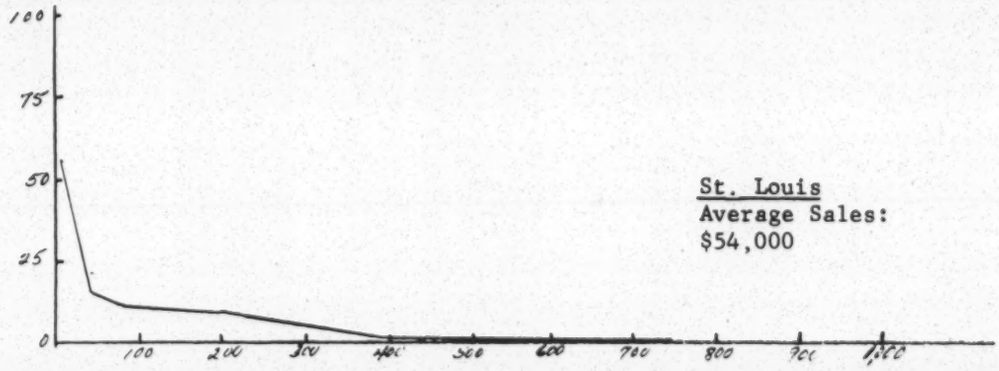
Appendix I
Chart 2 (cont'd)

EATING PLACES



EATING PLACES

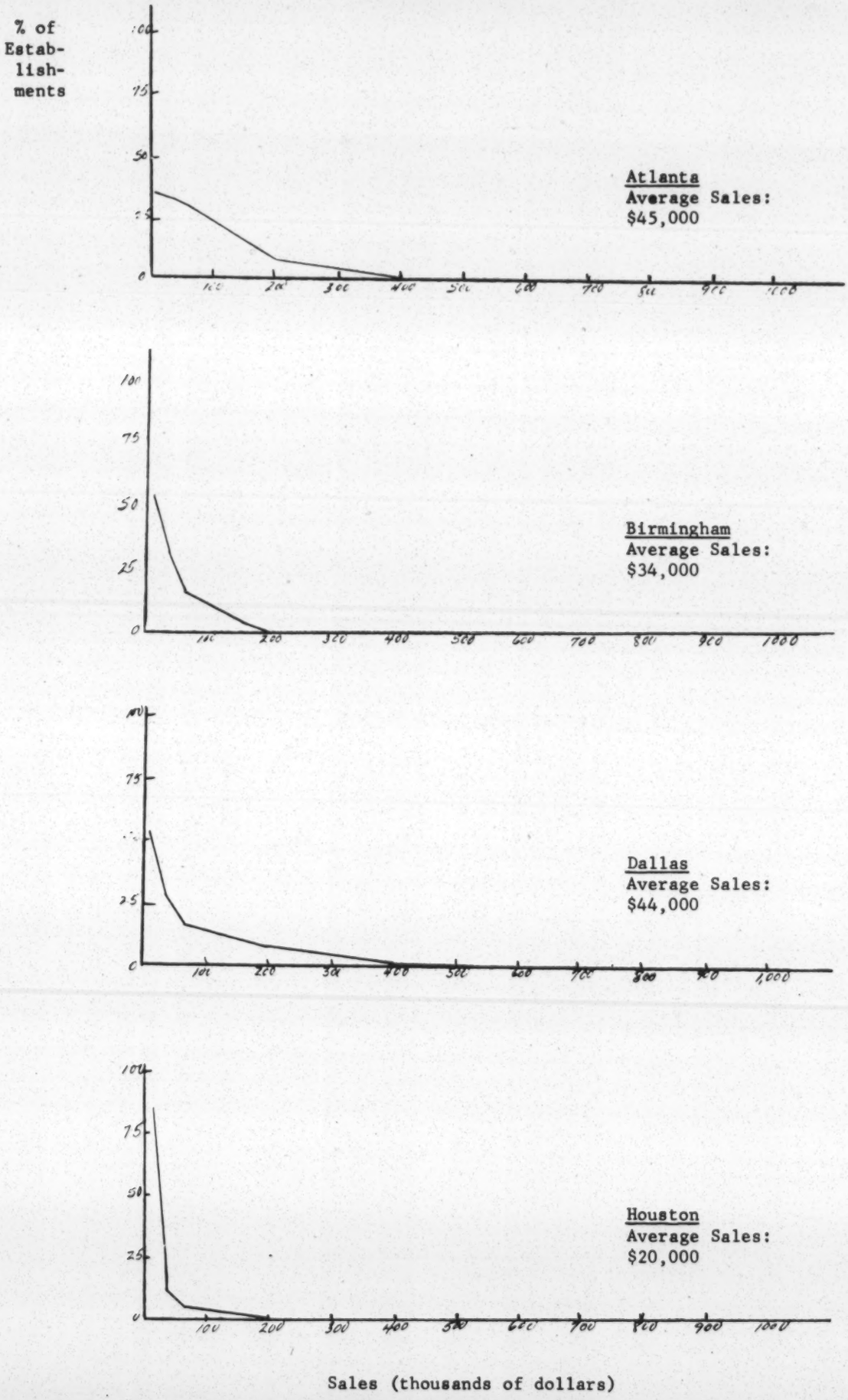




Sales (thousands of dollars)

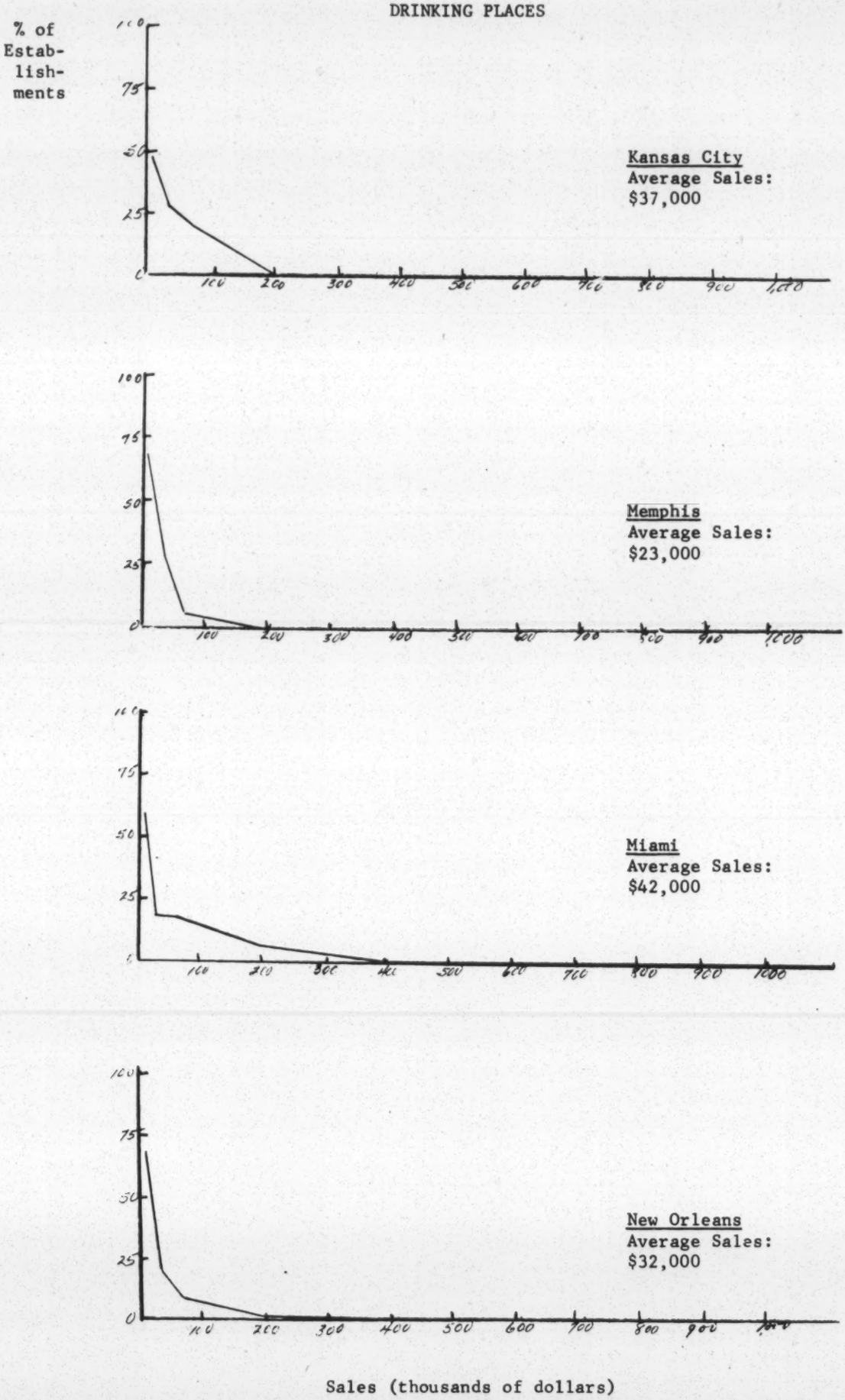
Appendix I
Chart 3

DRINKING PLACES



Appendix I
Chart 3 (cont'd)

DRINKING PLACES



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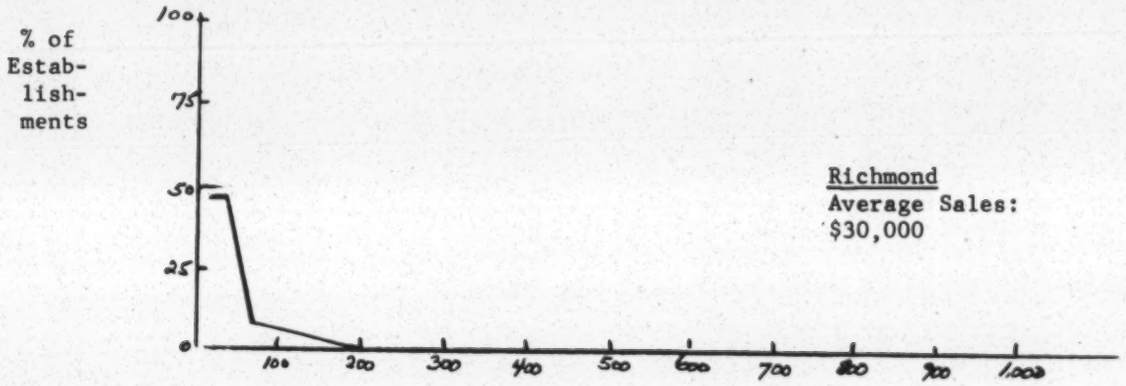
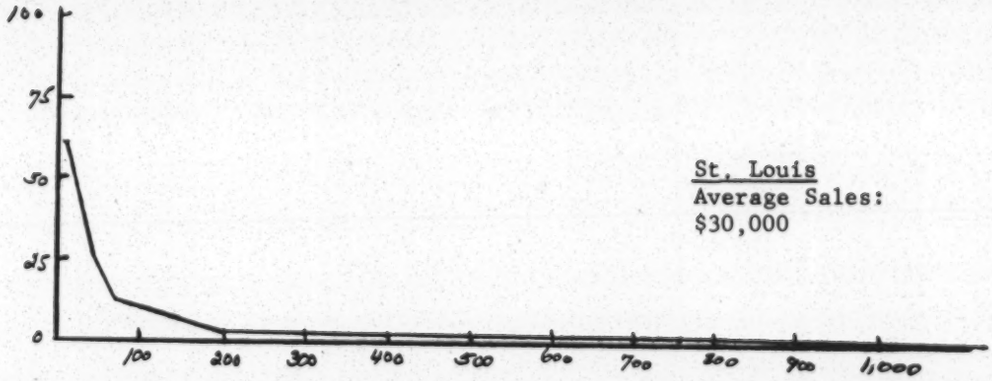
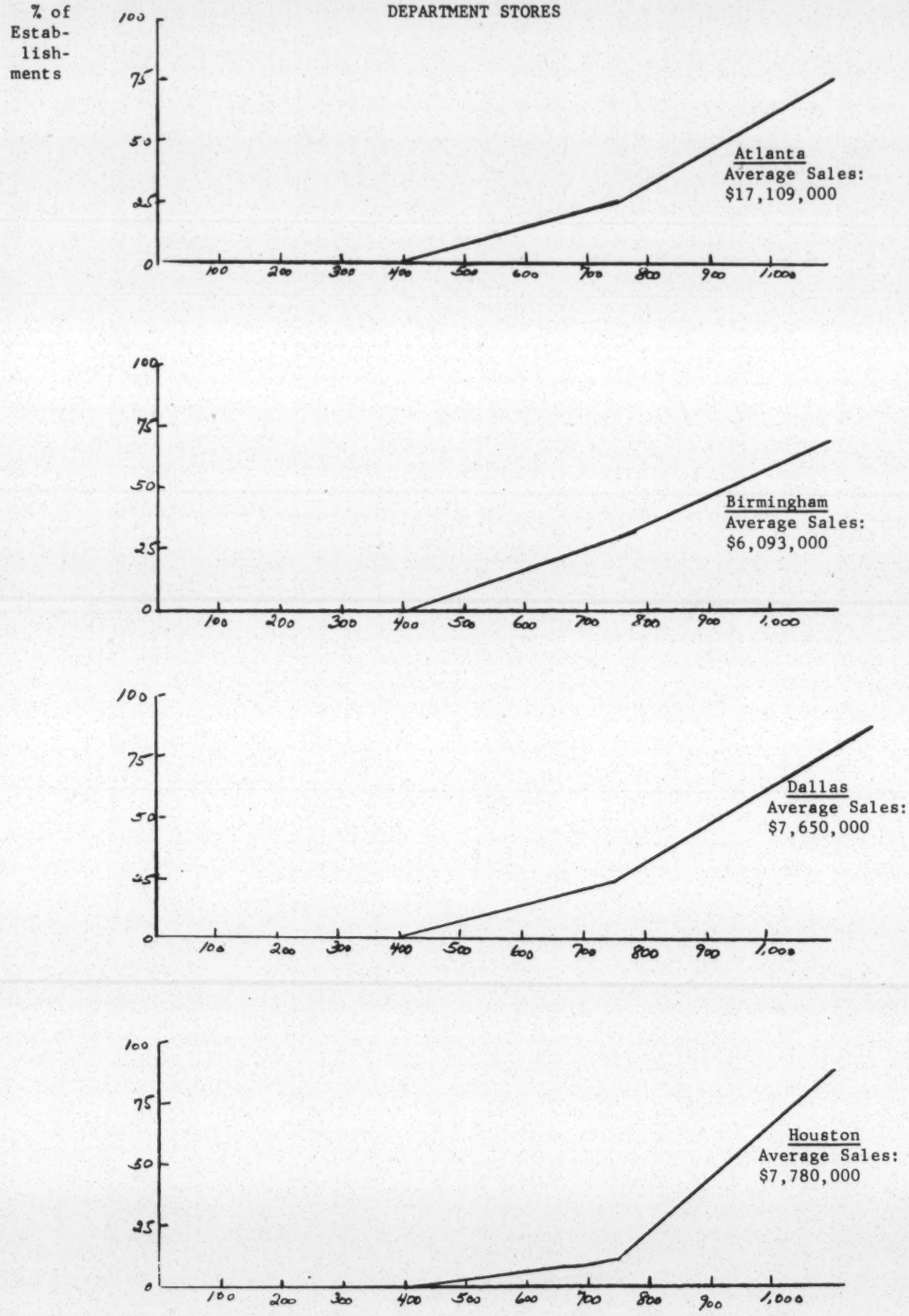




Sales (thousands of dollars)

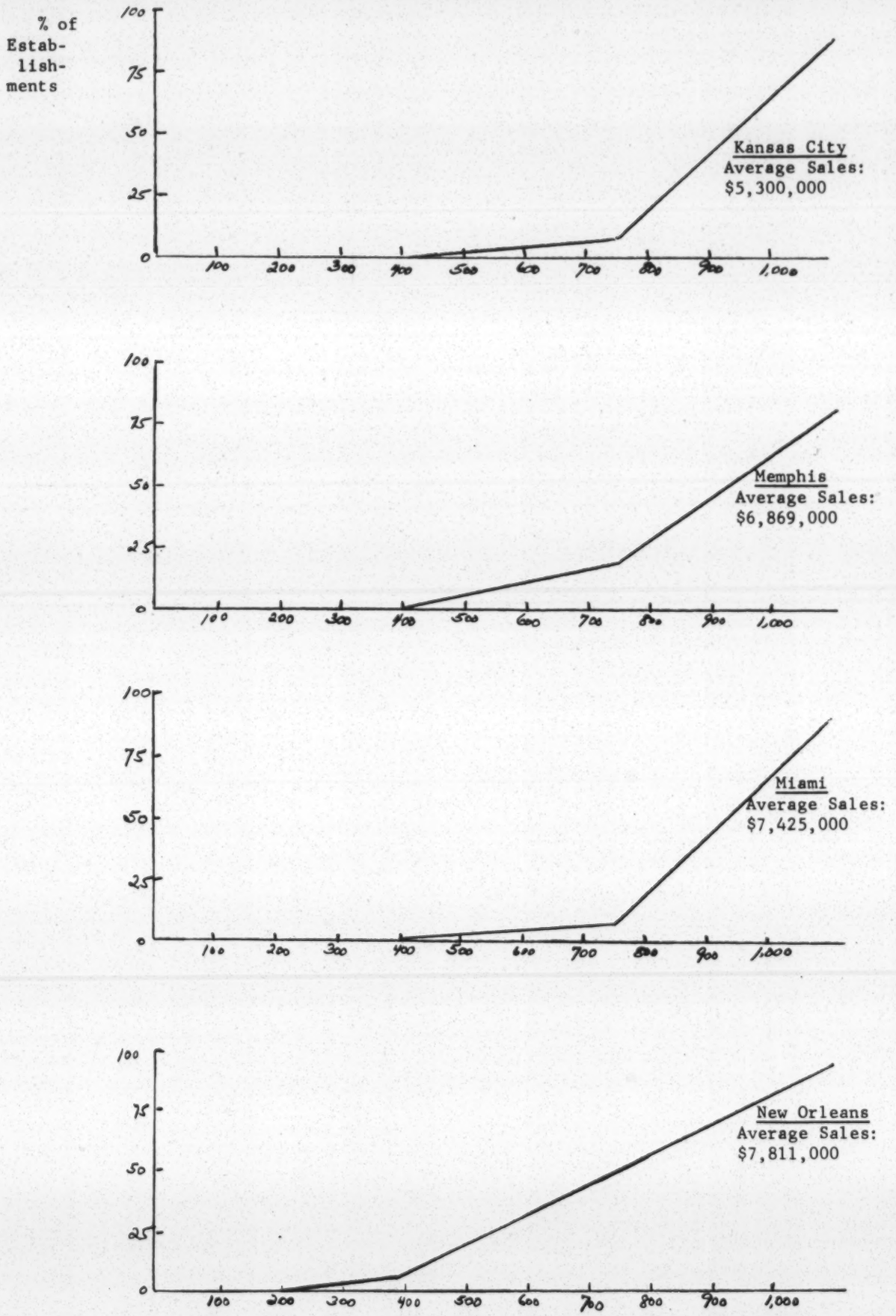
Appendix I
Chart 4

DEPARTMENT STORES



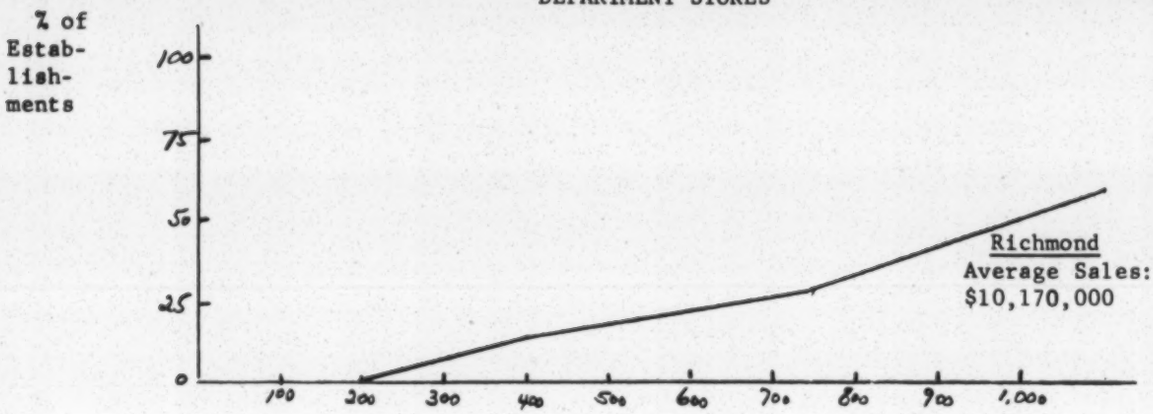
Appendix I
Chart 4(Cont'd.)

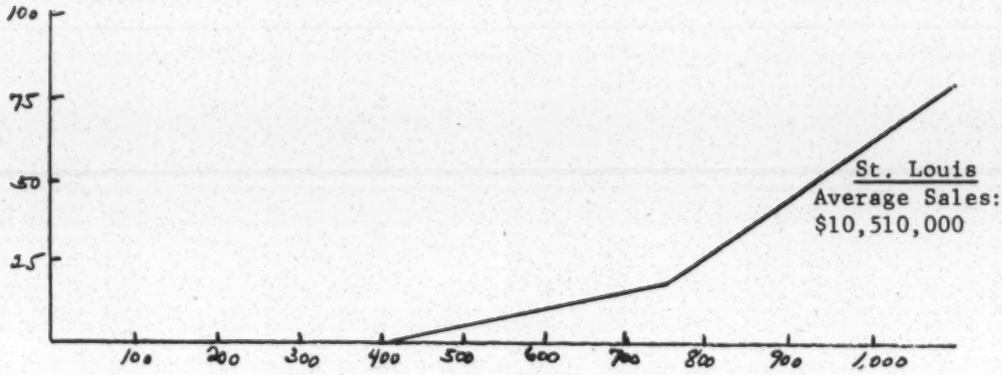
DEPARTMENT STORES



Appendix I
Chart 4 (Cont'd.)

DEPARTMENT STORES

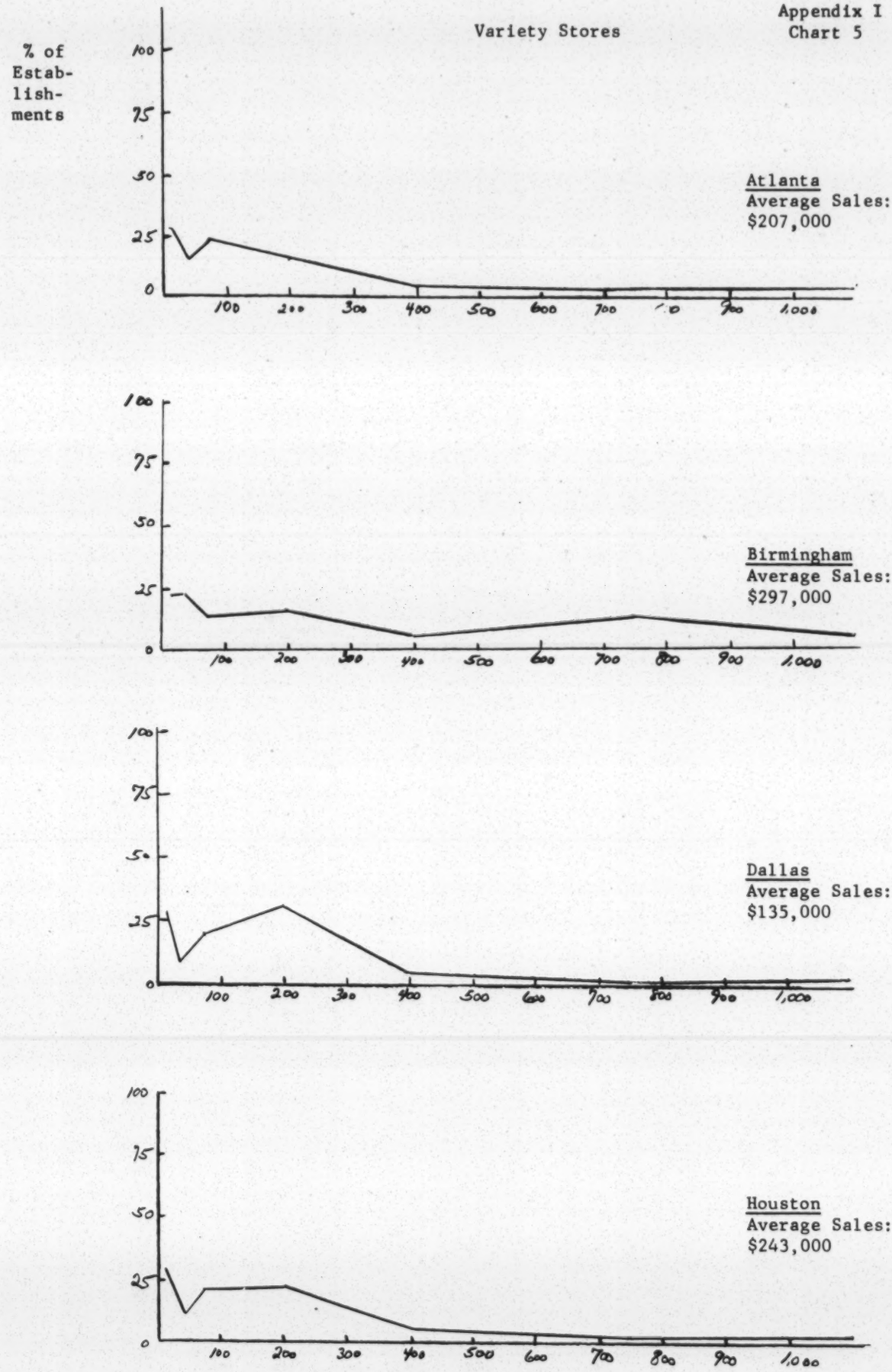




Sales (thousands of dollars)

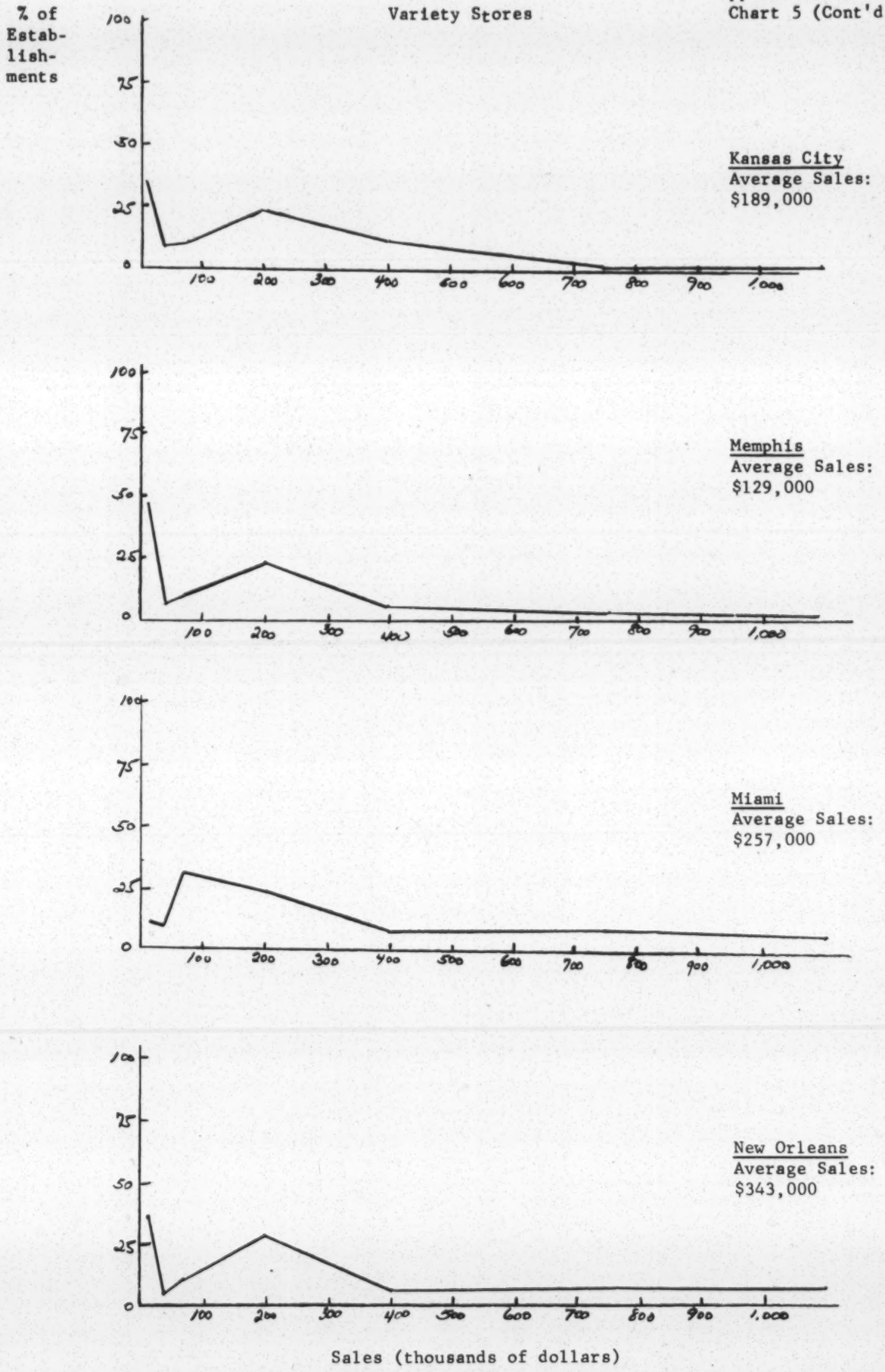
Appendix I
Chart 5

Variety Stores

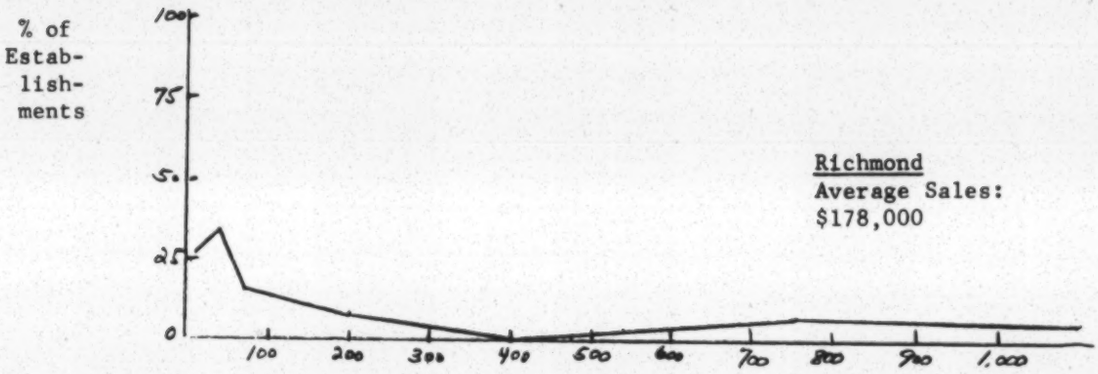


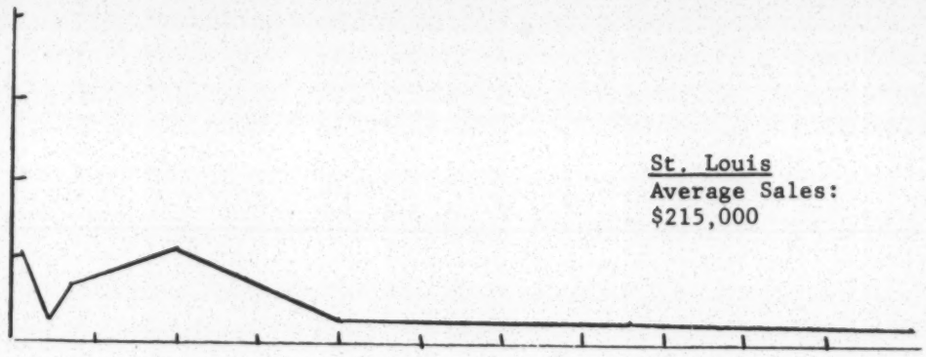
Appendix I
Chart 5 (Cont'd)

Variety Stores



VARIETY STORES





Sales (thousands of dollars)

ST. LOUIS

Public Accommodations Policy

Ordinance 50553

The Law:

Board Bill 18, establishing a public accommodations policy, was passed by the St. Louis Board of Aldermen on May 19, 1961, and signed by Mayor Raymond R. Tucker on June 1, 1961, to become effective on July 1, 1961.

Purpose:

"To insure that there be no discriminatory practices in places of public accommodations on account of race, color, religious beliefs, ancestory, or national origin."

Places of Public Accommodation:

All places and businesses offering service to the general public, including, but not limited to places providing food, shelter, recreation and amusement.

Provisions:

Places serving the public shall not deny service, privileges or equal accommodation advantages to any person on account of race, color or religion; nor post or circulate discriminatory information or advertisement.

Administration:

The Anti-Discrimination Division of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations shall have full administration responsibility.

Enforcement:

The administrative body shall have power to initiate on its own or receive, investigate and seek to adjust all complaints or discriminatory practices; and, to hold hearings, subpoena witnesses and compel their attendance.

Prosecution:

Refusal to comply with this ordinance may result in the case being referred to the City Counselor for appropriate action. Any persons found to be in violation shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be fined from $25.00 to $500.00.

Display of Ordinance:

A copy of Board Bill No. 18 shall be kept conspicuously posted in all places of public accommodation.

FOR FULL

INFORMATION

AND

ASSISTANCE

Contact

ST. LOUIS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Room 200, Municipal Courts Building

1320 Market Street MA 1-5560 - Station 301

Pub. Fac.

WHAT'S WHAT WITH JEKYLL ISLAND?

AFTER ALMOST A YEAR OF FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATIE THE DESEGREGATION OF THE JEKYLL ISLAND GOLF COURSE WITH PERSONS DESIGNATED BY THE STATE OF GEORGIA AS RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS OPERATION, THE GEORIGA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE NAACP REQUESTED APPEARANCE BEFORE THE NEWLY CREATED JEKYLL ISLAND STATE PARK AUTHORITY TO AIR GRIEVANCES.

For reasons not clearly understood and among which was the expressed belief that "the Council speaks for all Negroes", the NAACP was not granted an audience.

March 11, 1963 - The Staff of the GCHR met with the Jekyll Authority at its annual meeting. We asked for not only free and unrestricted use of Jekyll, but of all public facilities over which the "Authority" exercised jurisdiction.

The Chairman of the State Park Authority and the newly-appointed Director of State Parks were quite firm in their assertion that ample provisions were made for Negroes. The State Auditor suggested that we produce a guarantee that desegregation would not drive the whites away and added: "You (Negroes) might have the right to use the facilities, but we would not like to make a decision until we have talked with the Attorney General (an absent member of the 'Authority')". The GCHR was to be contacted when this decision had been made.

March 23, 1963 - For reasons strictly their own, the NAACP decided to take some independent action. This action took the form of an omnibus move; an attempt to use all facilities on Jekyll Island.

The NAACP Youth Council of Savannah and Brunswick, led by the State President of Branches, W. W. Law, and J. C. Hope, Chairman of the Political Action Committee of the Brunswick Branch, visited Jekyll Island on Saturday afternoon, March 23rd. They attempted to use all State operated facilities. They were refused. This refusal does not jibe with Mr. Fortson's statement on March 11, 1963 when he asserted that "the venture of Jekyll Island is so new until a RACIAL POLICY HAS NOT BEEN ESTABLISHED."

Why Use Jekyll Island?? State brochures proudly proclaim the many features of Georgia's year round family beach resort. The "lower end", reserved for use by Negroes, has none of the facilities which are available on the "upper end." Jekyll Island, however, is the one state park listed as operated for both races. Georgia operates a total of 37 parks; 30 for whites, 6 for Negroes - JEKYLL FOR BOTH RACES.

Of the many discrepancies which could be listed, only one is mentioned now, - the matter of financing. Figures for expenditures as listed in the State Auditor's report for 1962 show:

Money spent for 6 Negro parks for Personal Services - $ 8,825.07
Money spent for 29 white parks for Personal Services - $399,058.73

If it costs that much more to operate the white parks, it appears that those parks must offer that much more...

WHAT DOES THIS ALL MEAN AND WHAT SHOULD STATE AND LOCAL COUNCILS DO? PLEASE SEND YOUR SUGGESTIONS.

6/28/63

the Republic of France, General de Gaulle, and other members of the NATO alliance. I have a high regard for General de Gaulle. I have great respect for his leadership. He has performed miracles for France. He has given strength to the cause of human freedom and political independence, not only in Western Europe but throughout the world. He does not deserve our scorn or even our angry retort. He deserves respect and admiration. He will receive it from thoughtful citizens of the United States and elsewhere.

But having said that, I believe it is the responsibility of the leadership of France and those who speak for that leadership to remember the many sacrifices that the United States has made in the past for the freedom of Western Europe, including France itself, and the commitment this country is now making, has made in days gone by, and will continue to make in the years head. No one can really see what the future offers. We can only judge the future by the performance of the past. Every nation has a page in its history which it does not like. For example, in our history we have the unfortunate refusal to join the League of Nations; the long period of expressed neutrality in a world where neutrality really could not be a fact.

However, it is my judgment—and I believe history will bear it out as being an honest judgment—that the United States has undertaken tremendous burdens and responsibilities, both during World War II and in the postwar years, and that we have really earned the mantle of leadership. That mantle of leadership has not been worn as a luxury, but rather as a heavy responsibility.

So I would hope that our friends in France would rebuke the spokesman who this morning attempted to engage—not only attempted, but did engage—in loose talk that does little or no good except for the enemy. Only one other voice could have made a statement that was so unworthy of the great French people and of the relationships between the United States and France, and that voice would have come from the Kremlin. I cannot believe—and I will not believe—that the fraternity that exists between these two great Republics, the United States of America and the Republic of France, will wither away or vanish because of the petulant words or the unfortunate comment or the emotional outpouring of one or two spokesmen who say they speak for the Government or for the people of the grand nation of France.

ABOLITION OF DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC FACILITIES

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on Wednesday of this week the Governor of Kentucky, Hon. Bert T. Combs, set a standard of governmental leadership, responsibility, coverage, and integrity that marked him as a great public servant. Governor Combs took a forthright and courageous step forward in the cause of human rights when, as Governor of the sovereign Commonwealth of Kentucky, he issued an executive order forbidding racial discrimination in all businesses licensed by the State. If more Governors would do this, the work of the Federal Government could be minimized and eased.

Governor Combs has demonstrated that State government can and will perform or fulfill its responsibilities and can take the lead. The Governor of Kentucky has set the pattern and standard for the Nation. He deserves our commendation, respect, and admiration. What he has done is precisely what was needed.

Such decisive action is demanded in every State of the Union. It is analogous to the action which President Kennedy has called upon Congress to take by enacting his omnibus civil rights package, including title II, to ban racial discrimination in public accommodations.

This most recent action by Governor Combs further establishes him as one of the Nation's most determined advocates of civil rights and human rights. In 1960, Governor Combs secured the passage of a law forbidding discrimination in the State's merit system for employees. He also successfully sponsored legislation to establish a State human rights commission.

Earlier this year Governor Combs signed an executive order banning discrimination in employment by State contractors and subcontractors. Mr. President, I remind Senators that this was done by the State of Kentucky, where there are people of many races, colors, and creeds, and where there are whites and Negroes in large numbers.

I understand that certain business interests in Kentucky are planning to challenge Governor Combs' most recent executive order. It is my personal hope that the courts will sustain the Governor and will uphold his actions in this vital area of nondiscrimination in public businesses. I predict that the courts will sustain the Governor's actions, because the Governor has seen to it that the 14th amendment is applied. He is a constitutional Governor.

I know much more will be said regarding the distinction between civil rights and property rights. Yesterday the New York Times published a short editorial that puts the distinction in proper perspective. Let me quote the crucial paragraph:

> But the distinction between what is really private and what is really public is not too difficult to draw. Under the civil rights bill there would be no invasion of private homes or private clubs and no effort to enforce "association"; these remain a matter of personal choice. That the Government would be saying under the bill is that the owner of a public business—whether a lunch counter, a movie house, a motel, or any other facility open to the public at large—cannot pick and choose among his customers for reasons of race.

This distinction is the basis for Governor Combs' executive order.

The distinguished senior Senator from Kentucky [Mr. COOPER] has demonstrated the same kind of courage; and I am sure he has somewhat eased the way for his fellow Kentuckian, the Governor of Kentucky. These men are of different political parties, but they are of like moral stature; and this kind of bipartisan cooperation is exactly the standard that is needed for all of us in the days ahead.

Speaking now of the distinction between what is private and what is public, let me say it is also the basis for public-accommodations laws in some 30 States and the District of Columbia. It is a distinction that will have to be made again and again in the coming civil rights debate in the Congress.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD a New York Times article reporting Governor Combs' executive order, a short biography of Governor Combs, and an editorial entitled, "Rights—Civil and Property," all from the New York Times.

There being no objection, the articles and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows.

KENTUCKY FORBIDS BIAS IN BUSINESSES—GOVERNOR'S ORDER AFFECTS ALL LICENSED ACTIVITIES—HE PRODS SCHOOL DISTRICTS

FRANKFORT, Ky., June 26.—Gov. Bert T. Combs signed an executive order today forbidding racial discrimination in all businesses licensed by the State.

The order, which went into effect immediately, covers such businesses as taverns, restaurants, barber shops, beauty parlors, funeral homes, and real estate concerns.

The Governor warned that school districts, which need accreditation by the State department of education, would be in danger of losing State and Federal funds if they did not integrate.

His order directed those State agencies empowered to license businesses to prepare reports within 60 days on how they planned to enforce the order.

Mr. Combs suggested that enforcement could be patterned after the procedures of the State alcoholic beverage control board.

COULD LOSE LICENSE

After an illegal act has been charged, the board cites a licensee and orders him to appear for a hearing to show cause why he should not have his license suspended or revoked.

Hence, the Governor noted, "the penalty under this executive order also would go to a man's pocketbook."

Mr. Combs acted at a special session of the general assembly, the legislature, met here. Civil rights groups and Mayor William O. Cowger of Louisville had urged the Governor to extend the special session to include consideration of a State antidiscrimination law.

The session had been called to provide State aid for four eastern Kentucky hospitals owned and operated by the United Mine Workers of America. The union plans to close the hospitals this summer because of economic reasons.

Governor Combs said he had declined to place a civil rights bill before the legislators because many had come unprepared to consider such legislation.

In addition, he said, "it is my judgment, based on contacts with key members of the legislature, that an effective bill could not be passed at this extraordinary session."

He asserted that an order "will be much more effective than filing a citation with the local court," as a State law would require.

"While Kentucky has made great strides, both for voluntary and legislative action, additional action is needed to make it possible for all Kentuckians to become first-class citizens," he declared.

He said a civil rights bill would come before the legislature, but did not specify when.

In his order the Democratic Governor declared that discrimination "in places of public accommodation is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the Commonwealth of Kentucky."

Mr. Combs' 4-year term expires in December. He is prohibited by statute from succeeding himself. Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., Democratic nominee in the gubernatorial election next fall is supported by the Combs administration.

The order was considered broad by some civil rights leaders. Several said they would investigate the possibility that it could include discriminatory practices in private employment.

This was the second move in 2 months to end racial discrimination in places of public accommodation.

The first occurred in May, when the Louisville Board of Aldermen passed an antidiscrimination ordinance, to go into effect within 90 days.

The Louisville ordinance and the executive order came without the pressure of demonstrations by Negro groups. In some cases, however, civil rights leaders were hard-pressed to contain their followers.

The Louisville school system desegregated in 1956 without the need for court action. In the last 8 years there has been progress in desegregating parks, swimming pools, hotels, restaurants, and theaters.

In 1960 Governor Combs pushed through a law forbidding discrimination in the State's merit system for employees. He also succeeded in having legislation passed to create a State human rights commission.

Earlier this year, he signed an order forbidding discrimination in employment by State contractors and subcontractors.

Of the State's 3,100,000 population about one-eighth are Negroes.

UNORTHODOX KENTUCKIAN: BERT THOMAS COMBS

The Governor of Kentucky was once introduced to a political rally as "the first Baptist Governor of our State in 100 years. From the rear of the audience, a man shouted, "And if he doesn't do a little better, he'll be the last one for 100 years." Nobody on the staff of Gov. Bert Thomas Combs remembers the incident. But the Governor tells the story with delight as he roams the State, meeting people and listening for ideas.

That he issued an executive order yesterday banning discrimination in places of publice accommodation is no surprise to those who know Mr. Combs. He has often said that segregation is coming to an end, and that those who fight it are only spreading bitterness.

Despite a fondness for stories, most of them self-deprecating, Mr. Combs is no orthodox politician, at least not in a State that has produced A. B. (Happy) Chandler, Alben W. Barkley, and Earle C. Clements.

His opponents call him a "captive" of more experienced professionals.

He is also sometimes accused within his party of having backed away from supporting John F. Kennedy for President and the Kennedy administration. In Kentucky, where politicians say pockets of religious intolerance remain, Richard M. Nixon outpolled Mr. Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, in 1960.

Mr. Combs made his first bid for public office in 1955, seeking the Democratic gubernatorial nomination against Mr. Chandler, former Governor, who was a national figure.

"Bert had been on the State Court of Appeals, Kentucky's supreme court," a friend said recently. "He campaigned like a judge—responsibly, methodically, and unsuccessfully."

Four years later Mr. Combs ran again, defeating a Chandler protege, 203,802 to 177,191. He then easily beat the Republican nominee.

In his successful campaign Mr. Combs was considerably more caustic about Mr. Chandler. As a result, when Mr. Chandler attempted a comeback last spring, he centered his attack on Governor Combs. He particularly gibed at a $50,000 floral clock planted on the capitol lawn.

Because Kentucky law forbids a second successive term, Governor Combs backed his own protege for the post, Edward T. Breathitt, Jr., 38-year-old legislator.

Mr. Breathitt defeated Mr. Chandler in the primary. Mr. Combs, pleased, commented in an afterthought that the floral clock was paying for itself as a tourist attraction.

The Governor was born August 13, 1911, in Clay County, in the heart of Kentucky's mountains.

"He's almost the perfect man to deal with the racial situation in this State," a friend said. "In his home area, around Manchester, there's just no problem. He brought no bias or emotion to his deliberations on the issue."

Mr. Combs quit school in 1931 to work as a clerk in the State highway department. Two years later he entered the University of Kentucky and worked his way through law school, graduating second in his class.

He joined the Army in 1942 as a private and was discharged as a captain 4 years later.

Returning to civilian life, he became city attorney in Prestonburg in 1950 and the Kentucky equivalent of district attorney soon afterward.

A restless man who enjoys traveling, the Governor likes to take along his staff on visits to small towns around the State. In Calhoun or West Liberty, he would open an office for a day, listening to anyone's complaint.

With retirement from office facing him next December 9, Mr. Combs has indicated he will not accept another judgship. "I'm going to sit back and give a lot of free advice to all of those who have been so generous with advice to me over the past 4 years," he says.

Mr. Combs and his wife, the former Mabel Hall, have two children, Lois Ann, 19, and Thomas, 17.

RIGHTS—CIVIL AND PROPERTY

The principal battle over President Kennedy's proposed civil rights law—as indicated by the line of questioning yesterday when the Attorney General appeared before a House Judiciary subcommittee—will revolve around the provision prohibiting discrimination against Negroes in the use of public facilities. The proposed law would guarantee all citizens "equal access to the services and facilities of hotels, restaurants, places of amusement, and retail establishments." The general argument against this provision is that it would interfere with private property rights.

But the distinction between what is really private and what is really public is not too difficult to draw. Under the civil rights bill there would be no invasion of private homes or private clubs and no effort to enforce association; these remain a matter of personal choice. What the Government would be saying under the bill is that the owner of a public business—whether a lunch counter, a movie house, a motel, or any other facility open to the public at large—cannot pick and choose among his customers for reasons of race.

As a matter of fact, some 30 States, the District of Columbia, and many cities—covering two-thirds of the country—already have laws against discrimination in places of public accommodation. But in our mobile society and interdependent economy, protection of these public facilities has properly become a matter of national concern. Property has its obligation as well as its rights.

It is possible, as Attorney General Kennedy agreed yesterday, that certain small businesses—such as "Mrs. Murphy's" boardinghouse with a few rooms—could remain private in the ancient sense. But in the larger meaning of the law, civil rights cannot be subservient to an exaggerated claim for property rights.

WHY A DOMESTIC PEACE CORPS?

Mr. YOUNG of Ohio. Mr. President, it gives me no pleasure whatever when I announce myself very definitely as against some legislative proposal sponsored by this administration. I shall, however, continue to do just that whenever my judgment and my conscience so dictate. It is well known that I consider myself a friend and admirer of our President and a supporter of his policies.

Following careful study and research, it is my conclusion that the administration proposal to create a national service corps, termed "Domestic Peace Corps," as set forth in bills introduced in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, and supported by many of my distinguished colleagues, should not be enacted into law in their present form. My study of these legislative proposals leads me to express the hope they will not be reported from committee for debate and vote unless they are first substantially amended.

The organization to be created under these bills is commonly referred to as the "Domestic Peace Corps," which is admittedly an appealing name. One could say, following study of the proposal, that the best thing about the entire plan is the name "Domestic Peace Corps." It immediately brings to mind the outstanding work being accomplished by the Peace Corps abroad, under the very capable leadership of Director Shriver. However, the differences between the two are as wide as the oceans that separate them.

Mr. President, this proposed legislation, if enacted into law, would create another independent agency to add to our already sprawling Federal bureaucracy. The cost to the taxpayers in the long run would far exceed the $5 million a year minimum presently contemplated.

My primary objection to the proposed Senate bill is that its enactment would duplicate work of existing Federal, State, and local agencies. There is already too much waste and duplication in Government, and it would be unconscionable to add to this burden already being shouldered by American taxpayers. The proposed Corps would be created to help Indians, migratory workers, residents of depressed areas, elderly persons, disabled persons, delinquent children, dependent children, and almost all others in our society who are in need of aid and assistance. This is a worthy undertaking, but we do not need another Federal agency to undertake it.

On the Federal level, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is charged with aiding and assisting Indians; the Department of Commerce is already engaged in working with depressed areas, under the Area Redevelopment Act—which I have always supported and for which I voted the day before yesterday. The Department

✓ Pub. Facilities

EDITORIAL

Questioning a Question — And Some of the Answers

LAST FALL, we said on this editorial page: "Our vote for the most improved state library association periodical in the country would be awarded unhesitatingly to *The Bay State Librarian,* the quarterly bulletin of the Massachusetts Library Association" (*see* Lj, Sept. 1, '62, p. 2850). The issues of *The Bay State Librarian* which have appeared since that comment was made have given us no reason to revise our opinion. We think editor John N. Berry III has done a fine job — BUT . . . we do question the wisdom and the tactics of an editorial which appeared in the April 1963 issue of the Massachusetts magazine.

Mr. Berry named in that editorial eleven libraries, all located in the south, which had recently received awards under the Dorothy Canfield Fisher Library Award Program, which is administered by the Book-of-the-Month Club, with the advice of the American Library Association. The editorial was headed "A Question," and Mr. Berry's question, in essence, was "Are these libraries segregated?"

In answer to his inquiry, said Mr. Berry, the Southern Regional Council* had stated: "Our files show no record of desegregation at any of the libraries cited in your letter. We assume, therefore, that they are still segregated."

The editorial concluded: "We violently oppose any award to strengthen institutions which maintain a system of service that in any way separates one citizen from another in his use of books. We ask the question in the sincere hope that every library and system involved can and will truthfully answer with a resounding 'no!' to separation, segregation, and unequal library service. Can we expect a reply?"

Mr. Berry's editorial, it seems to us, raises not *a* question, but several. First, there is the basic question as to whether the Canfield Fisher awards — or any other awards — are going to strengthen segregated libraries? If they are, there are the further questions, why are they and who is responsible? And, Mr. Berry, there is another question of a different kind. Is it responsible editorial practice to ask a question, loaded with dynamite as this one is, without first making an attempt to check the facts with the individual libraries involved, with the state library agencies or with ALA? All of these seem likely to be better informed than the Southern Regional Council, which has such a wide sphere of operations that it can scarcely be expected to have very specific knowledge about library services.

Mr. Berry's basic question was, of course, perfectly valid. The professional press has an obligation to probe issues, even sensitive ones, and a duty to examine constantly the actions of the profession and see that they bear some relation to the purity of some of our official pronouncements. Like Mr. Berry, we oppose (not "violently" perhaps, but certainly firmly) the presentation of awards to libraries operating segregated services, particularly when ALA, whose policies are now clear in this area, is involved in such awards. But this does not condone accusation without evidence — and to ask a question in print without first trying for the answer amounts to about the same thing.

We decided to pursue the matter further, and in order to gather the necessary facts:

1) Wrote to all the libraries named in *The Bay State Librarian* editorial and sent them a copy of the editorial;

2) In some cases where the individual libraries did not immediately reply, wrote also to the state library extension agencies concerned;

3) Asked the Book-of-the-Month Club for a copy of the application form and conditions governing the Canfield Fisher Library Awards;

4) Informed Mr. Berry of our actions.

Ten of the 11 libraries answered our inquiry, and we had letters from three state library agencies. Only in one case did we

*The Southern Regional Council, according to *Encyclopedia of Associations* (3rd ed., Gale Research Co., 1961) was founded in 1918, has 80 members and a staff of 18. Located in Atlanta, Georgia, it consists of "leaders in education, religion, business, labor and the professions interested in improving race relations in the south." It "provides community relations consultation and field services when requested by official and private agencies, distributes pamphlets dealing with desegregation of various public facilities, and fosters elimination of barriers to Negro registration and voting." It issues a publication entitled *New South* eleven times a year.

able to specify exactly what he wants to provide, in other words, to define his own need.

The speaker's second error was to assume that complete technical mastery of computer technology, advanced mathematical theory and programming techniques and information theory and systems design, etc., etc., was the essential prerequisite for facing the problem of library automation in a practical and responsible way. The answer, again, is that a system is good only insofar as it ably fills a need. No good system can be designed, whatever the technical qualifications of its designer, unless that need is known. And the formulation, the verbalization of that need is the librarian's role. He will have continuing discussions with the machine or systems people, and he will have to make many decisions regarding space and cost and personnel. But these decisions can and must constantly be referred against his original statement of what the system *is* and what it must *do*. Sacrifices, compromises, expansions if need (and cash) be — these are measured against his carefully evaluated standard. It is here that the librarian alone is the expert, and it is on his experience of library service that he makes that claim.

In terms of library education, then, the above considerations need implementation. The library school has the responsibility, I believe, to orient tomorrow's staff to face exactly the problems that were brought out in the conference. If, as we trust, the next generation of library school graduates is more hospitable to machines, how will they have developed that feeling? Further, will it be a kind of generalized hospitality of the kind that the ancient Greeks and Hebrews gave to every stranger, in the hope that they entertained an angel or a god unaware? Such an attitude may lead them, like their predecessors in responsibility, to buy the first cheap, attractive package they see.

I like to think that the library school student will be indoctrinated with an attitude rather than a specific (and rapidly outmoded) skill, and that this attitude would be the chief result of a course in library automtion given in the library school, as well as the effect of his teachers' counsel and advice. That attitude should reflect, first, a pride of stewardship directed toward the processes and services and products which he knows must be carried out or produced. It should show, second, a sensible, even an eager regard for the ways in which machines can help to "free the mind." The intellectual emancipation offered by the machine should, to the student who is able and wise, represent the most urgent recommendation for its use. He must be encouraged in this attitude by the training and environment provided to him by the library school where, by library-oriented exposure to machines and (cautiously?) to systems personnel, he can stick his big toe into the salt sea and find that the water, instead of overwhelming him, actually buoys him up.

Into the millenium

Libraries, as well as many other social institutions, are entering an age of hastened automation. This development frightens some readers and some librarians, and delights others. Many are deluded by science fiction dreams and thus fall easily into the hands of quacks who flourish wherever hope is wedded to ignorance and large sums of quick money are in sight.

Happily, in our judgment, we are approaching the time when library business is becoming so important, socially and financially, that technological research is beginning to take account of its needs. If just a few more crucial resolutions and adaptations of photography, television, and computer processes can be stimulated, many cumbersome library procedures can be streamlined and far greater access provided to library materials. But the millenium is not here yet. Much more basic research and tough-minded experimentation must be undertaken in the near future if we are to enjoy the efficiency of mechanization. — *from "Report of the University Librarian to the Chancellor," by Robert Vosper, 1962*

Out of the woods

. . . the impression remains with a British reader that his American colleagues have become absorbed in routine to such an extent that they fail to see that machine and computer techniques are not the only way out of the wood — they could cut down some of the trees. — *C. A. Crossley, in a review of "Advanced Data Processing in the University Library,"* Library Association Record, *April 1963*

not get a reply, either from the individual library named in the original editorial or from the state library agency.

The reactions to Mr. Berry's editorial method, to nobody's surprise, were almost unanimously unfavorable. The most fiery reply, appropriately, came from Ray Peppers, librarian of the Beaufort (S.C.) County Library, which won the biggest of all the Canfield Fisher Awards. Mr. Peppers said he would answer the question if it were asked in "the normal way" (he did answer ours), but to Mr. Berry he said: "I'll be damned if I'll answer your editorial question."

Mrs. Leola F. Miller, librarian of the Rolla (Mo.) Free Public Library commented: "The *principle* of 'assuming' a fact without any evidence is something I deplore." Mrs. Evelyn Griffith, librarian of the North Arkansas Regional Library, resented "the tarnish that this editorial would like to spread over [her library's] selection" for the award.

The chairman of the library board, Mrs. James D. Bruton, replied for the Plant City (Fla.) Public Library: "Unfortunately racial strife will continue so long as people, expecting the worst, act on someone's assumption instead of facts. We in the South have become accustomed to the prejudiced and misleading editorials which continue to appear in too many publications, written without basis of fact by editors far removed from the scene. I never expected this practice to extend to library journals, however."

Elaine von Oesen, extension services librarian at the North Carolina State Library, to whom we wrote after receiving no initial reply from the librarian of the Henderson County Public Library (she was on vacation, said Miss von Oesen, and we did later hear from Henderson librarian Mary Kent Seagle), declared herself "appalled at the editorial" in *The Bay State Librarian*.

In sharp contrast to most of these comments was the reply from Richard K. Burns, director of the Falls Church (Va.) Public Library. He sent Mr. Berry three interesting pages, and to us, the following observations:

"We regret that we should be accused without being asked or investigated. The writer of the editorial was, of course, careless and wrong. It appears that he was looking for an argument. For my part, however, I'm not too unhappy about it. Although erroneous in its facts, the editorial does ask a serious question, and asks it seriously. I prefer this to the countless editorials which are spineless in spirit, based on empty ideals, and achieve only their pointless effect, which appear again and again in our professional journals. I can respect *The Bay State Librarian* for, if nothing else, its own admission that public libraries are far from realizing their professed ideals. Inaccuracy is bad, but meaningless pap is worse."

Mr. Berry was criticized on another score in a letter he received from Eleanor A. Ferguson, Executive Secretary of ALA's Public Library Association, who asked: "Why were the Wicomico County Free Library, Salisbury, Maryland, and the Marshall County Free Library, Lewisburg, Tennessee, omitted? They seem as likely to have segregated policies as some of those you do mention. Come on now, if we're going to do research, let's do it thoroughly, and not use biased samples!"

And what did Mr. Berry have to say in response to our questioning of his editorial judgment? It's perhaps only fair, after printing so much criticism of him, to quote him at some length:

> It is my contention that any such award, involving as it does the American Library Association, must expect the scrutiny of the profession, and its recipients should respond as freely to inquiries as several have done in this case. The truth, in print, will provide a unique and gratifying statement opposing segregation. If the question were asked privately, and only the segregated replies were published, this spirited denial would have been lost.
>
> The question was asked editorially with the full intention that it would be answered editorially, regardless of the results. It is my conviction that asking libraries, many in the deep south, to respond to this question will serve one of two purposes. If they respond with the resounding "No!" to segregation that the editorial expects and desires, then we have an impressive collection of documentary evidence, from southern libraries, to publicize a fact in which the profession should take pride. We know that this is an award strengthening equal, integrated service. It publicizes a group of libraries with the courage and willingness to publicly deny segregation. We can then give the award, and the receiving libraries, all the publicity and commendation they deserve.
>
> On the other hand, if there are among the eleven libraries, some which do segregate, then we have forced the exposition of this practice, and at the same time discovered a flaw in the selection of recipients for the award. It is my sincere hope that only the first of these purposes may be served in this case . . .

Now, what about the facts on segregation or integration at these 11 award-winning libraries? Seven denied unequivocally that they were segregated:

Beaufort (S.C.) County Library: "Each facility of the Beaufort County Library serves any Beaufort County resident who presents himself."

Falls Church (Va.) Public Library: "This library has never done other than serve our readers without regard to race, creed, sex, age or any other discriminatory principle. When this library opened its new quarters in 1958, the USIA wrote a feature story on the library and its program. The story has been carried throughout the world in many languages. It is significant that in the photographs accompanying the story, Negroes and whites appear together, both children and adults. It is also significant that one of the earliest members of our local Friends organization, and a most effective supporter of our program, is a Negro. It is significant that in the block where the library is located, property and homes on both sides of the street are owned by Negroes. It is significant that the public schools in this city were totally integrated years ago without incident or protest." (Much more from Falls Church, but read *The Bay State Librarian*).

Rolla (Mo.) Free Public Library: "There has never been any segregation in this library." The librarian included as documentary evidence a 1958 newspaper photograph showing both black and white citizens using the library.

Keyser-Mineral (W.Va.) County Library: " . . . since its inception as a WPA Library in 1937, has never practiced any form of racial segregation."

Plant City (Fla.) Public Library: "Our community is 25 per cent Negro and as I write from a desk in our library," said the library board chairman, "I see in the reading room almost as many Negro patrons as white ones, and they have been coming ever since the library first opened its doors for service, and without incident! We have yet to receive the first complaint." Mrs. Bruton also gave, for good measure, the name and address of a local Negro citizen to whom Mr. Berry could write, since he appeared "to need confirmation."

Killgore Memorial Library, Dumas, Texas: Sent a copy of the criteria for the Canfield Fisher Awards, and observed: "I understand this to mean that the libraries must be desegregated — ours is."

Henderson County (N.C.) Public Library: "It serves all races and has for over ten years," said Elaine von Oesen, extension services librarian at the North Carolina State Library.

Mrs. Elizabeth D. Moore, director of the *Oconee Regional Library, Dublin, Georgia*, said: "I assure you that our governing officials, our library board and our library staff members are striving diligently to provide adequate free library service to every citizen who lives within the four counties served by the Oconee Regional Library. Specific materials and services are available to everyone. No citizen has been refused any material or any library service requested." The same kind of reply came from Lucile Nix, chief library consultant in the State Department of Education. But at least a query must remain here. One of the branches of the Oconee Regional Library is listed in the *American Library Directory*, 23rd edition, as "Negro." The data listed in this directory are based on replies received from the libraries.

The question — Mr. Berry's and ours — was evaded by the *North Arkansas Regional Library*. In a testy letter which returned some fire in the direction of Massachusetts libraries, regional librarian Mrs. Evelyn Griffiths merely pointed out "that there are few Negroes living in the northern third of Arkansas and none at all in the mountainous six-county section which makes up our region." She did not state what the library's policy might be should a Negro decide to move to the mountains.

And the question was even more fully evaded by the *Carnegie Library, Eufaula, Alabama*, which did not reply at all — to us nor, as far as we know, to Mr. Berry. Nor did we receive a reply from the Alabama Public Library Service, the state agency.

Finally, from one library, the *Jackson Parish Library, Jonesboro, Louisiana*, came an admission of segregated service. Said librarian M. E. Wright, Jr.: "The Jackson Parish (county) Library is designed for the use of all citizens. The same staff — trained bookmobile librarian and clerk-driver — operate two bookmobiles, one of which is devoted exclusively to the service for Negroes, with a collection selected to appeal to their interest and informational needs. It should be emphasized that any book in the

library's collection is available to any reader, since if it is not at the outlet point where he makes his request, it is obtained and sent to him . . . By action of the library board, Negroes do not use the one branch of the parish system, but every attempt is made to give equal service. The pattern of service in Jackson Parish does not deny the Negro the use of any library materials, and it brings close to his door the books which are appealing and useful to him . . ."

It is clear from this last reply that, however one feels about the methods used, Mr. Berry has uncovered a situation which needs further examination. No. 7 among the criteria listed by the Book-of-the-Month Club for the Dorothy Canfield Fisher Awards reads: "The library shall provide equal service to all, regardless of race, creed or nationality." Undoubtedly, those who still adhere to the "*separate* but equal" doctrine would claim that they are meeting this condition, but we feel sure that this is not in keeping with the spirit of the award. Certainly the "separate but equal" doctrine is not in keeping with present ALA policies, and since ALA is finally responsible for the selection of the winners ALA should ensure that the criteria are *fully* met.

The state library agencies in each state are also responsible in no small measure for the way in which these awards are distributed. Elaine von Oesen, in her letter to Lj, drew attention to the Book-of-the-Month Club criteria for the Awards, and added: "Not only must the library state, in applying, that it meets the criteria; but the state library agency in each state must endorse each application. *The Bay State Librarian* editorial not only censures these public libraries, it censures the state library agencies in those states. You may remember that Mississippi disqualified itself for an Award."

Miss von Oesen is quite right. The individual libraries are not alone to blame: in fact, the major responsibility rests with the state library agencies. ALA's Eleanor Ferguson claims that "the Committee appointed by the Public Library Association looks closely at the evidence submitted about each library," but she adds: "If neither the library nor the State Agency can be trusted to abide by the criterion [of equal service to all], then indeed it is 'difficult to obtain incontrovertible evidence'." The evidence here presented would suggest that Mississippi's example in withdrawing as ineligible might have been followed by at least one other state — and maybe more. It also suggests that the committee from the Public Library Association will have to look even more closely at the submitted evidence. EM

From Lj's historical file — Library service for all in Evanston, Illinois. The year: 1921

COPY

SB/

BP - this should be attached to the original report

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

50 East Huron Street, Chicago 11, Illinois

From: Charles R. Carner
Public Relations Officer
(312) 944-6780

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: TO EDITORS, NATIONAL LIBRARY PERIODICALS
ALA Bulletin
Catholic Library World
Library Journal
Special Libraries
Wilson Library Bulletin

SUBJECT: ACCESS TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES

At the 1963 Annual Conference of ALA, the Advisory Committee for the Access to Libraries study recommended to the LAD Board of Directors and the Intellectual Freedom Committee that the International Research Associates survey of access to public libraries be published to make it available for study.

Since then the Advisory Committee has continued to evaluate the total study in the light of questions raised during the Conference as well as data and arguments presented subsequently.

Because of the special concern shown on the findings of the section titled "Location and resources of branch libraries in ten selected cities," (II,F), the Committee has meticulously re-examined this portion of the study. On September 19, 1963, it met with International Research Associates to consider its analyses and responses.

On the basis of the discussions at this meeting the Advisory Committee has unanimously approved the following statement as representing its thinking:

> "It should be noted that the section on adequacy of access to branch libraries was limited, as stated in the report, to the study of specific census tracts which were either 80% or more white or 80% or more non-white. The conclusions must, therefore, be limited to the kinds and numbers of census tracts studied. It is the judgment of the Advisory Committee that the findings cannot be generalized to apply to the whole of any city concerned or to the comparison of cities without further study. The Advisory Committee, therefore, recommends that the use of this part of the report be limited and that no generalizations be made about the cities studied."

-Harold W. Tucker, Chairman
Advisory Committee for
Access to Libraries Study

- 30 -

September 30, 1963

JN 26964

Comments on the Advisory Committee Statement of September 30, 1963

Regarding INRA Report on "Access to Public Libraries"

by Harry N. Peterson, Librarian
D. C. Public Library

It is interesting to note that the LAD Advisory Committee for Access to Libraries met with the President and two staff members of International Research Associates, Inc. to see how they could pull the fat out of the fire, so far as the ACCESS TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES report is concerned. The statement unanimously approved by the Advisory Committee and issued by its Chairman eleven days after the meeting in New York is, in its own small way, as inaccurate as the INRA report itself. The statement says, "It should be noted that the section on adequacy of access to branch libraries was limited, as stated in the report, to the study of specific census tracts which were either 80% or more white or 80% or more non-white." This is a misinterpretation of the INRA report. In Section II, F, page 54, the following statement is made:

> For this part of the study, ten cities were examined in order to determine what relationship exists between four socio-economic characteristics of a population, and the location and resources of branch libraries.

This statement appears on pages 55-56:

> Information on the socio-economic characteristics of racial concentration, income, education, and elementary school enrollment was obtained by census tracts for the ten cities, and the tracts

whose population are highest and lowest in each characteristic were examined to ascertain relationships between these factors and locations, numbers, and resources of branch libraries.

On the basis of this methodology INRA made the following sweeping generalization on page 59:

> In four of the six Southern cities, the likelihood of finding a branch library in a heavily white area is over one and a half times that of finding one in a neighborhood which is predominantly non-white, and in all of the Southern cities, branches in non-white neighborhoods contain fewer volumes than those located in white areas. The greatest racial inequality occurs in Birmingham and in Washington, D. C., where libraries in predominantly white neighborhoods exceed those in highly non-white areas by a ratio of more than three to one, and branches in heavily white areas have on the average twice as many volumes as those in predominantly non-white sections.

There is no indication that the INRA report was referring only to tracts. Quite the contrary; it referred to <u>cities</u>. However, it is evident that the research specialists were committing the error of generalizing from the particular. This mistake was pointed out in a letter I sent to Mr. James E Bryan on July 16, 1963, copies of which were sent to INRA, the ALA staff, and others. In this letter I said, "Apparently the INRA, Inc. arrived at the statement regarding the 3 to 1 ratio on the basis of the 1960 population in the immediate Census tract in which each branch is situated. This is a fallacy." My comment was ignored.

During the discussion at the ALA Conference in Chicago, Miss Maxine LaBounty of the DCPL Staff reaffirmed this point when she said, "it was not valid to equate branches with census tracts, since the tracts average only 4,000 people and branches serve 20,000 - 40,000." To this and other criticisms, Mr. Brown of INRA replied, "the ratios of white to non-white branches had been obtained by dividing the number of branch libraries located in 80 per cent white and non-white tracts into the total number of 80 per cent white and non-white tracts. With regard to the 80 per cent cut-off point, he said that 70 per cent of the people live in 80 per cent white or non-white areas." (ALA BULLETIN, September 1963, p.745) This just is not true, at least in Washington, as I have demonstrated in a recent analysis.

The methodology was a lazy way to try to determine accessibility. Unfortunately INRA and the Advisory Committee erroneously assumed that it was valid. As a matter of fact, according to the LIBRARY JOURNAL for September 1, 1963 (p. 3008-3009) Mr. Tucker "Indicated that the Advisory Committee on the Study had met subsequent to the explosive LAD gathering, and read a letter from Bernard Berelson, the one member of the committee not present at the conference. Mr. Berelson's opinion after reviewing the technical methods employed in the study, was that these methods were 'appropriate for the purpose,' and that 'in general, this is a well-done study.' The questionsraised, said the Berelson letter, 'do not substantially change the conclusions reached.'" In contrast, a Government statistician made this evaluation of Tables 17, 18, 19, and 20 relating to Location and Resources of Branch Libraries in Ten Cities: "In my opinion the logic on which these tables...were constructed was naive and amateurish....The crudeness of this

approach is almost breathtaking..." At this point the Advisory Committee also seems to be somewhat less certain about the reliability of the methodology. The astonishing thing is that these professional people put any stock in such hocus-pocus in the first place. About the only purpose this methodology serves is as an example of statistical misrepresentation.

Now, in an effort to save face, the Advisory Committee tries to make it appear that the part of the INRA "research" regarding access to branches was a study of census tracts. But isn't it ridiculous to say, "The conclusions must, therefore, be limited to the kinds and numbers of census tracts studied." This is obviously at variance with the previously quoted INRA conclusion about alleged inequality of public library service in Washington and elsewhere. However, it does confirm what I said in the first place, in my letter of July 16, 1963 and in other communications. Perhaps I should be flattered to have my judgment confirmed, even if belatedly. What I can't understand is why the Advisory Committee doesn't just come right out, as honest men should, and admit an error, a grievous error, instead of trying to cover up with a transparent attempt to rewrite the facts in the case.

At long last we are told, "It is the judgment of the Advisory Committee that the findings cannot be generalized to apply to the whole of any city concerned or to the comparison of cities without further study. The Advisory Committee, therefore, recommends that the use of this part of the report be limited and that no generalizations be made about the cities studied." Would that the Advisory Committee, the ALA officers, and the ALA staff had listened to reason and arrived at this "judgment" sooner--before the damage was done. Damning and undeserved generalizations have already been made by INRA itself in Section II, F. These were approved by the Advisory Committee; announced in a release, approved by this Committee and the Executive Secretary of ALA, on Monday, July 15th; and approved for publication by the membership

on Friday, July 19. (Apparently the ALA staff had jumped the gun, as it was disclosed that the cover was already in production in the new ALA Headquarters on Friday, July 19th, according to the LIBRARY JOURNAL for September 1.) The report was published in mid-August. Now hear this: the announcement in the BOOKLIST for September 15 does not say that the ACCESS TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES report was published only "to make it available for study;" neither does the report itself. Furthermore, the people who read the report will not have the benefit of the Advisory Committee's injunctions not to generalize from the limited and misleading "findings."

I fail to see what good will come of the Advisory Committee's decision to have INRA "prepare a detailed document on Section F of Part II covering the various comments and questions raised since the ALA Conference." It seems to me that International Research Associates, Inc. and the Advisory Committee have already done enough harm. At best, the proposed document will be an effort to whitewash the "methodology" and "findings" of the Access report. So far as the maligned libraries are concerned, this constitutes a kind of double jeopardy.

There seems to be an assumption that except for Section F of Part II, the rest of the INRA report is without error. However, the now admitted mistakes in Section F of Part II throw doubts upon the entire document.

The Advisory Committee will next prepare a "brief 2000 word document giving the historical background for the Study." What purpose this will serve, I do not know. Many of the errors in the INRA report and much of the trouble that resulted from it could have been avoided if the Advisory Committee had had a sense of decency and fair play and just an ounce of

foresight. Pounds of hindsight and thousands of words will not make up for the lack of competence it has demonstrated.

In its eagerness to avoid criticism for censorship, the ALA has permitted several public libraries and those associated with them to be traduced. It seems to me that an organization such as this also has some responsibility to uphold the truth. Now that the false statements in the study have been pointed out (and, at least indirectly, admitted), International Research Associates, Inc. should recall its report on ACCESS TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES, for the sake of its own reputation. If this is not done, the ALA Council should reject this canard. In any event, INRA, the ALA Advisory Committee, the Intellectual Freedom Committee, the officers and the staff of the ALA owe the D. C. Public Library and the other maligned libraries an apology for the irresponsible way they have handled, published, and publicized this slanderous report.

Nov. 1963
Public Facilities

PUBLIC PARKS

And

RECREATIONAL

FACILITIES

A STUDY IN TRANSITION

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICE INC . . . FROGMORE , SOUTH CAROLINA

1963

Pub [redacted]. Facilities

VMA Research

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November 1963

Dear Friend:

Since the recent court action, the subject of future operation of our state parks has had the attention of all South Carolinians. Although this matter requires an immediate decision, the issues involved are far reaching and will be a public concern for some time, since cities will be facing a similar situation. The decision is crucial; to what extent will the present and future generations of South Carolinians have facilities for leisure time activities?

In the interest of helping opinion makers and other thoughtful citizens to become more informed about the far-reaching effects of South Carolina's decision on state parks, we have gathered together data which is pertinent to the problem as a whole. By outlining various facets of the closed-park possibility, and by summarizing ways in which other areas have responded to the realities of the situation, we have attempted to put the problem in perspective for those who are concerned about it.

The booklet which we enclose has been prepared from sources of public information. We hope you will read it carefully, and we would appreciate having you send any comments that you care to make.

Sincerely,

Courtney Siceloff

Courtney Siceloff

cs/bm

Pub. Facilities

ACCESS TO PUBLIC LIBRARIES

A Research Project:
Prepared for the Library Administration Division,
American Library Association
by International Research Associates, Inc.

American Library Association Chicago, 1963

Pub. Facilities

Hand bill passed out by demonstrators for better Pub. Facilities on the South side of Atlanta

THE CITY MUST PROVIDE

WE ARE MARCHING today to protest neglect by the City Government of the Negro communities of South Atlanta.

THE CITY GOVERNMENT HAS FAILED to provide our communities with:

.... adequate building inspection
.... proper park and recreation facilities
.... adequate libraries
.... sufficient street lights, cross walks, and traffic signs
.... proper sewage and garbage disposal
.... adequate transportation facilities

THOUGH we have petitioned for years for the correction of these conditions, our communities still lack many of the essential services which it is the duty of every city to provide for all of its citizens.

WHY are these services not provided in our communities? They are not provided in our communities because our communities are Negro communities. They are not provided in our communities because our communities are not wealthy communities. They are not provided in our communities because our communities have too long been represented by those who do not care about our needs.

NOW we are marching to City Hall to present a report to the Mayor containing the grievances of our communities. We demand that the needs of our communities be met at once. We insist that the needs of 60,000 people cannot be forgotten! We insist that the votes of 10,000 citizens cannot be ignored!

WE will be heard from again and again until the demands of our communities are met!

L.D. Simon - President: Atlanta Civic Council
President: South Atlanta Civic League

Benny T. Smith - Vice-President: Atlanta Civic Council
President: Southeast Community Civic League

Henry Phelp - Pres. Peoplestown Civ. Lg.
Jesse Smith - Pres. Pittsburg Civ. Lg.
Rev. H. Pitman - Pres. New Thomasville Civ. Lg.
Rev. Colbert - Pres. Georgia Ave/Pryor St. Civic Lg.
Robert L. Barnes - Pres. Highpoint Area Civ. Lg.

PW ~~RA~~ LPA

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Tells how to plan adult courses, group classes, and lead discussion sessions

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AGE and employment
Older worker, over 40; under 65. 11p '65 N Y state comm for human rights 270 Broadway N Y 7 free to libs

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Guide to meeting the needs of the elderly in Maryland (revised as of June 1, 1965). rev ed 25p '65 Md state comm on the aging 301 W Preston st Baltimore 21201 free to libs proc

Employment
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Reversal of farm policy, by R. L. Worsnop. (v 1 '66 no 13) 18p '65 Editorial res reps 1735 K st Washington D C 20006 $2
Contents: American bounty vs. world famine threat; American farm policy in peace and war; Limits on food output here and abroad

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Verdict: young adults judge books '66. 25p '66 Queens borough pub lib Pub rel dept 89-11 Merrick blvd Jamaica N Y 11432 single copy free to libs
Book reviews written by young adults, 13-19, who are registered borrowers of the Queens borough public library

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Missouri business trends for retailing, wholesaling and selected services, by K. E. Miller & Wilbur Sayre. (Mo econy study no9) 79p charts tables maps '66 Univ of Mo Sch of bus & pub adm Res center Columbia Mo 65202 $1.75
On cover: Retailing, wholesaling & selected services in Missouri

CAESAR, Gaius Julius
They made our world. . . .Julius Caesar, by Leo Rosten. 1p '65 Look mag 488 Madison av N Y 10022 5c
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CALIFORNIA
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Flush times of California, by J. G. Baldwin; ed by R. E. Amacher & G. W. Polhemus. 82p por '66 Univ of Fla press 15 NW 15th st Gainesville Fla 32603 $3

CANADA
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Income tax—Canada

CAPITAL investments
Tax aspects
Investment credit—the case for its permanency, by Charles Stewart. 11p '66 Machinery & allied products inst 1200 18th st Washington D C 20036 free proc
Statement to Subcommittee on fiscal policy of the Joint congressional economic committee in connection with hearings on shortrun stabilization tax changes, presented by the Institute and Council for technological advancement, March 31, 1966

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Castles of the old world, by R. P. Long. 64p il map '66 Hastings house pubrs 151 E 50th st N Y 10022 $2.50
Guide to castle hotels in Europe

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CHIANG, Mei-ling (Sung)
Meet the press; guest: Madame Chiang Kai-shek. (Meet the press v9 no38) 8p '66 Merkle press Box 2111 Washington D C 20013 10c send cash & s.a.e. with order
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CHILD guidance. See Child study

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Child abuse—preview of a nationwide survey, by Vincent De Francis. (Pubn no23) 20p charts '63 Am humane assn Childrens div Box 1266 Denver Colo 25c
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Foster home care

CHILDREN
Nervous and mental disorders
Child welfare program of Maryland, part 2: Care of the emotionally disturbed. (Pubn no099-65) 15p '65 League of women voters of Md 6 Dock st Annapolis Md 21401 25c proc
Learning disorders; psychoneurological disturbances in childhood, by H. R. Myklebust. (Repr DR-34) 8p por '64 Nat socy for crippled children & adults 2023 W Ogden av Chicago 12 25c
Reprint from "Rehabilitation literature," December 1964

CHILDREN'S literature
Bibliography
Best books for children, 1966, comp by P. H. Allen. 237p il '66 R R Bowker co 1180 Av of the America N Y 10036 $3
3700 approved titles, annotated, arranged by grade and subject with author, title and illustrator index
Guide to children's magazines, newspapers, reference books, by Nancy Nunnally. ('65-'66 Membership serv bul-B) 8p '66 Assn for childhood educ int 3615 Wisconsin av Washington D C 20016 10c

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First 50 years of the council-manager plan of municipal government, by R. S. Childs. 117p '65 Nat munic league 47 E 68th st N Y 10021 pa $1; cl $2
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Mark Twain's jest book, ed by Cyril Clemens. 3d ed 27p '65 Mark Twain jour Kirkwood Mo 63122 $1

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Coal, by W. G. Fritz. 24p '63 Nat coal assn Educ div 1130 17th st Washington D C 20036 free to libs
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Is someone kidding the college girl? College pushes her to create and contribute, then typing in a New York office, by Jack Shepherd. 2p '66 Look mag 488 Madison av N Y 10022 5c
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Chemistry applications

Introduction of a heuristic computer program into a chemistry laboratory, by G. H. Haines jr & R. C. Matthews. 4p '65 Univ of Calif Grad sch of bus adm Div of res Los Angeles 90024 free to pub, coll & univ libs
Reprint from "IEEE transactions on engineering management," June 1965

CONSTITUTIONS
See also subhead Constitution under names of countries, states, e.g.
Pakistan—Constitution

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Japanese recipes ,by Tatsuji Tada. 2d ed rev 20p '65 Japan socy 112 E 64th st N Y 10021 free to libs

COTTON industry and trade
Economic outlook for U.S. cotton, 1966, by M. K. Horne jr. & D. S. Wellford. 24p charts '66 Nat cotton counc of Amer Box 12285 Memphis Tenn 38112 free proc
Report before the Council's twenty-eighth annual meeting at Jacksonville, Florida, January 31, 1966

COURTS
Racial discrimination in the southern federal courts. (Sp rep) 11p '65 Southern regional counc 5 Forsyth st Atlanta Ga 30303 15c proc
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Monetary policy and credit pressures, by W. F. Treiber. 10p '66 Consuelo Matthias c/o Bond buyer 67 Pearl st N Y 4 50c
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DANCING
See also
Square dancing

DEFALCATION. See Embezzlement

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Dental care for the handicapped child, by W. O. Young & J. R. Mink. 6p '65 Nat socy for crippled children & adults 2023 W Ogden av Chicago 12 10c
Reprint from "Rehabilitation literature," April 1965

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Should you be a dentist, by P. E. Blackerby jr, as told to M. M. Hunt. rev ed 8p il '65 N Y life ins co Career inf serv Box 51 Madison Sq sta N Y 10010 free

DEPARTMENT stores

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THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, reprints from The Washington Post in 1958 in reply to Davis Committee report.

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959), Lofton pits arguments from James M. Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

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SOME QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. SCF.

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THE ONLY TRUE AMERICAN, by Louis E. Lomax. January, 1962. and THE WHITE FEATHER, by Will D. Campbell (human relations).

MINORITY SOUTH: "Some of My Best Friends Are Southerners," by George A. Gulette; "Police, Minorities and Mobs," by E. C. Hale, Chief of Police, Lexington, Kentucky; a southern newspaper reader. September, 1961.

THE FREEDOM RIDES . . . their impact on one rider, the Deep South, national unity, and world opinion. July-August, 1961.

REPRINTS, SCF - QRR

New York Times, 9-27-59, "The Agony of the Southern Minister," by Ralph McGill.

Washington Post, 10-7-62, "The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed," by George McMillan.

"Segregation v. the Space Age," by Marion Wright, 4-9-48.

Harper's, June, 1958, "The Easy Chair," by Harry S. Ashmore (Little Rock).

New York Times, 4-1-60, "A Southern View of the South," by Harold Fleming.

BOOK, paperback, THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. (Little Rock). Negro history, useful to elementary and high school students. 25¢.

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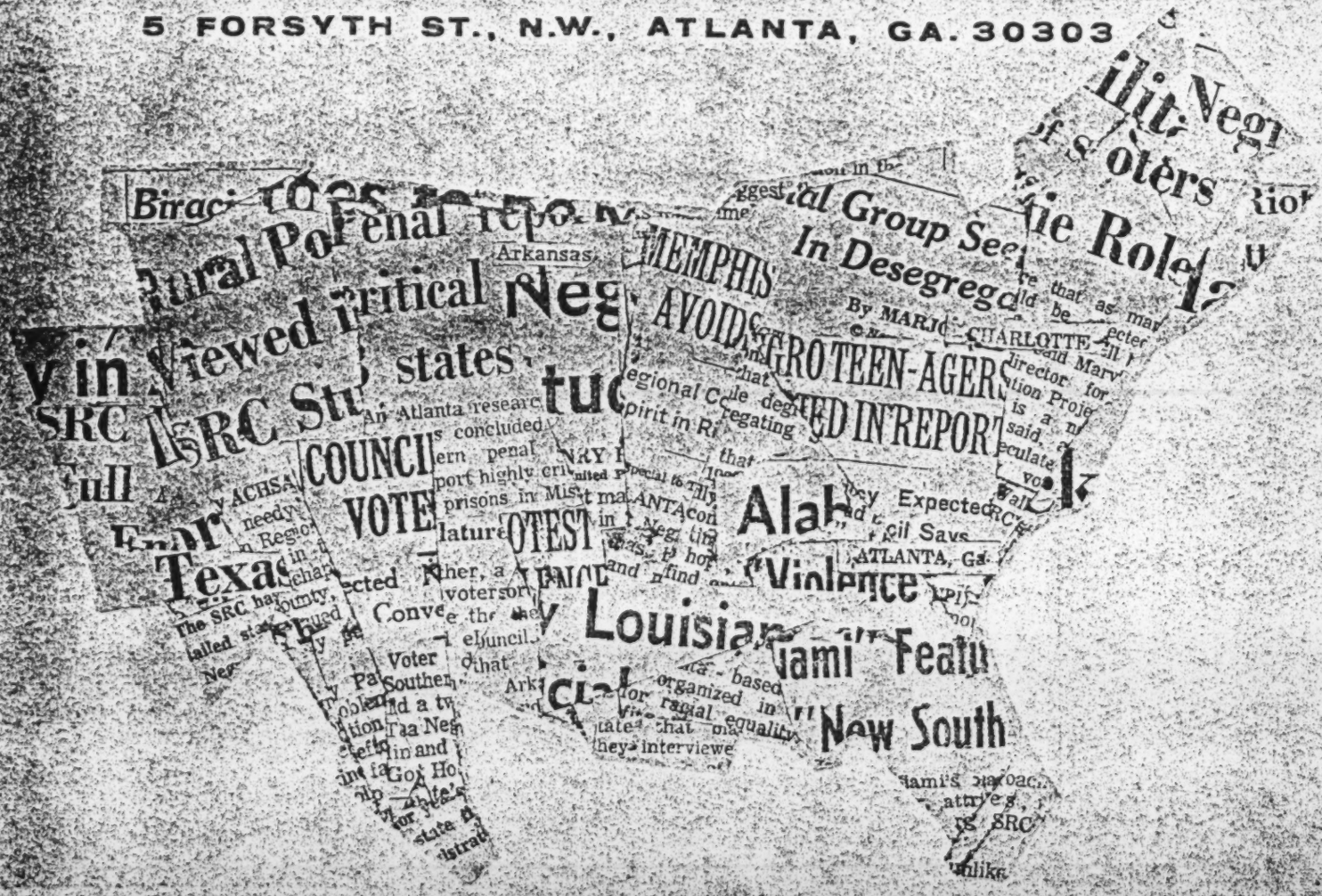

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